

A

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 OBLIATE THE CAVILS OF
SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.*

BY THE

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS work is the result of many years' study of the History, Antiquities, and Prophecies, respecting the principal nations recorded in the Bible; namely, the *Hebrews*, *Israelites*, and *Jews*, the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Grecians* and *Romans*, the *Saracens* and *Turks*.

It was originally suggested, by the frequent interruptions and embarrassments experienced by the author in his Historical Researches, from the imperfection and discordance of the Chronological systems of the *Jews*, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Lloyd*, *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Jackson*, &c. which he found utterly insufficient to adjust and harmonise the leading dates of Sacred and Profane History; all of them differing from each other, more or less, in the principles upon which they were founded, and in the application of these principles; sometimes adjusting Sacred by Profane Chronology, sometimes the reverse, without any settled rule or standard.

Finding it impossible to extract from these systems any uniform scheme which could render Sacred History

consistent with itself, and with the great range of Profane History connected therewith, he endeavoured to trace the subject to its original sources, and to explore the most ancient records, chronicles, and fragments still extant, and the earliest Historians and Chronologers; namely, the *Masorete* and *Samaritan Hebrew* Texts; the *Vatican* and *Alexandrine* Greek Versions; the works of *Josephus*, *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, *Abulfaragi*, and *Eutychius*; the Greek and Latin Historians, *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ctesias*, *Justin*, &c.; the fragments of *Sanchoniatho*, *Berosus*, and *Manetho*, respecting the *Phœnician*, *Chaldean*, and *Egyptian* antiquities, and the *Hindu* records published in the *Asiatic Researches*.

His first attempt was to examine carefully the principles upon which the reigning systems were built, in order to seek a solid foundation for a general system. This led him into a minute investigation of the evidences for and against the longer and shorter computations of the Patriarchal generations from *Adam* to *Abraham*, found in the *Masorete* and *Samaritan Hebrew* Texts, in the *Greek* Version, and in *Josephus*; and the result was, a conviction of the untenableness of the shorter computation, which he discovered to have been first fabricated by the *Jews*, about the time of the publication of the *Seder Olam Rabba*, their great system of Chronology, in A.D. 130.

His next attempt was to retrieve the genuine Chronology of *Josephus*, many of whose leading dates had been adulterated by his early editors, in order to make them correspond with the Jewish system, which unfortunately was too soon adopted by several of the primi-

tive Christian writers. And at length, by repeated trials, amidst the mass of spurious dates that pervade his works at present, he found a few genuine ones, which led to the discovery of his original system ; a system which he flatters himself is now established by a connected chain of *analytical* and *synthetical* argument, shewing the conformity of the general outline, with the particular periods that compose it, in detail ; and also, by its agreement with that of the first Christian Chronologer, *Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch, in A.D. 168, according to the representation of *Abulfaragi*, the celebrated Armenian annalist. And the rectified era of the Creation, B.C. 5411, furnished by both conjointly, forms the basis of the present system ; which, if it be found just in its principles, and correct in its construction, will, he trusts, reconcile Sacred and Profane Chronology together more satisfactorily than any that has been hitherto submitted to the inspection of the learned.

The usual arrangement of the received systems of Chronology seemed also to require emendation. Those of *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Prideaux*, &c. exhibit an intermixture of Sacred and Profane History, a variety of controversial discussions, and of elaborate digressions, which tend to render their works prolix and perplexing to readers who might wish to confine their attention to one branch of Chronology at a time, and to acquire a clear and connected view of Sacred by itself, and of the several branches of Profane by themselves. He has therefore treated of each branch separately. To simplify the subject still more, he has thrown into a copious *Introduction* matters merely of a controversial nature, as far as could be effected ; and has there discussed the

present state of Chronology, the evidences for and against the shorter *Hebrew* and longer *Greek* computations, the defects of the reigning systems, and the rectification of those of *Josephus* and *Theophilus*.

As a previous *Apparatus* necessary for Chronological computation, he has annexed to the Introduction, Elements of *Technical Chronology*, explaining the usual measures of time, *days, weeks, months, years, &c.* employed by different nations; a correcter standard of *reigns* and *generations* founded upon extensive observation of their mean lengths; the principal *eclipses* noticed in history, which preceded the destruction of *Jerusalem*; the leading *epochs, eras, and periods*, used in Sacred and Profane Chronology, and the principles upon which they are adjusted; a new translation and correction of the Chronicle engraved on the *Arundelian* or *Parian* marbles, and a discovery of two different principles of computation employed therein; a vindication of the admirable Canon, incorrectly supposed to have been originally framed by *Ptolomy, &c.*

To this *Apparatus* of *Technical Chronology*, it was found necessary to add a *Geographical Apparatus*, in order to remedy the imperfection or incorrectness of the explanations of Sacred Geography given by *Wells, Cellarius, Reland, &c.* in several material points; such as the universality and course of the *deluge*; the passage of the *Red Sea* by the Israelites; their stations or encampments in the deserts of *Arabia Petraea*, from the time of their exode from *Egypt*, till their arrival in the land of *Canaan*; according to Bishop *Clayton's* Map and explanation; a more correct Map of the city of *Jerusalem*, and its environs, &c. with a variety of mis-

cellaneous remarks on subjects of importance, which had been originally inserted in the body of the work, but are now detached from thence, not to interrupt the reader's attention from the main course of the argument.

Sacred Chronology, which forms the first and most important branch, and furnishes the standard, by reference to which all the rest have been adjusted, is divided into distinct periods of time, reaching from the Creation of the World to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. Under each period, is given a general outline of the history, and of the principal Chronological prophecies, respecting the descent and advents of CHRIST, from the original promise given to our first parents, and afterwards more distinctly and circumstantially revealed to succeeding prophets, *Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Balaam, Nathan, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel*, &c. until their last and fullest revelation by OUR LORD and his *Apostles*. Indeed, to delineate the outline of the grand prophetic period of 2300 days, foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*, which includes the fortunes of the *Jewish Church*, (and of the *Christian* also), from *Nehemiah's* reformation of the Jewish polity, to its final restoration at the end of the desolation; intimated likewise in several other prophecies yet unfulfilled; was the author's chief motive for devoting so much of his time and attention to these studies.

Of *Profane Chronology*, the *Assyrian*, from its remote antiquity, and early connection with Holy Writ, first solicits attention. In this the author acknowledges his obligations to the works of the learned Mr. *Jackson*, for the sagacious distinction between the first and second *Belus*, of whom the former seems to have been the

Nimrod of Scripture, and the *Ninus* of the Greeks, who founded the *Assyrian* empire; and between the second *Belus* and the second *Ninus*, of *Ctesias*, and *Justin*, the refounder of the *Assyrian* monarchy. He is also indebted to Dr. *Gillies*, in his recent *History of the World*, from *Alexander* to *Augustus*, for a judicious correction of the received *Assyrian* Chronology, by reducing the number of kings from *Ninus II.* to *Sardanapalus*, and the duration of their reigns, to nearly half the amount of each found in the extravagant list of *Ctesias*. A reduction warranted by the surer authorities of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and more conformable to SCRIPTURE. And the Scriptural dynasty of the *Assyrian* kings is explained and adjusted to that of the *Babylonian* kings, by means of *Ptolomy's* Canon; while the erroneous supposition is exposed, of a double capture of *Nineveh*, unskillfully adopted from *Ctesias*, by modern Chronologers, *Petavius*, *Usher*, &c.

The *Chaldean*, or *Babylonian* Chronology, which follows the *Assyrian* in the order of time, is here rectified, by a careful comparison of the varying accounts of Sacred and Profane History, now attempted to be reconciled and adjusted to each other, chiefly by the help of *Ptolomy's* Canon; in which a slight error, of two years in defect, in the short reigns of *Ilverodamus* and *Nericassolassar*, or the *Evilmerodach* and *Belshazzar* of Scripture, is compensated by an equal and opposite error of two years in excess, committed in the reign of *Cyrus*: and by this simple rectification of the Canon, joined to that fortunate discovery of *Jackson*, that the death of *Belshazzar* preceded the capture of *Babylon*, by *Cyrus*, no less than seventeen years, this perplexed

and intricate period is, he trusts, more clearly explained, and upon surer grounds, than has been hitherto effected.

In the *Median* and *Persian Chronology*, which follows next in order, the transition of empire from the *Medes* to the *Persians*, is shewn, not, according to the relation of *Herodotus*, by the dethronement of *Astyages*, by his grandson, *Cyrus* the Great, but by peaceable inheritance; the crown naturally descending from *Cyaxares*, the son and successor of *Astyages*, who is called "*Darius* the *Mede*," by Scripture, in defect of issue male, to his nephew and son-in-law, *Cyrus*; and this, he trusts, is satisfactorily proved from the joint testimony of *Daniel*, *Æschylus*, and *Xenophon*; and the intricate and perplexed *Median Chronology* of *Herodotus*, is also adjusted, by means of the celebrated Eclipse of *Thales*, which now appears to have happened B.C. 603, rather than in any other of the years that have been assigned by Historians and Chronologers.

The birth of *Cyrus*, and his succession to the thrones of *Persia*, *Media*, and *Babylon*, form the leading dates, by reference to which the whole scheme of Sacred and Profane Chronology is regulated. They are here determined from the Chronology of *Eclipses*, and the foregoing rectification of *Ptolomy's Canon*. And the seventy years of the *Babylonian Captivity*, counted from the first invasion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, until the return of the *Jews*, in consequence of the decree of *Cyrus*, after the reduction of *Babylon*, are here determined, he hopes, with a precision that will preclude further controversy on this much contested subject.

In the course of the *Persian*, the *Lydian Chronology*

is introduced, on account of the conquest of the kingdom of *Lydia* by *Cyrus*; and it is here adjusted by means of the Eclipse of *Thales*; an astronomical character of the highest importance indeed, which serves to connect the *Babylonian, Median, Lydian, Scythian, Egyptian, and Grecian* Chronology.

To the *Persian*, succeeded the *Macedonian, or Grecian* dynasty, when Alexander the Great conquered "*Darius the Persian*," or *Codomannus*, at the decisive battle of *Arbela*. The Chronology of this period is of great consequence to the elucidation of *Daniel's* famous prophecy of the *seventy weeks*, by shewing that "the fourth king," from the time of its commencement, who was "far richer" than his predecessors, was no other than the last *Darius*, whose immense wealth, and the spoils taken by *Alexander*, are recorded by the Greek and Latin Historians.

The *Macedo-Grecian* was succeeded, in the east, by the *Parthian*, and by the *Persian* dynasties, in continuation. The two last are usually confounded together, by the *Greek* and *Latin* classic authors, because they equally maintained the balance of power against the formidable *Roman* Empire in the west. Their chronology is extremely embarrassed.

These were succeeded by the *Saracen*, and by the *Turkish* dynasties, in continuation. The rise, conquests, and persecutions of these fierce and bigotted fanatics, under the symbolical representation of *locusts*, during the fifth and sixth trumpets, or first and second woes, are described in the *Apocalypse*.

The *Egyptian Chronology*, which has been hitherto considered as inexplicable, will here, it is hoped, receive

considerable light from a careful comparison of the original records and fragments still extant ; and the *old Egyptian Chronicle*, the mutilated dynasties of *Manetho*, recorded by *Josephus*, *Julius Africanus*, and *Eusebius* ; the imperfect list of *Theban*, or *Egyptian* kings, furnished by *Eratosthenes*, and the complete list of *Egyptian* kings formed by *Syncellus*, from documents subsisting in his age, by their combined evidence, have enabled him, he trusts, to fill up, with a considerable degree of probability, the correct, but scanty outline of the *Egyptian Chronology* of *Herodotus*, in perfect conformity with SCRIPTURE ; and to detect the falsity of the system ostentatiously obtruded on the world as the genuine system of *Herodotus*, in the voluminous French translation and notes of *Larcher*, whose Canon of *Egyptian Chronology*, he conceives, is equally repugnant to *Herodotus*, to *Egyptian History*, and to HOLY WRIT ; furnishing but one correct date from beginning to end ; namely, the accession of *Sethon*, Priest of *Vulcan*, B.C. 713.

Such is a brief sketch of a work, the composition of which has engrossed the author's attention for many years ; and he now submits it to the Public, with an humble hope, that it will prove not unacceptable to the learned, nor unprofitable to younger students, not only in Sacred, but also in Profane Literature.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE public approbation of this work, evinced by the sale of the first edition, and the encreasing demand for it, have encouraged the Author to prepare a new and more perfect edition; in the first Volume of which, the following alterations, corrections, and improvements have been made.

1. A new arrangement of the branches of *Chronology*: the *Technical* now preceding the *Historical*, in its proper order.

2. In the review of the leading systems of *Historical Chronology*, the *Irish* system of *Gildas Coemhain*, in the year A.D. 1072, nearly agreeing with *Scaliger's*, is introduced; forming an honourable proof of the ancient and scientific literature of *Ireland*, before its connexion with *England*.

3. The era of the *Hegira*, or flight of *Mahomet* from *Mecca*, A.D. 622, so useful and necessary in reading the Oriental Historians, is now inserted from *Playfair's Chronology*, with some material corrections, and in an improved form.

4. An amended description of *Paradise*, or the Gar-

den of *Eden*, in which its most probable site is shewn, not to have been in *Babylonia*, as before supposed, but in *Armenia*; somewhere in the vicinity of the present heads or springs of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*.

5. *Noah's Prophecy* of the fortunes of the three primitive families of his sons, Gen. ix. 20—27, more correctly explained than before, according to the learned Mr. *Faber*, who has ably exposed the insufficiency of the received interpretation.

6. A more critical explanation of that venerable geographical chart of *Moses*, Gen. x. chiefly from *Faber*.

7. The route pursued by the three primitive families, in their migration from the original settlement in *Armenia*, along the course of the *Euphrates*, to *Shinar*, according to Mr. *Penn's* ingenious explanation; and the universal confusion of tongues at *Babel*.

8. A correction and enlargement of the former account of the *Pyramids of Egypt*, collected from the recent discoveries of *Davison*, *Belzoni*, *Caviglia*, &c., recorded in the *Quarterly Review*, in which they are proved to have been designed for sepulchral monuments, not water temples consecrated to the *Nile*, as supposed before.

9. To the received accounts of *Jerusalem*, and its environs, from *Sandys*, *Maundrell*, &c. are now added some interesting *observations* of that universal and intelligent traveller, Dr. *Clarke*, from actual observation, and upon strong historical ground; questioning the validity of the supposed sites of the *Holy Sepulchre*, and of the *Mount of Corruption*; and conjecturing that the tomb of *Joseph of Arimathea* is rather to be sought in the sepulchral caves at the base of the latter; which he con-

ceives to be the true Mount *Sion*, from the Greek inscription, ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ, “*Of the Holy Sion*,” found thereon. And that Mount *Olivet* is the true Mount of Corruption, whereon *Solomon* built temples to *Baal Peor*, *Moloch*, and *Ashtoreth*, from the curious discovery of a conical cavern on the middle top of the Mount, unnoticed by former travellers.

10. A critical explanation of *St. Paul’s voyage* from *Cæsarea* to *Puteoli*, and proof that the island of *Melite*, on which he was shipwrecked, was not the island of *Malta*, as generally supposed, but *Meleda*, in the Adriatic Gulph, from the learned and ingenious *Dissertation* of Dr. *Falconer*, the physician, of *Bath*.

Notwithstanding all the Author’s anxiety and assiduity to correct mistakes, and to procure fuller and correcter information; yet, in a work of such variety and compass, he cannot pretend to perfection, nor to guard against those errors and failures, incident to human nature, and to advanced age; in which the wisest are apt to “*slumber and sleep*,” even in the most important and earnest pursuits, if long protracted.

*Quæ parum cavit natura humana,
Aliquando dormitans opere in longo.*

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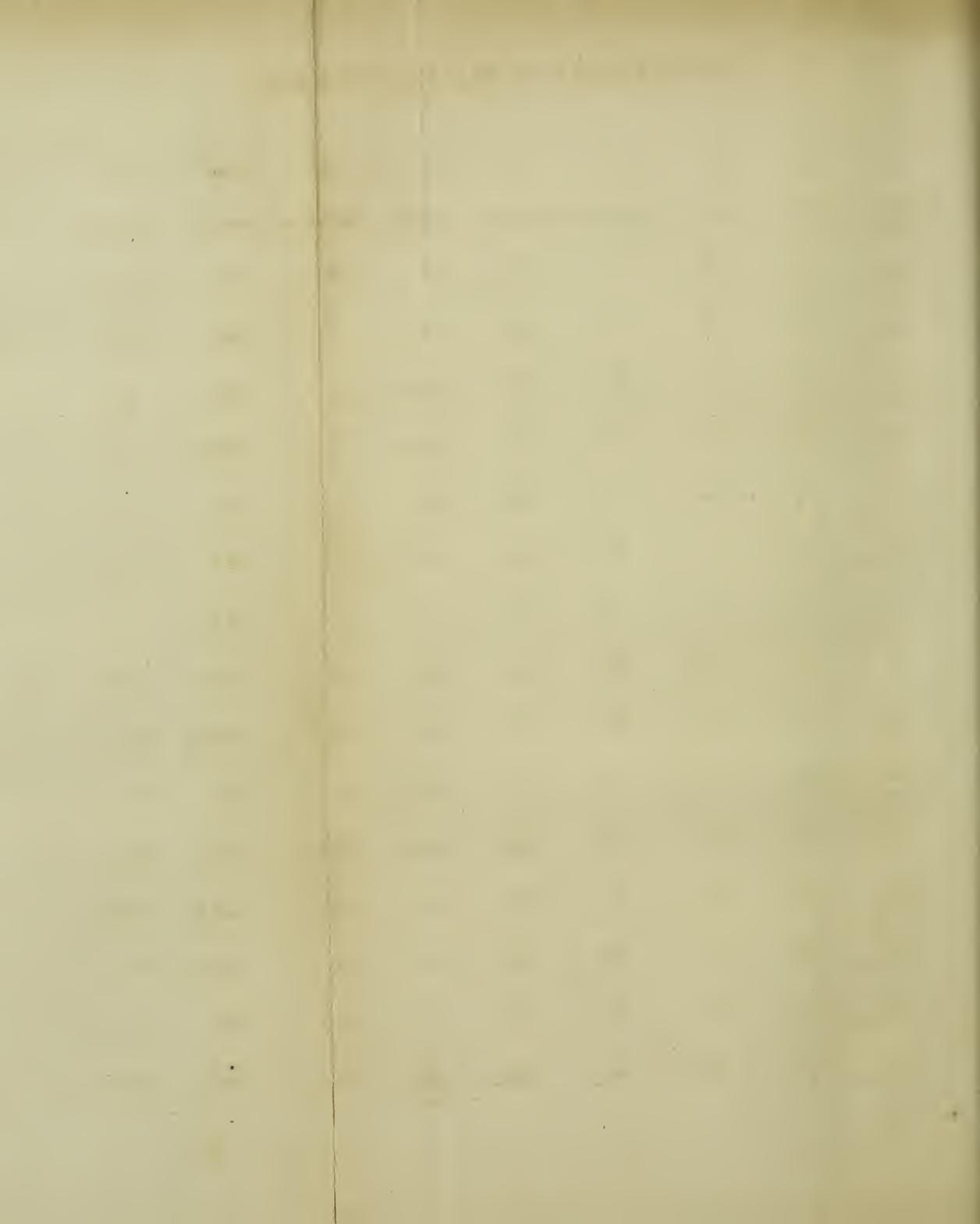
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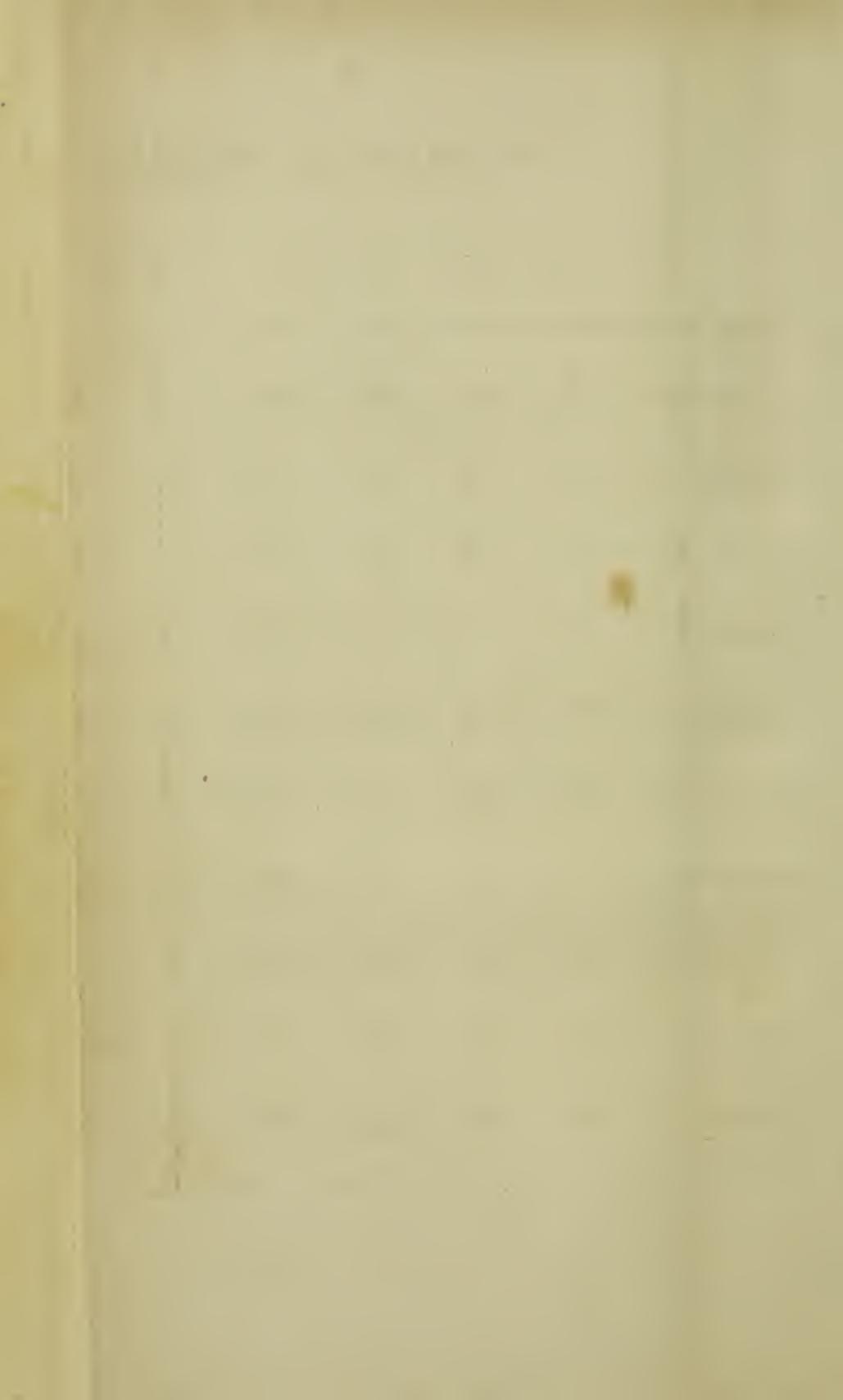


NUMERAL CHARACTERS.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Vulgar.	Indian.	Hebrew.	Samaritan.	Syriac.	Arabic.	Greek 1.	Greek 2.	Roman.
70	V.	ז	𐤆	Ⲫ	Ⲫ	Ο	⊠⊠⊠.	LXX.
80	Λ.	ח	𐤇	ⲩ	ⲩ	π	⊠⊠⊠⊠.	LXXX.
90	Ϟ.	ט	𐤈	ⲫ	ⲫ	ρ	⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠.	XC.
100	Ι.	ק	𐤉	{ ϩ or Ϫ	Ⲭ	ρ	H.	C.
200	Ϡ.	ך	𐤊	{ ϩ or Ϫ	ⲭ	σ	HH.	CC.
300	ϡ.	ש	𐤋	{ ϩ or Ϫ	Ⲯ	τ	HHH.	CCC.
400	Ϣ.	ת	𐤌	{ ϩ or Ϫ	ⲯ	υ	HHHH.	CCCC.
500	Ο.	ת	𐤍	Ⲱ	Ⲱ	φ	⊠.	I ₅ . D.
600	Ϥ.	ק	𐤎	ⲱ	ⲱ	χ	⊠H.	I ₅ C. DC.
700	ϥ.	ך	𐤏	Ⲳ	Ⲳ	ψ	⊠HH.	I ₅ CC. DCC.
800	Ϧ.	ש	𐤐	ⲳ	ⲳ	ω	⊠HHH.	I ₅ CCC. DCCC.
900	ϧ.	ת	𐤑	Ⲵ	Ⲵ	⊘	⊠HHHH.	I ₅ CCCC.
1000	Ι.	ק	𐤒	ⲵ	ⲵ	α	X.	CI ₅ . ∞. M.
2000	Ϡ.	ך	𐤓	Ⲷ	Ⲷ	β	XX.	II CI ₅ . II M.
3000	ϡ.	ש	𐤔	ⲷ	ⲷ	γ	XXX.	III CI ₅ . III M.

NUMERAL CHARACTERS.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Vulgar.	Indian.	Hebrew.	Samaritan.	Syriac.	Arabic.	Greek 1.	Greek.2.	Roman.
4000	੪...	ד	ד	ܕ	ع د	δ	XXXX.	IV CIJ. IV M.
5000	ੵ...	ה	ה	ܚ	ع ه	ε	ⓧ.	V CIJ. } or IJJ. } V.
6000	੶...	ו	ו	ܘ	ع و	ς	ⓧX.	VI CIJ. VI M.
7000	੷...	ז	ז	ܙ	ع ز	ζ	ⓧXX.	VII CIJ. VII M.
8000	੸...	ח	ח	ܘܚ	ع ح	η	ⓧXXX.	VIII CIJ. VIII M.
9000	੹...	ט	ט	ܛ	ع ط	θ	ⓧXXXX.	IX CIJ. IX M.
10000	1.....	י	י	ܝ	ع ي	ι	M.	CCIJJ. X̄.
20000	੨.....	כ	כ	ܚܝ	ع ك	κ	MM.	XX CIJ. XX̄.
50000	ੵ.....	נ	נ	ܢ	ع ن	ν	ⓧ.	IJJJJ. L̄.
100000	1.....	ק	ק	ܩ	ع ق	ρ	ⓧⓧ.	CCCIJJJJ. C̄.



I. ELEMENTS
OF
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

Χρονος εστιν επανορθωσις πραγματων και τηρησις.

CHRONOLOGY is the regulation and preservation of facts.

STOIC.

I. ELEMENTS

OF

TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

CHRONOLOGY in general, or “*the Computation of Times*,” (as the original implies) may be divided into two species, *Technical* and *Historical*.

Technical Chronology is the art of computing the several measures of time, natural or instituted, used by historians to record facts, in their *Fasti*, *Calendars*, or *Chronicles*. And these are, *Days*, *Weeks*, *Months*, *Years*, *Generations*, *Reigns*, *Eclipses*, *Canons*, and *Cycles*. This species is founded in *Astronomy* and the *course of Nature*; and therefore admits of proof derived from the known laws of motion in the Mundane System, and the doctrine of Probabilities.

Historical Chronology is the art of computing, adjusting, and verifying the whole range of dates furnished by historians, according to certain cardinal *Epochs*, *Eras*, and *Periods* of time, so as to reduce the whole, *if possible*, to one entire uniform and consistent system; in which sacred and profane history shall be brought to harmonize or correspond with each other.

This is a much more difficult process than the former; because the *data* afforded by sacred and profane history, in general, are frequently obscure, imperfect, mutilated, or corrupted in process of time, or length of ages, either by decay, accident, or design. The restriction, therefore, “*if possible*,” is necessary, because the subject does not admit of rigid demonstration, but only of an approximation to truth, more or less near, according to the nature of the data, the correctness of the principles, and the skill with which they are applied.

Technical Chronology, as forming the basis of *Historical*, requires that its several *Measures of Time* should be previously explained. And a critical explanation of these will contribute much to the right understanding and illustration of sacred and profane classic authors.

Before we consider these *measures*, it will be necessary to explain the various modes of

NUMERATION

used in different nations.

Originally, Numbers were expressed by their names at full length. Thus, the venerable Registry of the Antediluvian Patriarchs, Gen. v. 18, “And *Jared* lived *two* and *sixty* years, and a *hundred* years, and begat *Enoch*: and *Jared* lived after he begat *Enoch*, *eight hundred* years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of *Jared* were *two* and *sixty* years, and *nine hundred* years, and he died.” Here, according to the original, the order of Notation is in an ascending series, *Units, Tens, Hundreds, &c.* contrary to the modern European mode. The same prevailed also among the ancient Greeks; the expedition against *Troy* was undertaken, *τρεις και δεκατου ετους*, “the *three* and *tenth* year of the reign of *Menestheus*,” according to the primitive notation of the *Parian Chronicle*; which was also adopted in our language, “the *thirteenth*,” *fourteenth*, &c.

The first numeral characters, or symbols, were the letters of the alphabet, in the order of succession. Thus, the several stanzas of the 119th Psalm, were marked by the Hebrew letters, *Aleph* 1, *Beth* 2, *Gimel* 3, &c. This was probably the most ancient mode.

The first improvement in alphabetical notation, was the *Decimal* division, or arrangement: the first nine letters expressing the digits, 1, 2, 3, &c., the tenth, 10, the eleventh, 20, the twelfth, 30, &c.

The next was raising the value of the numeral letters in a decuple proportion, by accents, or marks, attached to the letters; thus, א̇ denoted 1000; and sometimes the word at length, אֶלֶף; the plural אֶלְפִים, denoted 2000, אֶלְפִים ג̇, 3000, &c.

This was followed by arbitrary marks, or symbols, for particular numbers, as among the Greeks, Ϡ, for 900, &c.

The last and grandest improvement, was the rejection of nu-

meral letters, and introduction of specific symbols, in the nine digits, 1, 2, 3, &c.; and the cypher, 0, raising their value in a decuple progression, 10, 100, 1000, &c.

For simplicity, variety, and compass, this surely may rank among the noblest discoveries of human sagacity; if we attribute it thereto, and not rather to THE FATHER OF LIGHTS, the original Author of language, oral and written; from whom ultimately proceed "*every good gift, and every perfect grace.*" And most justly did *Abulfaragi* eulogize the *Indian* discoverers, as *Fodina Sapientiæ*, "a pit of wisdom!"—How it was possible indeed for the Ancients to carry on such long arithmetical computations, as we find in the *Bible*, *Herodotus*, *Manetho*, *Josephus*, &c., by the help of such awkward, complicated, and embarrassed a mode of Notation as by numeral letters, is not easy to be conceived at the present day by those who are accustomed to the facility and dispatch of the *Indian* symbols. Their arithmetic must necessarily have been a species of *algebraic* calculation, such as we find in the problems of *Diophantus*, about the commencement of the Christian Era; and such as must have been used before him, by *Hipparchus* and *Archimedes*.

The following Table, XXI, exhibits the various numeral characters, and modes of Notation, employed by different nations. It will be found fuller, and more correct, than that of *Beverege*, which he calls *Aurea Tabella*, from its great utility in ancient numeration, p. 279, &c.

I. VULGAR NOTATION.

Of the several columns composing this Table, the first on the left hand represents the usual mode of reckoning, as far as *one hundred thousand*; the succeeding columns represent the *Indian*, which was the parent of our Notation, the *Hebrew*, *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, the *Greek*, both by small letters and uncials, and the *Roman*. Our digits are evidently derived from the *Indian*, though with considerable variation in some. The *cypher* 0 was an improvement upon the *Indian* point, as being more conspicuous or legible, which we owe to the *Arabian* Astronomers.

II. INDIAN.

The characters here exhibited are such as occur in the writing of the principal *Geographers*, *Astronomers*, and *Chronologers* of the East. Thus, *Ulug Bey*, that learned *Persian*

prince, who flourished about A. D. 1440, represents the *Greek* Epoch as longer than the Arabian, by $\text{כ} \text{ף} \cdot \text{v} \cdot \text{ו}$ or 340700 days. See *Beverege Chron.* p. 291.

III. HEBREW. IV. SAMARITAN.

The Hebrew column is expressed in the Chaldee alphabet, which was introduced after the return of the Jews from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and perhaps by *Ezra* the Scribe. The primitive *Hebrew* character, such as it appears on ancient *shekels*, differed considerably from the *Chaldee*; and was the prototype, evidently, of the rude *Samaritan* character, which it greatly surpassed in symmetry and elegance. See the collection of *sacred shekels*, in the *Apparatus* prefixed to the first volume of the *London Polyglott Bible*, that noblest specimen of the *Typographic* art, as well as the most useful; p. 38.

In the primitive Hebrew notation, *Iod* י denoted 10; whence by composition, יא 10 + 1 = 11, יב 10 + 2 = 12, &c. Instead of יה, 10 + 5 = 15, the *Jews*, to avoid profaning the sacred name IAH, substituted יז, 9 + 6 = 15. Here was a remarkable deviation from the most ancient mode, corresponding to our's, of placing the number 10 before the digits; and the same prevails in the higher numbers, יקא 100 + 1 = 101; יקב, 102, &c. יאא, 401, יאב, 402, &c. יתק 400 + 100 = 500; יתת 400 + 400 = 800; יתתק 400 + 400 + 100 = 900.

The *Jews* afterwards expressed the five centenary numbers after 400 by the five final letters of the Chaldee alphabet, *Caph* כ, 500; *Mem* מ, 600, &c.

To express thousands, the letters begin again, either with marks over them, or their value determined by their place in the decimal progression: as, יתתל^{||}, 1000 + 400 + 30 = 1430; יהרמב, 5000 + 400 + 40 + 2 = 5442.

V. SYRIAC.

The *Syriac* alphabet, agreeing with the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan*, in the number and order of its letters, the mode of notation is the same, with some slight variations. Thus, 1. The number 15, is expressed by the numerals 10 and 5; because the Hebrew name of God, IAH, was not used in Syriac. 2. The number 20, is expressed by a double *Caph*, the initial and final; yet so as that the final *Caph* is removed in the succeeding 21, 22, &c. and the proper literal digit is substituted. The same redu-

plication prevails in the number 50 and 70, 500 and 700. The value of the digits is also raised, in the decimal scale, by a point over the letter, raising the tens to hundreds; and the hundreds to thousands, by a point under the letter. Myriads, by a horizontal stroke under the letter.

VI. ARABIC.

The Arabic alphabet at present in use, differs widely from the primitive Arabic, or *Cufic* alphabet, in the number and order of its letters. The change was made by *Ibn Mocla*, in the tenth century.

The *Cufic* corresponded with the *Syriac*, from which it was evidently derived. The present alphabet is miserably deranged, both in the number and order of the letters, several new ones being added thereto; while the old ones, notwithstanding their dislocation, retain their primitive values in the *Syriac* or *Hebrew* alphabet, thus incontestibly demonstrating their common descent from the primæval alphabet; as will appear more plainly from their names and powers.

Arabic Numerals.

Alif, 1; *Be*, 2; *Ta*, 400; *Tha*, 500; *Gim*, 3; *Hha*, 8; *Cha*, 600; *Dal*, 4; *Dhsal*, 700; *Re*, 200; *Za*, 7; *Sin*, 60; *Shin*, 300; *Sad*, 90; *Dad*, 800; *Ta*, 9; *Da*, 900; *Ain*, 70; *Gain*, 1000; *Fe*, 80; *Kaf*, 100; *Kef*, 20; *Lam*, 30; *Mim*, 40; *Nun*, 50; *Wau*, 6; *He*, 5; *Ie*, or *Ya*, 10.

Hence it appears, that of these twenty-eight letters, only the two first, corresponding to *Aleph* and *Beth*, retain their proper place and value. The third letter, *Ta*, corresponding to *Thau*, the last of the Hebrew alphabet, still retains its primitive value; while the tenth Hebrew letter, *Iod*, is here thrust down to the last place, in *Ie*, or *Ya*, still retaining its primitive value, 10; and so on of the rest of the primitive letters.

In the column of Arabic numerals, I have only set down the first of the three complicated forms of the Arabic letters, at the beginning, middle, and end of words; but the three forms are used indiscriminately, which tends to create great confusion and embarrassment in their notation; of which *Beverege* furnishes some curious and involved specimens, remarkably resembling the algebraic notation; in one of which, a large number is made up of the following parts: $400 + 60 + 2 \times 1000 \times 1000$:

+ $\overline{30 + 5} \times 1000$: + 900 + 90 + 6 = 462,035,996 ; as I found out by decyphering the original, p. 326.

VII. VIII. GREEK.

The *Greek* alphabet was originally derived from the *Phœnician*, or *Syriac* ; and retains the names and powers of the letters, with some slight variation. To preserve the analogy of notation, three additional symbols were introduced, in the seventh column, to supply the place of certain *Syriac* letters wanting in the Greek alphabet. 1. *Επισημον* *Bav*, “the symbol *Bav*,” ς , to supply the place of *Vau*, 6. 2. *Κοππα*, the symbol ζ , 90, corresponding to the *Syriac* *Koph*, reversed. 3. *Σαν* *Πι*, or the symbol ϑ , 900 ; derived from the Samaritan *Tsade* reversed ; and so denominated, perhaps, from the letter *San*, or *Sigma* reversed, including the letter *Pi*. This former symbol, ζ , is sometimes represented differently, β , 90.

As far as 100, the Hebrew and Greek letters correspond in their values : above it, the Greek got one step in advance. *Resh* in Hebrew, and *Sigma* in Greek, denote 200.

To denote thousands, &c. the letters recur again, and their values are determined by their place. Thus, $\rho\beta\varsigma$, signifies 196 ; $\beta\vartheta\kappa\gamma\frac{\alpha}{\beta}$, 2923 $\frac{1}{2}$. The last instance strongly resembles the algebraic notation of fractions.

The eighth column represents the more ancient and simple mode of Notation, by Uncial, or Capital letters ; such as is employed in the *Parian Chronicle* Marbles ; of which a specimen is given hereafter.

In that Inscription there are only six letters employed, with their combinations.

I = 1.	From the ancient $\text{I}\zeta$, for $\text{E}\iota\zeta$, “one.”
II = 5.	From $\text{Π}\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$, “five.”
Δ = 10.	From $\text{Δ}\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, “ten.”
H = 100.	From the ancient aspirate H, in HEKATON ; afterwards written, $\text{E}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$, “a hundred.”
X = 1000.	From $\text{Χ}\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$, “a thousand.”
M = 10000.	From $\text{Μ}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$, “ten thousand.”

The use of the aspirate H, marks the antiquity of the notation. Thus, the most ancient Greeks wrote, PHOME, *Rhyme* ; but afterwards, when the aspirate letter was abolished, $\text{P}\omega\mu\eta$, *Rome* ;

substituting the aspirate mark. And in the celebrated *Amyclean* Inscription, supposed to have been written 146 years before the destruction of *Troy*, alternately backwards and forwards, "like the plowing of oxen," (*βουστροφηδον*) the first word is so written, ΜΗΝΑΙΑ: *Mhenalia*. See *Astle's Origin of Writing*, p. 67, and 232, first edit.

That the letter H could not be intended for the Greek *Eta*, as in after times, which *Astle* imagined, writing the word *Μηενάλια*, is evident from this, that the place of *Eta*, throughout the inscription, is supplied by two *Epsilons*; as in ΜΑΤΕΕΡ, for *Ματηρ*. The same is observable in the preceding word, ΡΗΜΕ, where the *Omicron* likewise is used for *Omega*.

The figure of this aspirate H, was probably borrowed from the Hebrew aspirate *Hheth*, which, upon ancient shekels, was written \square . See the *Apparatus* of the *Polyglott Bible*, cited before. *Astle* has also given a figure of the Greek aspirate in an oblique position, thus, \diamond , which strongly resembles the Hebrew.

To express multiplication by 5, in the *Parian* inscription, the multiplicand is placed in the midst of an imperfect II. Thus, II^{\prime} , 50; $\text{II}^{\prime\prime}$, 500, &c.

IX. ROMAN.

From the Greek uncial notation, in the eighth column, was derived the *Roman*, but with some variations. Their numeral letters were:

I = 1; V = 5; X = 10; L = 50; C = 100; D = 500; M = 1000; which are not so easily to be explained; the learned being much divided how to account for the numeral powers of V, X, L, and D. The general analogy, however, between both methods, is obvious: thus, the age of Homer, $\text{II}^{\prime}\text{H}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{III}$, resembles the Roman arrangement, DCXXXIII.

Receding, however, from the Greek notation, a larger number is diminished by prefixing a smaller: thus, IV 5-1 = 4; XC, 100-10 = 90; XXC, 100-20 = 80.

The number 500, was originally expressed by placing a C reversed after I, thus: IϞ: which, being written corruptly, was probably changed into D. And, in like manner, the number 1000, anciently written CIϞ, was changed into ∞, and perhaps M.

By annexing more reversed C's, the number 500 was increased tenfold, IϞϞ, 5000; IϞϞϞ, 50,000; which again were doubled, by prefixing as many; CCIϞϞ, 10,000; CCCIϞϞϞ, 100,000.

And to express 300,000, these last characters are thrice repeated by *Cicero*, pro *Roscio*. Pliny relates, that the famous Egyptian labyrinth in the Heroopolitan *nome*, or district, was first made IIIMDC, 3600 years before his time, 36, 13. *Beverege*, by an easy mistake, for *nomo*, substituting *homo*, has transferred it to the creation of the first man. P. 300.

Sometimes the numeral letters are raised to thousands by a horizontal stroke, \bar{I} , 1000 ; \bar{V} , 5000 ; \bar{X} , 10,000, &c.

DAYS.

The earliest measure of Time on record, is the *Day*. In that most ancient and venerable account of the Creation, by *Moses*, the process is marked by the operations of each day. The “*evening* and the *morning* were the first *day*,” &c. Gen. i. 5. &c.

Here the word “*day*” denotes the Civil or Calendar day of 24 hours, including “the evening,” or natural night, and “the morning,” or natural day ; while the sun is either below or above the horizon of any place, in the course of the earth’s diurnal rotation, between two successive appulses of the same meridian to the sun : corresponding, therefore, to a *solar day* in Astronomy*.

It is remarkable, that the “*evening*,” or natural *night*, precedes the “*morning*,” or natural *day*, in the *Mosaic* account. Hence the Hebrew compound, ערב־בקר, “*Evening-morning*,” is used by the prophet *Daniel*, to denote a civil day, in his famous chronological prophecy of the 2300 days, Dan. viii. 14. And also the Greek compound, νυκθημερον, to denote the same. And hence *Hesiod*, the eldest of the Greek poets that have reached us, represents the occultation of the *Pleiades* as lasting νυκτας τε και ηματα τεσσαρακοντα, “*forty nights and days*,” i. e. calendar days. And following the primæval order, the ancient *Gauls* and *Germans* counted times and seasons by the number of *nights*, not of days ; as we learn from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* : a usage still retained by their descendants ; for in old French, *anuit* signifies “*to-day* ;” and in English, *sevensnight*, *fortnight*, “*seven days*,” “*fourteen days*.” Thus is sacred history verified by primitive tradition,

* *Naturalis dies* est tempus ab oriente sole ad solis occasum ; cujus contrarium tempus est *nox*, ab occasu solis usque ad exortum. *Civilis* autem *dies* vocatur, quod fit uno cœli circumactu, quo dies verus et nox continetur. *Censorinus* de *die nat.* c. 23.

By an apparent incongruity, *Keil*, and other Astronomers, call the time from sun-rise to sun-set, the *artificial* day. Lect. 28.

handed down to the present times; “the *night seeming to usher in the day**.”

The natural day consisted of twelve hours, which are variable in all places but the equator, according to the seasons of the year; and equal, or of the mean length, only at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes: being longer in the summer half-year, and shorter in the winter. “*Are there not twelve hours in the day?*” saith our Lord, appealing to this ancient and long-established division, as a matter of public notoriety. John ix. 11. And among the Heathen nations, the same division prevailed. “What!” said *M. Crassus* to king *Deiotarus*, “What do you mean? *Your twelfth hour is now at hand*, and are you proceeding to build a city?”

The *first hour* of the day began at *sun-rise*; the *sixth hour* ended at *mid-day*, or *noon*; the *seventh hour* began at *noon*; and the *twelfth* ended at *sun-set*. In like manner, the *first hour* of the night began at *sun-set*; the *sixth* ended at *midnight*; and the *twelfth* ended at *sun-rise*.

Thus *Pliny* recommended, that apples, in autumn, should not be gathered *ante horam primam*, “before the *end* of the first hour;” or till they have had an hour’s sun upon them, to dry up the dew. Nat. Hist. xv. 18.

He also says, speaking of a place under the tropic of *Cancer*, on the day of the *summer solstice*, *sextâ horâ*, *umbrae in totum absumuntur*, “at the *sixth hour* the shadows totally vanish;” for the sun being then vertical, in the meridian, objects cast no shadows. Nat. Hist. vi. 34.

And so, *Macrobius* remarks, that the *civil day* of the *Romans*, *a sexta noctis hora oriri*, “began from the *sixth hour* of the night,” or from midnight. Saturnal. l. 3.

Prudentius reckoned that at the *ninth hour*, three quarters of the day were elapsed, and only one quarter remained.

Nona submissum rotat *hora* solem,

Partibus vix dum *tribus* evolutis;

Quarta devexo superest in axe,

Portio lucis.—Hymn VIII. p. 34. Ed. Elzevir.

In the parable of the labourers hired to work in the vineyard, the last, hired “at the *eleventh hour*,” worked only “*one hour*,” till “*the evening*,” or sun-set, when they were paid their wages.

* *Nec dierum numerum ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt: Nox ducere diem videtur.*—*Tacitus*, Germ. 11.

Matt. xx. 1—12. They worked therefore during the *twelfth* hour.

That the *twelfth* hour ended at sun-set, we learn from a law of *Solon*: ὁ ἡλιος ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων, ἐσχατὴ ὥρα ἐστὼ. “Let the sun, setting upon the mountains, be the *last hour* :” and this was copied in the laws of the twelve tables at *Rome*, “*Solis occasus suprema tempestas esto.*”

These instances (chiefly selected from Dr. *Townson's* works, vol. I. 263—269) are decisive to prove that the Ancients cited hours from their *endings*, rather than their beginnings; which *Townson* has not sufficiently marked, in the ambiguous phrase, “the *first* hour of the day *was* an hour after the sun rose; and the *twelfth was* when it set.” Vol. i. p. 233. And this is the usage of the Moderns also. “At *one* of the clock,” signifies an hour after mid-day, or midnight, &c. or at the *end* of the first hour after, &c. For removing this ambiguity, I am indebted to Archdeacon *Churton's* valuable communications.

The *last hour* of the day is denoted by a peculiar phrase, Luke xxiii. 54. Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευή, καὶ σαββατον ἐπεφώσκε. The rescinded translation: “*And it was preparation day [Friday] and the sabbath was going to dawn;*” i. e. at the *dawn of night*, or *evening twilight*, p. 113, was founded on *West's* erroneous account of the limits of the sabbath day, “from the first appearance of the *stars* on *Friday*, to their reappearance on *Saturday* :” Resurrection, p. 85, which is unsupported by *Jewish* authorities, and contrary to the law,—“from *evening* unto *evening* ye shall hallow your *sabbath*,” Levit. xxiii. 32. The true spirit indeed of ἐπεφώσκε is given in our public translation, “*drew on*,” or approached; but the same literal expression, in the same sense, is found in a *Syriac* quotation, of *Asseman's Bibliotheca Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 213, “On the *Sabbath*, at the *eleventh* hour, as the first day of the week *was beginning to shine;*” here the *eleventh* hour corresponds to our fifth hour after noon, when the last hour began; or as paraphrased by *Asseman*, *Sabbato exeunte, Dominicâ ineunte*, “as *Saturday* was ending, and *Sunday* beginning.” Here the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* verb, *nahar*, *illuxit*, properly denotes the morning twilight, or “*break of day*,” 2 Sam. ii. 32; but is transferred to the moon at full, rising a little before sun-set, in consequence of the refractive power of the atmosphere, which elevates the luminaries above the horizon; so that the moon sometimes appears to

rise in the East, before the sun sets in the West. But the moon was then actually about the full, namely, on the day of the crucifixion. This application of the verb, *επεφωσκε*, (which is the exact rendering of *nahar*) to “the *full moon, shining** with superior splendour, in the serene and warm climates of *Syria* and *Palestine* †, entirely removes the impropriety of the former rendering; and by a usual *Syriasm*, not more just than beautiful, correctly expresses the time, when “the *moon*,” that rules the *night*, “was *beginning to shine*,” shortly before sun-set, or commencement of the sabbath-day.

The natural day was at first divided into three parts, *Morning*, *Noon*, and *Evening*. *David* mentions these as hours or times of prayer. Ps. lv. 17. And *Homer* notices them also: *Ἦως, η Δειλη, η μεσον ἡμαρ*, “*morning, or evening, or mid-day*.” *Iliad* 21. 111.

The natural night also was originally divided into three parts, or watches: Ps. lxxiii. 6; and xc. 4. The *first*, or *beginning of watches*, is mentioned Lament. ii. 19; the *middle watch*, Judg. vii. 19; and the *morning watch*, Exod. xiv. 24. And to these *Homer* seems to allude:

Ἀστρα δὲ δὴ προβεβηκε, παρῳχηκεν δὲ πλεων νυξ,
 Των δυο μοιραων, τριτατη δ' ετι μοιρα λελειπται.

“The stars are now far advanced, and more than *two parts of the night* are passed: a *third part* only is still left.”

Herodotus also mentions the *second watch* of the night, IX. 50; as does *Livy*, VII. 35; with this observation, that it was the fittest for surprizing the enemy in their camp, “*when oppressed with the deepest sleep* ‡.” And *Xenophon* mentions the

* *Lucentemque globum Lunæ*.—Virgil.

† The *luminousness* of a nocturnal sky in the *West Indies*, during the *vernal* season, is thus described in glowing colours, by the eloquent *Edwards*.

“The nights at *this season*, are transcendently beautiful. The clearness of the heavens, the serenity of the air, and the soft tranquillity in which Nature reposes, contribute to harmonize the mind, and produce the most calm and delightful sensations. The *moon* too, in these climates, displays far greater radiance than in *Europe*; the smallest print is legible by her light. And in the moon’s absence, her function is not ill supplied by the brightness of the *milky way*, and by that glorious planet *Venus*, which here appears like a little moon, and glitters with so refulgent a lustre, as to cast a shade from trees, buildings, and other objects; making full amends for the short stay and abrupt departure of the *crepusculum*, or twilight”—in the torrid zone near the equator.

N. B. *Venus*, “the evening star,” who is also *Lucifer*, “the morning star,” becomes the harbinger either of night or of day, when the sun is depressed only *ten* degrees below the western, or eastern horizon, respectively.

‡ *Quod tempus mortales somno altissimo premit*.

last watch, (or the *third*, according to *Hutchinson*,) which he thus accurately describes, *Anab.* IV. p. 250.

“But when it was about the *last watch*, and there remained only so much of the night as would enable them to cross the plain *in the dusk**, then rising according to orders, they set out and arrived at the mountain along with the day.”

Afterwards, the strictness of military discipline among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, introduced an additional night-watch. Thus *Arrian* mentions an attack made by the Barbarians on *Alexander's* camp, “when it was now about the *fourth watch*,” v. 24, 2. The *Romans* also copied it; and from them the *Jews* in our Saviour's time. The *second* and *third* watches are mentioned *Luke* xii. 38; and the *fourth* watch of the night, *Matt.* xiv. 25; and the four are mentioned together, by our Lord, and described by the terms, *Οψε*, “the late watch,” *μεσονυκτιου*, “the midnight,” *αλεκτοροφωνιας*, “the cock-crowing,” and *πρωι*, “the early.” *Mark* xiii. 35. A double *cock-crowing*, indeed, is noticed by *Mark*, xiv. 30, where the other Evangelists mention only a single *cock-crowing*; *Matt.* xxvi. 34; *Luke* xxii. 34; *John* xiii. 38. But this is easily reconciled; the second, or principal, was that which they meant: thus *Juvenal* notices the second:

Quod tamen ad Galli cantum facit ille secundi,
Proximus ante diem caupo sciet. Sat. 9.

Which also was meant by *Horace*:

Sub Galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. Sat. 1.

The precise beginning and ending of each of the four watches, is thus determined.

1. *Οψε*, “the late,” began at sun-set, and ended with the third hour of the night, including the evening dawn, or twilight. It was also called *οψια ωρα*, *even-tide*, *Mark* xi. 11; or simply *οψια*, *evening*, *John* xx. 19, &c.

2. *Μεσονυκτιου*, “the midnight,” lasted from the third hour till midnight.

3. *Αλεκτοροφωνιας*, “the cock crowing,” lasted from midnight till the third hour after, or the ninth hour of the night. It included the two *cock-crowings*, with the second, or principal of which, it ended.

* *Suidas* renders *σκοταιους*, the word here used, by *ετι σκοτιας ουσης*, “while it was still *dusk* ;” as the phrase should be rendered, *John* xx. 1.

4. Πρωι, "*the early*," lasted from the ninth to the twelfth hour of the night, or sun-rise, including the morning dawn, or twilight. It was also called πρωια, *morning*, or *morning-tide*; ὥρα being understood. John xviii. 28, &c *.

The *Jews* reckoned two evenings: the former began at the ninth hour of the natural day, or third after noon; the latter began at sun-set, and was called ἑσπερα, *evening*, Acts iv. 3. The former, προς ἑσπεραν, "*towards evening*," Luke xxiv. 29. The same usage prevailed among the *Greeks*. Thus *Xenophon* calls the former evening, Δειλη; and the latter, Οψε. Compare Anab. p. 75 and 126, Hutchinson.

The phrase οψιας γενομενης, "*when it was evening*," sometimes ambiguously expressed both evenings, as in *Matthew's* account of the signal miracle of the loaves and fishes. Where the former was meant, when the miracle began, Matt. xiv. 15, as determined by *Luke*, ἡμερα ηρξατο κλινειν, "*the day (or sun) began to decline*," ix. 12. The latter evening was meant, when our Lord dismissed the multitude, Matt. xiv. 23; as ascertained by *John*, explaining the equivalent phrase, ὡς δε οψια εγενετο, "*when it was evening*," by the subsequent circumstance, in the next verse, και σκοτια ηδη εγεγονει, "*And it had been already dusk*." John vi. 16, 17.

By the Law of *Moses*, the Paschal Lamb was required to be sacrificed בין הערבים, "*Between the evenings*," Exod. xii. 6; Numb. ix. 3; and elsewhere. "*At even, at the going down of the sun*," including both, Deut. xvi. 6. And *Josephus* has well explained it, Θουοσι μεν, απο εννατης ὥρας ἕως ἑνδεκατης, "*The Jews sacrifice [the passover] from the ninth hour until the eleventh*." Bell. Jud. 6, 9, 3, p. 1291. "*CHRIST, our Pass-over*," therefore critically fulfilled the Law, when he expired about the *ninth hour*, Matt. xxvii. 46, and was taken down from the cross, at the *first evening*, Mark xv. 42—45, and was interred before the *second evening*, or *sun-set*, Luke xxiii. 54. For so it behoved Him "*to fulfil all righteousness*," ceremonial as well as *moral*!

The inconveniences resulting from a variable beginning of the civil day, earlier or later, according to the different seasons of

* Among the *Romans*, a public officer called *Accensus*, or *Crier*, used to proclaim the *third hour*, *noon*, and the *ninth hour*, as we learn from *Varro*: and still, the *Mahometan Imans*, or *priests*, proclaim *day-break*, *noon*, the *first evening*, *twilight*, and *cock-crowing*, from the minarets of their mosques.

the year, induced several ancient nations, the *Egyptians*, (according to *Pliny*, Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 77.) the *Ausonians*, the most ancient inhabitants of *Italy*, the Roman Pontifices, *Hipparchus*, the Grecian astronomer, and the *Chinese* astronomers of *Cathai* and *Oighur*, &c. to reckon their civil day from midnight to midnight, as from a fixed, invariable point; and this usage has been adopted by most of the modern nations of Europe.

The morning twilight, day-break, or dawn, is described with still greater variety of expression, but with a propriety and consistency not usually noticed, and totally lost in our public translation, by the four evangelists; in their accounts of the departure of the *Galilean* women from their respective habitations, in order to visit the holy sepulchre on *Easter* day, that auspicious day of our Lord's "rising," or resurrection, (as the *Saxon* word implies) which was called a "*high day*" in the Jewish ritual, (John xix. 31.) as being the second or principal day of the *Paschal* week, on which the *wave sheaf*, or first-fruits of the *barley* harvest was offered, Levit. xxiii. 10, 11; whence our Lord himself was figuratively styled "*the first-fruits*" of the spiritual harvest of the resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 20. In opposition, perhaps, to this truly "*high day*" in a double sense, the first Sunday after *Easter* is styled in our almanacks, *Low Sunday*.

1. *Matthew* represents the time of the women's departure, Οψε σαββατων, τη επιφωσκουση εις μιαν σαββατων. "*Late after the Sabbath, at the dawning on the first day of the week.*" Matt. xxviii. 1.

Οψε σαββατων is a phrase signifying "a good while after the sabbath-day had expired, at the evening twilight, on our Saturday;" i. e. when the natural night was now far advanced. *Philostratus* uses the same phrase, Οψε Τρωικω, to denote, "*Long after the Trojan [times.]*" This was necessary, to appropriate the ensuing dawn to the *morning*, rather than to the evening. Luke xxiii. 54.—Τη επιφωσκουση, "*at the dawning;*" here the expression is elliptical, put for συν τη έω επιφωσκουση, "*along with the dawning morn;*" corresponding to ύπανγαζουσης έω, ύποφαινουσης έω, ύπο πρωτην έω, &c.

Ημος δ' ουτ' αρ' πω ήως, ει δ' αμφιλυκη νυξ.

"When it was not yet *morn*, but still *twilight night*."

Iliad, VII. 433.

2. *Mark* expresses it differently:

Διαγενομενου σαββατου, λιαν πρωι της μιας σαββατων.

“*After the sabbath-day was thoroughly past, very early on the first day of the week.*” Mark xvi. 1, 2.

Here the phrase, *διαγενομενου σαββατου*, is explanatory of *Matthew's* οψε σαββατων; the particle *δια*, in composition, being *intensive*, or heightening the signification of the simple verb *γινομαι*, as in *διαγινωσκω*, “*to know thoroughly.*” Acts xxiii. 15. *Πρωι* included the whole time of “*the early watch;*” and to mark the *dawn*, Mark adds *λιαν*, “*very,*” which is put elliptically for *εννυχον λιαν*, by Mark himself, i. 35, “*very far in the night.*”

3. *John* expresses the precise time of the *πρωι*, or “*early watch,*” differently from *Mark*:

Τη μια των σαββατων, πρωι, σκοτιας επι ουσης. “*On the first day of the week, early, while it was still dusk,*” John xx. 1. This is a more definite expression than *Mark's*. *Σκοτια* should not be rendered “*dark,*” as in our translation, which is rather the rendering of *σκοτος*, of which *σκοτια* is a diminutive. The whole phrase corresponds to *Homer's*

Πρωι, ὑπ' ηοι, οἱ συν τευχεσι θωρηχθεντες.

“*Early, about morn, they, armed with their weapons.*”

where ὑπ' ηοι seems to be a contraction of ὑποφωσκουσης ἔω, *sublucente Aurora*, as more fully expressed by *Aristotle*, ὑποφωσκουσης ἔω, και ηδη πρωι, “*While morn was dawning from beneath, and it was now early.*”

4. *Luke* expresses it differently from the rest by an elegant and scientific phrase:

Τη μια των σαββατων, ορθρου βαθος. “*On the first day of the week, while the rising [sun] was deep [sunk beneath the horizon.]*” Luke xxiv. 1.

The morning twilight begins as soon as the sun arrives within 18 degrees below the horizon, for then the smallest stars disappear. This phrase also is used by the best classic writers: *Aristophanes*, *Thucydides*, *Aristides*, &c., use it; and *Plato* explains it, Η ου πρωι επι εστιν; πανυ μεν ουν—ορθρος βαθος. “*Is it not yet early?—Surely it is—the rising [sun] is deep.*” *Crito*, p. 32*.

5. The accurate *Mark* alone records the time of the women's

* From this variety of phraseology, yet harmony of time, the reader may judge whether the *Evangelists* were skilled, or not, in the niceties of the *Greek* language, as used by the oldest and purest classic authors.

arrival at the sepulchre, *ανατειλαντος του ηλιου*, “*after sunrise.*” Mark xvi. 2. N. B. The verbs expressing their departure are aorists, *ηλθον*, *ελθουσαι*, &c. signifying the act of “*going* ;” the verbs expressive of arrival are the present tense, *ερχεται*, intimating the act of “*coming.*” Only one or the other of these acts is expressed by the evangelists, and our public translation has unfortunately confounded them together: Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 1; and put “*coming*” for “*going.*”

WEEKS.

This primæval measure of time, instituted as a memorial of the work of creation in six days, and of the ensuing *sabbath*, or day of “*rest,*” Gen. ii. 2, 3, was used by the CREATOR himself, in his denunciation of the deluge, Gen. vii. 8. It was twice employed by *Noah* in the ark, Gen. viii. 10—12; and *Jacob’s* marriage-feast lasted a *week*, Gen. xxix. 7.

Τας δ’ ἐβδομας, ὁ σεμνος ἐβδομαγετας
 Αναξ Ἀπολλων εἰλετ’.

“*The weeks, the venerable author of the week,*
King Apollo appointed.” *Æschylus.*

It was therefore universally observed by *Noah’s* descendants during the prevalence of the *Patriarchal* religion; but when mankind degenerated, and sunk into *idolatry*, the primitive institution was neglected, and at length lost. And the days of the week were dedicated by the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, Syrians,* &c. to the heavenly host, the sun, moon, and planets.

Hence the *Israelites*, during their residence in *Egypt*, became infected with the idolatry of the country, and omitted, either voluntarily, or by compulsion, the observance of the *Sabbath*, until it was revived in the desert, sanctioned by the miracle of the *manna*, which was intermitted on the Sabbath-day, and solemnly re-enacted on mount *Sinai*, and made one of the laws of the Decalogue, and its violation punished with death. Exod. xvi. 23—30; xx. 8; Numb. xv. 35. In order that it might be “*a sign* between God and his people,” Ezek. xx. 20; and a mark of separation from the idolatrous Gentiles, who universally violated it, as we learn from the following exceptions in a curious passage of *Julian* the apostate:—Ποιον εθνος εστι, προς των θεων, εξω του, “*ου προσκυνησεις θεοις ετεροις,*” και του, “*μνησθητι των σαββατων,*” ὁ μη τας αλλας οιεται χρηναι φυλαττει εντολας;” “*What nation is there, by the gods, who do not think,*

that except the first commandment, *Thou shalt not worship other gods*, and the fourth, *Remember the Sabbath*, they ought to observe the other commandments of the decalogue?"

The *Egyptians*, we are told by *Dio Cassius*, led the way in consecrating the days of the week to the seven planets, and they were followed by the *Greeks, Romans, Hindus, Goths, Germans, and Saxons*. And the following *Pythian* oracle, prescribing the worship of these false gods on their respective days, is preserved by *Eusebius* :—

Κληζειν Ἑρμην, ἠδ' Ἡελιον κατα ταυτα,
 Ἡμερη Ἡελιου, Μηνην δ' ὅτε της δε παρειη
 Ἡμερη, ἠδε Κρονον, ἠδ' εζειης Αφροδιτην.

“ Invoke *Mercury* ; and the *Sun* in like manner,
 On *Sunday* ; and the *Moon*, when her day comes ;
 And *Saturn* also ; and *Venus*, in succession.”

Hence the Gentiles dropped the observance of a seventh day of rest. The Greeks observed the Decads, or tenth days ; the *Romans, Nundinæ*, the ninth days, &c.

Some astronomers and chronologers have imagined that the *week* was a natural measure of time, furnished by the four principal phases or quarters of the moon, which last each about a week ; but it was unquestionably derived from the divine institution at the creation, handed down by primitive tradition. This is evident from the word *Sabbat*, or *Sabbata*, denoting a *week* among the *Syrians, Arabians, Christian Persians, and Ethiopians* ; as in the following ancient *Syriac* calendar, expressed in the *Chaldee* alphabet* :—

חד־שבתא	-	One of the Sabbath, or Week	-	Sunday.
תרו־שבתא	-	Two of the Sabbath	- - -	Monday.
תלת־שבתא	-	Three of the Sabbath	- - -	Tuesday.
ארבעא־שבתא	-	Four of the Sabbath	- - -	Wednesday.
חמשא־שבתא	-	Five of the Sabbath	- - -	Thursday.
ערי־שבתא	-	Eve of the Sabbath	- - -	Friday.
שבתא	-	The Sabbath	- - - - -	Saturday.

* This calendar is taken from *Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament*, translated by *Marsh*, Vol. I. p. 136.

The derivation of the *Syriac* numerals from the *Hebrew* is obvious : *חד*, is from the *Hebrew*, *אחד*, *one*, by elision of the first letter ; *תרו*, from the *Hebrew*, *שנים*, *two* ; by substitution of kindred letters, or letters of the same organ ; *תלת* from *שלוש*, *three*, by the same ; *ארבעא*, from *ארבע*, *four*, by affixing the emphatic article *א* ; which corresponds to the prefix *ה*, *the*, in *Hebrew* ; *חמשא*, from *חמש*, *five*, by the

The high antiquity of this calendar is evinced by the use of the cardinal numbers, *one, two, three, &c.* instead of the ordinals, *first, second, third, &c.* following the Hebrew idiom; as in the account of the creation, where we read in the original, “*One day,*” which the Septuagint retains, calling it, ἡμέρα μία. It is remarkable that all the evangelists follow the *Syriac* calendar, both in the word σαββατα, used for “*a week,*” and also in retaining the cardinal number μία σαββατων, “*one of the week,*” to express the day of the resurrection. Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1. Afterwards *Mark* adopts the usual phrase, πρώτη σαββατων, “*the first of the week,*” Mark xvi. 9; where he uses the singular σαββατον for *a week*; and so does *Luke*, as Νηστευω δις του σαββατου, “*I fast twice in the week.*” Luke xviii. 12.

The *Syriac* name for Friday, or the sixth day of the week, is also adopted by *Mark*, who renders it προσαββατον, “*sabbath- eve,*” xv. 42; corresponding to παρασκευη, “*preparation-day;*” Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31. And *Josephus* also conforms to this usage, except that he uses σαββατα, in the singular sense, for the *sabbath-day*, in his account of a decree of *Augustus*, exempting the Jews of *Asia* and *Cyrene* from secular services, εν σαββασι, η τη προ ταυτης παρασκευη, απο της ωρας εννατης. “*On the sabbath-day, or on the preparation-day before it, from the ninth hour.*” Antiq. 16, 7, 2. The first three evangelists also use the plural σαββατα, to denote the *sabbath-day*; Matt. xii. 5—11; Mark i. 21; and ii. 23; Luke iv. 16, &c. Whereas *John*, to avoid ambiguity, appropriates the singular σαββατον to the *sabbath-day*, and the plural σαββατα to *the week*; John v. 9—16; vii. 22, &c. xx. 1.

And here we may incidentally remark, that there is not a more prolific source of confusion and embarrassment in Ancient Chronology, than the substitution of the cardinal numbers, *one, two, three,* for the ordinals, *first, second, third, &c.* which frequently occurs in the sacred and profane historians. Thus *Noah* was *six hundred* years old when the deluge began, Gen. vii. 6; and

same; ער, from ערב, *evening*, by elision of the last letter; and שבתא, from השבת, *the sabbath, or rest.*

The divinities in the *Saxon* mythology, from which our names of the days of the week are derived, were the *Sun*; the *Moon*; *Tuisco*, a warlike divinity; *Odin*, or *Woden*, who was the same as the *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, of the *Grecians* and *Egyptians*, and the *Budha* of the *Hindus*; *Thor*, the *Thunderer*, or *Jove*; *Freyja*, his wife; and *Sater*, *Saturn*.

presently after, in his *six hundredth* year : confounding complete and current years. And the dispute whether A.D. 1800, or A.D. 1801, was the first of the nineteenth century, should be decided in favour of the latter ; the former being in reality the last of the eighteenth century ; which is usually, but improperly called, the year *one thousand eight hundred*, complete ; whereas it is really the *one thousandth, eight hundredth* ; as in Latin, Anno Domini, *Millesimo, Octingentesimo*.

There is also another and a prevailing error, arising from mistranslation of the current phrases, μεθ' ἡμερας οκτω, μετα τρεις ἡμερας, &c. usually rendered, “ *after eight days,*” “ *after three days,*” &c. but which ought to be rendered “ *eight days after,*” “ *three days after,*” as in other places, μετα τινας ἡμερας, μετ' ου πολλας ἡμερας, which are correctly rendered “ *some days after,*” “ *not many days after,*” in our English Bible, Acts xv. 36 ; Luke xv. 13, the extreme days being included. Such phrases seem to be elliptical, and the ellipsis is supplied, Luke ix. 28, speaking of our Lord's transfiguration, μετα τους λογους τουτους, ὡσει ἡμεραι οκτω. *After* these sayings, about “ *eight days,*” or rather about the *eighth* day, counted inclusively ; for in the parallel passages, Matt. xvii. 1 ; Mark ix. 2 ; there are only “ *six days,*” counted exclusively, or omitting the extremes.

Thus, circumcision is prescribed, Gen. xvii. 11, when the child is “ *eight days old ;*” but in Levit. xxii. 3. “ *on the eighth day.*” And JESUS accordingly was circumcised, ὅτε ἐπλησθησαν ἡμεραι οκτω, “ *when eight days were accomplished,*” Luke ii. 21 ; whereas, *John* the Baptist, τη ογδοη ἡμερα, “ *on the eighth day.*” And the last, which was the constant usage, explains the meaning of the former.

And this critically reconciles our Lord's resurrection, μετα τρεις ἡμερας, “ *three days after,*” according to Matt. xxvii. 63 ; Mark viii. 31 ; with his resurrection, τη τριτη ἡμερα, “ *on the third day,*” according to Matt. xvi. 21 ; Luke ix. 22 ; and according to fact : for our Lord was crucified on Good Friday, about the *third* hour ; and he rose before sunrise, πρωι, *early*, on Sunday ; so that the interval, though extending through three calendar days current, did not in reality, amount to two entire days, or forty-eight hours.

This phraseology is frequent among the most correct classic writers : *Josephus* uses the phrase μετα ετη δυο, “ *two years after.*” Bell. Jud. 1, 13, 1, as equivalent to δευτερω ετει, “ *in the second year,*” relating the same transaction, Ant. 14, 13, 3.

Theophrastus says of the *Egyptian* thorn, ὅταν δε κοπη, μετα τριτον ετος, ευθεις αναβεβλαστηκεν, “when it is cut down, it sprouts again *the third year after* ;” which *Pliny*, N. H. 13, 9, renders, “*cæsa, anno tertio* resurgit.”

Demosthenes uses the phrase μεθ' ἡμερας δυο, in the sense of “*two days after*.” *Mid.*

Cicero also adopts it: speaking to *Antony* of the Ides of March, on which *Cæsar* was assassinated, he says: Neque te illo die, neque postero vidi—*post diem tertium* veni in Ædem Telluris. “I neither saw you *that day* [the Ides of *March*, in the Senate] nor *the next*, [the 17th before the Calends of *April*]—*The third day after* [the 16th before the Calends of *April*] I came into the temple of *Tellus*.” *Philippic. 2, 35.*

Some learned Commentators, *Beza, Grotius, Campbell, Newcome*, render such phrases, “*within eight days*,” “*within three days* ;” which certainly conveys the meaning, but not the literal translation, of the preposition μετα, “*after*.”

In memory of the primæval week of Creation, revived among the Jews, after their departure from *Egypt*, their principal festivals, the *Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles*, lasted a week each. And it is remarkable, that from the earliest times, sacrifices were offered by *sevens*. Thus, in the patriarch *Job*'s days, “*seven bullocks and seven rams* were offered up for a burnt offering” of atonement, by the Divine command. *Job* xlii. 8.—The *Chaldean* diviner, *Balaam*, built *seven* altars, and prepared *seven bullocks and seven rams*. *Numb.* xxiii. 1. And the *Cumæan* Sibyl, who came from *Chaldea, or Babylonia*, gives the same directions to *Æneas*, that *Balaam* did to *Balak* :

Nunc grege de intacto, septem mactare juvencos
Præstiterit, totidem lectas, de more, bidentes.

“It will be better now to sacrifice seven bullocks,
And seven sheep, culled from the spotless herd,
According to custom.” *ÆN.* vi. 38.

And when the Ark was brought home by *David*, the Levites offered *seven bullocks and seven rams*. 1 *Chron.* xv. 26. And hence we may account for the peculiar sanctity of the seventh day, among the older Heathen writers, even after the institution of the Sabbath fell into disuse, and was lost among them. Thus *Hesiod* styles it: Ἐβδομη, ιερον ἡμαρ, “*the seventh, a holy day*.” And *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, speaking of the seventh day, says, ἦν παντες ονομαζουσι. “*Which all name*,” or distinguish: “*but most*,” adds he, “*are ignorant of the reason why*.”

Instead of *Saturday*, the last day of the week, and the patriarchal and Jewish *sabbath*, the Christian world has adopted *Sunday*, the first day of the week, in memory of the *new creation*, or resurrection of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, in a glorified body, on that day; which was also the day on which he made his successive manifestations of himself to his disciples after his resurrection, and the day of the *first-fruits* of the Christian Church on *Whitsunday*, thence consecrated to religious worship, and called *the Lord's day* in the Apostolic age; Acts ii. 41; xx. 7; 1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 20; xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10; consequently, the change must have been sanctioned and authorized by HIM, who was "LORD *even of the Sabbath.*"

Deviating from the usage of both *Jews* and *Christians*, *Mahomet* instituted *Friday* as "the day of the assembly" for public worship, either in memory of his first entry into *Medina* on that day, or because on *Friday* God finished the work of creation, as the Mahometan doctors allege; *Sale's Koran*, chap. LXII. p. 451; or, rather, the artful policy of the Arabian impostor retained the ancient idolatrous usage of his countrymen the *Arabs*, who worshipped the planet *Venus*, which they called *Chobar*, on that day.

MONTHS.

The *Month* is a measure of time originally derived from the *Moon*, Ecclus. xliii. 8., in almost every nation and language. Among the *Hebrews*, *יָרֵחַ*, *Iarah*, signified both the *moon* at full, and the *month*; compare Job xxxi. 26. with xxix. 2. *חֹדֶשׁ*, *Hhadash*, the *moon* at new, and the *month*; compare Numb. x. 10; Psal. lxxxix. 3. with 1 Sam. xx. 5; Ezek. xlvi. 1; Numb. xxviii. 11, &c. Among the Greeks, *Μηνυ*, the *month*, is evidently related to *Μηνη*, the *moon*; and from *Μηνη*, according to *Varro* and *Macrobius*, was derived the Latin *Mensis*, a month. In like manner, the Saxon *Monat*, and our *Month*, are evidently derived from the *Moon*.

The Civil, or Calendar *month*, originally consisted of 30 days; in which time a lunation was supposed to be finished. Thus, during the deluge, *Noah* counted five months equivalent to 150 days, at 30 days to one month. And such was its fixed length among the *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and *Grecians*. Hence *Hesiod* called the last day of the month *τριηκὰδα*, "the thirtieth;" and so did the astronomer *Thales*; and his contemporary, *Cleobulus*, another of the seven sages, put forth a riddle,

representing the year as divided into twelve months, of thirty days and nights each.

Εἰς ὁ πατήρ· παῖδες δὲ δωδεκά· τῶ δὲ ἑκάστῳ
 Παῖδες τρηκόντα, διανδιχα εἶδος ἐχουσαι·
 Αἱ μὲν λευκαὶ εἰσιν ἰδριν, αἱ δ' αὐτὲ μελαιναί·
 Ἀθάνατοι δὲ τε οὐσαι, ἀποφθινυθουσιν ἑκάστοι.

“ The father is one; the sons, twelve; to each belong
 Thirty daughters; half of them white, the other, black:
 And though immortal, yet they perish all.”

And *Tatius*, in his commentary on *Aratus*, reckoned that the full moon fell on the fifteenth day, or middle of the month. *Geminus* also, that great astronomer, about B. C. 240, assigns, as a “proof that the Greeks counted the days accurately according to the moon’s age, that solar eclipses happen on the thirtieth day, when the moon is in conjunction with the sun, and both in the same part of the heavens: and lunar eclipses, on the night, tending to the middle of the month.” See the Original, *Petav*. Vol. III. p. 19.

These instances are sufficient to shew the prevailing opinion among the ancients, that a *lunation*, or *synodical* month, lasted thirty days.

But, afterwards, it was found, by more accurate observations, that the length of a lunation was only $29\frac{1}{2}$ days. Whence the thirtieth day, which *Hesiod* called *ενη*, “old,” was named by *Solon*, *ενη και νεα*, “old and new;” one half of it pertaining to the old month, the other half to the new; and to avoid the fraction, they counted the months alternately, 29 and 30 days.

The months originally had no appropriate names, but were distinguished by their order of succession; the *first* month, the *second* month, &c.: a custom which is still preserved among the *Chinese* and *Japanese*. But in process of time, the months, like the days of the week, came to be designated by the names of tutelar gods, heroes, characters of the seasons, or other local circumstances of different countries, to the great confusion and embarrassment of ancient calendars, when compared together.

The following Table will furnish a comparative view of the correspondences of the months of the principal ancient nations, reduced as nearly as may be to the common standard of the *Julian* year. Assuming the vernal equinox to have happened on March 25, it includes the most eventful period of Grecian History, from the invasion of *Xerxes*, to the conquest of Persia, by *Alexander* the Great.

TABLE I.—ANCIENT MONTHS.

JULIAN.	1. HEBREW.	2. SYRIAN.	3. ATTIC.	4. MACEDON.	5. SYRO-MACED.	6. ROMAN.	7. EGYPTIAN.	8. PERSIAN.	9. ARABIAN.	10. PAPHIAN.	11. HINDU.
March 25.	1. <i>Abib</i> , or <i>Nisan</i> .	<i>Nisan</i> .	Munyehion.	Artemisius.	Xanthicus.	<i>Martius</i> .	Pharmathi.	Aban.	Mucharram.	Autocraticus.	Aswin.
April 25.	2. <i>Zif</i> , or <i>Iar</i> . <i>Aiar</i> .		Thargelion.	Dæsius.	Artemisius.	Aprilis.	Fachon.	Adar.	Saphar.	Demachexarsius.	Cartic.
May 25.	3. <i>Sivan</i> .	<i>Haziran</i> .	Skiraphorion.	Panemus.	Dæsius.	Maius.	Pauni.	Di.	Rabia I.	Plethutatos.	Agrahayan.
June 25.	4. <i>Thamuz</i> .	<i>Tamuz</i> .	Hecatombæon.	Lous.	Panemus.	Junius.	Epiphi.	Behman.	Rabia II.	Archiereus.	Paush.
July 25.	5. <i>Ab</i> .	<i>Ab</i> .	Metageitnion.	Gorpiæus.	Lous.	Quintilis, seu Julius.	Quintilis, seu Mesori.	Espendar.	Jomada I.	Esthius.	Magh.
August 25.	6. <i>Elul</i> .	<i>Ailul</i> .	Bedromion.	Hyperberetæus.	Gorpiæus.	Sextilis, seu Augustus.	Thoth.	Fervardin.	Jomada II.	Romæus.	Phalgun.
Sept. 25.	7. <i>Ethanim</i> , or <i>Tisri</i> .	<i>Teshrin I</i> .	Mæmakterion.	Dius.	Hyperberetæus.	September.	Paophi.	Ardebahesht.	Rajab.	Aphrodisius.	Chaitr.
Oct. 25.	8. <i>Bul</i> , or <i>Marheshvan</i> .	<i>Teshrin II</i> .	Pyanepsion.	Apellæus.	Dius.	October.	Athy.	Chordad.	Shaaban.	Apogonicus.	Vaisach.
Nov. 25.	9. <i>Chisleu</i> .	<i>Cainun I</i> .	Posideon.	Audynæus.	Apellæus.	November.	Choiak.	Tir.	Ramadan.	Ænicus.	Jaishth.
Dec. 25.	10. <i>Tebeth</i> .	<i>Cainun II</i> .	Gamelion.	Peritius.	Audynæus.	December.	Tybi.	Mordad.	Shawal.	Iulus.	Ashar.
Jan. 25.	11. <i>Shebet</i> .	<i>Shebet</i> .	Anthesterion.	Dystrus.	Peritius.	Januarius.	Mechir.	Sharivar.	Dulkaadah.	Casarius.	Shavan.
Feb. 25.	12. <i>Adar</i> .	<i>Adar</i> .	Elaphebolion.	Xanthicus.	Dystrus.	Februarius.	Phamenoth.	Mahr.	Dulhiggish.	Augustus.	Bhadr.

I. HEBREW MONTHS.

The Hebrew months were originally distinguished by their numeral order: thus, the Deluge began in the *second* month, and came to its height in the *seventh* month, at the end of 150 days, Gen. vii. 11—24; viii. 4; and decreased until the *tenth* month, when the tops of the mountains were seen, viii. 5.

Afterwards they acquired distinct names: thus, *Moses* named the *first* month of the year *Abib*, Exod. xii. 2; xiii. 4; signifying "*Green*," from the green ears of corn at that season; for it began about the vernal equinox. The second month was named *Zif*, signifying in Chaldee, "*Glory*," or "*Splendour*;" in which the foundation of *Solomon's* temple was laid, 1 Kings vi. 1. The seventh month was styled *Ethanim*, which is interpreted "*Harvests*," by the Syriac version, 1 Kings viii. 2. The eighth month, *Bul*; from "*the fall*" of the leaf, 1 Kings viii. 2.

Besides these names, given before the *Babylonian* Captivity, there were others after. The first month was also called *Nisan*, signifying "*flight*;" because in that month the *Israelites* were thrust out of Egypt, Ex. xii. 39. The third month, *Sivan*, signifying, "*a bramble*," Esth. iii. 7; Nehem. ii. 1. The sixth month, *Ælul*, signifying "*mourning*;" probably because it was the time of preparation for the great day of atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month, Neh. vi. 15. The ninth month was called *Chisleu*, signifying "*chilled*;" when the cold weather sets in, and fires are lighted, Zech. vii. 1; Jer. xxxvi. 22. The tenth month was called *Tebeth*, signifying "*miry*," Esth. ii. 16. The eleventh, *Shebet*, signifying a "*staff*," or a "*sceptre*," Zech. i. 7. And the twelfth, *Adar*, signifying a "*magnificent mantle*," probably from the profusion of flowers and plants with which the earth then begins to be cloathed in warm climates, Ezra vi. 15; Esther iii. 7. It is said to be a *Syriac* term, 2 Mac. xvi. 36.

II. SYRIAN MONTHS.

These are the same as the Hebrew, and nearly agreed in their names, after the *Babylonian* Captivity.

III. ATTIC MONTHS.

It is of great importance to the right understanding of the

classic authors, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Demosthenes*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, *Arrian*, &c. to determine the true order of the *Attic* months, and their relation to the *Julian*, and to the seasons of the year: and the more so, because the schemes of *Gaza*, *Scaliger*, and *Potter*, are incorrect. The rectified order of *Petavius**, which he verified from the first classical authorities, and *Beveridge* and *Spanheim* adopted, is given in Table I.

The first month of the *Attic* year was called *Hecatombæon*, from the "*Hecatombs*," or multitude of sacrifices then offered. It began about the summer solstice, according to *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Dionysius Hal.* The third month, *Boedromion*, or "the Auxiliary," from the victory of *Theseus* over the *Amazons*, at that season, was about the autumnal equinox; for *Plutarch* relates, that there was an eclipse of the moon on the 15th of *Boedromion*, eleven days before the famous battle of *Arbela*. But this eclipse happened, by calculation, Sept. 20, B.C. 331, afternoon, 10 hours, total. And *Ptolomy* relates, that according to an astronomical observation of *Timochares*, the new moon of *Anthesterion* was on the 22d of January, in the 47th year of the first *Calippic* period. But *Suidas* says, that *Anthesterion* was the eighth month, and derives it from *ανθος*, "*a flower*:" it corresponded, therefore, in part with the Hebrew

* The only difference between the lists of *Scaliger* and *Petavius*, is in the months *Mæmacterion* and *Pyanepsion*; which the former transposes; and this, on the authority of *Plutarch* in *Demosthenes*, who reckons the three months, *Metageitnion*, *Boedromion*, *Pyanepsion*, in succession. And it also must be acknowledged, that at the end of *Ptolomy's Magn. Construc.* *Selden* found a MS. table of *Attic* months, exactly the same as *Scaliger's*. See *Selden*, Tom. 2. p. 1489.

But, on the other hand, *Petavius* remarks, that *Aristotle*, in two places of his *History of Animals*, reckons *Boedromion* and *Mæmacterion* in immediate succession; and proves, that *Mæmacterion* began about the autumnal equinox; and, 2. that although *Plutarch* reckoned *Pyanepsion* after *Boedromion*, yet it was not immediately after; for that there was a month between them, namely, *Mæmacterion*. This may be collected from the context: for *Plutarch* states, that "the affairs of Greece soon went to ruin: they lost the battle of *Crano* in the month *Metageitnion*; a Macedonian Garrison entered *Munychia* in *Boedromion*; and *Demosthenes* lost his life in *Pyanepsion*." But between the last two events intervened the return of *Antipater* and *Craterus* to Athens; the flight of *Demosthenes* and his party before their arrival; the pursuit of the exiles; the apprehension and execution of *Hyperides*, *Aristonicus*, and *Himeræus*; and the detection of *Demosthenes* in the sanctuary of *Neptune* in *Calauria*; all which might well have occupied the intermediate month *Mæmacterion*.

See *Petav.* Vol. I. Lib. 1. Cap. 9, 10, 11. p. 12—15.

Beveridge. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

Spanheim. Chron. Sacr. p. 41.

month *Adar*; of whose name it seems to have been a translation. And these three months determine the whole series.

The Attic month was divided into three decads; the days of the first two decads were reckoned progressively, *πρωτη ἰσταμενου*, “*first of the beginning*,” *δευτερα ἰσταμενου*, “*second of the beginning*,” &c. *πρωτη μεσουντος*, “*first of the middle*,” *δευτερα μεσουντος*, “*second of the middle*,” &c.; but by a singular variation, introduced by *Solon*, the days of the last decad were counted in a retrograde order from the end of the month, the 21st being called *δεκατη φθινοντος*, “*tenth of the waning*,” *εννατη φθινοντος*, “*ninth of the waning*,” &c.: and this mode was adopted also in the *Roman* and *Arabian* calendars.

IV. MACEDONIAN MONTHS.

V. SYRO-MACEDONIAN MONTHS.

These two differ only in the anticipation of a month, earlier in the former than in the latter. The cause of it, we are told by *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, was this: When that prince was going to attack the *Persians* at the river *Granicus*, he was warned that it was unlawful for the *Macedonians* to make war in the month *Dæsius*. In order, therefore, to remove the scruples of his army, with that presence of mind for which he was so remarkable, he immediately ordered that the preceding month, *Artemisius*, should be repeated, and substituted for *Dæsius*; and that *Dæsius* should be postponed till the following month. And in compliment to the Macedonian conqueror, this new order was adopted after the battle of *Arbela*, which decided the fate of the Persian empire.

This change, however, not being universally adopted, was productive of confusion; some reckoning by the new order, others adhering to the old. Thus *Plutarch* makes the month *Lous*, correspond to the Attic *Hecatombæon*; retaining the old; and also *Galen*, *Ptolomy*, &c. Whereas *Josephus* refers the same month, *Lous*, to the fifth Hebrew month *Ab*, which corresponds to *Metageitnion*, the month after *Hecatombæon*: and he uniformly adheres to the *Syro-Macedonian* months throughout his works*; and is followed by *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *Evagrius*, *Bede*, and the ecclesiastical writers in general.

* *Josephus* reckons that

Xanthicus corresponded to the first Hebrew month, *Nisan*. Ant. 1, 5, 3, &c.

VI. ROMAN MONTHS.

In the time of *Romulus*, there were ten months with names, and two without names, in the *Roman Calendar*; of which the first was *Martius*, in honour of the god *Mars*, beginning about the vernal equinox. His successor, *Numa*, named the two intercalary anonymous months, *Januarius*, in honour of *Janus*, the god of time, which he made the first of the year, beginning about the winter solstice; and the second, *Februarius*, from *februo*, to purify; because in that month purifications of the people, and lustrations, were customary.

It is remarkable that the *Roman Calendar* retained the primæval names of the months, longer than any of the Oriental nations, except the *Chinese*: *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*; denoting their numeral places reckoned from the vernal equinox, as in the *Hebrew*.

The Roman Month was divided into three unequal parts, the first days of which were called *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*. The *Calends* were so called from *καλεω*, because the appearance of the new moon was then “called,” or proclaimed, by the public crier, on the first day of the month. The *Nones* were the “ninth” day from the *Ides*; which were so called from *ειδος*, the “appearance” of the full moon. In the four months of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, the *Nones* fell on the seventh day of the month, and consequently the *Ides* on the fifteenth; but in the

Artemisius, to the second, *Iar*. Ant. 8, 3, 1.

Lous, to the fifth, *Ab*. Compare Bell. Jud. 6, 3, 5. with Ant. 10, 8, 5; Jer. lii. 12.

Gorpiæus, to the sixth, *Ælul*. Bell. Jud. 6, 8, 4.

Hyperberetæus, to the seventh, *Tisri*. Ant. 8, 4, 1.

Dius, to the eighth, *Marheshvan*. Ant. 1, 3, 3.

Appellæus, to the ninth, *Chasleu*, or *Chisleu*. Ant. 11, 5, 4; 12, 7, 6.

Dystrus, to the last, *Adar*. Ant. 4, 8, 49.

And the venerable *Bede* thus reduces the *Syro-Macedonian* months, to the *Julian*; with a slight corruption of their names:

“Vocatur autem apud eos, ipse December *Apileos*,
Januarius Exdynius, *Februarius Perithius*,
Martius Distrius, *Aprilis Xanthicus*, *Maius*
Artemiseas, *Junius Deseos*, *Julius Panemos*,
Augustus Loos, *September Gorpieos*,
October Hyperberetæos, *November Dios*.”

This passage, taken from a very ancient MS. of *Bede's* works, in the *Cotton* library, rectifies a gross adulteration of his printed text, Cap. 12, in the list there given.

See *Selden*, Tom. 2. p. 1489.

rest of the months, the *Nones* fell on the fifth, and consequently the *Ides* on the thirteenth.

All the days of the Roman Month were counted in a retrograde order, according to their distance from the ensuing division: thus, the second of *January* was the fourth of, or before, the *Nones*; but the second of *March*, the sixth before the *Nones*; the fourteenth of *January* was the nineteenth before the Calends of *February*; but the fourteenth of *March*, the day before the *Ides*. But from the sixteenth, to the end, the reckoning was the same in all: thus, the twenty-fifth in every month, was the eighth of the Calends of the ensuing month.

VII. EGYPTIAN MONTHS.

The first month in the Egyptian Calendar, *Thoth*, was consecrated to the *Dog-star*, and it began with the *dog-days*, at the Heliacal rising of *Canicula*, about the summer solstice. According to *Josephus*, *Pharmuthi* corresponded to *Nisan*, Ant. 2, 14, 6; and according to *Eutychius*, at the time of the deluge, *Thoth* corresponded to the sixth Hebrew month, *Ælul*. Annal. p. 40.

VIII. PERSIAN MONTHS.

The *Persian* months were originally the same as the *Egyptian*; and the first month, *Fervardin*, corresponded to the Egyptian *Thoth*.

IX. ARABIAN MONTHS.

The *Arabian* months seem to have originally corresponded to the *Hebrew*; and the first, *Muharram*, to have begun about the vernal equinox: for the first, *Muharram*, and the seventh, *Rajab*, were counted sacred, as among the Hebrews; and the latter was set apart by the Pagan Arabs, before *Mahomet*, for their solemn fast; like the Hebrew *Tisri*, on the tenth of which, was the great day of atonement. But *Mahomet* transferred the fast from the seventh, to the ninth month, *Ramadan*; which had been formerly devoted to eating and drinking to excess; like the Roman *December*. See *Sale's Koran*, Prelim. Disc. p. 148.

X. PAPHIAN MONTHS.

The *Paphian*, or *Cyprian* months, corresponded to the *Macedonian*, and *Syro-Macedonian*; and the month *Dius*, of the former, *Hyperberetæus*, of the latter, and Paphian *Aphrodisius*,

began at the autumnal equinox. According to *Epiphanius*, "CHRIST was baptized on the 16th of *Apogonicus*, among the *Paphians*, six days before the Ides of *November*." But, at Christ's birth, the autumnal equinox happened about Sept. 24, when the 16th of *Apogonicus* was the eighth of November, or the sixth of the Ides. *Bevereg*. Lib. I. cap. 13. p. 83.

XI. HINDU MONTHS.

The riddle of *Cleobulus*, noticed in the *Attic* month, is to be found in the emblematical astronomy of the *Hindus*. According to which, the god *Soma*, or *Lunus*, married twelve celestial nymphs, presiding over the constellations of the Zodiac; on whom he begot twelve *Genii*, or months, who were named after their respective mothers. The thirty *Tithis*, or days of the month, are represented as so many beautiful nymphs. On the *Maha Cala*, or day of the conjunction, they perform obsequies to the *Pitris*, or ancient "fathers" of mankind; to whom the darker fortnight is dedicated. See *Asiat. Researches*, Vol. II. p. 227—295; Vol. III. p. 522.

YEARS.

The primitive sacred year originally consisted of twelve months of 30 days each, or 360 days. This was in use before the deluge; as appears from *Noah's* reckoning five months, or 150 days, from the seventeenth day of the second month, to the seventeenth day of the seventh month; as expressing the time of the rising of the waters; and seven months and ten days more, till the waters were dried up, and *Noah* and his family left the ark, after a residence therein of 370 days, or a year and ten days, till the seven-and-twentieth day of the second month of the ensuing year. Gen. vii. and viii.

This was also the original *Chaldean* year; for *Berosus*, in his History of the Antediluvian Kings of *Babylonia*, counted their reigns by *Sari*, or decads of years; and a *Sarus*, as *Alexander Polyhistor* related (apud *Syncell*. p. 32.) was 3600 days; or ten years, consisting each of 360 days.

After the deluge, this primitive form was handed down by *Noah* and his descendants, to the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*; as is evident from the testimonies of the best and most ancient writers and historians.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that at the sepulchre of *Osiris*, the Egyptian priests appointed to bewail his death, filled 360 milk-bowls every day, to denote the number of days in the primitive *Egyptian* year, used in his reign. And he represents an ancient custom at *Acanthe*, near *Memphis*, on the Libyan side of the *Nile*, for 360 priests to fetch water every day from the *Nile*, and pour it into a vessel full of holes, to represent the 360 days in continual flux, or succession. *Diod. Lib. I. p. 26, 109.*

The *Egyptians* attributed the invention of their year to the Phœnician *Taaut*, *Thoth*, or *Hermes*, the son of *Misraim*, who went with the first colony into *Egypt*, in the reign of *Uranus*, who lived in *Phœnicia*, soon after the dispersion, and was a great astronomer, or a diligent observer of the risings and settings of the stars; who discovered the year from the motion of the sun, and the months from the course of the moon, and was deified after his death. *Diod. Lib. III.*

Diodorus Siculus, *Plutarch*, and *Q. Curtius*, relate that the *Persian* kings had 360 concubines, one for each day of the year; who went each in their turns to the king *in the evening*, and returned in the morning into the house of the women; as we learn from *Herod. Lib. III. 69*; and from *Scripture, Esth. ii. 12—15.*

Harpocraton, *Suidas*, and *Julius Pollux* relate, that in the original constitution of *Athens*, the people were divided into four tribes, representing the four seasons of the year; and these tribes into twelve wards, corresponding to the twelve months; and each ward consisted of thirty families, answering to the thirty days of each month; in all 360, as many as the days of the year. *Suidas*, voce *Γεννηται* et *Γεννηται*. This year, therefore, was introduced into *Greece* many ages before the arrival of *Cecrops* in *Attica*, from *Sais* in *Egypt*; probably by the first settlers, the *Javanians*, or descendants of *Japheth*; or by the old *Pelasgi*, from *Phœnicia*.

The first *Latin* and *Roman* year consisted of 360 days, as we learn from *Plutarch*; who says, in his life of *Numa*, that “in the reign of *Romulus*, the months were very irregular, some not being reckoned *twenty* days, others had *thirty-five* days, and others, more: the *Latins* not then understanding the difference between the *solar* and *lunar* year; but only providing for this one point, that the year should contain 360 days.”

The *Chinese* year originally consisted of 360 days; as did

also the *Mexican*, which they divided into eighteen months of 20 days each. Scaliger de emend. temp. p. 225.

From this detail, it is evident that the primitive year every where throughout the ancient world, consisted only of 360 days, for many ages after the deluge.

II. The beginning of the year was various among different nations: the ancient *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and *Syrians*, began their year about the vernal equinox; and the *Chinese* in the East, and *Latins* and *Romans* in the West, originally followed the same usage. The *Egyptians*, and from them the *Jews*, began their Civil year about the autumnal equinox. The *Athenians* and *Greeks* in general began theirs about the summer solstice; and the *Chinese*, and the *Romans* after *Numa's* correction, about the winter solstice.

At which of these, the primæval year, instituted at the Creation, began, has been long contested among Astronomers and Chronologers. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, *Cyril*, *Augustine*, *Abulfaragi*, *Kepler*, *Capellus*, *Simpson*, *Lange*, and *Jackson*, contend for the vernal equinox; and *Josephus*, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Bedford*, *Kennedy*, &c. for the autumnal. The weight of ancient authorities, and also of arguments, seems to preponderate in favour of the former opinion.

I. All the ancient nations, except the *Egyptians*, began their Civil year about the vernal equinox: but the deviation of the *Egyptians* from the general usage, may easily be accounted for, from a local circumstance peculiar to their country; namely, that the annual inundation of the *Nile* rises to its greatest height at the autumnal equinox. According to *Herodotus*, B. 2, 19. "The *Nile* begins to increase about the summer solstice, and continues to rise for a hundred days; and then decreases for the same time, and continues low all the winter, until the return of the summer solstice." *Diodorus*, B. 1, 3. says, "Its inundation begins at the summer solstice, and increases till the autumnal equinox."—And this is confirmed by the reports of modern travellers: According to *Pococke*, Vol. i. p. 256, the river began to increase at *Cairo*, in 1714, June 30; in 1715, July 1; in 1738, June 20; "And so precisely is the stupendous operation of its inundation calculated," says *Bruce*, Vol. iv. p. 359, "that on the 25th of September, only three days after the autumnal equinox, the *Nile* is generally found at *Cairo*, to be at its highest; and begins to diminish every day after."—*Moses*, therefore, by bring-

ing back the Sacred or Ecclesiastical year to the vernal equinox, while the *Israelites* still retained the Egyptian Civil year, which began at the autumnal equinox, only retrieved the primæval year, as well as the primæval Sabbath; which had been both disused and lost among the *Israelites* during their *Egyptian* bondage.

2. *Josephus*, the only ancient authority of any weight, on the other side, seems to be inconsistent with himself, in supposing that the deluge began in the second civil month, *Dius*, or *Marheshvan*, rather than in the second sacred month; Ant. 1, 2, 3. Because *Moses*, throughout the Pentateuch, uniformly adopts the sacred year; and fixed its first month by an indelible and unequivocal character, calling it *Abib*, as ushering in the season of "green" corn. And as *Josephus* calls the second month elsewhere *Artemisius*, or *Iar*, in conformity with Scripture, there is no reason why he should deviate from the same usage in the case of the deluge.

3. To the authority of *Josephus*, we may oppose that of the great Jewish antiquary, *Philo*, in the generation before him; who thus beautifully accounts for the institution of the sacred year by *Moses*. De Septenar. et Fest. p. 1190.

"This month, *Abib*, being the seventh in number and order according to the sun's course [or civil year, reckoned from the autumnal equinox] is virtually the first, and is therefore called "the first month," in the sacred books. And the reason, I think, is this: because *the vernal equinox is the image and representative of the original epoch of the creation of the world*. Thereby GOD notified the *Spring*, in which all things bloom and blossom, to be an annual memorial of the world's creation. Wherefore this month is properly called the first in the Law, *as being the image of the first original month*, stamp'd upon it, as it were, by that archetypal seal."

4. *Virgil* also, that profound Antiquary, gives some powerful physical arguments in favour of the creation of the world in *Spring*: Georg. 2, 332.

"Inque *novos soles* audent se germina tutò
Credere, &c.

"The springing *grass* to trust *this season* dares,
No tender *vine* the gathering tempest fears,
By the bleak *North*, or roaring *Southwind* roll'd;
But spreads her leaves, and bids her germs unfold.

Such were the days, the seasons were the same,
 When first arose this world's all-beauteous frame ;
 The sky was cloudless, balmy was the air,
 And *Spring's* mild influence made young Nature fair ;
 And *Cattle* first o'er new-born pastures spread,
 And *Man*, an iron race, uprear'd his hardy head ;
 When *Beasts* through pathless brakes began to prowl,
 And glittering *Stars* through heaven's blue concave roll.
 Nor could this *infant world* sustain the extremes
 Of piercing *Winter*, and the *dog-days'* beams,
 Did not kind HEAVEN, the fierce excess between,
 Bid gentler *Spring's* soft season intervene."

PITT.

5. The first sacrifice on record seems to decide the question. The time of the sacrifice of *Cain* and *Abel*, evidently appears to have been *Spring* ; when *Cain*, who was a "tiller of the ground," brought the first fruits of his tillage, or a sheaf of new corn ; and *Abel*, who was "a feeder of sheep," "the firstlings of his flock," lambs : and this was done **מִקֵּץ יָמִים**, "*at the end of days*," or "*at the end of the year* ;" which is the correct meaning of the phrase* ; and not the indefinite expression, "*in process of time*," as in our public translation of Gen. iv. 3. It is a remarkable proof of the accuracy of *Moses*, and a confirmation of this explanation, that he expresses the end of the *civil* year, or "*ingathering* of the harvest," by different phrases, **בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה** "*at the going out of the year*," Exod. xxiii. 16 ; and **תְּקוּפֹת הַשָּׁנָה**

* The word **יָמִים**, "*days*," is frequently rendered "*a year*," or "*years*," in the sense of **שָׁנָה**, *a year* ; signifying an *annual* system of days. Thus, "*David* abode in the country of the Philistines *a year* and four months." 1 Sam. xxvii. 7 ; where our translation renders it "*a full year* and four months." Again, "*at the end of two years*, *Pharaoh* dreamed, &c." Gen. xli. 1 ; where our translation renders, "*at the end of two full years*."—" *Elkanah* went up out of his city to sacrifice unto THE LORD in *Shiloh*, **יָמִים בְּיָמִים**, "*year by year*," or "*yearly*," as our translation renders the phrase. 1 Sam. i. 3. And he did so, **שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה**, "*year by year*." 1 Sam. i. 7. Whence, **זֶבַח יָמִים**, is justly rendered, "*the yearly sacrifice*." 1 Sam. ii. 19. And the phrase in question is more fully expressed and explained by **מִקֵּץ יָמִים לְיָמִים**, "*from year's end to year's [end]*," or "*at every year's end*," as it is rendered in our translation. 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

And this will enable us to correct some passages of our public translation. The same phrase should be rendered, "*And it came to pass, at the end of the year*, that the brook dried up," because it ceased to rain in *Spring*. 1 Kings xvii. 7. The phrase **יָמִים אַחֲרֵים** should be rendered "*one year*," Gen. xxvii. 44 ; xxix. 20 ; instead of "*a few days*." And the phrase **יָמִים אֵו עֶשְׂרִים** should be rendered "*a year, or ten [months]*." Gen. xxiv. 55. For surely it would be idle in *Rebecca's* friends to ask a respite for her departure to *Canaan* with *Abraham's* steward, for "*a few days, at the least ten*," with our translation.

“at the revolution of the year,” Exod. xxxiv. 22 ; as those phrases may more critically be rendered.

III. But in process of time, it was found that the primæval year of 360 days was shorter than the tropical year ; and the first discovery was, that it was deficient five entire days, which therefore it was necessary to intercalate, in order to keep up the correspondence of the civil year to the stated seasons of the principal festivals.

How early this discovery and intercalation was made is no where recorded. It might have been known and practised before the deluge. The apocryphal book of *Enoch*, which probably was as old as the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch, stated that “the archangel *Ariel*, president of the stars, discovered the nature of the month and of the year to *Enoch*, in the 165th year of his age, and year of the world 1286.” And it is remarkable, that *Enoch’s* age at his translation, 365 years, expressed the number of entire days in a tropical year.

This knowledge might have been handed down to *Noah* and his descendants ; and that it was early communicated indeed to the primitive *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Chinese*, we learn from ancient tradition.

1. *Plutarch* de Isid. et Osir. p. 355, states, from an old mythological tradition among the Egyptians, that the five supernumerary days of the year were discovered by the second *Hermes*, the secretary and chief counsellor of *Osiris*, or *Menes*, the first king of Egypt, whose reign, according to the ensuing rectification of Egyptian Chronology, commenced about B.C. 2412 ; and that these days were dedicated to *Osiris* himself, *Isis*, his wife, *Horus*, or *Apollo*, his son, *Typhon*, his brother, and *Nephthe*, or *Venus*. And *Syncellus*, Chronograph. p. 123, further relates, that these five days were inserted in the Egyptian Calendar during the reign of *Assis*, or *Asith*, the last of the Shepherd kings, which began about B.C. 1948. *Herodotus* also ascribes this discovery to the Egyptians, and says, that “by inserting them at the end of their civil year of 360 days, they rendered the revolution of time equable and constant ;” B. 2. or brought their Civil year to correspond with the Solar or Tropical. And *Diodorus Siculus* mentions an ancient king, *Osymandes*, in whose magnificent sepulchre at *Thebes* there was a circle of gold, a cubit thick, [or rather, broad] and 365 cubits in circumference, which was divided into so many parts, or compartments, representing the

days of the year; and in each division was marked the Heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and the astrological observations deduced from them. This circle, or zodiac, is reported to have remained till the conquest of Egypt by *Cambyses*, who carried it away to Persia. From the whole of this description of the sepulchre, in *Diodorus*, taken from *Hecateus*, who wrote an Egyptian history about B. C. 300, *Jackson* has abundantly proved, that it could have belonged to no other than the famous *Sesostris*, under the title of *Osymandes*, who began to reign about B. C. 1308. See *Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 396—402.

2. The most ancient and authentic of the Chinese annals, *Xu-kim*, relates, that the emperor *Yao*, or *Yau*, in the 70th year of his reign, B. C. 2269, by the assistance of two skilful astronomers, *Hi* and *Ho*, reformed the Chinese Calendar, and adjusted the lunar to the solar year of 365 days, by the intercalation of seven months in the course of 19 years. *Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 66.

3. These *Egyptian* and *Chinese* accounts tend strongly to corroborate the *Babylonian* or *Chaldean* astronomical observations of the risings and settings of the stars, reaching back from *Alexander's* capture of Babylon, B. C. 330, for 1903 years, which were sent to *Aristotle* by his relation *Callisthenes*, who attended *Alexander* on that expedition, according to *Porphry*. This series of observations, therefore, began B. C. 2233, about the accession of *Belus* II. who repaired the primitive tower of Babel, and built an observatory thereon. It therefore is more than probable, that the length of the solar year, 365 entire days, was known so early, at least, to the *Chaldeans*, if it did not originate from them to the neighbouring nations.

And this is confirmed by two remarkable circumstances: 1. That the five supernumerary days were intercalated alike by the *Chaldeans*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, *Romans*, and even *Mexicans*, at the end of their civil year; and 2. That they were celebrated among all these nations with great mirth and feasting. Such were the *Σακεα*, or *Σακεαι ἡμέραι*, among the *Babylonians*, or “*days of ebriety*,” from the Persic *Sakia*, “*compotatio*,” or the Hebrew *Sakah*, “*bibit*,” during which, according to sacred and profane history, *Babylon* was surprised and taken by *Cyrus*, as foretold by *Jeremiah*, xxv. 26; li. 39—57; and recorded by *Herodotus*, B. 1; and *Xenophon*, *Cyropæd.* B. 7. These circumstances evidently indicate a common origin.

4. From the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*, the knowledge of the

five supernumerary days of the primitive year, we may presume, was early propagated among the *Hebrews* and *Israelites*. *Abraham* was reckoned a skilful astronomer by *Berosus*: and he visited *Egypt* about 29 years before the reign of *Assis*, when these five days were inserted in the *Egyptian* Calendar, and might therefore have imparted this discovery to the *Egyptians*, or learned it from them. And *Moses*, afterwards, “who was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*,” (Acts vii. 22.) we may be assured, was not deficient in this respect. Indeed, his reformation of the calendar, and revival of the sacred year, which began about the vernal equinox; the institution of the anniversary feast of the passover, by a perpetual law, to be celebrated “on the 14th day of the first month, at even,” or about the full moon, which fell *upon*, or *next after*, the day of the vernal equinox, Exod. xii. 6—27, required no superficial knowledge of the revolutions of the sun and moon.

IV. By repeated observations, it was at length found, that the solar or tropical year exceeded 365 days by about six hours, or quarter of a day. The *Egyptian* priests of *Thebes* claimed the merit of this further discovery also, according to *Diodorus*, and even so early as the time of the second *Hermes*, according to *Strabo*. Still, however, they never introduced this fractional excess into their civil year, because they held all intercalations to be unlucky; and their priests were bound by oath not to intercalate either *month* or *day* which they might change into a festival.

Hence this redundancy was confined to the priests and to the astronomers among the *Egyptians*, nor was it communicated to the *Greeks* until long after its discovery. *Herodotus*, who travelled into *Egypt*, was ignorant of it. *Plato* and *Eudoxus*, who resided a long time there, afterwards learned it, as a great mystery, from the priests of *Heliopolis* and *Memphis*, and imported it into *Greece*, and thereby introduced the intercalation of an entire day every fourth year, when the *Olympic* games were celebrated.

The astronomical skill of the ancient *Egyptians* appears conspicuously in their celebrated cycle of 25 years, for adjusting the lunar and solar motions together, accommodated to their civil year of 365 days; which was more exact than the cycle of 19 years accommodated to the Julian year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. For 25 *Egyptian* years contain 9125 days, which exceed 309 luna-

tions, amounting to 9124 days, 22 hours, 50 minutes, and 50 seconds, according to *Mayer's* tables*, by only 1 hour, 9 min. 10 sec.; whereas, 19 Julian years, containing 6939 days, 14 hours, 30 min. 3 sec. fall short of 235 lunations, amounting to 6939 days, 16 hours, 31 min. 16 sec. by 2 hours, 1 min. 13 sec. This cycle of 25 years they represented in their symbolical manner, by the fourth part of their *aroura*, a measure of ground containing 100 cubits square, according to the Egyptian grammarian *Horapollo*, who flourished about A.D. 380.

Their next and most celebrated cycle for adjusting the civil year to the solar, was the *Sothiacal* or *Canicular* period of 1460 solar years, equal to 1461 Egyptian. For since the deficiency of the Egyptian year of 365 days was one day every 4 years, so in $4 \times 365 = 1460$ years, it would amount to an entire year. Consequently, in the course of this period, the beginning of the Egyptian year, or the first day of the first month *Thoth*, shifted its place backwards through all the seasons, until it came round again to the same place. And to this probably the Egyptian priests mysteriously alluded, when they told *Herodotus*, "that from the reign of their first king *Menes*, to *Sethon*, priest of Vulcan, the sun had four times altered his course; that *it had twice risen where it now sets, and had twice set where it now rises*, and this without producing any change in Egypt; that the productions of the earth had been the same, and that there had not been more disease or mortality than usual. *Herodot.* B. ii. 142. But according to the ensuing rectification of Egyptian chronology, *Menes* began to reign about B.C. 2412, and *Sethon*, B.C. 713. The interval, therefore, of 1700 years included more than the *Sothiacal* period, and therefore, in the course of it, the sun rose twice, and set twice, in the same degrees of the ecliptic. Thus the relation of the priests was strictly conformable to astronomy, a mere natural occurrence, as they justly represented it, and neither a "falsehood," a "dream," nor a "fable," as it has been idly taxed even by chronologers †.

The *Sothiacal* period was so denominated from *Sothis*, the Egyptian name of the Dog-star, and was supposed to have com-

* See Tables V. VI.

† *Scaliger* thus reprobates it: "Missa igitur illa mendacia et somnia Ægyptiorum faciamus." De emend. Temp. p. 198. *Stillingfleet*:—"That Egyptian fable in *Herodotus*," &c. Orig. Sacr. p. 90. And *Larcher*:—"Quant à moi, je les regarde comme une fable grossiere, imaginée par des gens fort ignorans." *Herodot.* tom. ii. p. 56. Not. Edit. 1.

menced when its Heliacal rising coincided with the summer solstice. The learned *Censorinus* says, that the year A.D. 238, in which he wrote his book *De die natali*, was the hundredth year of the current period; which began, therefore, A.D. 138, and consequently the preceding period; $1460 - \text{A.D. } 138 = \text{B.C. } 1322$. But in this year the Dog-star rose heliacally on the 20th of July, according to *Censorinus* and *Petavius*; and this was also the solstitial day, according to *Petavius*; or rather the 22d of July, taking into computation the precession of the equinoxes, according to *Jackson*; so that both very nearly coincided. See *Jackson*, Vol. ii. p. 7, 75.

It is a curious circumstance, that the Egyptian *Sothiacal* period, and the Chaldean *Nabonassarian*, both consisting of 1460 years of 365 days, though they differed in the precise time of their introduction, critically synchronized in the beginnings of their correspondent years. For the Era of *Nabonassar*, beginning with his reign at Babylon, Feb. 26, B.C. 747, was the 120th year of the Period, which commenced 30 days earlier, March 28, B.C. 867, when the new moon fell on the day of the vernal equinox*. But the same year B.C. 747, was the 576th year of the *Sothiacal* period, commencing July 20, B.C. 1322, or 1323; during which interval, the *Thoth*, or beginning of the year, had regressed 144 days, (at the rate of a day in every four years) which, counted backwards from July 20, fell on Feb. 26, B.C. 747, also. This indisputably proves a common origin of the *Chaldean* and *Egyptian* astronomy. See *Jackson*, Vol. ii. p. 76.

There is also a remarkable analogy in the construction of those vast astronomical cycles, on which the *Chaldeans*, *Hindus*, and *Egyptians*, founded their pretensions to an antiquity far beyond the creation of the world, as warranted by the most sober and correct records of sacred and profane history, and which evidently were computed backwards, at later periods, from existing *data* or elements.

1. A *Chaldean* period of 432,000 years is mentioned by *Syn-cellus*, p. 30, as including the reigns of their first kings; and this is also supposed to be the length of the *Cali yuga*, or last of the four Indian ages of the world, beginning with the deluge, B. C. 3102, according to the Brahmins of *Hindustan*. But this period is evidently produced by the multiplication of the two fac-

* See the succeeding article of the *Era of Nabonassar*.

tors, 18 and 24,000, into each other; of which 18 was the Chaldean *Saros*, or *Plinian* period of the lunar inequalities, which is performed in 18 years and 11 days, or 223 lunations; and was much esteemed for its accuracy in computing the returns of eclipses, and other phenomena of the moon's motion. See *Cos-tard's Astronomy*, p. 94. And the other factor was the *annus magnus*, or grand revolution of the orb or sphere of the fixed stars, in the course of 24,000 years, occasioned by the precession of the equinoxes, at the Hindu rate of 54 seconds of the ecliptic annually*; which differs surprisingly little from $50\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, the annual rate of the precession, as determined by the nicest observations and most accurate calculations of modern astronomy, in its present high state of improvement. This cycle, therefore, of 432,000 years, must have been invented since the days of *Hipparchus*, who first found out the precession of the equinoxes, about B.C. 128, and probably since the Christian era. And the year of the *Cali yuga*, B. C. 3102, was a remarkable astronomical epoch, when the mean motion of Jupiter was slowest, according to *La Place*, in his *Mécanique Celeste*, tom. 3. Another remarkable epoch in the Hindu astronomy is the year A.D. 1491, when the mean motion of Saturn was the most rapid, according to the same profound astronomer.

2. *Cicero* reprobates the foolish and arrogant pretensions of the *Chaldeans* to a series of recorded observations of the stars for 470,000 years, in round numbers. *Diodorus* is more particular, and raises it to 473,000 years, before *Alexander's* expedition into Asia. The correct number is somewhat more, 473,040 years; the additional 40 years being omitted by *Diodorus*, as insignificant in so great an amount: upon the same principle, that even the 3000 (fortunately preserved by *Diodorus*) were omitted by *Cicero* †. But this correct cycle of 473,040 years was evidently formed by the multiplication of two factors; the square of the Chaldean *Saros*, $18 \times 18 = 324$ years, and the *Nabonassarean* or *Sothiacal* period of 1460 years. The square of 18 seems to have been employed, in order to furnish a larger period, approximating more nearly to the true lunar motions than

* 360 degrees is equal to 21,600 minutes, or to 1,296,000 seconds; which, divided by 54 seconds, the annual precession, gives 24,000 years as the quotient.

† Thus *Herodotus* states, that the sovereignty of the *Assyrians* in Upper Asia lasted 520 years; but *Diodorus* reckons it 500 years in round numbers, dropping the surplus, as being immaterial in respect of the whole amount.

the *Saros* itself, or rather its deficient value, 18 years, neglecting the 11 days over.

3. The grand Egyptian period of 36,525 years, which was supposed to include the time of the 30 dynasties of Egyptian kings, cited from the *Old Chronicle*, by *Syncellus*, was formed, in like manner, by multiplying their *Sothiacal* period of 1461 years into their lunar cycle of 25 years. It was therefore purely astronomical like the rest.

4. *M. Bailly*, in his sceptical enquiries into the state of ancient astronomy, observed, that several ancient nations, as the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, though seated at great distances from each other, possessed several astronomical formulæ common to them all. It appeared, also, that all these people employed these rules and formulæ, handed down to them by tradition, as several of our workmen make use of certain mechanical or geometrical rules, without any knowledge of the principles upon which they were originally constructed.

All these observations tend to justify the opinion of *Herodotus*, “that astronomy, with the gnomon, or sun-dial, and the division of the day into twelve parts, were received by the *Egyptians* from the *Babylonians*.” B. 2. And that Babylon was the cradle of arts and sciences, which diverged from thence, in every direction, among the more polished nations of antiquity.

In the reign of *Giemschid*, king of Persia, who was slain by *Dahac*, king of Media, B. C. 703, a simple and ingenious correction of their civil year of 365 days was introduced, to reconcile it, from time to time, with the sun’s course. Every 120 years they intercalated an entire month of 30 days, to compensate for the 120 quarter days, omitted in that time; and consequently 12 such months, in a period of $12 \times 120 = 1440$ years. This intercalation remained in use till the time of *Jesdejird*, who was slain, A.D. 632. See *Hyde*, p. 205.

So late as the time of *Herodotus*, the Greeks retained the primitive year of 360 days, and every two years they intercalated a month of 30 days. This only made “confusion worse confounded” in their civil year, which thereby consisted of 375 days, receding still further from the sun’s course than the primitive year itself! See the conversation of *Solon* with *Cræsus*, Herod. B. 1.

Waving the successive corrections of the Greek year, in their cycles of four, eight, twelve, and nineteen years, to be learned

from the technical chronologers, *Scaliger*, *Spanheim*, *Beverege*, and *Jackson*, by those who are curious in such matters, I shall close this article with the successive improvements of our calendar year, from its rude original state, among the ancient *Latins* or *Albans*, to its present state of perfection.

THE LATIN YEAR.

It has been generally supposed that the primitive *Latin*, as well as the *Roman* year, consisted only of ten months, because there are only ten named in the calendars of both. But this is a mistake: both had two anonymous intercalary months to make up the primitive number of 360 days; and these were the same months to which *Numa* afterwards gave the names of *Januarius* and *Februarius**, as in the annexed Table.

* Sciendum *decem* tantum menses fuisse apud majores—*duo* vero propter rationem signorum anni intercalabantur; qui *postea* a *Jano* et a *Februo* nominati sunt. *Servius* in *Virgil. Georg. i. 43*.

TABLE II. ANCIENT LATIN AND ROMAN YEAR.

		LATINS.		ROMULUS.		NUMA.		DECEMVIRS.		
	1.	Aprilis	36	1.	Martius.....	31	1.	Januarius	29	
	2.	Maius	22	2.	Aprilis	30	2.	Martius.....	31	
	3.	Martius.....	36	3.	Maius	31	3.	Aprilis	29	
	4.	Junius	26	4.	Junius	30	4.	Maius	31	
	5.	Quintilis	36	5.	Quintilis	31	5.	Junius	29	
	6.	Sextilis.....	28	6.	Sextilis.....	30	6.	Quintilis	31	
	7.	September.....	16	7.	September.....	30	7.	Sextilis.....	29	
	8.	October.....	39	8.	October.....	31	8.	September.....	29	
	9.	November.....	30	9.	November.....	30	9.	October.....	31	
	10.	December.....	35	10.	December.....	30	10.	November.....	29	
		—————			—————			December.....	29	
			304			304		11.	December.....	29
	11.	Anonymous	33	11.	Anonymous.....	33		12.	Februarius	28
	12.	Anonymous	23	12.	Anonymous.....	23			—————	
		—————			—————				Intercalary	11
			360			360			—————	
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									—————	
									Intercalary	11
									—————	
									Intercalary	11
									—————	

The irregular division of the ancient Latin months was owing to the unequal divisions of the zodiac, supposed to be occupied by the twelve constellations. Thus, according to *Servius*, *Cancer* had scarcely 17 degrees allotted to him; *Gemini* had about 20; *Leo* about 39; *Virgo* about 46; and *Chelæ*, the claws of *Scorpio*, anciently occupied the room of *Libra*. Reckoning, therefore, that the sun moved through a degree in the ecliptic each day, and 360 degrees, or the whole, in the year, and allotting as many days to each month as there were degrees in the sign belonging to it, the civil months became necessarily unequal. *Servius* on Virgil, Georg. i. 24. This is a curious fact, and shows how early the civil months were changed from lunar to solar.

YEAR OF ROMULUS.

Romulus made an important reform in the *Latin* months, by bringing them nearer to the true standard, and rendering them more equable. He transposed *Martius* from the third to the first, in honour of *Mars*, the god of war, as he was himself of a warlike disposition.

YEAR OF NUMA.

By more accurate observations, *Numa* found that the annual period of the moon, or twelve lunations, amounted to 354 days, and of the sun to 365 days. Instead of the old year, he substituted the lunar, which fell short of the solar by eleven days. Therefore, doubling this deficiency, he intercalated a month of 22 days, at the end of every second year, after the 23d day of the second anonymous month, which he called *February*, from *Februo*, “to purge or purify,” from the purifications then usually made by the people, and sacrifices to the *manes*, or infernal deities; and which, therefore, he did not presume to remove, while he transferred the first anonymous month to the head of the calendar, and called it *Januarius*, in honour of *Janus*, the god of time *, descended from יָי, *Jah*, the God of the *Hebrews*.

This emendation of the year of *Romulus* marks uncommon

* At *Numa* nec *Janum* nec avitas præterit *Umbras*,
Mensibus antiquis addidit ille duos.—

Primus enim *Jani* mensis, quia *janua* prima est;
Qui sacer est *imis Manibus*, imus erat.

Ovid. Fasti. lib. 1.

skill and sagacity in *Numa*, especially at so early an age, and in a country so remote from *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, those ancient seats of science. His construction of the lunar year, and adjustment to the solar of 365 days, was by far more simple, ingenious, and scientific, than any of the boasted cycles of *Greece* or *Egypt*, even at a later period.

Still, however, *Numa* injured his calendar by a superstitious veneration for odd numbers, as if they were more lucky than even*. This led him to deduct a day from all the even months of *Romulus*. *February*, as being in itself an unlucky month, he left an even number of 28 days, (including the five supernumerary days.) And though *January* ought to have had but 28 days, being the complement of the rest to 354 days, he added a superfluous day thereto, and made it an odd number 29; and so his lunar year 355 days, or a day too much, and thereby occasioned an excess of two days in his *Dieteris*, or biennial cycle.

To rectify this redundancy, of which *Numa* could not be ignorant, we learn from a very obscure passage of *Livy*, in the history of his reign, that "he so managed his intercalations as to make his year *fully* correspond with the solar, in the course of a period of 24 years †." Now this could only be effected by omitting the 24 redundant days in 24 years, or subtracting a month of 24 days from every 24th year. *Jackson*, Vol. ii. p. 62. *Spanheim*, Chron. Sacr. Part 1, p. 10.

YEAR OF THE DECEMVIRS.

The *Decemvirs*, who, according to *Livy* and *Dion. Halicarn.*, were created B.C. 452; *Ovid* † says, was the general belief, made a slight alteration in the order of *Numa's* months, by mak-

* *Numero Deus impare gaudet.*—*Virgil*.

† *Ad cursum lunæ*, in duodecim mensibus describit annum; quem, (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe) intercalaribus mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit ut quarto et vigesimo anno ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis annorum omnium spatiis dies congruerent. *Livy*, i. 19. N. B. *Macrobius* has miserably perplexed and perverted the meaning of this passage, by supposing that *Numa* knew the correcter year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and meant to adjust his cycle of 24 years to the Greek *Octaeteris*. *Saturnal. lib. i. 13*; and *Scaliger* blames *Numa*.

‡ *Postmodo creduntur spatio distantia longo*

Tempora bis quini continuasse viri.—*OVID*.

ing *February* the second month instead of the last, and thereby restoring *March* to its former station, according to *Romulus*, as the first month of spring; and this order continued until the time of *Julius Cæsar*, and ever since.

But the Roman calendar having been entrusted to the care of the *Pontifices*, they, through neglect or design, did not make the proper intercalations and corrections*. Sometimes they inserted more, sometimes fewer days than they ought, in order to lengthen or shorten the year, thereby to serve their friends, or injure their enemies, who held public offices. This partiality or corruption, introduced such confusion into the calendar, that the civil months no longer corresponded to the proper seasons of the year, but had shifted their places, and fallen backwards considerably. Thus *Cicero*, four years before *Cæsar's* third consulate, dated the vernal equinox on the ides of *May*, which then in reality fell on the 23d of *March*. *May* therefore had fallen backwards into the place of *March*.

To reform this abuse, *Julius Cæsar*, who was himself a good mathematician, and published a tract on the subject, which is since lost, assisted by *Sosigenes*, an eminent *Alexandrian* astronomer, and others, undertook the arduous but important task of correcting the calendar, and also of reforming the old Roman year, which was lunar in its months, and introducing solar in their stead.

For this purpose, he formed a preparatory year of 15 months, or 445 days, thence called *the year of confusion*. This year began the thirteenth of October, according to the calendar, U.C. 708, or B.C. 46, the day on which he entered upon his third consulate. This day he called the first of *January*, and first intercalated one month of 23 days after the end of *February*, making a broken quarter of 80 days, in order to bring the first of *March*, according to the old system, to its true place of the first of *January* in the new. After which, he intercalated two months more after the old *November*, to make up 12 months; assigning to them 34 and 33 days, or 67 in both, which was the complement of the old 10 months to 365 days, as in the following Table, in which the old and intercalated months are reduced to their true places in the *Julian* year:—

* Diligenter habenda ratio intercalandi est; quod institutum perite a Numa, posterorum pontificum negligentia dissolutum est. *Cicero de Legib. lib. ii.*

	<i>Days.</i>	
1. January	29	beginning October 13.
2. February	28	————— November 11.
3. <i>Intercalary</i> I	23	————— December 9.
	—	
	80	
	—	
4. March	31	————— January 1.
5. April	29	————— February 1.
6. May	31	————— March 2.
7. June	29	————— April 2.
8. <i>Quintilis</i>	31	————— May 1.
9. <i>Sextilis</i>	29	————— June 1.
10. September	29	————— June 30.
11. October	31	————— July 29.
12. November	29	————— August 29.
13. <i>Intercalary</i> II.	34	————— September 27.
14. <i>Intercalary</i> III.	33	————— October 31.
15. December	29	————— December 3.
	—	+ 28.
	365	
	—	

This Table is formed from one given by *Petavius*, Vol. i. p. 161, corrected and improved. The Table of *Jackson*, Vol. ii. p. 85, is imperfect and unsatisfactory; it omits the reduction of the several months of the year of confusion to their corresponding beginnings in the *Julian*, and thereby leaves the reader at a loss to account for the interval between the intercalation of the first month after *February*, and of the two others after *November* *.

Thus did this admirable correction, the skill and ingenuity of which will be more admired the more closely it is considered, by its judicious intercalations, bring the beginnings of the new months nearly to a conformity with those of the old, and thereby preserve the *Calends* nearly in their old places; while, by inserting the additional days at the ends of the months, the *Nones* and *Ides* were unaltered: *Cæsar* thereby respecting the prejudices of the vulgar for these holy days.

* This perhaps will explain a passage in *Cicero's* epistle to *Ligarius*, Lib. vi. Epist. 14, which otherwise seems unintelligible: "Ego tamen ad quint. calend. *intercalares priores*, mane venissem ad *Cæsarem*."

JULIAN YEAR.

The reformed year, which succeeded the year of confusion, was called *Julian*, from *Julius Cæsar*, with whose fourth consulate it began, the first of January, U. C. 709, or B. C. 45.

In modelling the months of it, he first restored all the even months of 30 days, instituted by *Romulus*, which *Numa* had altered for the worse, to 29; he next retained the four months of 31 days, used by *Romulus* and *Numa*, and added thereto three more, namely, *January*, *Sextilis*, and *December*. *February* he retained from *Numa*, according to the following Table, including the twelve *Dii Majores*, to whom the months were dedicated. And from which it is remarkable, that *Janus*, the ancient god of time, was excluded, to make way for *Juno Matrona*.

		<i>Days.</i>		
1.	Januarius.....	31		<i>Juno.</i>
2.	Februarius	28		<i>Neptunus.</i>
3.	Martius	31		<i>Minerva.</i>
4.	Aprilis	30		<i>Venus.</i>
5.	Maius	31		<i>Apollo.</i>
6.	Junius	30		<i>Mercurius.</i>
7.	Quintilis (<i>Julius</i>)	31		<i>Jupiter.</i>
8.	Sextilis (<i>Augustus</i>)	31		<i>Ceres.</i>
9.	September	30		<i>Vulcanus.</i>
10.	October.....	31		<i>Mars.</i>
11.	November.....	30		<i>Diana.</i>
12.	December.....	31		<i>Vesta.</i>

365	
Bissextile	+ 1
366	

*Is decies senos, tercentum, et quinque diebus
Junxit, et e pleno tempora quarta die.*

Ovid. Fast. III.

To compensate for the additional quarter of a day, every year above the 365 days, *Julius Cæsar* inserted a whole day every fourth year; which, because it was inserted after the old *terminalia*, or 23d day of *February*, and was therefore reckoned

Sextus ante Calendos Martias, bis, or twice *, the leap year in which it was inserted was called *Bissextile*. And this quadriennial cycle of the *Julian* year, *Scaliger* justly calls,

Omnium formarum temporibus convenientissima.

The first year of the *Julian* era, B. C. 45, was *Bissextile*; consequently, the vulgar year of our Lord's Nativity was *Bissextile* also. Hence the *Julian* year 46, or the first of the *Vulgar Christian Era*, was the first after *Bissextile*, or a common year, but every fourth ensuing year was *Bissextile*. Hence, dividing any given year of the *Vulgar Era* by four, the remainder will give the distance from the former *Bissextile*. If there be no remainder, the given year is itself *Bissextile*. Thus the present year, A. D. 1807, which, divided by four, leaves a remainder of three, is "the third after Leap-year."

It might naturally have been expected, that *Julius Cæsar* would have so ordered his reformed *solar* year, as to begin on the day of the *winter solstice*, which, in the year of confusion, was supposed to fall on December 25th †. But he chose to begin his new year on the first of January following, because on that day the moon was new, or in conjunction with the sun, at 7 hours, 6 minutes, 35 seconds after noon. By this means, he began his year on a most high or holy day among the ancient *Druids*, with whose usages he was well acquainted ‡, and also made his new year the first of a *lunar* cycle.

* In the statute *De Anno Bissextili*, 21 Henry III. A. D. 1236, to prevent misunderstanding, the intercalary day and the next before it, were to be reckoned one day, according to the *Roman* usage.

† *Sosigenes* computed December 25th to be the day of the winter solstice. But this was incorrect: *Kennedy* calculated it December 23d, 13 hours, 48 minutes, for B. C. 45, the first *Julian* year, p. 346.

‡ Among the *Celtic* nations, the new moon nearest to the winter solstice was celebrated by peculiar religious ceremonies and superstitious usages. In ancient times, the chief *Druid*, attended by crowds of the people, went into the woods on that night, and cut with a golden sickle a branch of the *misselto* of the oak, called *Ghiah* in the *Celtic* language, and carried it in procession to the sacred grove. The people also cut branches for themselves, and carried them home after they had been blessed or consecrated by the chief *Druid*. Whence the usage of adorning the pews of our churches and chapels with *evergreens*, in lieu of *misselto*, at Christmas.

In *France*, at the Christmas gambols, so late as the reign of *Louis XIV.* when they were suppressed on account of their irregularities, traces of the *Druidical* usages were found. A man personating a prince, (*Roi follet*, "a mummer,") set out from the village into the woods, bawling out, *Au gui menez: Le roi le veut*. The monks followed in the rear with their begging-boxes, which they rattled, crying, *tire-lire*, and the people put money in them, under the fiction that it was for a *lady in labour*. Persons

Thus did he render the *Julian Era* as complete as possible in that age, and by his authority caused it to be observed in *Rome, Italy*, and throughout the provinces of the *Roman* empire, and among all nations as far as his influence extended. A precedence to which it was justly entitled by its own intrinsic excellence.

Julius Cæsar, unfortunately for his country and the world, was assassinated on the *Ides* of March following, U. C. 710, or B. C. 44; and with him fell the grand plans of further improvement which he meditated. In honour of him and his successor, the months *Julius* and *Augustus* were named.

X GREGORIAN YEAR.

This was a correction and improvement of the *Julian*. It was discovered, at length, by more accurate astronomical observations, that the true solar or tropical year was 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 57 seconds; whence it fell short of the *Julian* or *Egyptian* computation of 365 days and 6 hours, by an interval of 11 minutes, 3 seconds. And, consequently, the true beginning of the year anticipated the civil year by that interval: which, in the course of 130 years, amounted to a whole day. At the end of 130 years, therefore, the tropical year began a day earlier than the civil, or fell back a day behind it. And thus the *Julian* year, which, at its original institution, was supposed to be fixed, was found to be *moveable*.

Not adverting to this, when the General Council of *Nice*, held A. D. 325, wished to celebrate *Easter* in the Christian Church, according to the Levitical law of the Passover, they decreed, that for the future, "*Easter-day* should be the first *Sunday* upon or after the first *full moon* following the 21st day of *March*," which was the day on which the vernal equinox fell that year.

in disguise (*Guiseards*) forced into dwelling-houses, playing antic tricks, and bullying the inhabitants for money and choice victuals, crying, *Tire liri, tire liri, maint du blanc, et point du bis*.

Hence, says the late professor *Robinson*, of *Edinburgh*, (from whose *Natural Philosophy*, p. 200, this note is taken, p. 210.) evidently was derived the *Guisearts* of *Edinburgh*, and their cry, "*Hog menay, troll lollay, Gie's your white bread, none of your gray*."

The old French, *Au gui menez*, and the Scottish, *Hog menay*, are plainly corruptions of the Greek, ἅγια μνηνη, "*holy moon*," who was anciently supposed "*to be in labour*" at the time of the conjunction, or new moon. Perhaps *tire liri* may be a corruption of *tirez le roi*, "*draw forth*," and put money "*for the king*," namely, *roi follet*, "*the nummer*."

By this inaccuracy of substituting “ the 21st day of March,” instead of “ the day of the vernal equinox;” as the decree ought to have been worded, in the time of Pope *Gregory XIII.* A.D. 1582, or 1257 years after the Council of *Nice*, the equinox was found to be on the 11th of March, having fallen back ten days. In order, therefore, to bring it forward to its former place of the 21st, he left out ten days in *October*, calling the 5th, the 15th day of that month. Whence, in that year of confusion, the 22d day of December became the first of January A.D. 1583, which was the first year of the *Gregorian Era*. In making this correction, he was principally assisted by the celebrated mathematician *Clavius*.

1. But to prevent the repetition of this error in future, a further reformation of the *Julian Calendar* was wanting. Because the vernal equinox fell backwards three days in the course of 390 years, *Gregory*, chiefly by the assistance of *Aloysius Lilius*, decreed that three days should be omitted in every four centuries: namely, that every first, second, and third centurial year, which would otherwise be bissextile, should be a common year; but that every fourth centurial year should remain bissextile. Thus, the years A.D. 1700, 1800, 1900, and 2100, 2200, 2300, were to be common years; but A.D. 1600, 2000, 2400, to remain leap years.

By this ingenious reform, the *Julian Calendar* is rendered sufficiently accurate for all the purposes of Chronology, and even of Astronomy, for 6000 years to come; because the tropical year itself is subject to a periodical inequality.

2. At the end of 6000 years, a further correction will be necessary. For since the deficiency of the Tropical from the Julian year, 11 min. 3 sec. or 663 seconds, will amount to 265,200 seconds, in the course of 400 years; while three entire days, amounting only to 259,200 seconds, are deficient therefrom 6000 seconds, or one hour and 40 minutes, every 400 years; this deficiency from the correct deduction, will in fifteen such periods, or $15 \times 400 = 6000$ years, amount to 25 hours; or to *one day* and *one hour*. Therefore the omission of one day in every 6000 years (by making the 6000th year common, which would otherwise be bissextile) will leave only *one hour* to be corrected.

3. And this may be done by omitting one day more at the end of 144,000 years, which is the product of 24×6000 ; in which time the hour will amount to 24, or to one day. And this will

bring every thing right to a second of time ; if the world shall last so long*.

The *Gregorian*, or reformed *Julian* year, was not adopted in *England* until A.D. 1751, when, the deficiency from the time of the Council of *Nice* then amounting to eleven days, this number was struck out of the month of *September*, by Act of Parliament; and the 3d day was counted the 14th, in that year of confusion. The next year, A.D. 1752, was the first of the *New Style* †, beginning *January* 1, instead of *March* 25.

The following Tables, selected from the most approved, will be found useful in such *Chronological* calculations as depend upon *Astronomy*.

* From the analogy of the 6000 years in the second correction, to the six millenary ages of the world; and of the 144,000 years, in the third, to the *sealed number*, in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. vii. 4; xiv. 1—3; the late *Edward King*, Esq. formed a very ingenious, but rather fanciful scheme, of a grand *Sabbatic Era* of 144,000 years, in his *Morsels of Criticism*, Vol. III. p. 188.

† By the Act of 24 Geo. II. A.D. 1752, relative to the Alteration of the Style, it was enacted,

“ That *Easter-day*, on which the rest of the *moveable* feasts depend, is always the first Sunday *after* the full moon which happens *upon*, or *next after*, the 21st of March: and if the full moon happens upon a Sunday, *Easter-day* is the Sunday *after*.”

Here our Legislators seemed to have considered the 21st of March as the earliest Paschal full moon; and in consequence of this, the earliest *Easter-day*, in the Tables annexed to the Calendar in the *Book of Common Prayer*, is fixed to the 22d of March; and the latest, to April 25, including a range of 35 days; on account of the variations of the time of full moon during a synodical month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, added to 7, the variations of Sunday, in that time = 36; from which subtracting 1, for the difference between the full moon and *Easter-day*, the remainder is 35.

But at present, the *vernal equinox*, which they supposed could not be earlier than the 21st of March, now falls on the 20th; and may fall back to the 19th, before the expiration of 130 years. And when this shall be the case, if the mean Paschal new moon shall happen on the 4th of March upon a *Friday*; then to March 4, add 15 days; and the Paschal full moon will fall on the 19th of March, on a *Saturday*; and will coincide with the day of the vernal equinox: and consequently the 20th of March will be *Easter Sunday*, according to the spirit, but not the letter of the Act.

Hence, the Paschal astronomical rule might have been worded more correctly, thus: “ *Easter-day* is always the first Sunday *after* the full moon which happens either *upon*, or *next after*, the vernal equinox; which, in the *New Style*, will *ever* fall either on the 19th, or on the 20th day of March; reckoning the hours from midnight.”

For this judicious correction, we are indebted to *Kennedy's Astronomy*, p. 362.

By the foregoing Act of Parliament, the beginning of the year was changed from March 25, to the first of January. *Russia* is the only civilized state of Europe that retains the *Old Style*.

TABLE III.—VERNAL EQUINOXES.

B.C. 3500	April 20	B.C. 1105	April 1	B.C. 325	March 26
3100	— 17	975	March 31	195	— 25
2700	— 13	845	— 30	65	— 24
2300	— 10	715	— 29	A.D. 65	— 23
1900	— 7	585	— 28	195	— 22
1500	— 4	455	— 27	325	— 21*

TABLE IV.—JULIAN DAYS.

Days.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	1	32	60	91	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335
2	2	33	61	92	122	153	183	214	245	275	306	336
3	3	34	62	93	123	154	184	215	246	276	307	337
4	4	35	63	94	124	155	185	216	247	277	308	338
5	5	36	64	95	125	156	186	217	248	278	309	339
6	6	37	65	96	126	157	187	218	249	279	310	340
7	7	38	66	97	127	158	188	219	250	280	311	341
8	8	39	67	98	128	159	189	220	251	281	312	342
9	9	40	68	99	129	160	190	221	252	282	313	343
10	10	41	69	100	130	161	191	222	253	283	314	344
11	11	42	70	101	131	162	192	223	254	284	315	345
12	12	43	71	102	132	163	193	224	255	285	316	346
13	13	44	72	103	133	164	194	225	256	286	317	347
14	14	45	73	104	134	165	195	226	257	287	318	348
15	15	46	74	105	135	166	196	227	258	288	319	349
16	16	47	75	106	136	167	197	228	259	289	320	350
17	17	48	76	107	137	168	198	229	260	290	321	351
18	18	49	77	108	138	169	199	230	261	291	322	352
19	19	50	78	109	139	170	200	231	262	292	323	353
20	20	51	79	110	140	171	201	232	263	293	324	354
21	21	52	80	111	141	172	202	233	264	294	325	355
22	22	53	81	112	142	173	203	234	265	295	326	356
23	23	54	82	113	143	174	204	235	266	296	327	357
24	24	55	83	114	144	175	205	236	267	297	328	358
25	25	56	84	115	145	176	206	237	268	298	329	359
26	26	57	85	116	146	177	207	238	269	299	330	360
27	27	58	86	117	147	178	208	239	270	300	331	361
28	28	59	87	118	148	179	209	240	271	301	332	362
29	29	†	88	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363
30	30		86	120	150	181	211	242	273	303	334	364
31	31		90		151		212	243		304		365

* The *vernal Equinox* in A. D. 325, fell before March 21; or more correctly, March 20; 8 h. 21 min. according to *Kennedy's Astronomy*, p. 360. See a very ingenious method of finding the times of the *Equinoxes* and *Solstices*, arithmetically, in *Beverege*, Lib. ii. cap. 2. *De Equinoctiis et Solstitiis*, p. 145—154. Edit. 3.

† Add one day after this, when it is *Leap year*.

TABLE V.

JULIAN YEARS.

YEARS.	D.	H.	YEARS.	D.	H.
1	365	6	70	25,567	12
2	730	12	80	29,220	
3	1,095	18	90	32,872	12
4	1,461		100	36,525	
5	1,826	6	200	73,050	
6	2,191	12	300	109,575	
7	2,556	18	400	146,100	
8	2,922		500	182,625	
9	3,287	6	600	219,150	
10	3,652	12	700	255,675	
20	7,305		800	292,200	
30	10,957	12	900	328,725	
40	14,610		1,000	365,250	
50	18,262	12	5,000	1,826,250	
60	2,1915		10,000	3,652,500	



TABLE VI.

LUNATIONS. MAYER.

LUNAT.	D.	H.	M.	S.	T.	LUNAT.	D.	H.	M.	S.	T.
1	29	12	44	2	53	60	1,771	20	2	53	0
2	58	1	28	5	46	70	2,067	3	23	21	50
3	88	14	12	8	39	80	2,362	10	43	50	40
4	118	2	59	11	32	90	2,657	18	4	19	30
5	147	15	40	14	25	100	2,953	1	24	48	20
6	177	4	24	17	18	200	5,906	2	49	36	40
7	206	17	8	20	11	300	8,859	4	14	25	0
8	236	5	52	23	4	400 ..	11,812	5	39	13	20
9	265	18	36	25	57	500 ..	14,765	7	4	1	40
10	295	7	20	28	50	600 ..	17,718	8	28	50	0
11	324	20	4	31	43	700 ..	20,671	9	53	38	20
12	354	8	48	34	36	800 .	23,624	11	18	26	40
20	590	14	40	57	40	900 ..	26,577	12	43	15	0
30	885	22	1	26	30	1,000 ..	29,530	14	8	3	20
40	1,181	5	21	55	20	5,000 ..	147,652	22	40	16	40
50	1,476	12	42	24	10	10,000..	295,305	21	20	33	20

TABLE VII.

SOLAR YEARS. NEWTON.

YEARS.	D.	H.	M.	S.	YEARS.	D.	H.	M.	S.
1	365	5	48	57	60.....	21,914	12	57	
2	730	11	37	54	70.....	25,556	23	6	30
3	1,095	17	26	51	80.....	29,219	9	16	
4	1,460	23	15	48	90.....	32,871	19	25	30
5	1,826	5	4	45	100.....	36,524	5	35	
6	2,191	10	53	49	200.....	73,048	11	10	
7	2,556	16	42	39	300.....	109,572	16	45	
8	2,921	22	31	36	400.....	146,096	22	20	
9	3,287	4	20	33	500.....	182,621	3	55	
10	3,652	10	9	30	600.....	219,145	9	30	
11	4,017	15	58	27	700.....	255,669	15	5	
12	4,382	21	47	38	800.....	292,193	20	40	
20	7,304	20	19		900.....	328,718	2	15	
30	10,957	6	28	30	1,000.....	365,242	7	50	
40	14,609	16	38		5,000	1,826,211	15	10	
50	18,262	2	47	30	10,000.....	3,652,423	6	20	

TABLE VIII.

SIDEREAL YEARS. FERGUSON.

YEARS.	D.	H.	M.	S.	T.	YEARS.	D.	H.	M.	S.	T.
1	365	6	9	14	30	60....	21,915	9	14	13	
2	730	12	18	29		70....	25,567	22	46	55	
3	1,095	18	27	43	30	80....	29,220	12	19	20	
4	1,461	0	36	58		90....	32,873	1	51	45	
5	1,826	6	46	12	30	100....	36,525	15	24	10	
6	2,191	12	55	27		200....	73,051	6	48	20	
7	2,556	19	5	41	30	300....	109,576	22	12	30	
8	2,922	1	13	56		400....	146,102	13	36	40	
9	3,287	7	23	10	30	500....	182,628	5	0	50	
10	3,652	13	32	25		600....	219,153	20	25	0	
11	4,017	19	41	39	30	700....	255,679	11	49	10	
12	4,383	1	50	54		800....	292,205	3	13	20	
20	7,305	3	4	50		900....	328,730	18	37	30	
30	10,957	16	37	15		1,000....	365,256	10	1	40	
40	14,610	6	9	40		5,000....	1,826,282	2	8	20	
50	18,262	19	42	5		10,000....	3,652,594	4	16	40	

Certain precautions, however, are necessary for avoiding mistakes, when we recur to remote *astronomical* observations, where the accurate interval of days is required, however large. For, 1. Although 100 *Julian* years contain 36,525 days, we must keep in mind, that from A.D. 300, to A.D. 1600, there is a deficiency of ten days from the whole amount; eleven days from A.D. 1600, to A.D. 1900; and twelve days from A.D. 1900, to A.D. 2200.

2. In *astronomical* tables, the years before the Christian Era are counted backwards: the supposed year of the Nativity being marked 0*, the foregoing, 1; the year before that, 2; &c. But *Chronologers* generally reckon the year of the Nativity, B.C. 1; the foregoing, B.C. 2, &c. as follows:

<i>Julian</i> years	41, 42, 43, 44, 45, — 46, 47, 48, 49.
<i>Astronom.</i>	4, 3, 2, 1, 0, — 1, 2, 3, 4.
<i>Chronol.</i>	5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4.

The Astronomers are wrong, and the Chronologers right. For the commencement of the Era, or the fixed point from which we ought to reckon, both forwards and backwards, is *midnight*; which divides the old from the new year: it is the *limit* between both, and as *not belonging to either*, should be marked *zero*, or 0: but the *Julian* 45, terminating therein, is a *real* quantity, as much as the year 46, and should be marked -1 , or the first of the regressive series, as the latter, $+1$, is the first of the progressive.

To prevent such ambiguities chiefly, the *Julian Period*, of 7980 years, whose 4714th year corresponded to A.D. 1, was invented by *Joseph Scaliger*, who called it so †, as being accommodated to the *Julian* year, beginning the first of January. By the help of this, the years of the regressive series may be critically ascertained. As an *Astronomical Cycle*, indeed, it is of considerable use.

CYCLES.

Of the various Cycles, or recurring periods of years, noticed by Chronologers, the oldest and most celebrated is

* This is the case, not only in the old astronomical tables of *Calvisius*, &c. but in the modern, *Pingrè*, &c.

† Novam nostram periodum—*Julianam* vocavimus, quia ad annum *Julianum* accommodata, et quidem à Kalendis Januarii. p. 361.

I. THE CYCLE OF THE MOON.

The ancient *Greeks* were required, by the Laws and by the Oracles, to sacrifice according to *Months, Days, Years*; which they all interpreted, to regulate their *years* by the *Sun*; their *months* and *days* by the *Moon*. And their principal Games, the *Olympic*, were required to be celebrated every fifth year, (like the Roman *lustra*,) at the full moon next after the *summer solstice*. But as the lunar year was eleven entire days shorter than the solar, their great object was to bring both to a conformity, as near as may be, by occasionally intercalating months in the former, to fill up the deficiency. *Meton*, therefore, a celebrated Astronomer, found out, B.C. 430, that by intercalating 7 lunations in 19 lunar years, they were brought so nearly to a correspondence in length with 19 solar years, that the times of celebrating their games and festivals could be adjusted, both to the new and full moons, and to the equinoxes and solstices, with little variation, by the help of his tables. For a public service so important, he was declared victor in the first class, at the Olympic games, a statue was decreed to him, and his Tables were inscribed upon a marble pillar, in letters of gold. Hence the current years of his Cycle were called the *Golden number*.

But it was found that his Cycle was imperfect: for in 19 years there are sometimes five leap years, at other times only four. Hence the new and full moons computed thereby, sometimes varied a day from the truth, in leap years, after *February*. The only way to remedy this error, was by extending the Cycle to $4 \times 19 = 76$ years, in which there are 19 leap years exactly. This, we may suppose, led *Calippus*, in the ensuing century, to publish the *Calippic* period of 76 years, as an improvement of the *Metonic*, beginning B. C. 330.

But the lunar and solar Tables, constructed on the Lunar Cycle, will require correction, after 310 years. For 235 lunations, amounting to 6939 d. 16 h. 32 m. 28 sec. are deficient from 19 *Julian* years, or 6939 d. 18 h. by a remainder of 1 h. 27 m. 31 sec. or *within an hour and half*: and this interval in about 310, or 312 years, will amount to a whole day: so that the new moon, at the end of this period, will anticipate its time at the beginning of it, an entire day, earlier.

Not adverting to this, in our *Prayer-books*, before the altera-

tion of the style, are given "Tables for finding Easter *for ever*," by the help of the *Golden Number*. In consequence of which, the *Ecclesiastical Easter* has several times been a week different from the *true Easter*, before A.D. 1752. But since the *New Style*, that inconvenience has been remedied, by giving Tables to find Easter only for limited times : 1. from 1765 to 1899, inclusive ; and 2. from 1900 to 2199, inclusive : by shifting the *Golden Numbers* a day later in the latter Table than in the former.

To find the *Golden Number*, see the Rules given in the *Prayer-Book*, *Beverege*, *Ferguson*, &c.

II. THE CYCLE OF THE SUN.

This is, strictly speaking, the Cycle of the *Sunday letter*. Since a common year consists of 52 weeks, and one day over ; if the first year begins on *Sunday*, the second will begin on *Monday*, the third on *Tuesday*, &c. the seventh on *Saturday*, and the eighth on *Sunday* again. And so, if all the years were common, it would be a cycle of seven years. But this order is interrupted by the *Bissextile* every fourth year, in which there are two days over : and this will prevent the recurrence of *Sunday* again, at the beginning of the year, until after a cycle of $4 \times 7 = 28$ years. The same will hold of any other day of the week.

To find the *Dominical*, or *Sunday letter*, see the rules in the foregoing books.

III. THE CYCLE OF INDICTION.

This was a cycle of 15 years, used only by the *Romans*, for appointing the times of certain public taxes ; as appears from the title in the Code, *De tributo indicto*. It was established by *Constantine*, A.D. 312, in the room of the heathen *Olympiads* ; and was used in the acts of the *General Councils*, *Emperors*, and *Popes*.

IV. THE JULIAN PERIOD.

This celebrated period was formed by the continued multiplication of the Cycles of *the Sun*, 28 years ; of *the Moon*, 19 years ; and of *Indiction*, 15 years ; whose product gives 7980 years. In its first year, the Cycle of the Sun was 1, of the Moon 1, and of Indiction 1 ; but the three Cycles can never so correspond again, until the end of it. Every intermediate year

will be distinguished by different numbers of those Cycles, until the last year, 7980, when the division by the prime numbers 28, 19, and 15, respectively, will leave no remainders; the numbers themselves then expressing the last years of each cycle.

At the commencement of the Vulgar Era, the year of the current cycle of the *Sun* was 10, of the *Moon* 2, and of *Indiction*, 4; and from these characters, the corresponding year of the *Julian* Period may be found, by the help of the following analytical problem.

To find a number, which being divided by three given integral numbers, 28, 19, and 15; shall leave given remainders, 10, 2, and 4, respectively.

Let x be the integral number sought, which, divided by the two first divisors, will leave the remainders required. Then will $\frac{x-10}{28}$, and $\frac{x-2}{19}$, be integers. Put $\frac{x-10}{28}=m$, and $\frac{x-2}{19}=n$; then $x=28m+10$; and $x=19n+2$; and consequently, $n=\frac{28m+8}{19}$, an integer. From this, subtract the nearest integer, $\frac{19m+19}{19}$, and the remainder will be an integer, $\frac{9m-11}{19}=a$; and consequently, $m=\frac{19a+11}{9}$. From this, subtract the nearest integer, $\frac{18a+9}{9}$, and the remainder will also be an integer, $\frac{a+2}{9}=b$. And consequently, $a=9b-2$. Substitute this value of a , in the last found value of m ; which will give $m=19b-3$. Substitute this in the first original value of x , and then $x=532b-74$. Hence b will be affirmative; and substituting its least possible value, 1, then $x=532-74=458$. But this number, 458, will fulfil the conditions of the two first divisors; leaving the remainders 10 and 2, respectively.

If now to this number, 458, we add the product of the two first divisors, $28 \times 19=532$, or any multiple thereof, $532y$: supposing y to denote any affirmative integer, the aggregate $532y+458$, will equally fulfil the conditions of the two first divisors.

Let this aggregate next be supposed to answer the condition

of the third divisor, 15, also. Then will $\frac{532 y + 458 - 4 =$

$\frac{532 y + 454}{15}$ be an integer. From it subtract the nearest integer,

$\frac{525 y + 450}{15}$, and the remainder will be an integer also, $\frac{7 y + 4}{15} = c$.

And consequently $y = \frac{15 c - 4}{7}$. From this, subtract the nearest in-

teger, $\frac{14 c}{7}$, and the remainder will be an integer, $\frac{c - 4}{7} = d$. And

consequently $c = 7 d + 4$. Substitute now this value of c , in the foregoing value of y , and $y = 15 d + 8$. Where d may be either any affirmative integer, or nothing; taking, therefore, its least value, 0, then $15 d$, vanishing, $y = 8$. Substitute now this value of y , in the aggregate numbers, it becomes $532 \times 8 + 458 = 4256 + 458 = 4714$, which is the year of the *Julian* Period required*.

But the problem may be proposed generally, as in *Simpson's Algebra*, Edit. 4. p. 191.

“Supposing e, f , and g , to denote given integers; to find such a value of x , as that the quantities $\frac{x - e}{28}$, $\frac{x - f}{19}$, and $\frac{x - g}{15}$, may be all integers.

“By making $\frac{x - e}{28} = y$, we have $x = 28 y + e$; which value

being substituted in our second expression, it becomes $\frac{28 y + e - f}{19}$,

which as well as y , is to be a whole number: but $\frac{28 y + e - f}{19}$,

by making $b = e - f$, will be $= y + \frac{9 y + b}{19}$; and therefore $19 y$, and

$18 y + 2 b$, being both divisible by 19, their difference, $y - 2 b$, must also be divisible by the same number; whence it is evident that one value of y , is $2 b$; and that $2 b + 19 z$ (supposing z a whole number) will be a general value of y ; and consequently, that $x (= 28 y + e) = 532 z + 56 b + e$, is a general value of x , answering the two first conditions.

* This easy and simple method of solving the problem, was originally given in my *Analysis Æquationum*, 1784, p. 99.

“ Let this, therefore, be substituted in the remaining expression, $\frac{x-g}{15}$; which, by that means, becomes $\frac{532z + 56b + e - g}{15} =$

$$35z + 3b + \frac{7z + \beta}{15} \text{ (supposing } \beta = 11b + e - g = 12e - 11f - g\text{)}$$

Here $15z$ and $14z + 2\beta$ being both divisible by 15, their difference, $z - 2\beta$, must likewise be divisible by the same number; and therefore one value of z will be 2β , and the general value of $z = 2\beta + 15w$: from whence the general value of $x (= 532z + 56b + e)$ is given $= 7980w + 1064\beta + 56b + e$; which, by restoring the values of b and β , becomes $7980w + 12825e - 11760f - 1064g$.

“ Now to have all the terms affirmative, and their co-efficients the least possible, let w be taken $= -e + 2f + g$; whence there results, $4845e + 4200f + 6916g$, for a new value of x : from which, by expounding e , f , and g , by their given values, and dividing the whole by 7980; the least value of x , which is the remainder of the division, will be known.” So far *Simpson*.

From this ingenious and subtile analytical solution it appears,

1. That e , the given number of the *Solar Cycle*, is to be multiplied by 4845 ($= 19 \times 15 \times 17$) or by the least multiple of the *Lunar* and *Indiction Cycles*, which, divided by the *Solar* 28, will leave 1 remainder.

2. That f , the given number of the *lunar cycle*, is to be multiplied by 4200 ($= 28 \times 15 \times 10$) or by the least multiple of the *solar* and *indiction* cycles, which, divided by the *lunar* 19, will leave 1.

3. That g , the given number of the *indiction*, is to be multiplied by 6916 ($= 28 \times 19 \times 13$) or by the least multiple of the *solar* and *lunar* cycles, which, divided by the cycle of *indiction* 15, will leave 1.

4. That the aggregate of these three terms is to be divided by the *Julian* period 7980, and the remainder will be the year required.

Hence is derived *Beverege's Arithmetical Rule*, p. 192, 380.

I. To find the year of the *Julian Period* corresponding to certain given years of the *Cycles of the Sun, Moon, and Indiction*.

Multiply the given year of the cycle of the sun by 4845; of the moon by 4200, and of *indiction* by 6916; and divide the

sum of the products by 7980: the remainder will be the year of the Julian Period required.

Thus, if we repeat the foregoing example of the given years of the three cycles, A.D. 1.

$$S \ 10 \times 4845 = 48450$$

$$L \ 2 \times 4200 = 8400$$

$$I \ 4 \times 6916 = 27664$$

$$\text{Divide by 7980} \qquad \qquad \qquad \underline{84514}$$

The remainder is—4714, as before.

The converse is,

II. *To find the respective years of the Cycles of the Sun, Moon, and Indiction, corresponding to a given year of the Julian Period.*

Divide the given year by the numbers 28, 19, 15, successively; the quotients will shew the number of revolutions of each cycle till that time, and the remainders the respective years of each current cycle. If there be no remainders, then the divisors themselves will be the last years of the cycles.

Thus, if the same year 4714, be divided by 28, 19, 15, successively, the quotients 168, 248, 314, will express the number of revolutions of each cycle, from the beginning of the period till that time; and the remainders, 10, 2, 4, the years of the current cycles respectively.

Hence it appears, that the *Julian Period* began B.C. 4714, and will end A.D. 3266. It does not therefore precede the creation, and include the commencement of *historical* time, as was imagined by its inventor, and the followers of the shorter *Jewish* system of chronology. As an *historical* period, therefore, it is considerably inferior to the *Vulgar Christian Era*, which running infinitely, backwards and forwards, from a well-known fixed point, is immediately commensurate to the whole of duration, past, present, and future.

EPACTS.

Epacts, or ἡμέραι επακται, are “additional days,” requisite to find out the moon’s age.

Since the lunar year of 354 days is deficient from the solar of 365 days, by 11 days, this deficiency will run through every year of the lunar cycle. Thus the *epact* of the first year of the cycle is 11, because 11 days are to be added to the lunar, in order to

complete the solar year ; the epact of the second is 22 ; the epact of the third $33 - 30 = 3$, because the moon's age cannot exceed 30 days ; the epact of the fourth, 14 ; and so on till the last year of the cycle, whose epact is 29 ; and the epact of the first year of the next cycle, 11, as before.

The following Rules will shew the use of Epacts :—

RULE I. *To find the year of the Lunar Cycle, or the Golden Number, in any given year of our Lord.*

Add 1 to the given year, then divide the sum by 19, the remainder, if any, is the golden number ; if there be no remainder, then 19 is the golden number.

Thus 1808 divided by 19 leaves 3, which is the golden number of the year 1807.

The reason of the addition of unit, is, because the Vulgar Christian Era began in the second year of the lunar cycle, as shewn before.

RULE II. *To find the Epact in any given year.*

If the year precede the alteration of the style, A.D. 1752 ;

First find the golden number of that year ; multiply it by 11 ; if the product be less than 30, it will be the epact, but if greater, divide it by 30, and the remainder will be the epact.

But if the year follow A.D. 1752, because eleven days were then struck out of the calendar, the epact so found will require correction.

If it be greater than 11, subtract 11 from it ; if less, add to it 30, and subtract 11 from the sum : the remainder, in either case, will give the epact.

Thus the golden number of the year 1807, namely 3, multiplied by 11, and the product divided by 30, left 3 for the epact ; this again multiplied by 11 gives 33, from which subtracting 11, the remainder 22 gives the corrected epact.

RULE III. *To find the Moon's Age on any given day of the year.*

Add together the epact of the given year, the number of months from March inclusive, and the proposed day of the month ; if the sum be less than 30, it will be the moon's age, but if greater, its remainder, when divided by 30, will be the moon's age.

Thus, if it be required to find the moon's age on November 15,

1807, the epact is 22, the distance from March inclusive 9 months, the day 15. The sum of these is 46, from which subtract 30, the remainder is the moon's age, 16. But upon the 15th of *November*, 1807, the moon was partially eclipsed about 7 in the morning, and consequently, 14 days, 18 hours, 22 minutes, after the true conjunction. But the true and mean conjunctions may differ from each other 12 hours, and this rule is adapted to the mean.

Again, if the moon's age be required on November 29, 1807 : to the epact 22, and distance 9, add 29 ; the sum is 60 ; which, divided by 30, leaves no remainder : therefore it was new moon that day ; and this is verified by a partial eclipse of the sun on that day, about $10\frac{1}{2}$ in the morning.

This simple and ingenious rule will never vary a whole day, or 24 hours, from the mean computed time, and will therefore answer sufficiently for common use.

PASCHAL FULL MOONS.

From the difference between the times of the true and computed *Paschal* new moons, as calculated astronomically, and computed by such rules as the preceding, which were in use among the *Jews* formerly, (as was the *Calippic period* at that very time*) and which may vary a day in their results, we may naturally account for a circumstance noticed in the Gospels ; namely, that our Lord and his disciples ate the passover on *Maudy Thursday*, but the chief priests and their adherents on *Good Friday*. The former day was, ἡ πρώτη των ἀζυμων, “the first of the feast of unleavened bread ;” Matt. xxvi. 17 ; ὅτε το πασχα εθουον, “when they usually sacrificed the passover ;” Mark xiv. 12 ; εν ἡ εδει θυεσθαι το πασχα, “on which the passover ought to be sacrificed ;” Luke xxii. 7 †. *Thursday*, there-

* See *Spanheim*, Chronol. Sacr. p. 82, who thinks it was introduced with the *Syro-Macedonian* year into *Judæa*, after *Alexander* the Great's time.

† The prime annual feast of the *Passover*, instituted in memory of that signal deliverance of the *Israelites* from Egyptian bondage, when the Lord “passed over,” or spared the houses of the *Israelites*, but smote the first-born of the *Egyptians*, was ordained by a perpetual law, to begin on the 14th day of the moon's age, at even, about that full moon which fell upon or next after the day of the vernal equinox. This is collected from *Moses*, Exod. xii. 6—27. as admirably explained by *Josephus* and *Philo*, those great *Jewish* antiquaries and philosophers.

The former says, “the *Passover* was to be sacrificed yearly, τεσσαρακαιδεκατη, κατα

fore, was the proper *ἡμέρα παρασκευῆ*, “*preparation-day*,” Luke xxiii. 54; whereas the next, *Friday*, which was *παρασκευῆ των Ιουδαιων*, “*the preparation of the Jews*,” John xix. 42, or their *παρασκευῆ του πασχα*, “*preparation of the pass-over*,” John xix. 14, as distinguished from the former, was improper. *Chrysostom*, Hom. 74, on Matt. xxvi. thinks, “that the chief priests designedly postponed the celebration of the pass-over, in order to put JESUS to death;” which might have been the case, but the reason here given is sufficient. *Petavius* well accounts for our Lord’s sending to a particular householder, with whom he meant to celebrate the passover with his disciples; Matt. xxvi. 18; because he knew *him* to be a strict observer of the legitimate passover, as distinguished from the generality of the *Jews*, who were misled by the authority of the chief priests, Scribes, and Pharisees, to celebrate it improperly. *Petav.* Vol. II. p. 244.

Philo also mentions a circumstance, by which they might have easily known the legitimate day, even without astronomical calculation. He says, *Νουμηνια γαρ αρχεται φωτιζειν αισθητω τω φεγγι ο ἡλιος σεληνην*. “*On the day of the new moon, the sun begins to illuminate the moon with a sensible light*,” which, though it seldom happens so early in our gross atmosphere, yet

σεληνην, εν κριω του ἡλιου καθεστωτος, on the 14th, according to the moon, when the sun was in *Aries*.” Ant. 3, 10, 5. The latter, that “the *Passover*, a public feast, was to be celebrated, *τεσσαρακαιδεκατη ἡμερα, μελλοντος του σεληνιακου κυκλου γενεσθαι πλησιφαιου*. On the 14th day, when the lunar disk was going to be fully illuminated.” *De Vita Mosis*, p. 530. Hence the phrase, “according to the moon,” in *Josephus*, must signify according to the moon’s age, reckoned from the true conjunction or new moon, and not from the first appearance of the new moon, as the later Rabbins have idly imagined. Otherwise, how could the *Passover* ever be celebrated in cloudy weather, when the moon was invisible perhaps for a week or fortnight? But to determine the times of mean and true lunar conjunctions, and of the sun’s entrance into the first degree of *Aries*, at the vernal intersection of the equinoctial and ecliptic, are nice astronomical problems, even at the present day, requiring accurate tables of the sun and moon’s motions. And surely *Moses* must have constructed such, in order to enable his successors to observe properly the indispensable law of the *Passover*.

It has been suspected, and not without foundation, that the celebrated lunar cycle of 19 years, which *Meton*, the astronomer, introduced into *Greece* for the adjustment of their lunar year with the solar, was borrowed from the ancient *Jewish* tables. This was the opinion of the learned *Anatolius*, bishop of *Laodicea*, about A.D. 270.

Εχει τουνυ εν τω πρωτω ετει την νουμηνιαν του πρωτου μηνος, ἡτις ἀπασης εστιν αρχη της εννεακαιδεκατηριδος.—Εστι δ’ ουχ ἡμετερος ο λογος, Ιουδαιοις δ’ εγγινωσκετο τοις παλαι και προ Χριστου. “The cycle of 19 years has in the first year the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of the whole.”—“This is not our opinion merely, but it was known to the *Jews* of old, even before CHRIST.”

sometimes will ; as *Kennedy* demonstrated of the *Paschal* new moon, A.D. 1761, when the 14th day of the month was also the 14th of the moon's age, immediately preceding the full moon, p. 367. And this *vision* of the moon might more frequently happen in the pure and serene climate of *Judea*. And on this was founded the modern Jewish rule, Π , *Iah*, (the numeral letters signifying 18) denoting 18 hours, which they counted backwards from the first vision of the moon, to find the true conjunction. And this is confirmed by the Grecian astronomer *Geminus*, who states, "that when the moon is in *perigee*, and her motion quickest, she does not *usually* appear until the second day, nor in *apogee*, when slowest, until the fourth." The exception in the former case intimating that she might sometimes be seen on the first day.

Near the end of the second century, a violent controversy broke out between the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches, whether the passover ought to be celebrated on the 14th day of the Paschal moon with CHRIST, or on the 15th with *Caiaphas*. *Polycrates*, bishop of *Ephesus*, in a Council held A.D. 197, decreed in favour of the *Quatuordecimans*, alleging the primitive usage ; on the other hand, *Victor*, bishop of *Rome*, in a Council held there the ensuing year, decreed in favour of the *Quintadecimans*, and absolutely excommunicated the *Asiatic* Churches for their schism ; which was resisted on their part, and so the controversy raged till the council of Nice, A.D. 325, when the emperor *Constantine* put an end to it by a decree in favour of the *Quintadecimans*, who were the most violent, because they had the worst of the argument, and were taxed with *judaising* by their opponents.

This controversy was afterwards revived in the sixth century, when a Council was held in England about A.D. 599, deciding in favour of the *Quatuordecimans* ; when the *Romish* monks, with *Austin* at their head, stirred up *Ethelfrid*, king of Northumberland, to massacre about 1200 monks of the monastery of *Bangor*, who dissented from the authority and usage of the Church of Rome, and much blood was spilt in the war kindled thereby. At length, about A.D. 716, the British Clergy were prevailed on to submit to the Papal decree. See *Spanheim*, p. 682, &c. 1118, &c.

If the year of the crucifixion was A.D. 31, as is most likely, it follows, from an eclipse of the moon, in *Pingrè's* tables, April

25th, at 9 afternoon, that the Paschal full moon that year fell on the 27th of March, which, in the calculations of *Newton*, *Ferguson*, and *Lamy*, and the computation of *Bacon*, is reckoned *Tuesday*; but there is sometimes a variation of a day or two in their computations of the days of the week, so that it might have happened on *Thursday*. On the other hand, *Scaliger*, *Dodwell*, and *Mann*, reckon that Paschal full moon, a day earlier, 26th of March *; and *Petavius*, 23d of March. Vol. ii. p. 374. This shews the uncertainty of the precise day of full moon, and supports the foregoing opinion of a double passover.

ECLIPSES.

The word *Eclipse* (εκλειψις) signifies “*failure*,” namely, of light. An *eclipse of the sun* is caused by the intervention of the moon, at new, or in conjunction with the sun, intercepting his light from the earth, either totally or partially. An *eclipse of the moon* † is caused by the intervention of the earth, intercepting the sun’s light from the moon, when full, or in opposition to the sun, either totally or partially.

The reason why the sun is not eclipsed every new moon, nor the moon at every full, is owing to the inclination of the moon’s orbit to the plane of the ecliptic, or earth’s orbit, in an angle of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; in consequence of which, the moon is generally too much elevated above the plane of the ecliptic, or too much depressed below it, for her disk to touch the earth’s shadow at full, or for her shadow, or her penumbra, to touch the earth’s disk at new.

An eclipse therefore of either luminary can only take place when they are within their proper *limits*, or distances from the nodes or intersections of both orbits. And because the limits of solar eclipses are wider than those of lunar, in general there will be more eclipses of the sun than of the moon. In any year, the number of eclipses of both luminaries cannot be less than *two*, and these will both be of the sun, nor more than *seven*: the usual number is *four*; and it is very rare to have more than *six*.

* See *Bowyer’s* Tables of the times of the *Paschal* full moons for A.D. 31, 32, 33, 34, in his *Conjectures on the New Testament*, Note on John vi. 4. p. 149. 3d edit.

† *Manetho*, the Egyptian priest, who flourished about B.C. 304, taught, Σεληνην εκλειπειν εις το σκιασμα της γης επιπτουσαν, “that the moon was eclipsed by falling into the earth’s shadow.”

But though solar eclipses happen oftener, lunar are more frequently observed in any particular place. For an eclipse of the moon is visible to the inhabitants of half the globe at the same instant; whereas, an eclipse of the sun is visible only within that part of the earth's surface, traversed by the moon's total shadow, and by her penumbra, or partial shadow. But her total shadow, when she is nearest to the earth, cannot cover a space of more than 158 geographical miles in diameter, nor at her mean distance more than 79, and at her greatest distance may not touch the earth at all. In the two former cases, the sun will be eclipsed in the places covered by the shadow totally, or by the penumbra partially: in the last it may be *annular*, but not total. Without the reach of the shadow, and within the limits of the penumbra, which cannot cover more than 4552 miles of the earth's surface, there will be a partial eclipse of the sun, and without these limits no eclipse at all. Hence lunar eclipses are more frequently noticed by historians than solar; and *Diogenes Laertius* may be credited, when he relates, that during the period in which the *Egyptians* had observed 832 eclipses of the moon, they had only observed 373 of the sun.

In the midst of a total lunar eclipse, the moon's disk is frequently visible, and of a deep red or copperish colour. This, in the poetic language of sacred prophecy, is expressed by "*the moon's being turned into blood.*" Joel ii. 31. This remarkable phenomenon is caused by the sun's lateral rays in their passage through the dense atmosphere of the earth, being inflected into the shadow by refraction, and falling pretty copiously upon the moon's disk, are reflected from thence to the eye of the spectator. If the earth had no atmosphere, the moon's disk would then be as black as in a solar eclipse.

A total eclipse of the moon may occasion a privation of her light for an *hour and a half*, during her total immersion in the shadow; whereas, a total eclipse of the sun can never last in any particular place above *four minutes*, when the moon is nearest to the earth, and her shadow thickest.

Hence it appears, that the darkness which "overspread the whole land of *Judea*," at the time of our Lord's crucifixion, was præternatural, "from the sixth until the ninth hour," or from noon till three in the afternoon, in its *duration*, and also in its *time*, about full moon, when the moon could not possibly eclipse the sun. The time it happened, and the fact itself, are recorded

in a curious and valuable passage of a respectable Roman Consul, *Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, about A.D. 514.

“In the consulate of *Tiberius Cæsar Aug. V.* and *Ælius Sejanus*, (U.C. 784. A.D. 31.) OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST suffered, on the 8th of the Calends of April: (25th of March) *When there happened such an eclipse of the sun as was never before nor since*.*”

In this year, and in this day, agree also the Council of *Cæsarea*, A.D. 196, or 198; the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, *Maximus Monachus*, *Nicephorus Constantinus*, *Cedrenus*; and in this year, but on different days, concur *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius*, followed by *Kepler*, *Bucher*, *Patinus*, and *Petavius*, some reckoning it the 10th of the Calends of April, others the 13th. Amidst this variety of days, we may look on the 26th or 27th of March as the most probable, noticed in the foregoing article.

And indeed that the passover of the crucifixion was an early one, may be collected from the circumstance of “the servants and officers having made a fire of coals in the hall of the high-priest’s house, *for it was cold*, at which they and *Peter* warmed themselves.” John xviii. 19; Luke xxii. 55; Mark xiv. 54. Whereas the passovers of the two ensuing years, A.D. 32, April 14, and A.D. 33, April 3, were later in the season, and probably milder.

The præternatural darkness at the crucifixion was accompanied by an earthquake, which altogether struck the spectators, and among them the centurion and Roman guard, with *great fear*, and a conviction that JESUS WAS THE SON OF GOD. Matt. xxvii. 51—54.

There was also a remarkable paleness of the sun on the year of *Julius Cæsar’s* assassination, B.C. 44, attributed by astronomers to an unusual number of spots on the sun’s disk; which *Mark Anthony*, in a letter to *Hyrchanus*, high priest of the Jews, written after the defeat and death of Cæsar’s assassins, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, attributed to the divine displeasure. “On account of these enormities, *the sun, we think, was turned away, who, even himself, viewed with displeasure the crime against Cæsar †.*”

* His consulibus, *Tiberio Cæsare Aug. V. Ælio Sejano*, DOMINUS NOSTER JESUS CHRISTUS passus est 8 Calend. Aprilis: *Et defectio solis facta est, qualis ante vel postmodum nunquam fuit.* Scaliger, De Emend. Temp. p. 563.

† Δι’ ἃ (ανομηματα) και τον ἡλιον απεστραφθαι δοκουμεν, ὅς και αἰδηῶς επειδὲ το ἐπι Καισαρι μυσος. *Joseph. Ant.* 14, 12, 3.

II. *Eclipses* among the ancients, before their cause was known, were considered as *signs of the times*, and indications of divine displeasure. They are so represented even in SCRIPTURE.

The prophet *Amos*, who wrote two years before "*the great earthquake*," which probably happened near the end of *Jeroboam II.*'s reign, thus predicts it, and an extraordinary eclipse of the sun:—

"Shall not the land *quake* for this? [the sins of the people.] And it shall come to pass, in that day, saith the LORD GOD, that *I will cause the sun to go down at noon*, and *I will darken the earth in the clear day*; and I will turn your *feasts* into mourning, and your songs into lamentations." *Amos* viii. 8—10. And our Lord himself, among the prognostics of his second coming in glory, foretels, "And there shall be *signs* in the *sun*, and *moon*, and *stars*," &c. *Luke* xxi. 25. Hence, the *Jews* were warned against the superstitious notions of the heathens, attributing to the luminaries themselves (as in the case of *Anthony*) sense and intelligence, and a powerful influence over human affairs. "Thus saith the LORD: *Learn not the ways of the heathen*, and *be not dismayed at the signs of the heavens*, for the heathen are dismayed at them." *Jer.* x. 2. Thus, the battle between the *Medes* and *Lydians* was put an end to by the solar eclipse of B.C. 603; and on the outsetting of *Xerxes* from *Sardis*, on the expedition against Greece, (though more probably from *Susa* the year before) *Herodotus* relates, that "the sun quitting his place in the heavens disappeared; and though the sky was free from clouds, and perfectly serene, *instead of day it became night*. *Xerxes* observing this with surprise, and no small anxiety, enquired of the *Magi* what might be the meaning of the prodigy? They answered, that the gods by this pre-*sa*ge plainly foretold the destruction of the *Grecian* states, because the *sun* was the protector of *Greece*, but the *moon* of the *Persians*." *Herodot.* B. vii. 37. The disastrous issue of this expedition to the *Persians* remarkably confirmed the observation of *Isaiah*: "That THE LORD frustrateth the *signs* of the liars, and maketh the diviners mad; he turneth wise men backwards, and maketh their wisdom foolishness." *Isa.* xlv. 25. The *Magi* were the established priests and diviners of the *Persian* empire.

Livy also mentions an eclipse of the sun, in the consulate of *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, U.C. 561, B.C. 188, July 17, for which the College of Decemvirs decreed a *public supplication for three days*. *Liv.* 38, 36.

III. How early Eclipses began to be calculated by the ancients does not appear. In the age of *Thales*, at least, the elements of the calculation of eclipses were known in *Greece*; for *Herodotus* says, that he foretold to the *Ionians* the year of the remarkable eclipse that put an end to the battle between the *Medes* and *Lydians*. Herodot. B. 1. 74. *Anaxagoras*, also, predicted that remarkable eclipse of the sun, mentioned by *Thucydides* to have happened in the first year of the *Peloponnesian war*, July 1, B.C. 431. And *Livy* states, that *Sulpicius Gallus* predicted with great accuracy a *lunar* eclipse, which happened on the night before the battle of *Pydna*, in which the Romans defeated *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, June 21, U.C. 586, B.C. 168. "When the *Roman* soldiers looked on the wisdom of *Gallus* as almost divine; but the *Macedonians* and their priests were alarmed thereat, as an ominous prodigy portending the fall of the kingdom, and destruction of the nation; and there was a clamour and a howling in the *Macedonian* camp, until the moon emerged again into her own light." Liv. 44, 27.

Costard conjectures that *Thales* and *Anaxagoras*, in their computations, made use of the celebrated *Chaldean Saros*, or cycle, mentioned by *Pliny*; which "was a period of 223 lunations in the course of 18 Julian years and 11 days: in which the returns of eclipses, and other phænomena of the moon's motions, are very regularly performed;" in the judgment of *Halley*, that great astronomer, who, from an eclipse of the sun, observed at *London* and *Dantzic*, June 22, 1666, by the help of the *Chaldean Saros*, was enabled to calculate another, eighteen years after, July 2, 1684, with an exactness little inferior to the observation itself at the time. *Costard*. Astron. p. 94.

To this *Chaldean* period *Theocritus* probably alluded, when he styled *Adonis*, or the sun,

Οκτωκαιδεκατης η εννεακαιδεκ' ο γαμβρος,

"The bridegroom of eighteen or nineteen years."—*Idyll*. 15.

The *ecliptic* conjunctions of the sun and moon being represented, in mythological language, as a marriage.

The same imagery was used in *SCRIPTURE* by *David*, near 800 years before *Theocritus*, where he describes the sun as "a *bridegroom* coming out of his chamber." Ps. xix. 5.

IV. *Eclipses* are justly reckoned among the surest and most unerring characters of *Chronology*: for they can be calculated with great exactness backwards as well as forwards; and there

is such a variety of distinct circumstances of the *time* when, and the *place* where they were seen; of the *duration*, or beginning, middle, or end of every eclipse, and of the *quantity*, or number of digits eclipsed; that there is no danger of confounding any two eclipses together, when the circumstances attending each are noticed with any tolerable degree of precision.

Thus, to an eclipse of the moon incidentally noticed by the great Jewish Chronologer, *Josephus*, shortly before the death of *Herod* the Great, we owe the determination of the true year of our Saviour's nativity.

During *Herod's* last illness, and not many days before his death, there happened an eclipse of the moon on the very night that he burnt alive *Matthias*, and the ringleaders of a sedition, in which the golden eagle, which he had consecrated and set up over the gate of the temple, was pulled down and broke to pieces by these zealots. This eclipse happened, by calculation, March 13, U. C. 750, B. C. 4. *Antiq.* 17, 6, 4. p. 768. Hudson's Edit.

But it is certain from Scripture, that CHRIST was born during *Herod's* reign; and from the visit of the *Magi* to Jerusalem "from the East," (*απο ανατολων*) from the *Parthian* empire, to enquire for the true "born king of the Jews," whose star they had seen "at its rising;" (*εν τη ανατολη**) and also from the age of the infants massacred at *Bethlehem*, "from two years old and under." *Matt.* ii. 1—16. It is no less certain, that JESUS could not have been born later than U. C. 749, or B. C. 5, which is the year assigned to the nativity by *Chrysostom*, *Petavius*, *Prideaux*, and adopted in this work.

The star seen by these eastern *Magi* could not have been an ordinary star, or meteor; for when it re-appeared on their way to *Bethlehem*, "it conducted them, till it came and stood over the house where the young child was." *Matt.* ii. 9. It was, probably, the same "glory of the Lord" which, on the night of the nativity, "shone round about" the pious shepherds near *Bethlehem*, and might therefore have been of a globular form, which "ascended into the heaven," along with the celestial choir, *Luke* ii. 8—15, and might have been seen in its ascent by the *Magi* at the distance of five or six hundred miles, diminished to the size of a star, or meteor, and rising from the land of *Judea*, in the south-west quarter of the horizon, an un-

* *Ανατολαι* denote the "risings" of the stars in general, or the *East*; but the singular, *ἡ ανατολη*, "the rising" of a particular star.

sual region, which must have strongly attracted their notice and attention. And if, according to *Theophylact*, these *Magi* were the descendants of *Balaam*, the celebrated Chaldean diviner, who prophesied of “the *Star* to rise out of *Jacob*, and the *Sceptre* from *Israel* ;” Numb. xxiv. 17 ; and also of the School of *Daniel*, the prophet, at *Babylon*, who was appointed *Archimagus* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, Dan. ii. 48, and foretold the precise time of the coming of “*Messiah*, the *Prince*,” Dan. ix. 25, we may naturally account for their journey to Jerusalem, their enquiry, their excessive joy on the re-appearance of the star, and their adoration of the divine child, who was indeed “a *light* to lighten the *Gentiles*, and a *glory* to his people *Israel* ;” Luke ii. 23 ; “the *day-spring* (η *ανατολη*) from on high ;” Luke i. 78 ; “the *bright* and *morning star* ;” Rev. xxii. 16 ; “the *day star* which rises in our hearts ;” 2 Pet. i. 19.

Tables of ancient eclipses before the Christian Era, from B. C. 753 are furnished by *Playfair* in his *Chronology*, and by *Ferguson* in his *Astronomy* ; and from B. C. 1000, computed by *Pingré*, *Hist. Acad. Bell. Lettr.* Paris, 1786. Among the most remarkable and important are the following :

TABLE IX. ANCIENT ECLIPSES.

B. C.

753. S. April 21. Old calculation ; the day of the foundation of *Rome*. *Plutarch*.
S. July 5. Aft. 4, 30 ; dig. 4.
721. M. March 19. Aft. 10, 34, total ; first year of *Mardok Empad*, king of *Babylon*. *Ptolomy*.
720. S. February 22. Morn. 10 ; dig. $8\frac{1}{2}$. *China*.
720. M. March 8. Aft. 11, 56 ; dig. $3\frac{1}{3}$; second of *Mardok Empad*. *Ptolomy*.
715. S. May 26. Aft. 5, 12 ; dig. $9\frac{1}{5}$; death of *Romulus*.
Livy.
621. M. April 21. Morn. 6, 22 ; dig. $2\frac{1}{2}$; fifth of *Nabopolassar*. *Ptolomy*.
607. S. July 30. Aft. 1, 55 ; dig. 8 ; supposed eclipse of *Thales*, according to *Calvisius*.
603. S. May 18. Morn. $9\frac{1}{2}$, total ; same, *Costard*, *Montucla*, *Kennedy*.
601. S. September 19. Morn. 10, 57 ; dig. 9 ; same, *Usher*.

597. S. July 9. Aft. 3; dig. 10, 33'; same, *Petavius, Marsham, Bouhier, Larcher.*
585. S. May 28. Aft. 3; dig. 11, 20'; same, *Pliny, Scaliger, Newton, Ferguson, Vignoles, Jackson.*
547. S. October 22. Aft. 0, 35, total; when *Cyrus* took *Larissa* in *Media*. *Xenophon. Anab.*
523. M. July 17. Morn. 0, 12; dig. $7\frac{1}{2}$; seventh of *Cambyses*. *Ptolomy.*
502. M. November 19. Morn. 8, 21; dig. 2; twentieth of *Darius Hystaspes.*
491. M. April 25. Morn. 0, 12; dig. $1\frac{2}{3}$; thirty-fourth of *Darius Hystaspes.*
481. S. April 19. Aft. 2, 27; dig. 7; when *Xerxes* left *Susa* to invade *Greece*. *Herodotus.*
480. S. October 2. Aft. 2; dig. 8; soon after the battle of *Salamis*. *Herodotus.*
478. S. February 13. Aft. 2; dig. $11\frac{1}{2}$; year after the *Persian* war.
463. S. April 30. Aft. 3; dig. 11; *Egyptians* revolt from the *Persians*.
431. S. August 3. Aft. 5, 53; total; first year of the *Peloponnesian* war. *Thucydides.*
424. S. March 22. Morn. 6, 34; dig. 9; eighth year of the war. *Thucydides.*
413. M. August 27. Aft. 10, 15; total; nineteenth year of the war; defeat of *Nicias* and the *Athenians* at *Syracuse*. *Thucydides.*
406. M. April 15. Aft. 8, 50; total; twenty-sixth year of the war.
404. S. September 2. Morn. 9, 16; last year of the war. *Xenophon.*
394. S. August 14. Morn. 9, 17; dig. 11; *Conon* defeats the *Lacedæmonians* in a sea-fight at *Cnidus*. *Xenophon.*
331. M. September 20. Aft. 6, 35; total; eleven days before the battle of *Arbela*. *Plutarch.*
200. M. March 19. Morn. 2, 48; total. }
 September 11. Morn. 2, 15; total. } *Ptolomy.*
 First year of the *Macedonian* war.
190. S. March 14. Morn. 6; dig. 11; first year of the *Syrian* war.
188. S. July 17. Morn. 8, 38; dig. 10; three days' supplication decreed at *Rome*. *Livy, 34, 36.*

168. M. June 21. Aft. 8, 2; total; night before the battle of *Pydna*, and end of the *Macedonian* war. *Livy*.
63. M. October 27. Aft. 6, 22; total; *Jerusalem* taken by *Pompey* this year.
48. M. January 18. Aft. 10; total; battle of *Pharsalia*; death of *Pompey* this year.
45. M. November 7. Morn. 2; total; first *Julian* year.
31. S. August 20. Sun-set, great eclipse; battle of *Actium*, Sept. 3.
4. M. March 13. Morn. 2, 45; dig. 6; before *Herod* the Great's death. *Josephus*.

A. D.

14. M. September 27. Morn. 5; total; mutiny of the *Pannonian* legions quelled thereby, after the death of *Augustus*. *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 1.
29. S. November 24. Morn. $9\frac{1}{2}$; total; death of John Baptist this year.
31. M. April 25. Aft. 9; dig. 4; a month after the crucifixion.
33. S. September 12. Morn. $10\frac{1}{2}$; annular.
45. S. August 1. Morn. 10; dig. 5; birth-day of the emperor *Claudius*.
46. M. December 31. Aft. $9\frac{1}{2}$; total.
59. S. April 30. Aft. 1; central; *Nero* murdered his mother *Agrippina* this year.
69. M. October 18. Aft. 10; dig. 11; night of the battle of *Cremona* between the armies of *Vespasian* and *Vitellius*. *Dio. lib.* 65. *Tacit. Hist.* 3, 23. The year before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, A. D. 70, hereby ascertained.

ECLIPSE OF THALES.

This celebrated eclipse forms one of the most important elements for connecting and adjusting the *Assyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Median*, *Lydian*, *Scythian*, and *Grecian* Chronology, at an interesting and eventful period of their histories. But it has hitherto proved an apple of discord among Chronologers: six several solar eclipses having been adopted by different writers, as the eclipse in question. See the foregoing list.

The cause of this confusion has originated from the vague and imperfect account given of it, incidentally, by *Herodotus*, B. 1. § 74, as follows :

“ In the sixth year of the war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*, on account of the refugee *Scythians*, whom *Alyattes*, King of *Lydia*, refused to deliver up to *Cyaxares*, King of *Media*; during an obstinate battle, *the day suddenly became night*. *Thales*, the Milesian, had foretold this alteration to the *Ionians*, and named the year when it should happen. The *Lydians* and *Medes* seeing darkness take place of light, desisted from fighting, and shewed a great inclination on both sides to make peace. *Syennesis*, King of *Cilicia*, and *Labynetus*, of *Babylon*, were the mediators thereof; who expedited the treaty, and confirmed it by a marriage; persuaded that treaties cannot be lasting without a powerful bond of union. They engaged *Alyattes* to give his daughter, *Aryenis*, in marriage to *Astyages*, the son of *Cyaxares*.”

1. The only discriminating circumstance of this eclipse, recorded by *Herodotus*, and which he afterwards repeats, § 103, namely, that “ *the day suddenly became night* *;” intimates that it was total. Consequently, four of the Eclipses, B.C. 607, 601, 597, 585, are excluded, because they were all partial, more or less; and only the eclipse of B. C. 603 is left; which, according to the accurate calculation of *Mayer*, in his *Memoire*, entitled *Chronologia Scythica*, of the *Petersburgh Transactions*, A. D. 1728, proved to be total *et cum morâ*; the moon being then in perigee, and the sun in apogee. And his calculation was afterwards verified by two English Astronomers, *Costard* and *Stukely*, respecting the quantity of the eclipse, and the track of the moon’s shadow on the earth’s disk; in the *Philosophical Transactions*, A. D. 1754.

According to their joint calculations, the moon’s shadow in the eclipse of B.C. 603, entered upon the earth’s disk about 23 degrees of longitude, reckoned from the Isle of *Ferro*, and one degree north of the equator. It traversed the mouths of the *Nile*, crossed the *Mediterranean*, passed through *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, as far as *Trebisonde*, under a breadth of 46 German miles; and therefore traversed the field of battle, which probably was near the mouth of the river *Halys*, about half after nine in

* Ἡ ἡμέρα ἐξαπίνης νύξ ἐγένετο.

the morning; at which time of the day it was likely that the engagement had commenced.

2. The other eclipses are also excluded on account of their tracks. For that of B. C. 585, followed the course of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and did not touch *Cappadocia*; that of B. C. 597, traversed *Scythia* and the *Palus Meotis*, north of the *Caspian* Sea; that of B. C. 601, passed considerably to the north of the *Euxine* Sea; and that of B. C. 607, traversed the earth's disk, in the vicinity and direction of the equator. Consequently, none of these eclipses, even supposing they had been total, could have been the eclipses coarsely predicted by *Thales*; who noticed only the year, but not the day or hour of the eclipse.

See *Montucla, Histoire des Mathematiques*, Tom. II. p. 101, 713. Edit. second.

PRECESSION OF THE EQUINOXES.

This is a real retrograde motion of the equinoctial points, (or intersections of the *Equinoctial* and *Ecliptic* circles,) in consequence of which, the longitudes of all the fixed stars, are continually, though slowly, increasing. It is not, therefore, to be confounded with the anticipation of the time of the *vernal equinox*, or exact commencement of the Solar or Tropical year, which is above 11 minutes shorter than the Civil, or *Julian* year; and consequently begins so much earlier than it, every successive year.

The precession of the Equinoxes was a nicety in practical Astronomy, which does not appear to have been suspected by any of the Ancients before the time of *Hipparchus*. This prince of *Grecian* astronomers, by comparing his own observations of the bright star *Spica Virginis*, B. C. 128, with those of his predecessors, found a sensible increase in its longitude; which he attributed to a progressive motion of the orb, or sphere, in which they were supposed at that time to be set; and rated it at one degree in a century. But, according to *Ptolomy*, "he hesitated," (*δισταζει δ' ὁμως*) as to the precise quantity, because the preceding observations of *Timochares*, B. C. 380, were but coarsely made; and also because the interval of 150 years, elapsed between their observations, *was not yet become sufficient to induce firm conviction*, (*ουχ ικανον ηδη γεγονεναι προς βεβαιαν καταληψιν.*) It is, however, a remarkable proof of the accuracy of the observations of both, that the difference of two degrees of longitude, in the

course of 150 years, gives 1 degree in 75 years, at 48 seconds in one year; which approaches surprisingly near to $71\frac{1}{2}$ years, which is now found to be the correct rate of the increase, at $50\frac{1}{2}$ seconds in one year; after the observations of 2000 years made with the nicest instruments, and most exquisite skill of modern Astronomy.

The sagacity of *Joseph Scaliger* first discovered that this motion was only apparent in the stars, and that it was owing, in fact, to the retrograde motion of the equinoctial points themselves: as thus expressed in his own words: His igitur animadversis, constat *Æquinoctialia puncta moveri*; ideoque [*Coluros seu*] *circulos ad ea descriptos*; et consequenter, *polos eorum, esse mobiles*. De Emend. Temp. p. 284, 285.

But it was reserved for the superior intelligence of a *Newton*, to trace the fact to its physical cause. He found, that it was occasioned by the oblate figure of the earth, which itself probably arises, or is increased, at least, by the earth's rotation round its axis; in consequence of which, the earth's equatorial diameter is nearly 37 English miles longer than the polar diameter, or axis. As more matter, therefore, is accumulated all round the equatorial parts of the earth than elsewhere, the sun and moon, when on either side of the equator, by attracting this redundant matter, which forms, as it were, a ring or belt round the earth, brings the equator sooner under them, in every return towards it, than if there was no such accumulation; and produces a retrogression of its intersections with the plane of the ecliptic, similar to, but much slower than, the retrogression of the moon's nodes.

The moon has a greater effect on these accumulated parts of the earth about the equator, than the sun, because she is nearer. *Newton* estimated the effect of the sun's attraction, in producing the annual precession, 9 seconds, 7 thirds; and of the moon's, 40 seconds, 52 thirds; and of both, 50 seconds. *Principia*, Lib. III. prop. 39. Later observations make it a little more, about $50\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. See *Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary*, *Precession of the Equinoxes*.

Hence, the rate of the precession is 1 degree in $71\frac{1}{2}$ years; 1 deg. 23 min. $53\frac{1}{2}$ sec. in a century; and 360 degrees, or an entire revolution, in 25,748 years.

From this shifting of the equinoctial points backwards, and with them all the signs of the ecliptic, it follows, that those stars, which, in the infancy of *Grecian* Astronomy, were in *Aries*, are

now found in *Taurus*; those of *Taurus*, in *Gemini*, &c. In consequence of which, the stars that rose or set at particular seasons of the year, in the times of *Job*, *Hesiod*, *Eudoxus*, *Virgil*, *Pliny*, *Columella*, &c. no longer correspond to those particular seasons, at present. The difference of ancient and modern longitudes, if known, will easily give the difference of times.

GENERATIONS.

This was the earliest mode of computing considerable periods of time, employed in Sacred and Profane History.

The periods from the Creation to the Deluge, and from the Deluge to the birth of Abraham, are expressly so defined in Scripture, Gen. chap. v. and xi. And the reckoning by generations was adopted by the earliest Greek Historians, *Pherecydes*, *Epimenides*, and *Ephorus*. *Newton's Chron.* p. 2.

A generation is the interval of time elapsed between the births of the father and of his son. This interval, therefore, is variable; 1. according to the standard of human life; and 2. according as the generations are counted by eldest, middle, or youngest sons. Dividing human life into three stages, or climacterics, the generative faculty is generally found to subsist in its vigour during the second stage, or between 21 years and 42 years, at the present lowest reduction of the standard: whence, 33 years has been usually adopted in all countries, as the mean length of a generation; or three generations reckoned equivalent to a century. This was the computation of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, according to *Herodotus*, b. 2. And the *Hindus* also allowed a hundred years for three generations; according to Sir *William Jones*, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 136, octavo.

REIGNS.

The computation by reigns, was also employed for the same purpose, both in Sacred and Profane History. The chronology of the *Judges* and *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, until the end of the *Babylonish* Captivity, was so adjusted; and the *Assyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Median*, *Lydian*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* Chronology, by their respective Historians.

Reigns, however, furnish more variable and uncertain measures of time than generations; because "Kings are succeeded not only by their *eldest* sons, but sometimes by their *brothers*: and

sometimes they are *slain*, or *deposed*, and succeeded by others of an *equal* or *greater* age; especially in *elective*, or *turbulent* kingdoms." *Newton's Chron.* p. 54. Whence *Newton* concludes, that, "by the ordinary *course of Nature*, kings reign, one with another, about *eighteen* or *twenty* years apiece: and if, in some instances, they reign, one with another, five or six years longer, in others, they reign as much shorter:—*eighteen* or *twenty* years is a *medium*;" p. 53. And he states the proportion of mean reigns to mean generations, as 19 to $33\frac{1}{3}$, or as 4 to 7: thus reckoning generations nearly double the length of reigns. P. 57, 118.

This standard of reigns is collected from eleven cases adduced by *Newton*, which certainly give the average of 19 years to a reign. But in three of those cases, the reigns are uncommonly short; $11\frac{2}{3}$, $15\frac{1}{4}$, and $17\frac{1}{4}$ years apiece: and deducting these, the eight remaining cases furnish an average of nearly 21 years apiece.

And a fairer and fuller induction of particular cases, will furnish a higher average.

1. *Syncellus* gives a list of *Egyptian* kings, in which 59 kings, *Tethmosis*, &c. from the Exode of the Israelites, B.C. 1649, to the final reduction of Egypt by the Persians, B.C. 350, reigned 1299 years; or 22 years apiece.

2. The *Parian Chronicle* and *Eusebius*, furnish a list of 30 *Athenian* kings from *Cecrops*, B.C. 1558, to *Alcmæon*, ending B.C. 754, who reigned 804 years; or $26\frac{2}{3}$ years apiece.

3. *Herodotus* mentions 22 kings of *Lydia*, *Argon*, &c. B.C. 1223, ending with *Candaules*, B.C. 718, who reigned 505 years; or nearly 23 years apiece.

4. The 18 kings of *Judah*, *Rehoboam*, &c. B.C. 990, ending with *Zedekiah*, B.C. 586, and the destruction of the Temple, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, reigned 404 years, or $22\frac{4}{9}$ years apiece.

5. In *England*, 31 kings, from *William* the Conqueror, A.D. 1066, to the end of *George* II. B.C. 1760, reigned 694 years, or $22\frac{2}{5}$ years apiece.

6. In *Scotland*, 33 kings, from *Malcolm* I. A.D. 938, to the end of *James* I. in *England*, A.D. 1625, reigned 687 years, or nearly 21 years apiece.

7. In *France*, 32 kings, from *Hugh Capet*, A.D. 987, to the murder of *Louis* XVI. in 1793, reigned 806 years, or 25 years apiece.

8. In *Spain*, 32 kings, from *Ferdinand* the Great, A.D. 1027, to *Charles* III. ending 1788, reigned 761 years, or near 24 years apiece.

9. In *Germany*, 55 emperors, from *Charlemagne*, A.D. 800, to *Leopold* II. ending 1792, reigned 992 years, or 18 years apiece.

10. In *Hindustan*, the Brahmins reckon 142 modern reigns in a period of 3153 years, or nearly $22\frac{1}{2}$ years apiece. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 143.

The average of these ten cases, is $22\frac{1}{3}$ years to a reign, in a series of 454 kings, in 10,105 years. From this great scale of comparison, therefore, we are abundantly warranted to fix the average standard of reigns at $22\frac{1}{3}$ years, which will give the proportion of generations to reigns, as $33\frac{1}{3}$ to $22\frac{1}{3}$, or 3 to 2, nearly.

Newton's defective standard of reigns was occasioned by his overlooking the circumstance of *Minorities* in hereditary kingdoms, and *Interregna*, or vacancies in elective; which may sometimes make a moderate series of Reigns equal, if not exceed, Generations. See the cases in point of the seventeen kings of *Sparta*, and the seven kings of *Rome*, in the Review of *Newton's* Chronology.

EPOCHS AND ERAS.

To ascertain the times of events, certain fixed points, or instants of time, have been assumed by Chronologers, from which they begin to reckon, or to which they refer these events. The term *epoch*, ($\epsilon\pi\omicron\chi\eta$) signifies “a stop;” because, says *Scaliger*, *illis sistantur et terminentur mensuræ temporum*, “in them stop and terminate the measures of times.” It now usually denotes a remarkable date; as, the epoch of the destruction of *Troy*, B.C. 1183, &c.

The term *Era*, (not *Æra*, as incorrectly written) is Spanish, signifying *time*, as in the phrase, *de era en era*, “from time to time*.” It was first used in the *Era Hispanica*, instituted B.C. 38, in honour of *Augustus*, when *Spain* was allotted to him, in the distribution of the provinces among the second Triumvirate, *Augustus*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*. The *Gothic* historians use it as a synonyme to *year*: thus *Isidore's* Chronicle :

Era 415, *Anno* 13 *Valentis Imp.* &c.

* See *Spelman's Glossary*, voce *Era*, p. 243—245.

Era 419, An. imperii Theodosii Hisp. 3, &c.

Era 446, An. 14 Arcadii et Honorii.

It now usually denotes an indefinite series of years, beginning from some known *epoch*; and so differs from a *period*, which is a definite series: as the Era of the foundation of *Rome*, the *Era of the Olympiads*, the Era of *Nabonassar*, &c.

Of these, the most generally used, by reference to which all the rest are now regulated, is,

THE VULGAR CHRISTIAN ERA.

Unfortunately for ancient Chronology, there was no one fixed or universally established Era. Different countries reckoned by different eras, whose number is embarrassing, and their commencements not always easily to be adjusted or reconciled to each other; and it was not until A.D. 532, that the *Christian Era* was invented by *Dionysius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by birth, and a *Roman* Abbot, who flourished in the reign of *Justinian*.

The motive which led him to introduce it, and the time of its introduction, are best explained by himself, in a letter to *Petronius*, a bishop.

“Because *St. Cyril* began the first year of his cycle [of 95 years] from the 153d of *Diocletian*, and ended the last in the 247th; we, beginning from the next year, the 248th, of that same tyrant, rather than prince, were unwilling to connect with our Cycles the memory of an impious [prince] and persecutor; but chose rather to antedate the times of the years, from the incarnation of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST: to the end that the commencement of our hope might be better known to us; and that the cause of man’s restoration, namely, OUR REDEEMER’S passion, might appear with clearer evidence*.”

The era of *Diocletian*, which was chiefly used at that time, began with his reign A.D. 284; and therefore the new era of the *incarnation*, A.D. 284 + 248 = A.D. 532. *Strauchius*, and other

* Quia vero Sanctus *Cyrillus* primum cyclum ab anno *Diocletiani* 153 cœpit, et ultimum in 247 terminavit; Nos, a 248 anno ejusdem tyranni potius quam principis, inchoantes, nolimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere: sed magis elegimus ab incarnatione DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI, annorum tempora prænotare; quatenus exordium Spei nostræ notius nobis existeret, et causa reparationis humanæ, id est, passio REDEMPTORIS NOSTRI evidentiùs eluceret. See the whole Letter, *Petav. Tom. II. Append. p. 498.*

Chronologers, I know not upon what grounds, date it A.D. 527, five years earlier.

How justly *Dionysius* abhorred *Diocletian's* memory, may appear from *Eusebius*, who relates, that in the first year of his reign, when *Diodorus* the Bishop was celebrating the Holy Communion with many other Christians in a cave, they were all immured in the earth, and buried alive! Hence, his era was otherwise called the Era of *the Martyrs*; and not from the tenth, last, and bloodiest of the Christian persecutions by the Roman Emperors, in the 19th year of his reign.

Dionysius began his era with the year of our Lord's *incarnation* and *nativity*, in U.C. 753, of the *Varronian* Computation, or the 45th of the *Julian* Era. And at an earlier period, *Panodorus*, an *Egyptian* monk, who flourished under the Emperor *Arcadius*, A.D. 395, had dated the incarnation in the same year.

But by some mistake, or misconception of his meaning, *Bede*, who lived in the next century after *Dionysius*, adopted his year of the Nativity, U.C. 753, yet began the *Vulgar Era*, which he first introduced, the year after, and made it commence Jan. 1, U.C. 754: which was an alteration for the worse, as making the *Christian Era* recede a year further from the true year of the *Nativity*.

The *Vulgar Era* began to prevail in the West about the time of *Charles Martel*, and Pope *Gregory II.* A.D. 730; but was not sanctioned by any public Acts or Rescripts, till the first *German Synod*, in the time of *Carolomannus*, Duke of the *Franks*, which, in the preface, was said to be assembled "*Anno ab incarnatione Dom. 742, 11 Calendas Maii.*" But it was not established till the time of Pope *Eugenius IV.* A.D. 1431, who ordered this era to be used in the public Registers: according to *Mariana*, and others.

Dionysius was led to date the year of the Nativity, U.C. 753, from the Evangelist *Luke's* account that *John* the Baptist began his ministry "in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*;" and that *JESUS* at his baptism, "was *beginning to be about 30 years of age.*" Luke iii. 1—23. For *Tiberius* succeeded *Augustus* at his death, Aug. 19, U.C. 767; and therefore his fifteenth year was U.C. 782; from which, subtracting the assumed year of the nativity, U.C. 753, the remainder was 29 years complete, or 30 years current.

But this date of the nativity is at variance with *Matthew's*

account, that CHRIST was born before *Herod's* death; which followed shortly after his massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, Matt. ii. 1—19. And *Herod's* death was also shortly after the lunar eclipse of March 13, U.C. 750; between that and the passover, which fell that year on the 12th of April; as may be collected from *Josephus*, Ant. 17, cap. 6—8; Bell. Jud. 1, cap. 13, 4—8.

And that *Herod's* death is rightly assigned to the year U.C. 750, is confirmed from the duration of his reign: for *Josephus* states, that by the interest of *Anthony*, *Herod* was appointed king by the Roman Senate, “in the 184th Olympiad, when *Caius Domitius Calvinus*, the second time, and *Caius Asinius Pollio*, were consuls,” U.C. 714. Antiq. 14, 14, 5. And that he was established in the kingdom by the death of his rival, *Antigonus*, who had been set up by the *Parthians*; “when *Marcus Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus* were consuls,” U.C. 717. Antiq. 14, 16, 4. And he adds, that *Herod* reigned 37 years from his first appointment, by the Senate, and 34 years from the death of *Antigonus*, Antiq. 17, 8, 1; and Bell. Jud. 1, 33, 8. Now, if we take these as current years, according to the usage of *Josephus**, the death of *Herod* was $U.C. 714 + 36 = U.C. 717 + 33 = U.C. 750$, as before. Such a critical conformity of *astronomical* and *historical* evidence, both furnished by an author the most competent to procure genuine information, establishes both; and decides the question, that *Herod* could not have died later than the year U.C. 750; though *Lardner* professed himself “unable to determine” between that year, or U.C. 751. See his *Credibility*, Vol. I. Append. p. 428. Edit. 1788.

Christ's birth, therefore, could not have been earlier than U.C. 748, nor later than U.C. 749. And if we assume the latter year, as most conformable to the whole tenor of Sacred History, with *Chrysostom*, *Petavius*, *Prideaux*, *Playfair*, &c. this would give Christ's age at his baptism, about 34 years; contrary to *Luke's* account.

In order, therefore, to reconcile the two Evangelists together, in this most important point, which forms the basis of the whole scheme of *Gospel-Chronology*, either the 15th of *Tiberius* must

* Thus *Josephus*, in one passage, states that *Herod* died on the *fifth day* after the execution of his son *Antipater*; Ant. 17, 8, 1; in another, “*five days after* ;” Bell. Jud. 1, 33, 8.

be antedated, or the age of Christ, at his baptism, enlarged; or perhaps both: for the 15th of *Tiberius*, reckoned from the death of *Augustus*, Aug. 19, U.C. 767, is indisputably fixed, by means of the great *Lunar Eclipse*, soon after, Sept. 27, U.C. 767, which contributed to quell the dangerous mutiny of the *Pannonian Legions*, on the death of *Augustus*, and to induce them to swear fidelity to *Tiberius*, recorded by *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 1, 28; and *Dio*, *Lib.* 57, p. 604.

But there were different computations of the reigns both of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, in circulation. Some writers computed the reign of *Augustus* from the year of *Julius Cæsar's* death, U.C. 710; as *Josephus*, who reckons it 57 years, 6 months, and 2 days; *Ant.* 17, 2, 2; and *Bell. Jud.* 2, 9, 1. Some, from the year after, U.C. 711, the date of his first consulate, when he wanted but one day to complete his 20th year; and therefore reckoning his reign 56 years. *Vell. Patere.* 2, 65. Others, 46 years, 4 months, and 1 day. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1, p. 339. Others, from the year of the battle of *Actium*, U.C. 723, reckoning it 44 years. Others, from the *Actian Era*, U.C. 724, commencing from the death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, as *Ptolomy*, in his *Canon*, who dates it 43 years, and is followed by *Clem. Alex. Strom.* p. 339.

Some also reckoned the reign of *Tiberius* 26 years, 6 months, 19 days. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1, p. 339. Others, 22 years, 5 months, 3 days. *Joseph.* *Ant.* 18, 7, 10. And *Ptolomy*, in his *Canon*, 22 years; which is adopted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*. And the cause of this difference we learn from the testimony of the *Roman* and *Grecian* historians, *Velleius Patereculus*, (the contemporary of *Tiberius*) *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dio Cassius*; who all agree, that *Tiberius* was admitted by *Augustus* “*colleague of the empire*,” or partner in the government, and in “*the administration of [the imperial] provinces*,” [among which was *Judea*,] and “*in the command of the armies*,” two or three years before his death; either in U.C. 764, or more probably U.C. 765; and that this partnership was confirmed by a decree of the senate. But the 15th of *Tiberius*, reckoned from U.C. 765, would be U.C. 780; from which, subtracting the year of *Christ's* nativity, U.C. 749; the remainder, 31 years, more or less, sufficiently agrees with the latitude of the expression, “*about 30 years of age*.”

This solution agrees with the other historical characters of *Luke*, iii. 1, 2.

1. "When *Pontius Pilate* was governor of *Judea*."

After the death of *Herod* the Great, the *Jewish* nation, weary of his tyranny and cruelties, petitioned the Emperor *Augustus*, "that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws, under the *Roman* government." But the Emperor did not think proper, at that time, to comply with their wishes. In the mean time *Archelaus* assumed the government of *Judea*, according to his father's will, until it should be confirmed from Rome; and at the ensuing passover, April 12, slew above 3000 Jews in a tumult. At length, in the tenth year of his reign, the chiefs of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, no longer brooking his tyranny, preferred an accusation against him to *Augustus*; who having heard both sides, deposed *Archelaus*, and banished him to *Vienne*, in *Gaul*, and confiscated his property; and thenceforth governed *Judea* by his procurators or commissaries. *Joseph. Ant.* 17. cap. 9—15.

The first Procurator was *Coponius*, appointed by the trusty *Cyrenius*, whom *Augustus* sent a second time, in quality of "Governor of *Syria*," U.C. 760, to transact these important affairs, and to levy the assessment of properties, or carry "the taxing" into effect; preparatory to which, he had made an "Enrolment of Persons," U.C. 749, at the time of Christ's birth, as the Emperor's procurator. *Luke* ii. 1—7. The second Procurator who succeeded *Coponius*, about two years, was *Marcus Ambivius*, about four years; then *Annius Rufus*, about one year; and *Valerius Gratus*, eleven years; who was succeeded by *Pontius Pilate*, to U.C. 760. Therefore the date of the appointment of *Coponius*, adding the amount of the several administrations, 18 years, will bring the appointment of *Pilate* to U.C. 778. The same year may be collected by a backward reckoning from the end of his government. *Pilate* continued ten years in the government of *Judea*, and was then deposed for the massacre of the *Samaritans*, some time before the passover of U.C. 789, which preceded the death of *Tiberius*, March 16, 790. Compare *Ant.* 18, 5, 2, 3; and *Ant.* 18, 6, 3. If then he was deposed about the end of U.C. 788, it would bring his appointment to U.C. 778*, as before; but this was the year before *John's* preaching; or in the fourteenth year of the joint reign of *Tiberius*.

* This is confirmed by *Eusebius*, who says that *Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, U.C. 767 + 11 = U.C. 778.

“*Pilate* therefore was undoubtedly Governor of *Judea* at the time of *John the Baptist’s* ministry, and till after our Saviour’s crucifixion.” *Lardner*, *Credib.* Vol. I. p. 381.

2. “*Herod [Antipas]* being tetrarch of *Galilee*.”

Augustus divided *Herod the Great’s* dominions, at his death, into four tetrarchies: the first of *Judea*, was given to *Archelaus*, with the title of *Ethnarch*, and a promise of that of *King*, if he should deserve it by his good conduct. He was therefore considered as king by the *Jews*. Hence the expression βασιλευι, “reigned,” was applied to him at his accession by the Evangelist, *Matt.* ii. 22. But the bad character he bore, and the divine warning, deterred the holy family from returning into *Judea*, after *Herod’s* death, from *Egypt*; and induced them to settle again under the milder government of *Herod Antipas*, in *Galilee*, at *Nazareth*. *Matt.* ii. 19—23. This was the same *Herod* who married *Herodias*, his brother *Philip’s* wife; and when rebuked for it by the Baptist, imprisoned, and at his wife’s instigation, beheaded him. *Mark* vi. 17—23. To whom also *CHRIST* was sent to be examined by *Pilate*. *Luke* xxiii. 6, 7.

3. “His brother *Philip*, tetrarch of *Iturea*, and of the region of *Trachonitis*.” *Josephus* informs us that “he died in the 20th year of *Tiberius* (U.C. 787) after he had governed *Trachonitis*, and *Batanea*, and *Gaulanitis*, 37 years.” *Ant.* 18, 5, 6. This brings the beginning of his reign to U.C. 750; and therefore furnishes an additional argument, that *Herod’s* death has been rightly assigned to that year.

When *Caligula* succeeded *Tiberius* in the empire, he gave *Philip’s* dominions, which were vacant, to *Agrippa*, the brother of *Herodias*, with the title of *King*. But this wicked and ambitious woman, envying her brother’s superior rank, urged and prevailed on her husband, against his will, to go to *Rome*, and solicit the same title from the Emperor; who, instead of granting his petition, having received some unfavourable information of his conduct, not only took away his government, and gave it to *Agrippa*; but also banished himself to *Lyons*, in *Gaul*, whither his wife and ill-adviser followed him: thus justly punished for her ambitious envy, and her husband for following her vain counsels, as *Josephus* observes, *Ant.* 18, cap. 7, 8.

4. “And *Lysanias*, tetrarch of *Abilene*.”

This quarter of *Herod the Great’s* dominions had originally belonged to a former *Lysanias*, who was put to death by *Anthony*,

during his government in the East ; *Augustus* afterwards granted it to *Herod* ; and on his death, restored it to a descendant of the former proprietor, of the same name. When *Caligula* appointed *Agrippa* king of the tetrarchy of *Philip*, he promised also to give him the tetrarchy of *Lysanias*, when it should be vacant ; which was afterwards given to him, on the death of *Lysanias*, by the Emperor *Claudius* ; who thus restored to *Agrippa* the whole of his grandfather *Herod's* dominions. Ant. 18, 7, 10 ; and 19, 5, 1 ; and Bell. Jud. 2, 11, 5.

This *Agrippa* was “*Herod the king*,” who to court popularity with the Jews, persecuted the Apostles, and beheaded *James* the elder, the brother of *John* ; and for his pride and arrogance, was smitten by an angel of the Lord, because he received the blasphemous adulation of the people, “*without giving GOD the glory*,” and was devoured by worms ; as recorded by the Evangelist, Acts xii. 1—23 ; and paraphrased by *Josephus*, Ant. 19, 8, 2. His son was “*the king Agrippa*,” before whom *Paul* so powerfully pleaded his cause ; Acts xxvi. 1—32.

5. “*Annas and Caiaphas being high-priests.*”

Ananus, or *Annas*, was appointed High-Priest by *Quirinus*, or *Cyrenius*, when he was sent by *Augustus* to confiscate the property of *Archelaus*, U.C. 760, in the 37th year after the battle of *Actium*, U.C. 723. *Joseph. Antiq.* 18, 2, 1. *Ananus* continued in office about 14 years, until the administration of *Valerius Gratus*, the fifth governor of *Judea* ; who deposed him about U.C. 774, and appointed *Ismael*, *Eleazar*, son of *Ananus*, and *Simon*, High Priests in succession, none of whom remained above a year in office. Near the end of his administration, he appointed *Joseph*, called *Caiaphas*, the son-in-law of *Ananus*, about U.C. 777 ; who therefore was High Priest during the whole of the administration of *Pilate* ; for *Vitellius*, his successor, removed *Caiaphas* about the passover of U.C. 789, and appointed *Jonathan*, another son of *Ananus*, High Priest in his room. *Joseph. Ant.* 18, 2, 2, and 18, 5, 3. *Annas*, therefore, was the coadjutor of *Caiaphas*, the reigning High Priest at this time : and on account of his age, rank, and consequence, as a man of the first consideration and influence in the state, is named first : for as such, he is represented by *Josephus*. “*The elder Ananus was counted one of the most fortunate of men ; for he had five sons ; and it so happened, that they all ministered to God in the high priesthood ; after he had himself formerly enjoyed that*

honour for a long time: which happened to none of our High Priests." Ant. 20, 8, 1. To this, we may attribute the taking JESUS, when he was apprehended, "first to the house of *Annas*;" who "sent him bound to *Caiaphas*, the High Priest." John xviii. 13—24; Matt. xxvi. 57.

And it was usual with the High Priests at this time to have a senior, who had discharged that office as coadjutor. Thus *Josephus* relates, that on account of a disturbance between the Jews and Samaritans, *Quadratus*, the President of *Syria*, sent two of the most powerful men of the Jews, and the *High-Priests*, *Jonathan* and *Ananias**, &c. and also some of the most distinguished of the *Samaritans*, to *Claudius Cesar*, to answer for the conduct of their nations. Bell. Jud. 2, 12, 6.

From this historical review, it appears how intimately acquainted the Evangelist *Luke* was with the affairs of *Judea*, the neighbouring states, and the *Romans*. He spent some time himself at *Rome*, and could not have been ignorant of the various modes of computing the reigns of their Emperors: and that he did not reckon the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* from the death of *Augustus*, is demonstrated by the opinion of several early Christians, *Tertullian*, *Africanus*, *Lactantius*, &c. that the crucifixion of CHRIST happened in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, when the two *Gemini* were consuls, U. C. 782, or A. D. 29, evidently reckoning from the sole empire of *Tiberius*. But it is impossible that *Luke* could have referred a transaction so early as *John's* ministry, to the same date, understood in the same sense. This argument appears to be decisive; especially if we consider, that their opinion was incorrect, and retrenched two years from the most probable date of the crucifixion, U. C. 784, or A. D. 31. which would throw back the date of *John's* baptism still earlier.

This solution, of dating the 15th of *Tiberius* from his joint reign with *Augustus*, U. C. 765, has been adopted in the margin of our English Bible, dating the 15th of *Tiberius* A. D. 26, or U. C. 779, and either U. C. 764, or U. C. 765, are reckoned the beginning of the joint reign of *Tiberius*, by *Usher*, *Pagius*, *Herwaert*, *Clericus*, *Prideaux*, *Mann*, *Playfair*, &c.

* *Jonathan* was an excellent character: when the high priesthood was offered to him a second time, he declined it, and recommended another brother of his, as worthier than himself. By his interest at the *Roman* court, he contributed to get *Felix* made governor of *Judea*: who, in return for it, and for his wholesome admonitions, got him assassinated!—*Ananias*, the High-Priest, was he who insulted *Paul* on his trial. Acts xxiii. 2, 3.

DAY OF THE NATIVITY.

The vulgar day of our Lord's nativity, *December 25*, though an early tradition, as appears from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Lib. 5, cap. 13, p. 312, Edit. *Coteler.* was not established till the time of the Emperor *Constantine*, who died A. D. 337, when it was enacted, probably about the Council of *Nice*, A. D. 325, by the *Roman Church*, and adopted by the *Greek Church* ten years after, at *Constantinople*; according to *Chrysostom*, in his homily on the *day of the nativity*: and at that time it was separated from the *Epiphany*, held on the 6th of *January*: whereas the *Greek Church* had heretofore celebrated the *Nativity* and the *Epiphany* on the same day, supposing, as was natural, that the birth of *CHRIST*, and the first appearance of the *Star*, happened on the same day. But the Church of *Rome* separated them, under the pretext, that “*the second appearance of the Star to the Magi in the way to Bethlehem, was holier than the first**: but in reality to multiply holidays. This occasioned great discontents at *Constantinople*, when introduced there by *Gregory, the Theologian*, from *Rome*, the citizens murmuring at the separation, and saying to him, *You have divided the feast, and involved us in polytheism* †!”—An early objection against the Church of *Rome*.

How injudiciously the 25th of *December* was fixed, may appear from comparison of the two days.

The 6th of *January* having been the established day of the feast of the *Epiphany*, the *Romanists* did not venture to alter that, but they fixed the day of the nativity a fortnight earlier, supposing that interval sufficient for the *Magi* to come from the neighbouring country of *Arabia Felix*, which was imagined then (and is still by some commentators, *Grotius*, &c.) to have been their native country, from some passages in the *Psalms*, “*The kings of Seba and Saba shall bring gifts [to CHRIST.]*” —“*To him shall be given of the gold of Seba.*” *Ps.* lxxii. 10—15, &c. Forgetting all the while that their visit to *Bethlehem* must have been *after* the *purification* of his mother, and

* In the *Ordo Romanus*, and also in the book *De divinis officiis*, it is observed: *Nec prætereundum est, quod hæc secunda Nativitas Christi, tot illustrata mysteriis, honoratior sit quam prima.*

† Λεγοντες, ότι ετεμες την έορτην, και εις πολυθειαν ήμας ενεβαλες. *Patres Apostolici, Cotelerius, Tom. I. p. 313.*

his *presentation* in the temple, *forty* days after his birth, (Luke ii. 22—27; Levit. xii. 2—8.) which evidently was *prior* to the flight of the holy family to *Egypt*; and also, that the *Magi* were the established priesthood of the *Persian* empire, from the earliest times, and therefore, that even forty days would be too short for their journey from that distant country.

The true cause of their fixing on the 25th of *December*, is thus perhaps best explained by Sir *Isaac Newton*.

“ The times of the *birth* and *passion* of CHRIST, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the *Christians* of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them in the *cardinal points* of the year; as the *Annunciation* of the *Virgin Mary*, on the 25th of *March*, which, when *Julius Cæsar* corrected the calendar, was the *Vernal equinox*; the feast of *John* the Baptist on the 24th of *June*, which was the *Summer solstice*; the feast of *St. Michael* on September 29th, which was the *Autumnal equinox*; and the *birth* of CHRIST on the *Winter solstice*, December 25th; with the feasts of *St. Stephen*, *St. John*, and the *Innocents*, as near it as they could place them; and because the *solstice*, in time, removed from the 25th of *December* to the 24th, the 23d, and the 22d, and so on backwards, hence some, in the following centuries, placed the birth of CHRIST on *December* 23d, and at length on *December* 20; and for the same reason, they seem to have set the feast of *St. Thomas* on *December* 21, and that of *St. Matthew* on *September* 21.

“ So also, at the entrance of the sun into all the signs of the *Julian* calendar, they placed the days of other saints: as the *Conversion of Paul*, on *January* 25, when the sun entered *Aquarius*; *St. Matthias*, on *February* 25, when he entered *Pisces*; *St. Mark*, on *April* 25, when he entered *Taurus*; *Corpus Christi*, on *May* 26, when he entered *Gemini*; *St. James*, on *July* 25, when he entered *Cancer*; *St. Bartholomew*, on *August* 24, when he entered *Virgo*; *Simon and Jude*, on *October* 28, when he entered *Scorpio*; and if there were any other remarkable days in the *Julian* calendar, they placed the saints upon them: as *St. Barnabas* on *June* 11, where *Ovid* seems to place the feast of *Vesta* and *Fortuna*, and the goddess *Matuta*; and *St. Philip* and *St. James*, on the first of *May*, a day dedicated both to the *Bona Dea*, or *Magna Mater*, and to the goddess *Flora*, and still celebrated with her rites.

“ All which shews that these days were first fixed in the *Christian Churches* by *mathematicians at pleasure*, without any ground in *tradition*; and that the *Christians* afterwards took up with what they found in the *calendars*.” *Prophecies of Daniel*, chap. ii. Part I. p. 144.

Hospinian, a learned *German* antiquary, is of opinion that the *Christians* at *Rome* did not celebrate the 25th of *December*, as thinking *CHRIST* was then born, but to make amends for the Heathen *Saturnalia*; which was a season of great festivity, beginning on *December 16*, and lasting three days, but usually prolonged to the end of the week, on account of the succeeding feast of the *Sigillarii*. *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 10*. And indeed the crowding together so many holydays, near the end of *December*, as we find in the calendar, strongly confirms this opinion.

To determine the true day of *CHRIST*'S birth, as *Scaliger* says, *belongs to God alone, not man**. Of all the various conjectures that have been proposed, the most probable are, either 1. that “ *Christ, our Passover*,” was born about the time of the *vernal equinox*, when the *Passover* was celebrated, or 2. about the *autumnal equinox*, at the celebration of the feast of *tabernacles*, when “ the *WORD* became flesh, and (*εσκηνωσεν*) *tabernacled* among us, (*John i. 14*.) or 3. on the great day of *atonement*, the 10th day of the seventh month, as “ a *faithful high-priest*, in things pertaining to *GOD*, to *make atonement* for the sins of the people [of *Israel*,”] *Heb. ii. 17*. “ to be *himself a propitiation* for our sins; and not for our's only, but also for those of the whole world.” 1 *John ii. 2*. And if this last (adopted by *Primate Usher*) be preferred, it gives a peculiar emphasis to the declaration of the angel to the shepherds on the night of the nativity:—“ *Fear not*, for lo, I bring you *glad tidings of great joy*, which shall be unto *all the people* [of *Israel*:] for unto you is born *this day* a *SAVIOUR*, who is *CHRIST THE LORD*.—*Glory to GOD* in the highest, and on earth, *peace, goodwill towards men*.” *Luke ii. 10—14*.

And indeed either of these two last epochs agrees better than the first with the prevailing traditions of the duration of

* *Diem vero definire, unius DEI est, non hominis.*

THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST.

The apostolical father, *Ignatius*, a disciple of *John* the Evangelist, and bishop of *Antioch*, the second in succession from *Peter*, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of *Trajan*, A. D. 107, in his epistle to the *Trallians*, gives the following curious and valuable testimony; *Cotelerius, Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 68.

“GOD THE WORD—having lived in the world *three decads of years*, was baptized by *John* truly, and not seemingly; and having preached the Gospel *three years*, and wrought signs and wonders; he, the Judge, was judged by the *false Jews* and *Pilate*; was scourged, smitten on the cheek, spit upon, wore a crown of thorns and a purple robe, was condemned, was crucified, truly, not seemingly, nor in appearance, nor by deception; he died truly, and was buried, and was raised from the dead,” &c.

And this is confirmed by the testimony of *Eusebius*, the learned Bishop of *Cesarea*, who flourished about A. D. 300, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, p. 400.

“It is recorded in history, that the whole time of OUR SAVIOUR’S teaching and working miracles was *three years and a half*, which is *the half of a week* [of years.] This *John* the Evangelist will represent to those who critically attend to his Gospel. One week of years, then, may be reckoned the whole time of his continuance with his Apostles, both before his passion, and after his resurrection from the dead: for it is written, that until his passion, he shewed himself to all, disciples and not disciples; during which time, by his doctrines and extraordinary cures, he shewed the powers of his GODHEAD to all without distinction, both *Greeks* and *Jews*; and also after his resurrection from the dead, he was with his disciples and apostles, as it is reasonable to think, an equal number of years; ‘*being seen of them forty days, and conversing with them, and telling them the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,*’ as contained in the *Acts of the Apostles*. So that this is the ‘*one week of years,*’ signified by the prophecy [of *the seventy weeks* in *Daniel*] during which ‘*he confirmed the covenant with many;*’ namely, by strengthening the new covenant of the Gospel-preaching. And who were *the many* with whom he confirmed it? Plainly his *disciples* and *apostles*, and all those of the *Hebrews* that believed on him. Moreover, ‘*in the half of this one week,*’ in which he confirmed the covenant disclosed to the

many, 'was the sacrifice taken away,' and the libation, and 'the abomination of desolation' began; since, in the midst of this week, after the three years and half of his teaching, at the time of his passion, 'the veil of the temple was rent from top to bottom;' so that from that time, the libation and the sacrifice was *virtually* taken away from them, and the abomination of desolation began to take place in the temple, that tutelary power which watched over and guarded the [holy] place from the beginning to that season, leaving them desolate."

These two admirable passages, which I have given at length, in order to render justice not only to the piety, but to the critical knowledge of the *facts*, the *mysteries*, and the *prophecies* of holy writ, which they display, by their consistency and harmony with each other, not only establish the authenticity of the former, which has been reckoned among the interpolated epistles of the venerable *Ignatius*, but the latter especially, furnishes the best clue, perhaps, any where to be found, to the whole scheme of the Gospel dispensation, as being the consummation of ancient prophecy, no less in its precise period of *time*, than in every other respect. They are indeed a host against all the discordant and absurd *guesses*, ancient or modern, about the longer or shorter duration of our Lord's ministry, which, to compare together, bring with them their own refutation. I shall not therefore waste the reader's patience, nor trespass on the limits of this *apparatus* by retailing them, in order to be rejected afterwards.

Ignatius and *Eusebius* both assign *three years* for the duration of our Lord's public ministry; the latter mentions an additional *half year*, from his baptism to its commencement, during which our Lord was employed in privately selecting and preparing his disciples. And a critical inspection of the *Gospels*, especially of *John's*, (recommended by *Eusebius*) will furnish internal evidence, the most solid and satisfactory, of the correctness of this period; by distinguishing *the four passovers* which included our Lord's public ministry, and arranging them chronologically, according to the foregoing principles:

TABLE X. GOSPEL CHRONOLOGY.

	U.C.	B.C.
<i>John the Baptist</i> born, about Spring. Luke i. 57		
—80		
<i>Augustus</i> decrees an enrollment, in <i>Herod's</i> dominions. Luke ii. 1.....	749	5
The enrollment made by <i>Cyrenius</i> , in Summer. Luke ii. 3		
JESUS CHRIST born, about Autumn. Luke ii. 4—7		
————— presented in the Temple. Luke ii. 27		
Visit of the Persian <i>Magi</i> , about February. Matt. ii. 1—12	750	4
Flight of the Holy Family to <i>Egypt</i> . Matt. ii. 13—14		
Massacre at Bethlehem. Matt. ii. 16		
Death of <i>Herod</i> , about Spring. Matt. ii. 19		
<i>Archelaus</i> , Ethnarch of <i>Judea</i> . Matt. ii. 22		
Passover, April 12		
	U.C.	A.D.
<i>Archelaus</i> deposed, and <i>Judea</i> made a Roman province	760	7
The assessment, or “ <i>taxing</i> , made by <i>Cyrenius</i> , then Governor of <i>Syria</i> .” Luke ii. 2		
<i>Ananus</i> , or <i>Annas</i> , made high-priest		
<i>Coponius</i> , first Procurator of <i>Judea</i>		
CHRIST'S first visit to the Temple, in his 12th year. Luke ii. 42—50	761	8
<i>Marcus Ambivius</i> II. Procurator		
<i>Tiberius</i> , joint emperor with <i>Augustus</i>	762	9
<i>Annius Rufus</i> III. Procurator	765	12
<i>Annius Rufus</i> III. Procurator	766	13
The death of <i>Augustus</i> , August 19	767	14
<i>Valerius Gratus</i> IV. Procurator. 11 years		
<i>Ismael</i> , High-priest	774	21
<i>Eleazar</i> , son of <i>Annas</i> , High-priest.....	775	22
<i>Simon</i> , son of <i>Camith</i> , High priest.....	776	23
<i>Joseph Caiaphas</i> , High-priest, 11 years	777	24
<i>Pontius Pilate</i> V. Procurator, 10 years	778	25
<i>John Baptist</i> begins his ministry “in the 15th year of <i>Tiberius</i> .” Luke iii. 1—18; Matt. iii. 1—12; Mark i. 4—8; John i. 19—28	779	26

U.C. A.D.

CHRIST baptized, "about 30 years of age," near Autumn. Luke iii. 21—23; Matt. iii. 13—17; Mark i. 9—11; John i. 32—34	}	780	27
His temptation 40 days in the wilderness. Matt. iv. 1—11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1—13			
Chooses disciples. John i. 37—52			
His first miracle at <i>Cana</i> . John ii. 1—11			
I. <i>Passover</i> . CHRIST visits and purges the temple. John ii. 13—23	}	781	28
<i>John Baptist</i> imprisoned by <i>Herod</i> . Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iii. 20; John iii. 24			
CHRIST begins his public ministry. Matt. iv. 17—25; Mark i. 14, 15; Luke iv. 14, 15; John iv. 3. His sermon on the mount. Matt. v. vi. vii.			
II. <i>Passover</i> . John v. 1—47; (compare iii. 22; iv. 45.) Matt. xii.; Mark ii. 23—28; iii. 1—6; Luke vi. 1—11	}	782	29
He chooses and sends forth the 12 Apostles to preach. Matt. x. 1—42; Mark iii. 13—19; vi. 7, Luke vi. 13—49; ix. 1—6			
<i>John the Baptist</i> sends to enquire of CHRIST. Matt. xi. 3			
<i>John the Baptist</i> beheaded by <i>Herod</i> . Matt. xiv. 10; Mark vi. 28, Luke ix. 9. August 29*			
CHRIST feeds the 5000 in the wilderness. Matt. xiv. 15—23; Mark vi. 35—44; Luke ix. 11—17; John vi. 5—15	}	783	30
III. <i>Passover</i> . John vi. 4			
He sends forth the 70 disciples to preach. Luke x. 1—24			
His transfiguration on Mount <i>Tabor</i> . Matt. xvii. 1—9; Mark ix. 2—8; Luke ix. 28—36; John i. 14; 2 Pet. i. 16—18	}		
He gives sight to a man born blind. John ix.			
The feast of the <i>Dedication</i> , in Winter. John x. 22.			

* Festum decollationis *Johannis Baptistæ*, Romani Augusti 29, constanter celebrant. *Petav. tom. i. p. 172.*

He raises *Lazarus* from the dead. John xi.

He enters *Jerusalem* in triumph. Matt. xxi. 8—11 ;
Mark xi. 8—11 ; Luke xix. 37—40 ; John xii. 12
—18

He visits and purges the Temple a second time.
Matt. xxi. 12, 13 ; Mark xi. 15—17 ; Luke xix.
45, 46.

He declares the Temple "*desolate*." Matt. xxiii. 38 ;
and foretells "*the abomination of desolation*." Matt.
— xxiv. 2—16 ; Mark xiii. 2—14 ; Luke xxi. 6—20

He celebrates the *Passover* with his disciples, and
institutes the *Lord's Supper*. Matt. xxvi. 17—
29 ; Mark xiv. 12—25 ; Luke xxii. 7—10

He is betrayed and apprehended by *Judas*, and tried
by the *chief priests*. Matt. xxvi. 47—75 ; Mark
xiv. 43—72 ; Luke xxii. 47—71 ; John xviii. 1—27

IV. *Passover*, March 27. He is condemned by
Pilate, and crucified. Matt. xxvii. ; Mark xv. ;
Luke xxiii. ; John xviii. 28—40 ; xix.

The *Resurrection*. Matt. xxviii. 1—6 ; Mark xvi.
1—6 ; Luke xxiv. 1—6 ; John xix. 1—9

Sundry appearances of OUR LORD to his disciples
during 40 days. Acts i. 3, &c.

The *Ascension*. Mark xvi. 19 ; Luke xiv. 51 ; Acts i. 9.

Whitsunday. Amazing effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT
upon the apostles and disciples ; and first-fruits of
the Church of CHRIST, about 3000 souls. Acts ii. 1
—41

The Church increased to 5000. Acts iv. 4

The disciples strengthened by a second effusion of
the HOLY SPIRIT. Acts iv. 31

Miraculous punishment of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*,
for "lying unto GOD." Acts v.

The disciples multiply, both *Greeks* and *Jews*, and
seven deacons appointed. Acts vi. 1—7

A great *crowd* (*οχλος*) of the *priests* converted. Acts
vi. 7.....

784 31

785 32

786 33

Powerful preaching of <i>Stephen</i> . Acts vi. 8—15	}	787	34
His trial. Acts vii. 54			
CHRIST appears to him. Acts vii. 55, 56			
Hismartyrdom, about Autumn. Acts vii. 57—60; viii. 2			
First persecution of the Church at <i>Jerusalem</i> , and dispersion of the disciples through <i>Judea</i> and <i>Samaria</i> , which contributed to the encrease of the Church. Acts viii. 1—40.....			

In this general outline, I have annexed the leading occurrences after our Lord's ascension, during the remaining *three years and a half* of the Passion Week, ending with the martyrdom of *Stephen*, which our *Bible Chronology*, *Usher*, and *Pearson*, all date A.D. 34.

The simplicity and uniformity of the whole, and the consistency and harmony of the several parts, with the accounts of the *Sacred*, *Jewish*, and *Roman historians*, all carefully compared together, and verified by *eclipses*, will, I trust, confirm the solidity of the principles upon which this Table is constructed; and tend to remove much of the confusion, perplexity, and embarrassment, in which this most obscure and difficult, perhaps, but unquestionably, most important and interesting period of *our Lord's Ministry* has been hitherto involved by almost every new *Harmonist*, patching and mending the work of his predecessors.

Nor will the most prejudiced and attached advocate of the *Vulgar Bible Chronology* have any just cause to complain of this arrangement, which leaves him still in full possession of the established dates of the beginning of the Passion Week of Years, A.D. 27, and the ending, A.D. 34. It also retains the four passovers during three full years, and only reverses the antecedent and subsequent spaces, by shifting backwards the year of crucifixion from A.D. 33, which was assumed on no earlier authority than that of *Roger Bacon*, in the 13th century*, to A.D. 31, in

* *Roger Bacon* found by computation, that the Paschal full moon, A.D. 33, fell on *Friday*; and this circumstance led him, and several others, *Scaliger*, *Usher*, *Pearson*, &c. to conclude, that this was the year of the crucifixion. But admitting the computation to be exact, as afterwards verified by *Scaliger*, *Newton*, *Mann*, and *Lamy*, (see *Bowyer's Conjectures* * on the *New Testament*, John vi. 4, p. 149.) this very circum-

* The number 4, assigned to *Bacon's* computation of the day of the Paschal full moon, is incorrect: it should be 6, or *Friday*.

the consulship of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, as supported by the respectable testimony of *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, in the sixth century, noticed before. This reduces the interval from our Lord's baptism, about Autumn, A.D. 27, to the first Passover, A.D. 28, to half a year; while it lengthens the interval from the crucifixion, in Spring, A.D. 31, to the martyrdom of *Stephen*, about Autumn, in A.D. 34, to three years and half: both surely with greater conformity to the Gospel history, which includes a much greater number of events in the latter interval than in the former.

Eusebius dates the first half of the Passion Week of Years as beginning with our Lord's baptism, and ending with his crucifixion. The same period precisely is recorded by *Peter*, as including the duration of our Lord's *personal* ministry: "All the time that the LORD JESUS went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of [or by] *John*, until the day that he was taken up from us," at his *ascension*, which was only 43 days after the crucifixion. Acts i. 21, 22. And the remaining half of the Passion Week ended with the martyrdom of *Stephen*, in the seventh or last year of the week. For it is remarkable, that the year after, A.D. 35, began a new Era in the Church, namely, the Conversion of *Saul*, or *Paul*, the Apostle, by the personal appearance of CHRIST to him on the road to *Damascus*, when he received his mission to the *Gentiles*, after the *Jewish* Sanhedrim had formally rejected CHRIST by persecuting his disciples. Acts ix. 1—18. And the remainder of the Acts principally records the circumstances of his mission to the *Gentiles*, and the Churches he founded among them.

The *Bible Chronology*, however, is more correct than *Usher's*, (from which it was taken, with some alterations, by Bishop *Lloyd*) in dating the beginning of *John's* baptism, A.D. 26, a year earlier than *Usher*, who dates it A.D. 27, the same year that he assigns to the baptizing of CHRIST, about six months after; which is certainly too short a space for the work of *John's*

stance proves that it was not the year of the *crucifixion*; for the true Paschal full moon was the day before, *Thursday*, when CHRIST celebrated the Passover with his disciples. Besides, *Dodwell* and *Ferguson* give different results in their calculations, the former reckoning *Saturday*, the latter *Tuesday*, to be the day of the Paschal full moon, A.D. 33. Little stress, therefore, is to be laid on such calculations, respecting which *Petavius* remarked: "Desinant itaque chronologi in anno dieque passionis eruendo, mathematicorum calculis ac noviluniorum pleniluniorumque minutis et scrupulosis ratiociniis, sibi ac lectoribus suis negotium facere. Quo in genere, nimia sane περιεργεια quorundam extitit." *Petav.* Vol. II. p. 235.

ministry. For *John* made a great number of “*disciples*,” and “*all the people*,” came to his baptism, far and near, (Luke iii. 21.) which could not have required less than a year at least, if not two; nor is it likely that he would sooner have attracted the notice of the *Sanhedrim* at Jerusalem. It was not till his fame was generally spread, that they sent a solemn deputation of Priests and Levites to him, to enquire who he was.

After this explanation of the *Vulgar Christian Era*, and the important articles connected therewith, we shall proceed to consider the principal Eras of Sacred and Profane Chronology that most frequently occur, reduced to the Christian Era in the following Table :—

TABLE XI. REMARKABLE ERAS.

	B.C.
Creation of the World - - - - -	5411
Julian Period (January 1.) - - - - -	4714
Deluge - - - - -	3155
<i>Cali yuga</i> , Indian era of the Deluge - - - - -	3102
Dispersion of mankind - - - - -	2614
<i>Nimrod</i> reigns in <i>Assyria</i> - - - - -	2554
<i>Menes</i> reigns in <i>Egypt</i> - - - - -	2412
<i>Tcheou</i> , or division of the <i>Chinese</i> empire into twelve provinces - - - - -	2277
<i>Abraham</i> born - - - - -	2153
Settlement of the <i>Israelites</i> in <i>Egypt</i> - - - - -	1863
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i> from <i>Egypt</i> - - - - -	1648
<i>Cecrops</i> reigns at <i>Athens</i> - - - - -	1558
<i>Sesostris</i> reigns in <i>Egypt</i> - - - - -	1308
Destruction of <i>Troy</i> - - - - -	1183
Foundation of <i>Solomon's</i> Temple - - - - -	1027
Era of <i>Iphitus</i> (July 1.) - - - - -	884
Era of the <i>Olympiads</i> (July 19.) - - - - -	776
Foundation of <i>Rome</i> (April 21.) - - - - -	753
Era of <i>Nabonassar</i> (February 26.) - - - - -	747
Era of <i>Seleucidæ</i> , or <i>Alexander's</i> successors (October 1.) - - - - -	312
Era <i>Cæsarea</i> , at <i>Antioch</i> (September 1.) - - - - -	49
Era <i>Juliana</i> (January 1.) - - - - -	46
Era <i>Hispanica</i> (January 1.) - - - - -	38
Vict. <i>Actiaca</i> (August 29.) - - - - -	30

	A.D.
Vulgar <i>Christian</i> Era (January 1.)	1
Cycle of the Sun	10
———— Moon	2
———— Indiction	4
Dominical Letter	B
First year after Bissextile.	
Era of <i>Diocletian</i> , or of <i>Martyrs</i> (September 17.)	284
<i>Hegira</i> , or flight of <i>Mahomet</i> (July 16.)	622
Era of <i>Yezdegird</i> (June 16.)	632
Era <i>Gelalæa</i> (March 14.)	1074
Era of the REFORMATION	
<i>England (Wickliffe)</i>	1360
<i>Bohemia (Huss)</i>	1405
<i>Germany (Luther)</i>	1517
<i>Switzerland (Zuinglius)</i>	1519
<i>Denmark</i>	1521
<i>France (Calvin)</i>	1529
PROTESTANTS first so called	
<i>Sweden (Petri)</i>	1530
<i>Ireland (Brown)</i>	1535
<i>England completed (Cranmer, Bucer, Fagius, &c.)</i>	1547
<i>Scotland (Knox)</i>	1560
<i>Netherlands</i>	1566

ARUNDEL MARBLES.

These celebrated marbles, with many other relics of antiquity, were purchased in *Asia Minor*, in *Greece*, or in the islands of the Archipelago, by Mr. *William Petty*, a skilful and indefatigable antiquary*, employed by *Thomas*, Earl of *Arundel*, in the

* The competence and qualifications of Mr. *Petty*, for antiquarian researches, justifying the choice of his munificent employer, are recorded by the editors of the marbles, *Selden*, *Chandler*, &c. and also by Sir *Thomas Roe*, in his *Negotiations*, who was ambassador at Constantinople from the year 1621 to 1628.

Selden, who was not apt to flatter, represents him as “a man of the greatest judgment and discernment, and no less distinguished for his learning;” and Dr. *Chandler* styles him, “hominem judicio doctrinæ clarum, et summopere prudentem.”

Sir *Thomas Roe*, in his correspondence with the Earl of *Arundel*, on the subject of ancient manuscripts, coins, statues, and inscriptions, repeatedly mentions him with great respect and approbation.

In a letter from Constantinople, dated January 20—30, 1624, Sir *Thomas* acknowledges the receipt of three letters from his Lordship, in recommendation of Mr. *Petty*,

year 1624, for the purpose of making such collections for him in the East. They were brought into England about the beginning

and doubts, "that he will find little worthy of his pains in those rude parts, where barbarism has trodden out all worthy reliques of antiquity." P. 334.

In the next letter, dated October 20—30, 1625, he says, "Mr. *Petty* hath visited *Pergamo*, *Samos*, *Ephesus*, and some other places, where hee hath made your Lordship greate provisions, *though hee lately wrote to mee he had found nothing worth.*" This indicates both his industry and his discernment.

In a subsequent letter, dated March 28, 1626, O. S. he says, "My last letters brought your Lordship the advice of Mr. *Pettye's* shipwracke and losses, upon the coast of *Asya*, returning from *Samos*. *Although hee will not boast to mee, yet I am informed he hath gotten many things rare and ancient.* There was never man so fitted to an employment; that encounters all accidents with so unwearied patience, eats with Greekes on their worst days, lies with fishermen on plancks at the best, is *all things to all men*, that he may obtayne his ends, which are your Lordship's service. He is gone to *Athens*, whither also I have sent." P. 470.

In a letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, dated Constantinople, November 5—15, 1626, he says, "Mr. *Petty* has raked together 200 pieces, all broken, or few entyre; *what they will prove, I cannot judge.* He hath this advantage, that *hee went himself into all the islands, and took all he saw*; and is now gone to *Athens*, where I have had an agent nine months."

And in a subsequent letter to the same, dated April 15, 1628, he says, "I could have laden shippes with such stones as Mr. *Petty* diggs, but good things *undefaced* are rare, or rather not to be found. *Our search hath made many poore men industrious to rippe up old ruins.*" P. 808. Here Sir *Thomas* seems to prize no "good things," but such as were "entire." Mr. *Petty* had more discernment, and amidst a mass of rubbish, selected such fragments as appeared to him "rare and ancient;" though "what they would prove, he could not fully judge," at that time, any more than the ambassador.

Except these extracts, a few trifling anecdotes, scattered through the different writers on the Arundel marbles, and one manuscript letter in the British Museum, which states, that *Petty* was commissioned by King *Charles I.* to purchase a collection of pictures; Mr. *Hewlet*, the latest writer on this subject, could find no memoirs of this extraordinary person, to whom literature is so much indebted.

The foregoing passages of Sir *Thomas Roe's* letters, tend to invalidate the prevailing opinion, first broached by *Gassendi*, in his life of the celebrated *Peiresc*, (that learned and munificent patron of literature, who was counsellor in the Parliament of Provence, and died in 1637,) namely, that "the *Parian Chronicle* had first been discovered by means of *Peiresc*, and purchased for him by one *Sampson*, his agent, at *Smyrna*, for 50 pieces of gold (*auris*), but that when they were ready to be sent on board, by some artifice of the venders, *Sampson* was thrown into prison, and the marbles themselves deranged, or thrown into disorder (*distracta*), and that afterwards they were purchased for Lord *Arundel*, by Mr. *Petty*, at a far greater price, (*pretio longe majori.*)"

This report, unnoticed by Sir *Thomas Roe* and *Petty*, seems vague and improbable in itself; for 1. *Gassendi* evidently confounded the *Parian Chronicle*, which was engraved on a single tablet, with the whole collection. 2. It appears, that the collection of the Arundel marbles was made by *Petty* himself, in detached pieces, during his progress through Asia Minor, the Islands, and Greece; and that the *Chronicle* was not found till near the end, and probably at the island of *Paros*, according to the opinion of the generality of writers, *Du Pin*, *Du Fresnoy*, *Rawlinson*, &c. grounded on the evidence of the *Chronicle* itself, which seems to have been engraved at *Paros* for the author's and his

of the year 1627, and placed in the gardens belonging to Arundel House, in the Strand, London.

On their arrival, they excited a lively curiosity, and were viewed by many inquisitive and learned men; among others, by Sir *Robert Cotton**, who went immediately to that profound

countrymen's use; for if elsewhere, why should *Astyanax* be noticed as Archon, at Paros, in the year that it was made?

It is not probable, indeed, that even Mr. *Petty* exactly knew the contents of the *Marmor Chironicon*, for it is not distinguished by any particular appellation in Sir *Thomas Roe's* correspondence, though included under the general description of "things rare and ancient." We might also reasonably form this conclusion from *Selden's* account of the great difficulty he found in decyphering it, which he represents as the labour of a *great many days*. "It is more obscure," says he, "than the *Smyranean* league, the characters being often entirely obliterated, often nearly so, (elementis sæpius omnino detritis, fugientibus sæpius.) Nevertheless, by the assistance of glasses, and the critical sagacity of my very kind friend, *Patrick Young*, after a great many repeated trials, I have restored them as well as I could." After all this labour, much was left for the industry and skill of future editors to explore; and even since the labours of a *Chandler*, the subject is not yet exhausted, nor the lacunæ fully and satisfactorily supplied by conjectural criticism.

These observations seem abundantly sufficient to establish both the *authenticity* and *antiquity* of the *Parian Chronicle*. No doubts of either were entertained at the time of the discovery of this precious fragment, nor long after, by those who were most competent to judge correctly, *Selden*, *Prideaux*, *Maittaire*, &c. until an ingenious classical sceptic, Rev. *J. Robinson*, ventured to call them in question, in a *Dissertation on the Parian Chronicle*, 1788, octavo. But his hypothesis refutes itself: he admits, that "this curious, learned, and comprehensive system of chronology, including a detail of the principal epochs and transactions of Greece, and other countries, of *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Macedon*, *Lydia*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Sicily*, *Persia*, &c. during a period of 1300 years and upwards, must have been engraved at a considerable expense on a tablet of marble;" and yet he rather inconsistently supposes, "that it might have been a spurious fabrication of some learned Greek, so late as the 16th century, executed from a mercenary motive of gain, in order that it might be sold for a high price at *Smyrna*, a commodious emporium for such rarities, after he had artfully broken the block, and defaced the inscription in several places, to give it an air of antiquity!!" The weakness and inconsistency of his arguments throughout are ably exposed by the learned Mr. *Hewlett*, in a *Vindication of the Authenticity of the Parian Chronicle*, 8vo. which came out in the following year, 1789.

* *Selden* happily expresses the eager and impatient curiosity with which these precious reliques were viewed by the learned on their arrival in London.

Cum primum inviderat ea vir præstantissimus *Robertus Cottonus*, condus ille et promus vetustatis longe locupletissimus, ad me advolat, et impensius instat, ut mane proximo, (nam provector nox erat) ad Græca illa arcana me totum accingerem. Libentissime annuo. Sed ut expeditius res absolveretur, rogo ut in operæ societatem, adsciscerentur amici communes, eruditissimus *Patricius Junius*, bibliothecarius regius, et multijugæ doctrinæ et studii indefatigabilis vir *Ricardus Jamesius*. Utrique condicit ille. Illucescente die crastino, convenimus triumviri in hortis *Arundelianis*, ubi *Smyrnæorum* decreta, et fœdus ab iis cum *Magnesiis*, ad *Seleuci Callinici* Asiæ regis majestatem tutius conservandam percussum, in stelâ variatim disruptâ, primo comperimus. Fragmenta suis locis commissa longitudinem 8 pedum et 2 pollicum; latitudinem pedum 3, poll. 5; crassitiem pollicum 8, continent. Scriptura autem, cujus lineæ utramque oram contin-

scholar and antiquary, *Selden*, and intreated him to undertake the explanation of the Greek inscriptions engraved on the marbles. *Selden* readily complied with his request, but desired the assistance of their common friends, the learned *Patrick Young*, (or *Junius*, as he styled himself in Latin,) librarian to *James I.* and *Charles I.* and *Richard James*, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford.

“The next morning, as soon as it was light, this triumvirate met in *Arundel Gardens*,” and commenced their operations, by cleaning and examining the marble, which contained the league made by the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* with *Seleucus Calinicus*, king of Syria. Afterwards they proceeded to the *Parian Chronicle*, and other inscriptions.

Of these marbles, the most curious and valuable is unquestionably that which contained the precious fragment of the *Parian Chronicle*, which, in its perfect state, exhibited a chronological detail of the principal events of *Greece*, and the neighbouring states, beginning with the accession of *Cecrops*, B.C. 1582, and ending with the archonship of *Diognetus*, at Athens, B.C. 264. But the Chronicle of the last 90 years was lost, so that the part now remaining ends at the archonship of *Diotimus*, B.C. 354. In this fragment, the inscription is, at present, so much corroded and defaced in many places, that the sense can only be discovered by very learned, industrious, and sagacious antiquaries; or, more properly speaking, decyphered and supplied by their *conjectures*.

In the turbulent reign of *Charles I.* and the subsequent usurpation of *Cromwell*, *Arundel House* was often deserted by the illustrious owners; and in their absence, some of the marbles, which were deposited in the gardens, were defaced or broken, and others either stolen, or used to repair the house, to the great detriment of literature. This was, most unfortunately, the fate of the chronological marble in particular; the upper part of it, containing at least half of the inscription, is said to have been worked up in repairing a chimney in *Arundel House*! The fragment now remaining begins with these words—*εσκευασε και νομισμα*, l. 46, epoch. 31.

In the year 1667, the Hon. *Henry Howard*, second son of

gunt, longitudinem pedum 7, et pollicum 6, occupat. Lavando, et sæpius detergendo, lectioni accommodam reddimus, mutuas tradimus operas, et demum quæ reliqua erant exscribimus. *Selden's Works*, Vol. II. p. 1439.

Henry, Earl of *Arundel*, and grandson, by the mother's side, of the first collector, on the application of *John Evelyn*, Esq. presented these curious remains of antiquity to the University of Oxford, where they are carefully preserved in a room adjoining to the public schools, called the *Museum Arundelianum*.

The first edition of the Arundelian Inscriptions was published by *Selden*, in 1628, the year after their arrival, in a small quarto volume, entitled *Marmora Arundeliana*, including twenty-nine Greek and Latin inscriptions, copied from the marbles, with a translation and commentary.

When his edition (which is chiefly the basis of the rest) grew scarce, Bishop *Fell* engaged Mr. *Prideaux* to publish a second, which he did, in 1676, under the title of *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and augmented it with the variorum notes of *Lydiat*, *Ursatus*, and other learned commentators.

In 1732, a third and enlarged variorum edition was published by Mr. *Maittaire*, with the comments of *Selden*, *Price*, *Palmerius*, *Lydiat*, *Marsham*, *Prideaux*, *Reinesius*, *Spon*, *Smith*, *Bentley*, *Maffei*, *Dodwell*, along with his own conjectures and remarks on the marbles, and the preceding comments.

In 1763, after the University had acquired a great variety of other ancient marbles, by the benefactions of Sir *George Wheeler*, the Countess of *Pomfret*, in 1755, Mr. *Dawkins*, Dr. *Rawlinson*, and others; Dr. *Chandler* undertook to give the public a new and improved edition of these valuable remains of antiquity, in a very magnificent volume, in which he has corrected the mistakes of his predecessors, and, in the *Parian Chronicle* especially, has supplied the lacunæ by many happy conjectures. These are introduced in the following copy of the original Greek Chronicle, given by him; and the English translation which follows, is chiefly that of *Hewlett*, founded thereon; which, therefore, is greatly superior to those of Count *Scipio Maffei*, in Italian, M. *Du Fresnoy*, in French, and Dr. *Playfair*, in English, from the earlier editions.

CHRONICUM PARIUM

EX

MARMORIBUS ARUNDELIANIS.



- ου νπαν ων νων ανεγραψα
 τους αν[ωθεν χρονους] αρξαμ[εν]ος απο Κεκροπος του πρωτου βα-
 σιλευσαντος Αθηνων, ειως αρχοντος εμ Παρω [μεν Αστ]υανακτος,
 Αθηνησιν δε Διογνητου.
1. Αφ ου Κεκροψ Αθηνων εβασιλευσε, και η χωρα Κεκροπια εκληθη,
 το προτερον καλουμενη Ακτικη, απο Ακταιου του αυτοχθονος, ετη
 ΧΗΗΗΔΠΙΙΙ.
 2. Αφ ου Δευκαλιων παρα τον Παργασσον εν Λυκωρεια εβασιλευσε,
 [βα]σιλε[υο]ντος Αθηνων Κεκροπος, ετη ΧΗΗΗΔ.
 3. Αφ ου δικη Αθηνησι[ν εγε]νετο Αρει και Ποσειδωνι υπερ Αλιρροθιου
 του Ποσειδωνος, και ο τοπος εκληθη Αρειος παγος ετη ΧΗΗΙΔ'ΔΠΙΙΙ,
 βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Κρ[ανα]ου.
 4. Αφ ου κατακλυσμος επι Δευκαλιωνος εγενετο, και Δευκαλιων τους
 ομβρους εφυγεν εγ Λυκωρειας εις Αθηνας προ[ς Κρανα]ον, και του
 Διο[ς] του Ολυμπιου το ιερ[ον ιδ[ρυσατ]ο, [και] τα σωτηρια εθυσεν,
 [ε]τη ΧΗΗΙΔ'ΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Κρ[α]ν[α]ου.
 5. Α[φ ου Αμφι]κτυων Δευκαλιωνος εβασιλευσεν εν Θερμοπυλαις, και
 συνηγε [τ]ους περι τον ορον οικουντας, και ω[νο]μασεν Αμφικτυονας,
 και Π[υλαια]ν, ου[περ] και νυν επι θυουσιν Αμφικτυονες, [ε]τη
 ΧΗΗΙΔ'ΠΙΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.
 6. Αφ ου Έλλην ο Δευκ[αλιωνος Φθι]ωτιδος εβασιλευσε, και Έλληνες
 [ων]ομασθησαν, το προτερον Γρακοι καλουμενοι, και τον αγωνα
 Παν[αθ[η]ναι[κον] συνεστησαντο, ετη ΧΗΗΙΔ'ΠΙΙ, βασιλευοντος
 Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.
 7. Αφ ου Καδμος ο Αγηνορος εις Θηβας αφικετο [κατα χρησμον, και]
 εκτισεν την Καδμειαν, ετη ΧΗΗΙΔ'Π, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμ-
 φικτυονος.
 8. Αφ ου [Ευρωτας και Λακεδαιμων Λακω]νικης εβασιλευσαν, ετη
 ΧΗΗΙΔ'Π, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.
 9. Αφ ου ναυ[ς πεντ]η[κοντα κωπ]ων εξ Αιγυπτου [ε]ις την Ελλάδα
 επλευσε, και γνωμασθη Πεντεκοντορος, και αι Δαναου θυγατερες . . .
 . . . [Αμνμ]ωνη, και Βα λαρευω, και Ελικη, και Αρχεδικη
 αποκληρωθειςαι υπο των λοιπων [ιερον ιδρυσ]αντ[ο,] και εθυσαν επι

- της ακτης ἐμ παρα[λι]αδι ἐν Λινδῳ της Ῥοδίας, ἐτη ΧΙΗΔΔΔΔΠΙ, βασιλενο[ντος] Αθηνων Εριχθονιου.
10. Αφ οὐ Εριχ]θονιος Παναθηναίους τοις πρώτοις γενομένοις ἄρμα ἐξευξέ, και τον αγωνα εδεικνυε, και Αθηναί[α μετω]ν[ομασε, κ]αι [αγαλμα της Θ]εων μητρος εφανη ἐγ Κυβελοις, και Υαγνις ὁ Φρυξ αυλους πρώτος ἔυρεν ἐγ Κ[ελαι]ναι[ς τη]ς Φρυγ[ι]ας, [και την αρμο- νιαν την κ]αλουμενην Φρυγιστι πρώτος ηυλησε, και αλλους νομους Μητρος, Διονυσου, Πανος, και τον επ[ιχωριων] Θεων και Ἡρωων,] ἐτη ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Εριχθονιου του το ἄρμα ζευξάντος.
11. Αφ οὐ Μινως [ὁ] πρ[ωτος ε]βα[σιλευσε, και Κυ]ῶνιαν ωκισε, και σιδηρος ηυρεθη ἐν τη Ιῆη, ἔυροντων των Ιδαιων Δακτυλων Κελμιος κ[αι Δαμνανεως, ἐτη ΧΗΙΔ'ΔΠΙΙ, βασι]λενοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος.
12. Αφ οὐ Δημητηρ αφικομενη εἰς Αθηνας καρπον εφυ[τε]νεν, και πρ[ος] αλλους επεμψε πρ[ωτη] δ[ια Τ]ριπτολεμου του Κελεου και Νεαιρας, ἐτη ΧΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλενοντος Αθηνησιν Εριχθεως.
13. Αφ οὐ Τριπτο[λεμος καρπον] εσπειρεν ἐν τη Ραρια καλουμενη Ελευ- σινι, ἐτη Χ[Η]ΔΔΔΔ[ΙΙ], βασιλενοντος Αθηνων [Εριχθεως].
14. Αφ οὐ[Ὀρφευς την] αυτου ποιησιν ἐξ[ε]θηκε, Κορης τε ἄρπαγην, και Δημητρος ζητησιν, και την αυτου [κατα]βασιν, και μυ[θο]υ[ς] των ὑποδεξαμενων τον καρπον, ἐτη ΧΗΔΔΔΠ, βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Εριχθεως.
15. [Αφ οὐ Ευμολπος ὁ Μουσαι]ου τα μυστηρια ανεφηγεν ἐν Ελευσινι, και τας του [πατρος Μ]ουσαιου ποιησ[ει]ς ἐξεθηκ[εν], ἐτη ΧΗ . . . βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Εριχθεως του Πανδιονος.
16. Αφ οὐ καθαρμος πρώτος εγενετο [δια φοι]ου πρώτῳ αον . . . εαντ [ἐτη ΧΙΔ']ΔΠ, βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος του Κεκροπος.
17. Αφ οὐ [ε]ν Ελευσινι ὁ γυμνικος [αγων ετεθη, ἐτη Χ , βασιλευ- οντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος του Κεκροπος.]
18. Αφ οὐ [αἱ ανθρωποθυσι]αι, [και] τα Λυκαια ἐν Αρκαδια εγενετο, και λ . . κκε Λυκαονος εδοθησαν [εν] τοις Ελλ[η]σι[ν, ετ]η [Χ] . ν . . βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος του Κεκροπος.
19. Αφ οὐ κα[θαρισθεις ἐν Ελευσιν]ι Ἡρακλης [εμνηθη ξεν]ω[ν] πρ[ω]τος, [ἐτη Χ] . . . βασιλενοντος Αθηνησιν Αιγεως.
20. Αφ οὐ Αθηνησι [σπανι]ς των καρπων εγενετο, και μαντενομενος [τοις] Αθην[αίους] Απολλων ηυ[αγκασεν] ἔκα[ς] υποσχε[ει]ν, α[ς] αμ Μινως αξιωσει, ἐτη ΧΔΔΔΙ, βασιλενοντος Αθηνων Αιγ[εως].
21. Αφ οὐ Θησ[ευς] Αθηνων τας δωδεκα πολεις εἰς το αυτο συνψικισεν, και πολιτειαν και την δημοκρατειαν [πρώτος καθεστηκω]ς Αθηνων, τον των Ισθμιων αγωνα εθηκε, Σινιν αποκτεινας, ἐτη ΙΗ'ΗΗΗΗΙΔ'ΔΔΔΔΠ.
22. Απο της Αμμον[ιας] τη[ς] πρώτης, ἐτη ΙΗ'ΗΗΗΗΙΔ'ΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλ- ενοντος Αθηνων Θησεως.
23. Αφ οὐ Αργειοι[σιν] Αδρα[στος ε]βασιλευσ[ε]ν, και τον αγωνα [ε]ν

[Νεμεα ε]θ[εσ]αν [οί Επτα,] ετη ΙΗ'ΙΗΗΗΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλευον-
τος Αθηνων Θησεως.

24. Αφ ου οι [Ελλη]νες εις Τροιαν ε[στ]ρατευ[σαντο] ετη ΙΗ'ΗΗΗΗΗΗΔ'ΙΙΠΙ,
βασιλευοντος Αθη[νων Μεν]εσθεως, τρεις και δεκατον ετους.
25. Αφ ου Τροια ήλω, ετη ΙΗ'ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων
[Μενεσθε]ως, [εικοστου και] δευτερου ετους, μηνος Θ[αργηλιω]νος
εβδομη φθινοντος.
26. Αφ ου Ορεστη[ς εν Σκυθ]ια των αυτο[ν] μανιων ιαθη, και Α[ιγισθου]
θυγατρι [Ηριγ]ον[η] υπερ Αι[γισθου] και αυ[τρω] δικη εγενετ[ο] εν
Αρειου παγω, ήν Ορεστης ενικησεν [ισων ψηφ]ων[ουσων] ετη
[ΙΗ']ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ[Δ] Π, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Δημοφωτος,
27. Αφ ου [Σαλαμνα εν] Κυπρω Τευκρος ωκισεν, ετη ΙΗ'ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΙΙ,
βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Δημοφωτος.
28. Αφ ου Νη[λ]ευς ωκισ[εν] εν Καρια Μιλητον, αγειρας Ιωνας οι ωκισ[αν]
Εφεσον, Ερυθρας, Κλαζομενας, [Πριηννη, και Λεβεδον, Τηω,] Κολο-
φωνα, [Μ]υουντα, [Φωκαιαν,] Σαμον, [Χιον, και] τα [Παν]ιωνι[α]
εγενετο, ετ[η] ΙΗ'ΗΗΗ[Δ]ΠΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Μενεσθεως τρεις
και δεκατου [ε]τους.
29. Αφ ου [Ήσ]ιοδος ο ποιητης [εφαν]η, ετη ΙΗ'ΗΙΗ'ΔΔ[Δ], βασιλευοντος
Αθηνων] . . .
30. Αφ ου Όμηρος ο ποιητης εφανη, ετη ΙΗ'ΗΔΔΔΔΠΙ, βασιλευοντος
Αθηνω[ν Δ]ιογνητου.
31. Αφ ου Φ[ει]δων ο Αργειος εδημ[ευθη, και μετρα και σταθμα] εσκευασε
και νομισμα αργυρου εν Αιγινη εποιησεν, ενδεκατος ων αφ Ηρακ-
λεους, ετη ΙΗ'ΗΔΔΔΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων [Μεγακλε]ους.
32. Αφ ου Αρχιας Ευαγητου, δεκατος ων απο Τημενου, εκ Κορινθου
ηγαγε την αποικιαν [εις] Συρακου[σας, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ,
βασιλευον]τος Αθηνων Αισχυλου ετους εικοστου και ενος.
33. Αφ ου κατ' ενιαυτον ηρ[ξ]εν [Κ]ρ[ε]ων, ετ[η] ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔ.
34. Αφ ου [Λακεδαιμ]ο[νιοις Τ]υ[ρταιος] συνεμαχησεν,] ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΙ,
αρχοντος Αθηνησι Λυσι[ου].
35. Αφ ου Τερπανδρος ο Δερδενεος ο Λεσβιος τους νομους του[ς π]α[λαι]ων
[καιν]ουσθαι αυλητ[ας] εθε]λησε, και την εμπροσθε μουσικην μεεστη-
σεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Δρωπιλου.
36. Αφ ου Α[λ]υαττη[ς] Λυδ[ων] εβα]σιλευσ[εν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔ]ΔΔΔΙ, αρ-
χοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστοκλεους.
37. Αφ ου Σαπφω εν Μιτυληνης εις Σικελιαν επλευσε φυγουσα,
.. ολ θ [ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΠΙΙ, αρχον]τος Αθηνησι μεν Κριτιου
του προτερου, εν Συρακουσαις δε των [Γεω]μορων κατεχοντων την
αρχην.
38. [Αφ ου Αμφικτυονες ενικησαν ελ]θοντες Κυρραν, και ο αγων ο γυμ-
νικος ετεθη χρηματιτης απο των λαφυρων, ετη ΗΗ[Η]ΔΔΠΙ, αρ-
χοντος Αθηνησι Σιμω[ν]ος.

39. Αφ οὐ [ὁ στεφ]ανιτης αγων παλιν ετεθη, ετη ΗΗΗΔ[Δ]Π, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Δαμασιου του δευτερου.
40. Αφ οὐ εν α[πην]αις Κωμω[δαι εφορεθησαν ὑπο] των Ικαριων, ευροντος Σουσαριωνος, και αθλον ετεθη πρωτον ισχαδων αρσιχο[ς] και οινου [αμφορευς, ετη ΗΗ . . . [αρχοντος Αθηνησι]]
41. Αφ οὐ Πεισιστρατος Αθηνων ευραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντος [Αθηνησι] Κ[ωμι]ου.
42. Αφ οὐ Κροισος [εξ] Ασιας [εις] Δελφο[υ]ς α[πεπεμψεν, ετη ΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Ευθυ]δημου.
43. Αφ οὐ Κυρος ὁ Περσων βασιλευς Σαρδεις ελαβε, και Κροισον ὑπο [Πυθι]νης σφαλ[λομενον εξωγρησεν, ετη ΗΗΔ'ΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνων Ερξικλειδου. Ην δε] και Ιππωναξ κατα τουτον ὁ Ιαμβοποιος.
44. Αφ οὐ Θεσπις ὁ ποιητης [εφανα, πρωτος ὅς και] εδιδαξε [τραγωδιαν, ἡς αθλον ε]τεθη ὁ [τ]ραγος, ετη ΗΗΔ'ΔΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθ[ηνη]σιν Αλκ[αιου του προτερου].
45. Αφ οὐ Δαρειος Περσων εβασιλευσε, Μαγου τελευτησαντος, ετη [ΗΗ]Δ'ΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθ[ηνη]σι
46. Αφ οὐ Αρμοδιος και Αριστογε[ιτων απεκτε]ιναν Ιππα]ρχον Πεισιστρατου Α[θηνων τυρανν]ον, και Αθηναιοι σ[υνανεστ]ησαν τους Πεισιστρατιδας εκ[βαλλειν του Πελασγικ]ου τειχους, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι [Κλισθενους.]
47. Αφ οὐ χοροι πρωτον ηγωνισαντο ανδρων, ὄν διδαξας Ὑπο[δι]κος Χαλκιδε[υς] ενικ[ησεν,] ετη ΗΗΔΔΔ[ΔΠΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Ι]σαγορου.
48. Αφ οὐ νε[ως Αθηνας της] Ιππια[ς ιδρυσθη] Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Πυθοκριτου.
49. Αφ οὐ εμ Μαραθωνι μαχη εγενετο Αθηναιοις προς τους Περσας, [και Αρταφερνεα το]ν Δαρειον αδελ[φιδεο]ν, τον στρατηγον ενικων Αθηναιοι, ετη ΗΗΔΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθην[ησι του] δευτερου [Φαινιππου, και] εν μαχη συνηγωνισατο Αισχυλος ὁ ποιητης [ετ]ω[ν] ων ΔΔΔΠ.
50. Αφ οὐ Σιμωνιδης ὁ Σιμωνιδου παππος του ποιητου, ποιητης ων και [αυτος, Αθ]ηνησι, και Δαρειος τελευτα, Ξερξης δε ὁ υἱος βασιλευει, [ετη ΗΗΔ]ΔΠ[Ι], αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστειδου.
51. Αφ οὐ Αισχυλος ὁ ποιητης τραγωδια πρωτον ενικησε, και Ευριπιδης ὁ ποιητης εγενετο, και Στησιχορος ποιητης ε[ις την] Ελλαδα [αφικετ]ο, ετη ΗΗΔΔΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Φιλοκρατους.
52. Αφ οὐ Ξερξης την σχεδιαν εξευξεν εν Ἐλλησποντῳ, και τον Αθω δωρυξε, και ἡ εν Θερμο[πυ]λαις μαχη εγενετο, και ναυμαχια τοις Ελλησι περι Σαλαμινα προς τους Περσας, ἡν ενικων οἱ Ελληνες, ετη ΗΗΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Καλλιαδου.
53. Αφ οὐ ἡ εν [Π]λαταιαις μαχη εγενετο Αθηναιοις προς Μαρδονιον τον Ξερξου στρατηγον, ἡν ενικων Αθηναιοι, και Μαρδονιος ετελευτησεν

- εν τη μαχη, και το πυρ ερυη[σε εν Σικ]ελια, περι την Αιτνιαν, ετη Η[Η]ΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Ξαντιππου.
54. Αφ ού [Γε]λων ο Δεινομενους [Συρακουσων] ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗΔΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Τιμοσθεν[ους.]
55. Αφ ού Σιμωνιδης ο Λεωπρεπους ο Κειος, ο το μνημονικον ευρων, ενικησεν Αθηνησιν διδασκων, και αι εικονες εσταθησαν Αρμοδιου και Αριστογειτονος, ετη ΗΗ[ΔΠΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Α]δειμαντου.
56. Αφ ού Ίερων Συρακουσων ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗΠΙ[Ι]Ι, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Χ[αρ]ητος. Ην δε και Επιχαρμος ο ποιητης κατα τουτον.
57. Αφ ού Σοφοκλης ο Σοφιλλου ο εκ Κολωνου ενικησε τραγωδια, ετων ων ΔΔΠΙΙ, ετη ΗΗΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Αψηφιονος.
58. Αφ ού εν Αιγος ποταμοις ο λιθος επεσε, και Σιμωνιδης ο ποιητης ετελευτησεν, βιους ετη ΙΔ'ΔΔΔΔ, ετη ΗΗΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Θεαγενηδου.
59. Αφ ού Αλεξανδρος ετελευτησεν, ο δε υιός Πε[ρ]δικκας Μακεδωνων εβασιλευει, ετη ΗΙΔ'ΔΔΔΔΠ[ΙΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Ευθιππου.
60. Αφ ού Αισχυλος ο πο[ι]ητης, βιωσας ετη ΙΔ'ΔΠΙΙΙ, ετελευτησεν εν [Γε]λ[α] της [Σι]κελιας, ετη ΗΙΔ'ΔΔΔΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησ[ι] Καλλ[ι]ου του προτερου.
61. Αφ ού Ευριπιδης, ετων ων ΔΔΔΔΠΙ, τράγωδια πρωτον ενικησεν, ετη ΗΙΔ'Δ[ΔΠΙΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησι Διφι[λου]. Η]σαν δε κατα Ευριπιδην Σωκρατης, και [Ανα]ξαγορας.
62. Αφ ού Αρχελαος Μακεδωνων εβασιλευσε Περδικκου τελευτησαντος, ετη Η[ΙΔ'ΠΙ, αρχ]οντος Αθηνησιν Αστυφιλου.
63. Αφ ού Διονυσιος Συρακουσων ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Ευκτημονος.
64. Αφ ού Ευριπιδης, βι[ω]σας ετη ΙΔ'ΔΔΠΙ, ετε]λευτησεν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔ[ΠΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αντιγενοους.
65. Α[φ] ού Σο[φ]οκλης ο ποιητης, βιωσας ετη [ΙΔ']ΔΔΔΔΙ, ετελευτησεν, και Κυρος ανεβ[η]σε επι τον αδελφον, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔΠ, αρχ]οντος Αθηνησι Καλλια του πρ . τ . . ου.
66. Αφ ού Τελεστης Σελ[ινουντιος ε]νικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ[ΙΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησι Μικωνος.
67. Αφ ού [επανηλθον οι μετ]α Κυρου αναβαντες, και Σωκρατης φιλοσοφ[ο]ς ετελευτησε, [βιους] ετη ΙΔ'ΔΔ, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ[Ι], αρχοντος Αθηνησι Λαχητος.
68. Αφ ού Α[στυδαμας πρωτον εδιδαξεν] Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστοκρατους.
69. Αφ ού Ξ[ανθος ο ποιητης Σαρδ]ιανος διθυραμβω ενικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη Η . . [αρχοντος Αθηνησι]
70. Αφ] ού Φιλοξενος διθυραμβοποιος τελευτα βιους ετη ΙΔ'Π, ετη ΗΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Πυθειου.
71. Αφ ού Αναξανδριδης ο κωμ[ωδοποιος ενικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΠΙ, αρχοντος] Αθηνησι Καλλεου.

72. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀστυδάμας Ἀθηνησιν ἐνίκησεν, ἐτη ΗΠΗΠΗ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Ἀστειοῦ. Κατέκαη δὲ τότε κα[ι ἐν οὐρανῷ ἢ μεγάλη λαμπάς.
73. Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Λευκτροῖς μάχη ἐγένετο Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἣν ἐνικῶν Θηβαῖοι, ἐτη ΗΠΗΠ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Φρασικλείδου. [Κατατούτον δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων] βασιλεύει.
74. Ἀφ' οὗ Στησιχορὸς ὁ Ἰμεραῖος ὁ δευτερός ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηνησιν, καὶ ὠκισθῆ Μεγαληπολ[ις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, ἐτη ΗΠΗ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Δυσκινήτου.]
75. Ἀφ' οὗ Διονύσιος Σικελιωτῆς ἐτελευτήσεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Διονύσιος ἐτυράνευσεν, καὶ Ἀλε[ξάνδρ]ου τελευτήσαντος Πτολεμαῖος Μακεδόνων βασι[λευ]ει, ἐτη ΗΠΗΠ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Ναυσίγενοῦς.
76. Ἀφ' οὗ Φωκεῖς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς [ἱερὸν ἐσυλεύσαν, ἐτη ΙΔ' ΔΔΔΔΠΗΠ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Κηφισοδώρου.
77. Ἀφ' οὗ Τιμοθέος βίωσας ἐτη ΙΔ' ΔΔΔΔ ἐτελευτήσεν, [ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου τῶν Μα]κεδόνων βασιλεύει, καὶ Ἀρταξερξῆς ἐτελευτήσεν· Ὄχος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς β[ασιλεύει τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ] ἐνίκησεν, ἐτη ΙΔ' ΔΔΔΔΠΗΠ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέ[ους].
78. Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ Φίλιππου ἐγένετο, ἐτη ΙΔ' ΔΔΔΔΙ, ἀρχόντος Ἀθηνησιν Καλλιστ[ρατου, Ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλο]σοφὸς κατὰ τούτο[ν.]
79. Ἀφ' οὗ Κα ἐτ[η] ΙΔ' ἀρχόντος

Cætera desiderantur.

TABLE XII. THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

B. C.

***** I have described pr[eced]ing times,] begin[n]ing from *Cecrops*, the first who reigned at Athens, until [*Ast*]yanax, archon at Paros, and *Diognetus* at Athens: [ending Ol. 129, 1. B.C. 264.]

1. Since *Cecrops* reigned at Athens, and the country was called Cecropia, before called Actica, from *Actæus* the native, MCCCXVIII years - - - 1582
2. Since *Deucalion* reigned in Lycoria near Parnassus, *Cecrops* [re]ign[in]g at Athens, MCCCX years - 1574
3. Since the trial at Athen[s hap]pened between *Mars* and *Neptune*, concerning *Halirrothius* [the son] of Neptune, and the place was called Areopagus, MCCLXVIII years: *Cr[ana]us* reigning at Athens 1532
4. Since the deluge happened in the time of *Deucalion*; and Deucalion fled from the rains, from Lycoria to

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Athens, unto [*Crana*]us, and bu[ilt the temp]le of *Jupit[er Olympius]*, and] offered sacrifices for his preservation, MCCLXV years: *Cr[a]n[a]us* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1529

5. S[ince *Amphi*]ctyon [the son] of *Deucalion* reigned in Thermopylæ, and assembled the people inhabiting that district, and [nam]ed them Amphictyones, and [the place of council] P[ylæa,] w[here] the Amphictyones still sacrifice, MCCLVIII years: *Amphictyon* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1522

6. Since *Hellen* [the son] of *Deuc[alion]* reigned in [Phthi]otis, and they were [na]med *Hellenes*, who before were called *Graikoi* (Greeks), and [they instituted] the Panathe[næan] games, MCCLVII years: *Amphictyon* reigning at Athens - - - 1521

7. Since *Cadmus* [the son] of *Agenor* came to Thebes, [according to the oracle and] bui[lt] the Cadmea, MCCLV years: *Amphictyon* reigning at Athens - 1519

8. Since [*Eurotas* and *Lacedæmon*] reigned in [La-co]nia, MCCLII years: *Amphictyon* reigning at Athens . - - - - - 1516

9. Since a shi[p with fi]f[ty oar]s sailed from Egypt to Greece, and was called *Pentecontorus*; and the daughters of *Danaus* [*Amym*]one, and *Ba* and *Helice* and *Archedice*, elected by the rest, [bu]il[t a temple,] and sacrificed upon the shore at Para[li]as, in Lindus [a city] of Rhodes, MCCXLVII years: *Erichthonius* reig[ning at Athens] - - - - - 1511

10. [Since *Erich*]thonius, when the Panathenæa were first celebrated, yoked [horses to] a chariot, and exhibited the contest, and [changed the name] of Athenæa; and [the image] of the mother of the [g]ods appeared in [the mountains] of Cybele; and *Hyagnis* the Phrygian first invented flutes at C[elæ]ne [a city] of Phrygia, and first played on the flute [the harmony] called Phrygian, and other *nomes* (tunes) of the mother [of the gods] of Dionysus, of Pan, and that of [the divinities of the country, and the heroes], MCCXLII years: *Erich-*

- thonius* who yoked [horses to] the chariot, reigning at Athens - - - - - 1506
11. Since *Minos* [the] fir[st re]ig[ne]d and built [Cy]donia; and iron was found in Ida, by the Idæi *Dactuli Celmis* [and *Damnaneus*, MCLXVIII years]: *Pandion* [reig]ning at Athens - - [1432]
12. Since *Ceres* coming to Athens pla[nt]ed corn, and first [sent it to other countries] by *Triptolemus* [the son] of *Celex* and *Næra*, MCXLV years: *Erichtheus* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1409
13. Since *Tripto[lemus]* sowed [corn] in Raria, called Eleusis, M[C]XL[II] years: [*Erichtheus*] reigning at Athens - - - - - 1406
14. [Since *Orpheus*] pub[li]shed his poem [on] the rape of the Virgin [*Proserpine*], and the search of *Ceres*; his [descent to the shades], and [the fables] concerning those who received the corn, MCXXXV years: *Erichtheus* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1399
15. [Since *Eumolpus* the son of *Musæus*] celebrated the mysteries in Eleusis, and publish[ed] the po[em]s of h[is father *Musæus*], MC . . . years: [*Erichtheus*] [the son] of *Pandion* [reigning at Athens] - - - 13 . .
16. Since a lustration was first performed [by slaying] [ML]XII [years]: *Pandion* the [son] of *Cecrops* [the second] reigning at Athens - - - 1326
17. Since the Gymnastic [Games were instituted i[n] Eleusis, [M] . . . X . . . years: *P[andion]* the son of *Cecrops* reigning at Athens] - - - - -
18. Since [human sacrific]es [and] the Lycaea were celebrated in Arcadia, and of *Lycaon* were given [among] the Gr[ee]ks, M . . . years: *Pandion* [the son] of *Cecrops* reigning at Athens - - - - -
19. Since Hercules, having been pur[ified in Eleusis], [was initiated the fir]st of [stran]gers, M . . . [years]: *Ægeus* reigning at Athens - - - - -
20. Since a [scarcity] of corn happened at Athens, and [*Apollo*] being consulted by [the] Athen[ians] ob[liged them] to under[g]o [the penalti]es wh[ich] *Minos* (the second) should require, MXXXI years: *Æg[eus]* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1295

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21. Since *Thes[eus]* incorporated the twelve cities of Attica into one (community); and [having first establish]ed a civil constitution and a popular government at Athens, he instituted the Isthmian Games, after he had slain *Sinis*, DCCCCXCV years - 1259
22. From the first (celebration of the festival called) Ammon, [DCCCCXC]II years: *Theseus* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1256
23. Since *Adra[stus r]*eign[e]d over the Argi[ves], and [the seven commanders in]st[itut]ed the Games [i]n [Nemea,] DCCCCLXXXVII years: *Theseus* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1251
24. Since the [Gree]ks militated against *Troy*, DCCCCLIV years: [*Men*]estheus reigning at Athe[ns], in the thirteenth year (of his reign) - - 1218
25. Since *Troy* was taken, DCCCXLV years: [*Me*-nesth]eus reigning at Athens, in the (twenty) second year (of his reign), on the twenty-fourth day of the month *Th[argelio]n* - - - - - 1209
26. Since *Orestes* [in *Scythi]a* was [cured of his madness] and [a cause] between hi[m] and [*Erig]one*, the daughter of [*Æg*]isthus, [concerning] (the murder of) *Ægisthus*, was tried in Areopagus, which *Orestes* gained, [the vot]es [being equal], [D]CCCCXXX[X]II years: *Demophon* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1206
27. Since *Teucer* built [Salamis in] Cyprus, DCCCXXXVIII years: *Demophon* reigning at Athens - - - - - 1202
28. Since *Ne[l]eus* bui[lt Miletus in Caria, having collected the Ionians,] who [bui]lt Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomene, P[riene and Lebedus, Teos,] Colophon, [M]yus, [Phocea,] Samos, [Chios;] and the [Pan]i-
oni[a] were instituted, [DCCC]XIII years: *Menes-
theus* reigning at Athens, in the thirteenth year [of his reign] - - - - - 1077
29. Since [*Hes]iod* the poet [flourish]ed, DCLXX[X] years: ———— [reigning at Athens] - - - - -
30. Since *Homer* the poet flourished, DCXLIII years: [*D*]iognetus reigning at Athen[s] - - - - - 907

31. Since *Ph[ei]don* the Argive was pros[cribed], and made [measures and weights,] and coined silver money in Ægina, being the eleventh from *Hercules*, DCXXXI years: [*Megacl*]es reigning at Athens - 895

II. PERIOD.

32. Since *Archias* [the son] of *Eragetus*, being the tenth from *Temenus*, conducted a colony from Corinth [to] Syracu[se, CCCXCIV years:] *Æschylus* [reign]-ing at Athens, in the twenty-first year [of his reign] 758
33. Since [*C*]r[*e*]on was annual Ar[ch]on, CCCXX years - - - - - 684
34. Since [*Tyrtæus* with the Lacedem]o[nians fought against the Messenians] CCCXVIII years: *Lysi[as]* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 682
35. Since *Terpander* [the son] of *Derdeneus* the Lesbian, [dire]cted the flute-pl[ayers] to [ref]orm the tunes of the [An]ci[ents,] and changed the old music, CCCLXXXI years: *Dropilus* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 645
36. Since *A[lyatte]s* reigned in [Lydi]a, [CCCX]LI years: *Aristocles* being Archon at Athens - - 605
37. Since *Sappho* sailed from Mitylene to Sicily, flying [CCCXXVIII years]: *Critias* the first [being Arch]on at Athens; the [*Geo*]mori possessing the government in Syracuse - - - - - 592
38. [Since the *Amphictyones* conquered, having in]-vaded Cyrrha, and the Gymnastic games were celebrated, the prize being allotted out of the spoils, CC[C]XXVII years: *Simo[n]* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 591
39. Since [the Gymnastic] games were again celebrated, [in which the prize was a cro]wn, CCCX[X]II years: *Damasias* the second, being Archon at Athens - 586
40. Since Come[*dies* were carried in car]ts [by] the Icarians, *Susarion* being the inventor, and the first prize proposed was a bask[et] of figs, and a small vessel of wine, CC [years:] being Archon at Athens - - - - - 56 .

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41. Since *Pisistratus* became tyrant at Athens, CCXCVII years: *C[omi]as* being Archon at Athens - - - 561
42. Since *Cræsus* s[ent ambassadors out] of Asia [to] Delph[i, CCX]CII [years: *Euthy]demus* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 556
43. Since *Cyrus*, King of Persia, took Sardis, and [apprehended] *Cræsus*, who was de[ceived by the] [Pyth]ia, [284 years]: *Er[xiclides* being Archon at Athens] - - - - - [548]
At this time [lived] *Hipponax*, the Iambic poet.
44. Since *Thespis* the poet [flourished, the first who] taught (or exhibited) [tragedy,] for which a [g]oat was [ap]pointed [as the prize,] CCL[XXIII] years: [*Alc]æus* the first being Archon at Ath[ens] - - - [537]
45. Since *Darius* reigned over the Persians, (*Smerdis*) *Magus* being dead, [CC]L[VI] years: being Archon at Athe[ns] - - - - - [520]
46. Since *Harmodius* and [*Aristoge]iton* sle[w *Hippa]rchus* [the son] of *Pisistratus*, [the tyra]nt of A[thens], and the Athenians co[nspir]ed to ex[pel] the Pisis-tratidæ [from their retreat within the Pelasgi]c wall, CCXLVIII years: [*Clisthenes*] being Archon at Athens - - - - - 512
47. Since choruses of men first contended, [and] *Hypo[di]cus* the Chalcidi[an], having taught one [of them] gained the vict[ory,] CCXL[IV] years: [*I]sagoras* being Archon at Athen[s] - - - - - 508
48. Since the temp[le of Minerva] *Hippia* [was built] at Athens, CCXXXI years: *Pythocritus* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 495
49. Since the battle at Marathon was fought by the Athenians against the Persians, [and] the Athenians defeated [*Artaphernes*, th]e nep[hew] of *Darius*, who commanded (the Persian forces,) CCXXVII years: [*Phænippus*] the second being Archon at Athens. In which battle *Æschylus* the poet fought, being [then] XXXV [y]ear[s of age] - - - - - 491
50. Since *Simonides*, the grand-father of *Simonides* the poet, being also himself a poet, (dies) at Athens; and *Darius* dies, and *Xerxes* [his] son reigns, CCX[XV]I years: *Aristides* being Archon at Athens 490

51. Since *Æschylus* the poet first gained the victory in tragedy, and *Euripides* the poet was born, and *Stesichorus* the poet [went into] Greece, CCXXII years: *Philocrates* being Archon at Athens - - 486
52. Since *Xerxes* joined together a bridge of boats on the Hellespont, and dug through (mount) Athos, and the battle was fought at Thermopylæ, and the sea-fight by the Greeks at Salamis, against the Persians, in which the Greeks were victorious, CCXVII years: *Calliades* being Archon at Athens - - 481
53. Since the battle at [P]lataea was fought by the Athenians against *Mardonius*, the general of *Xerxes*, in which the Athenians conquered, and *Mardonius* fell in the battle; and fire flowed [in Sic]ily round *Ætna*, C_C]XVI years: *Xantippus* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 480
54. Since [*Ge*]lon [the son] of *Dinomenes* became tyrant [of Syracuse,] CCXV years: *Timosthen[es]* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 479
55. Since *Simonides* [the son] of *Leoprepes* the Cean, who invented the art of memory, teaching [a chorus] at Athens, gained the victory; and the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton* were erected, CC[XIV] years: [*A*]dimantus being Archon at Athens - 47[8]
56. Since *Hiero* became tyrant of Syracuse, CCVI[I]I years: *Ch[ar]es* being Archon at Athens. *Epicarmus* the poet lived also at this time - - 472
57. Since *Sophocles* [the son] of *Sophillus*, who was of Colonus, (about ten stadia from Athens, Thucyd. 8, 67) gained the victory in tragedy, being XXVIII years of age, CCVI years: *Apsephion* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 470
58. Since the stone fell in *Ægos-potamus*; and *Simonides* the poet died, having lived XC years, CCV years: *Theagenidas* being Archon at Athens - 469
59. Since *Alexander* died, and his son *Pe[r]diccas* reigns over the Macedonians, CXCIV[III] years: *Euthippus* being Archon at Athens - - 462
60. Since *Æschylus* the poet, having lived LXIX years, died at [Gel]a in [Si]cily, CXCI years: *Call[i]as* the first being Archon at Athens - - - 457

B. C.

61. Since *Euripides*, being XLIII years of age, first gained the victory in tragedy, CLX[XIX] years: *Diphilus* being Archon at Athens. With *Euripides*, *Socrates* and [*Ana*]xagoras were contemporaries - [443]
62. Since *Archelaus* reigned over the Macedonians, *Perdiccas* being dead, C[LVI] years: *Astyphilus* [being Arch]on at Athens - - - - [420]
63. Since *Dionysius* became tyrant of Syracuse, CXLIV years: *Euctemon* being Archon at Athens - - 408
64. Since *Euripides*, having liv[ed LXXVII years, di]ed, CXL[III] years: *Antigenes* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 407
65. Since *So[ph]ocles* the poet, having lived [XC]I years, died, and *Cyrus* we[nt up into Persia, against his brother,] CXLII years: *Callias* the first being [Ar]chon at Athens - - - - - 406
66. Since *Telestes* the Seli[nuntian ga]ined the prize at Athens, CXXX[VIII] years: *Micon* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 402
67. Since [those returned] who went up [wit]h *Cyrus* [into Persia,] and *Socrates* the philosoph[e]r, [hav- ing lived] LXX years, died, CXXXV[I] years: *Laches* being Archon at Athens - - - - 400
68. Since *A[stydamas]* first taught] at Athens, CXXXV years: *Aristocrates* being Archon at Athens - - 399
69. Since *X[anthus, a poet of Sard]is*, gained the vic- tory in dithyrambics, C . . . years: being Ar- chon at Athens - - - - - . . .
70. [Sin]ce *Philoxenus*, a writer of dithyrambics, hav- ing lived LV years, dies, CXVI years: *Pytheas* being Archon at Athens - - - - - 380
71. Since *Anaxandrides*, the comic [poet, gained the victory at Athens, CXIII years:] *Calleas* [being Archon] at Athens - - - - - 377
72. Since *Astydamas* gained the victory at Athens, CIX years: *Asteius* being Archon at Athens. Then also [the great light] (or comet) blazed [in the sky.] - . . .
73. [Since the battle at *Leuctra*] was fought between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, in which the Thebans conquered, CVII years: *Phrasiclides* being

	Archon at Athens. [At this time, <i>Alexander</i> , the son of <i>Amyntas</i>] reigns [over the Macedonians]	371
74.	Since <i>Stesichorus</i> the Himerian, the second of [that name,] gained the victory at Athens; and Megalopol [is in Arcadia,] was built, [CVI years: <i>Dyscinetus</i> being Archon at Athens.]	[370]
75.	Since <i>Dionysius</i> , the Sicilian, died, and his son <i>Dionysius</i> became tyrant, and <i>Alexander</i> being dead, <i>Ptolemy</i> reigns [over the Macedonians,] CIV years: <i>Nausigenes</i> being Archon at Athens	368
76.	Since the <i>Phoceans</i> [plundered the temple] of Delphi, [XCIV years:] <i>Cephisodorus</i> [being Archon at Athens]	358
77.	Since <i>Timotheus</i> , having lived XC years, died; [and <i>Philip</i> , the son of <i>Amyntas</i> ,] reigns [over the Macedonians; and <i>Artaxerxes</i> died; and <i>Ochus</i> his son reigns over the Persians; and] gained the victory; XCIII years: <i>Agathocles</i> being Archon at Athens	357
78.	[Since <i>Alexander</i> , the son of <i>Philip</i> , was born, XCI years: <i>Callistratus</i> being Archon at Athens. [Aristotle the philosopher lived also at that time]	355
79.	Since <i>Callippus</i> , having slain <i>Dion</i> , became tyrant of Syracuse, XC year[s]: [<i>Diotimus</i> being Archon at Athens]	354
	* * *	



TABLE XIII.

RECTIFICATION OF THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

I. PERIOD.

1.	<i>Cecrops</i> , first king of Athens, began to reign	1558
2.	<i>Deucalion</i> reigns in Lycoria, near <i>Parnassus</i> , in the ninth year of <i>Cecrops</i>	1549
3.	Trial of <i>Mars</i> at the <i>Areopagus</i> , for killing <i>Halirrhothius</i> , the son of <i>Neptune</i> , in the second year of <i>Cranaus</i>	1507

B. C.

4. *Deucalion's* flood, flight to Athens, and sacrifice, in the fourth year of *Cranaus* - - - 1504
5. The *Amphictyons* collected by *Amphictyon*, son of *Deucalion*, and their assembly at *Thermopylæ*, in the third year of *Amphictyon*, king of Athens 1497
6. The Greeks, called *Hellenes*, from *Hellen*, son of *Deucalion*, and king of *Phthiotis*, in the fourth year of *Amphictyon* - - - - 1496
7. The *Cadmia*, or citadel at *Thebes*, built by *Cadmus*, the son of *Agenor*, who came from *Phœnicia*, in the sixth year of *Amphictyon* - 1494
8. [*Eurotas* and *Lacedæmon*] reign in *Laconia*, in the ninth year of *Amphictyon* - - - 1491
9. Flight of *Danaus* and his fifty daughters, from Egypt to *Lyndus*, in *Rhodes*, in the fourth year of *Erichthonius* - - - - 1486
10. *Erichthonius* institutes the chariot-race at the first celebration of the *Panathenean* games, in the ninth year of his reign - - - - 1481
11. *Minos* the First reigns in *Crete*; iron found there by the *Dactyli*, in the [thirty third] year of *Pandion* - - - - [1407]
12. *Ceres* teaches the sowing of corn at *Athens*, and
13. *Triptolemus* at *Eleusis*, in the sixteenth year of *Erichtheus* - - - - 1384
14. The poem of *Orpheus*, on the rape of *Proserpine*, published in the twenty-sixth year of *Erichtheus* 1374
15. The *Eleusinian* mysteries celebrated by *Eumolpus*
16. The Lustration first instituted, in the ninth year of *Pandion* II. - - - - 1301
17. The Gymnastic games instituted at *Eleusis* -
18. The *Lycean* rites instituted in *Arcadia*, in the — year of *Pandion* II. - - - -
19. Since *Hercules* [was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries] in the [first] year of *Ægeus* - [1284]
20. A tribute of youths and virgins imposed on the *Athenians*, according to the Oracle, by *Minos* II. king of *Crete*, in the fifteenth year of *Ægeus* 1270
21. *Theseus* collected the inhabitants of *Attica* to *Athens*, and instituted a popular government in the second year of his own reign - - 1234

	B. C.
22. First celebration of the festival called Ammon, in the fifth of <i>Theseus</i> - - - -	1231
23. Since the [Nemean] games were instituted at Athens, in the tenth year of <i>Theseus</i> - -	1226
24. The expedition of the Greeks against <i>Troy</i> , in the thirteenth year of <i>Menestheus</i> - -	1193
25. <i>Troy</i> taken by the Greeks in the twenty-second year of <i>Menestheus</i> , and twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion - - -	1184
26. Since the trial of <i>Orestes</i> for killing <i>Ægisthus</i> , at the <i>Areopagus</i> , in the second year of <i>Demophon</i>	1181
27. <i>Teucer</i> founds <i>Salamis</i> in <i>Cyprus</i> , in the sixth year of <i>Demophon</i> - - - -	1177
28. <i>Athenian</i> colonies planted in <i>Ionia</i> by <i>Neleus</i> , &c. namely, <i>Ephesus</i> , <i>Erythræ</i> , <i>Clazomenæ</i> , &c. in the eighth year of <i>Acastus</i> , according to <i>Eusebius</i> , and in the 140th year after the destruction of <i>Troy</i> , according to <i>Eratosthenes</i> -	1043
29. <i>Hesiod</i> , the poet, flourished in the [fourth] year of <i>Megacles</i> , the perpetual Archon - -	[919]
30. <i>Homer</i> , the poet, flourished in the ninth year of <i>Diognetus</i> , the perpetual Archon - -	884
31. <i>Phidon</i> , king of the <i>Argives</i> , coined silver money at <i>Ægina</i> , in the twenty-third year of <i>Diognetus</i>	870

II. PERIOD.

32. <i>Græcian</i> colonies planted in <i>Sicily</i> by <i>Archias</i> , the Corinthian, at <i>Syracuse</i> , &c. in the twenty-first year of <i>Æschylus</i> , the perpetual Archon	758
33. <i>Creon</i> , the first of the annual Archons - - -	684

N. B. These two dates are perfectly correct, and so are the remaining dates, for the most part: it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them. Next follows Table XIV. by comparing which with Table XII. this Table XIII. was constructed.

TABLE XIV. ATHENIAN KINGS AND ARCHONS.

KINGS.

	Y.	B.C.		Y.	B.C.
1. Cecrops	50	1558	10. Theseus	30	1236
2. Cranaus	9	1508	11. Menestheus	23	1206
3. Amphictyon	10	1499	12. Demophon	33	1183
4. Erichthonius	50	1489	13. Oxyntes	12	1150
5. Pandion	40	1439	14. Aphidas	1	1138
6. Erichtheus	50	1399	15. Thymcetes	8	1137
7. Cecrops II.	40	1349	16. Melanthius	37	1129
8. Pandion II.	25	1309	17. Codrus	21	1092
9. Ægeus	48	1284	Interregnum	1	1071

PERPETUAL ARCHONS.

1. Medon	20	1070	8. Pherecles	19	865
2. Acastus	36	1050	9. Aripbron	20	846
3. Archippus	19	1014	10. Thespies	27	826
4. Thersippus	41	995	11. Agamestor	20	799
5. Phorbas	31	954	12. Æschylus	23	779
6. Megacles	30	923	13. Alcmeon	2	756
7. Diognetus	28	893			

DECENNIAL ARCHONS.

1. Charops	10	754	5. Leocrates	10	714
2. Æsimesdes	10	744	6. Apsandrus	10	704
3. Clidicus	10	734	7. Elyxias, or Eryxias	10	694
4. Hipponeus	10	724			

ANNUAL ARCHONS.

	B.C.		B.C.
Creon	684	Miltiades	<i>Pausan.</i> 659
*		*	
Lysias	<i>Par. M.</i> 682	Dropsilus	<i>Par. M.</i> 645
Tlesias	681	*	
*		Epenetius	<i>Antigon.</i> 635
Leostratus	671	*	
*		Draco	<i>Euseb.</i> 624
Autosthenes	<i>Pausan.</i> 668	*	
*		Henochides	616
Archimedes	<i>Pausan.</i> 664	*	
*		Aristocles	<i>Par. M.</i> 605

	B. C.		B. C.
Critias	604	Pythocrates	<i>Par. M.</i> 495
*	*	Philippus	<i>Schol. Soph.</i> 494
Megacles	<i>Plut.</i> 600	Themistocles	<i>Sigon.</i> 493
*	*	Diognetus	<i>D. Hal.</i> 492
Philombrotus	<i>Plut.</i> 595	Hybrilides	<i>Dion</i> 491
Critias I.	<i>Par. M.</i> 594	Phænippus	<i>Plut.</i> 490
Dropides	<i>Philostrat.</i> 593	† Aristides	<i>Par. M. Plut.</i> 489
Eucrates	<i>Diogen.</i> 592	Anchises	<i>D. Hal.</i> 488
Simon.....	<i>Par. M.</i> 591	Phænippus	487
*	*	Philocrates	<i>Par. M.</i> 486
Phænippus	588	Phædon	485
*	*	Leostratus	<i>D. Hal.</i> 484
Damasius II.	<i>Par. M.</i> 582	Nicodemus	483
*	*	Achepshion	<i>Laert.</i> 482
Pentathlus	580	† Calliades	<i>Herod. Par. M.</i> 481
*	*	Callias	<i>Diod.</i> 480
Archestratides	<i>D. Hal.</i> 577	Xantippus	479
*	*	Timosthenes	478
Aristomenes	<i>Diogen.</i> 570	Adimantus	477
*	*	Phædon	476
Comias	566	Dromoclides	475
*	*	Acestorides.....	474
Hippoclidés	<i>Marcell.</i> 562	Menon	473
Comias	<i>Par. M.</i> 561	† Chares	<i>Par. M. D. Hal.</i> 472
Hegesistratus	<i>Plut.</i> 560	Praxiergus	<i>D. Hal.</i> 471
*	*	Apsephion	<i>Par. M.</i> 470
† Euthydemus ..	<i>Par. M. Laer.</i> 556	Phædon	<i>Diod.</i> 469
*	*	† Theagenidas, <i>Par. M. D. Hal.</i>	468
Erxiclides	<i>Paus.</i> 548	Lysistratus	<i>Diod.</i> 467
*	*	Lycanias	466
Alcæus I.	<i>Par. M.</i> 537	Lysitheus	465
Athenæus	536	Archidemides	<i>D. Hal.</i> 464
Hipparchus	535	Euthippus	<i>Par. M.</i> 463
*	*	Conon.....	<i>Diod.</i> 462
Heraclides.....	533	† Euhippus	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i> 461
*	*	Phrasiclides	<i>Diod.</i> 460
Miltiades	<i>D. Hal.</i> 524	Philocles	459
*	*	Bion.....	458
Clisthenes	<i>Par. M.</i> 512	Callias I.....	<i>Par. M.</i> 457
*	*	Callias	<i>Diod.</i> 456
† Lysagoras.....	<i>Par. M.</i> } 508	Sosistratus	455
Isagoras	<i>D. Hal.</i> } 508	Ariston	454
*	*	Lysicrates	453
Acestorides	<i>D. Hal.</i> 504	Chæriphanes	<i>D. Hal.</i> 452
*	*	Antidotus	451
Myrus	<i>D. Hal.</i> 500	Euthydemus	<i>Diod.</i> 450
*	*	Pediæus	<i>D. Hal.</i> 449
Hipparchus.. ..	<i>D. Hal.</i> 496	Philiscus	448

		B.C.			B.C.		
Timarchides	<i>Diod.</i>	447	Λ Ithycles	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	398
Callimachus	—	446	Lysiades	.....	—	397
Lysimachides	—	445	Phormio	.....	—	396
Praxiteles	<i>D. Hal.</i>	444	Diophantus	.....	—	395
Lysanias	<i>Diod.</i>	443	Eubulides	.....	—	394
† Diphilus	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	} 442	Arches	.....	—	393
		<i>D. Hal.</i>		Philocles	.....	—	392
Timocles	<i>Diod.</i>	441	Nicoteles	.....	—	391
Myrichides	—	440	Demostratus	.....	—	390
Glaucides	—	439	Antipater	.....	—	389
Theodoros	—	438	Pyrrhio	.....	—	388
Euthymenes	—	437	Theodotus	.....	—	387
Lysimachus	—	436	Mystichides	.....	—	386
Anchilochides	—	435	Dexitheus	.....	—	385
Chares	—	434	Diotrephes	.....	—	384
Apseudes	—	433	Phanostratus	.....	—	383
Pythodorus	—	432	Menander	.....	—	382
Euthydemus	—	431	Demophilus	.....	—	381
Apollodorus	—	430	† Pytheas	....	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	380
Epaminon	—	429	Nicon	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	379
Diotimus	—	428	Nausinicus	.....	—	378
Euclides	—	427	† Calleas	.....	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	377
Euthydemus	—	426	Chariander	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	376
Stratocles	<i>Diod.</i>	425	Hippodamus	.....	—	375
Isarchus	—	424	Socratides	.....	—	374
Amynias	—	423	† Asteius	....	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	} 373
Alcæus	—	422	Aristæus	.....	<i>Aristot.</i>	
Aristion	—	421	Alcesthenes	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	372
† Astyphylus	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	420	† Phrasielides	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	371
Archias	<i>Diod.</i>	419	Dysnicetus	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	370
Antipho	—	418	Lysistratus	.....	—	369
Euphemus	—	417	† Nausigenes	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	368
Aristomnestrus	—	416	Polyzelus	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	367
Chabrias	—	415	Cephisodorus	.....	—	366
Pisander	—	414	Chion	.....	—	365
Cleocritus	—	413	Timocrates	.....	—	364
Callias	—	412	Chariclides	.....	—	363
Glaucippus	—	410	Molio	.....	—	362
† Euctemon	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	408	Nicophemus	.....	—	361
† Antigenes	..	—	407	Callimedes	.....	—	360
† Callias	—	406	Eucharistus	.....	—	359
Alexias	<i>Diod.</i>	405	† Cephisodorus	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	358
Pithodorus	—	404	† Agathocles	....	—	357
Myc	<i>Par. M.</i>	403	Elpinous	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	356
Euclides	<i>Diod.</i>	402	† Callistratus	..	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	355
Xenenetus	..	<i>Diog. in Xenoph.</i>	401	Dictimus	.....	<i>Diod.</i>	354
† Laches	<i>Par. M. Diod.</i>	400	Eudemus	.....	—	353
† Aristocrates	..	—	399	Aristodemus	.....	—	352

	B. C.		B. C.
✕ Thessalus	<i>Diod.</i> 351	Democles	<i>Diod.</i> 316
Apollodorus	— 350	Praxibulus	— 315
Callimachus	— 349	Nicodorus	— 314
Theophilus	— 348	Theophrastus	— 313
Themistocles	— 347	Polemo	— 312
Archias	— 346	Simonides	— 311
Eubulus	— 345	Hieromnemon	— 310
Lyciscus	— 344	Demetrius Phal.	— 309
Pythodorus	— 343	Charinus	— 308
Sosigenes	— 342	Anaxicrates	— 307
Nicomachus	— 341	Choræbus	— 306
Theophrastus	— 340	Xenippus	— 305
Lysimachides	— 339	Phærecles	— 304
Charondas	— 338	Leostratus	— 303
Phrynicus	— 337	Nicocles	— 302
Pythodorus	— 336	Calliarchus	— 301
Evænetus	— 335	Hegemachus	300
Ctesicles	— 334	Euctemon	299
Nicocrates	— 333	Mnesidemus	298
Niceratus	— 332	Antiphates	297
Aristophanes	— 331	Nicias	296
Aristophon	— 330	Nicostratus	295
Cephisophon	— 329	Olympiodorus	294
Euthycritus	— 328	Philippus	293
Chremes	— 327	* *	
Anticles	— 326	Philippus	287
Sosicles	— 325	* *	
Hegesias	— 324	Gorgias	<i>Plut.</i> 280
Cephisodorus	— 323	Anaxicrates	279
Philocles	— 322	Democles	278
Apollodorus	— 321	* *	
Neæchmus	— 320	Pytharatus	<i>Cicero</i> 271
Apollodorus	— 319	* *	
Archippus	— 318	Diognetus	<i>Par. M.</i> 264
Demogenes	— 317		

REMARKS ON THE CHRONICLE.

The Parian Chronicle was engraved on a coarse kind of marble, or stone, five inches thick, which, when *Selden* viewed it, at first measured 3 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 7. The top was imperfect, the lower corner on the right hand having been broken off, and the right-side measured only 2 feet 11 inches. It contained, at that time, ninety-three lines, reckoning the imperfect ones, and might originally, perhaps, have contained a hundred.

Upon an average, the lines consist of 130 letters, all capitals, in close continuation, unbroken into words, like the oldest Greek manuscripts : the ancient curtailed form of the *Pi*, Π, is observed ; the prostrate *Eta*, Ξ, is used for the *Zeta* ; and there are some smaller capitals, particularly the *Omicron*, *Omega*, and *Theta*, intermixed with the larger ; and the whole possesses that plainness and simplicity, which are among the surest marks of antiquity, bearing a general resemblance, but not a servile imitation, of the most authentic monuments about the same date ; of which, perhaps, it most nearly resembles the *Marmor Cyzicenum*, at *Venice*, in the forms of the letters. See a fac-simile of the characters, and of the stone itself, in *Hewlett's Vindication*, p. 50.

The following is a specimen of the mode of writing :—

————— ΑΦΟΥΟΙ ΝΕΣΕΙΣΤΡΟΙΑΝΕ
 . . . ΠΑΤΕΥΣ ΕΤΗϞΗΗΗΗΔ'ΙΙΙΙΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟ
 ΣΑΘΗ ΕΣΘΕΩΣΤΡΕΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥΕΤΟΥ
 ΣΑΦΟΥΤΡΟΙΑΗΛΩΕΤΗϞΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑ
 ΘΗΝΩΝ ΩΣΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥΕΤΟΥΣΜΗΝΟΣΘ . .
 ΝΟΣΕΒΔΟΜΗΦΘΙΝΟΝΤΟΣ.

The same, in modern Greek letters, divided into words, and the lacunæ supplied :—

————— 'Αφ' ού οι [Ελλην]ες εις Τροϊαν ε[στρο]ατευσ
 [αντο] ετη DCCCCLIV· βασιλευοντος Αθη[νων Μεν]εσθεως
 τρεις και δεκατου ετους. 'Αφ' ού Τροια ηλω ετη DCCCCLV,
 βασιλευοντος Αθηνων [Μενεσθε]ως, δευτερου ετους, μηνος Θ[αρ-
 γηλιω]νος εβδομη φθινοντος.

The mode of numeration employed in the Chronicle, of expressing the dates of events by the initial letters of the words denoting the numbers, I, denoting εις, *one*, anciently written ις ; Π, πεντε, *five* ; Δ, δεκα, *ten* ; Η, the aspirate, in εκατον, *one hundred* ; and by combination Δ', or Π multiplied by Δ, *fifty* ; Ϟ, or Π multiplied by Η, *five hundred* ; which is not found in the most ancient books and manuscripts, is one of the most certain and unequivocal marks of its antiquity, and also of its country, then subject to the Athenians : for it was an *Attic* mode of numeration used in *Solon's* time, and is mentioned only perhaps by *Herodian*, who represents it as obsolete, in his little treatise περι αριθμων “ *of numeration*,” of which a fragment is preserved in the fourth volume of *Stephens's Greek Thesaurus*, p. 205—208.

See *Hewlett*, p. 46, and his answers to some Critical Strictures, p. 7, 8.

The author of four dissertations subjoined to the Septuagint version of *Daniel*, printed at Rome, in 1772, ascribes the Parian Chronicle to *Demetrius Phalereus*, as its author. The name is unluckily defaced at the beginning of the inscription, and he thus ingeniously supplies the lacunæ :—

[Δημητριος ὁ Φανοστρατ] ου [Φαληρευς, εκ των συ]μπαν[των ὑπαρχοντ]ων [χρο]νων ανεγραψα, &c.

It is true, indeed, that the classical purity of the style, the great variety of minute and miscellaneous information, in so short a compass, not only respecting the principal facts in some of the most important eras of Greece, but also marking the progress of civilization and science, by fixing the dates of the most eminent legislators, poets, and philosophers, all evince considerable learning and research, and local knowledge, in the compiler of the Chronicle, joined to the labour and expense of the engraving, which evidently prove that he could neither have been a mean nor illiterate individual, but rather some citizen, distinguished for his fortune and talents; yet it is not probable, that *Demetrius*, however the description may suit him in other respects, was the author, from the mention of *Astyanax*, the Parian Archon, as observed before, which, though highly proper, if the Chronicle was the production of a native, would surely be irrelevant, were he an *Athenian* himself, or governor of *Athens*. And *Paros* was one of the most flourishing and opulent of the *Cyclades*, and therefore likely to possess such citizens.

And, indeed, the most rational solution, perhaps, of the *silence* of subsequent classical writers respecting this curious Chronicle, (which is the principal argument urged to impeach its genuineness) may be derived from its insular and secluded situation. Even the *Smyrnan* league itself, though a public record of considerable notoriety and importance in history, is equally unnoticed by subsequent historians, and yet its authenticity is unquestioned.

The inscription in general, so far as is legible, may be considered as accurately engraved, which is no slight recommendation of its merit and utility, considering the difficulty of the task. Still, however, it exhibits occasional errors: such, probably, are those usually reputed *archaisms*, of εγ, for εν or εκ; εμ for εν;

αι for αν; τομ for τον; τημ for την, &c. because these words are in general written correctly; and in the foregoing specimen, epoch 25, there is a gross omission of *εικοστου και*, before *δευτερου*; because *Troy* was taken, not in the “*second*,” but in “the *twenty-second* year of the reign of *Menestheus*,” as is evident from the preceding paragraph, which dates the expedition against *Troy* “in the *thirteenth* year of his reign.” This latter clause is also erroneously introduced again verbatim in *Selden’s* edition of the inscription, epoch 28. It is true, *Chandler* proposes a different conjectural reading of the clause; namely, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Μεδοντος τρεις και δεκατου ετους, substituting the perpetual Archon *Medon* for *Menestheus*; but this is inadmissible: for, 1. He could have no access to the marble itself for revision, which, since *Selden’s* time, has been destroyed and lost, as low down as epoch 31. 2. By the ensuing rectification of the *heroic* period of the Chronicle, it appears that the 28th epoch corresponded to the eighth year of *Acastus*.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHRONICLE.

From the foregoing specimen, epoch 24 and 25, it is obvious, that the Chronicle was constructed upon two distinct and independent principles of computation. The former *Analytic*, reckoning upwards from B.C. 264, the fixed date or radix, at the bottom; the latter *Synthetic*, reckoning downwards from the reign of *Cecrops*, through the succeeding kings, and perpetual, decennial, and annual Archons. The former was an ingenious and compendious mode of reckoning, by adding to the fixed date, successively, supplemental numbers, expressed shortly by numeral letters. This was, probably, the invention of the compiler of the Chronicle, to save labour and expense in engraving it. The other, however, was the original mode employed by the authors from whose works the Chronicle was taken. And that this was the compiler’s design, is evident from the omission of the years of each reign, for the most part, which, in the present epochs, so fortunately preserved, are expressed in words at full length, and took up much room.

It is observable, and has been remarked by *Selden*, and by all the editors of the Chronicle, that there is a difference of about 25 years between the two methods of computation; and that this difference is not accidental, but designed, running uniformly

through all the dates of the *heroic* period, from *Cecrops* to the destruction of *Troy*; whereas, in the second or *historic* period, (according to the division here introduced, on *Selden's* authority,) the two methods agree to the end.

The cause of this systematic difference has not been explained, nor even attempted to be explained, by any of the writers upon the *Chronicle* that have come to my knowledge. Nor will I presume to erect the following conjecture into certainty. Still, however, I flatter myself it will not be adjudged altogether fanciful or unfounded by those candid and skilful readers, who are most willing and most able to appreciate the profound difficulty and obscurity of the subject, in traversing "the dark backward, and abyme of Time."

In order to prepare the way for this investigation, the first step necessary, was to construct a Table of the reigns of the Athenian kings, from *Codrus* downwards, which should critically correspond with the *Chronicle*, and give the precise year denoted by the twenty-second of *Menestheus*, in which *Troy* was taken. Such a table is, I trust, the XIVth, collected from careful comparison of the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, *Petavius*, *Helvicus*, *Playfair*, &c. with the *Chronicle* itself; by means of which, I at length discovered, that the twenty-second of *Menestheus* corresponded to the year B.C. 1184, the very year assigned for the taking of *Troy* by *Apollodorus*, and the Greek Chronographers in general; and, consequently, that the *Chronicle*, in its primitive mode of computation by reigns, established the received date of this leading epoch of Greek chronology.

In constructing this Table, I ascended from the fixed date of the appointment of annual Archons, B.C. 684, according to *Prideaux* and *Playfair*; and this process gave the commencement of the reign of *Cecrops*, B.C. 1558, the same year assigned by *Petavius* from *Eusebius*. And that it was rightly assigned may be collected from the following considerations:—

1. *Castor*, of Rhodes, who flourished about B.C. 50, reckoned that *Cecrops* began his reign 780 years before the first Olympiad, B.C. 776, or B.C. 1556, two years later. This date is adopted by *Usher*.

2. *Isagoras*, the orator, born B. C. 436, reckoned that "not less than 1000 years had intervened from the first settlement of the Athenian polity by *Cecrops*, till its subversion by *Pisistratus*, B. C. 561. This would give the accession of *Cecrops*,

B. C. 1561, or three years earlier. Whence we are warranted to assume the mean date, B. C. 1558, as correct.

3. This is confirmed by the Chronicle itself:—

By the former method of computation, from the accession of *Cecrops*, B. C. 1582, to the destruction of *Troy*, B. C. 1209, — was an interval of 373 years; but precisely the same interval results by the latter, from the first of *Cecrops*, B. C. 1558, to the twenty-second of *Menestheus*, B. C. 1185. Consequently, B. C. 1558, must have been the specific date upon which the table of reigns, adapted to the Chronicle, was originally constructed.

There appears, at first sight, a slight difference between the twenty-second of *Menestheus*, B. C. 1185, and the received date of the capture of *Troy*, B. C. 1184. But this is only apparent, depending on the different commencement of the *Attic* year, about the Summer solstice. *Troy* was taken, according to the Chronicle, on the 24th of *Thargelion*, or 26th of May, near the end of that *Attic* year, which therefore began in the Julian year, B. C. 1185, and ended in the succeeding, B. C. 1184. And the critical accuracy of the Chronicle, and correctness of the conjectural reading *Thargelion*, are vouched by *Dion. Hal.* who states, that “*Troy* was taken near the end of the Spring, seventeen days before the Summer solstice, on the 23d of *Thargelion*, according to the *Attic* reckoning.”

The same is confirmed by poetical authority:

Et Danaum *decimo vere* redisse rates.—*Propert.* IV.

———— vix *prima* inceperat *æstas*,

Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela jubebat.—*Virg. Æn.* III.

Here *Propertius* states that the Grecian fleet returned in the *Spring* of the tenth year of the siege; and *Virgil*, that *Æneas* set sail, soon after, at the very beginning of *Summer* ensuing.

But how are we to account for this systematic difference between the two methods, of about 25 years, which pervades the upper part of the Chronicle, but vanishes in the lower, where both methods agree?

The leading date of the first period appears to be that of the capture of *Troy*, the established date of which, B. C. 1184, is furnished by the latter method of computation by reigns. But the compiler of the Chronicle, rejecting this date, adopted the earlier, of B. C. 1209, probably on the authority of authors that rated it higher, such as *Dicæarchus*, a celebrated historian and

philosopher, of the *Aristotelian* school, who flourished B. C. 310. or about 50 years before the Chronicle was engraved, and reckoned that Troy was taken, B. C. 1212, three years sooner. Whence the compiler found it necessary to raise all the other dates of this period by the same difference of 25 years; and by so doing, has proved the inaccuracy of his assumed date, B. C. 1209; because several of the earlier epochs are thereby thrown out of their proper places an entire reign backwards. Thus, epoch 21, the political reform of *Theseus*, which, by the table of reigns adapted to the latter method, happened B. C. 1234, in the second year of his reign, as confirmed by the testimony of *Plutarch*, and others, that he began his reform soon after his accession to the throne, is thrown back by the former method to B. C. 1259, the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his father *Ægeus*!

That the dates of the reigns, Tab. XIV. are rightly assigned, is confirmed also by another epoch, 32; in which, though the supplementary number is obliterated, yet "the twenty-first year of" the perpetual Archon "*Æschylus*" is fortunately preserved, which was B. C. 758. But *Eusebius* dated the foundation of *Syracuse* twenty-four years before the accession of the decennial Archon *Clidicus*, in B. C. 734, which, added thereto, gives the same result, B. C. 758, and corrects a slight error in *Selden*, p. 1514, who cites this testimony of *Eusebius*, and yet dates the epoch, B. C. 757, a year later.

This epoch, with which the *historical* or second period of the Chronicle begins, is of considerable importance:

1. It verifies the next epoch, 33, by reckoning downwards, and fixes the establishment of annual Archons in B. C. 684.
2. It also detects an error in *Petavius*, adopted by *Playfair*, that the decennial Archonship expired with *Eryxias*, B. C. 687, three years earlier; in consequence of which, the latter has unwarrantably deducted two years from the decennial Archon *Charops*, and one year from *Æsimesdes*, in order to fix the accession of the first decennial Archon *Charops*, in B. C. 754, which he rightly does, following *Prideaux*. It is to be regretted, indeed, that this excellent chronologer did not adduce his authorities in the first edition of his useful work; and it is to be hoped that he will remedy this defect in the next, which is now in contemplation.
3. *Selden* judiciously observes, that this epoch furnishes an important adjustment of the dates of the succeeding

colonies, after *Syracuse*, which settled at *Navos*, *Catana*, *Trotilus*, &c. and are noticed in the beginning of the sixth book of *Thucydides*.

We are now warranted, upon the high authority of the Parian Chronicle, to consider the thirty reigns of the Athenian kings and archons, from *Cecrops* to *Creon*, the first annual archon, as one of the most authentic and correct documents to be found in the whole range of Profane Chronology; while the Chronicle also verifies the broken list of annual archons, as far as it reaches downwards, by confirming, in near twenty instances, the dates assigned by other historians, both earlier and later.

We are also enabled to adjust that much disputed epoch of the time of *Homer* with a high degree of precision. *Diognetus*, in whose archonship he flourished, epoch 30, did not begin to reign till B. C. 893; consequently, the date B. C. 907, furnished by the supplemental number, which is perfect, must be erroneous: if then we reduce it to B. C. 884, the ninth year of *Diognetus*, we shall find it confirmed by the important testimony of *Herodotus*, who declares, that "*Hesiod* and *Homer* lived not above four hundred years before his time." B. 2. 53. *Herodotus* was born B. C. 484, which, added to 400, gives B. C. 884.

The supplemental number in the epoch of *Hesiod* 29, is imperfect, DCLXX . . *Selden* supplies the chasm with another X, and so makes it 680; but *Prideaux*, with II, reducing it to 672, which also reduces the epoch to B. C. 936, and so leaves a difference of 52 years between the poets, which is still too much. But if we further deduct the systematic difference of 25 years, it will reduce *Hesiod's* time to B. C. 911, and leave an interval of only 27 years between them.

The conjectural date assigned to epoch 28, of the *Ionic* migration, B. C. 1077, by *Selden*, and followed by his successors, requires to be lowered in the same proportion. For *Eusebius* states, that this migration took place in the eighth year of the Athenian king *Acastus*, which, according to his Canon, was B. C. 1043; and *Eratosthenes* dated it 140 years after the destruction of Troy, which he reckoned B. C. 1183, furnishing the same year, B. C. 1043. And this rectification critically corresponds with the account of *Thucydides*, who, in his curious and valuable summary of the ancient state of Greece, antecedent to the *Peloponnesian* war, B. 1, dates the return of the *Heraclidæ* to Peloponnesus, 80 years after the destruction of *Troy*; and he

describes the planting of *Ionia*, and several of the islands, as “ a good while after their return,” which agrees very well to 60 years after.

CORRECTIONS OF THE CHRONICLE.

Besides the general rectification of the first period, Table XIII. there are some epochs in the second that require correction.

Epoch 36, B. C. 605, cannot be understood of the first year of the reign of *Alyattes*, which began B. C. 619. It probably refers to the time of his war with *Cyaxares*, king of Media, which was put an end to by the celebrated eclipse of *Thales*, two years after, B. C. 603.

Epoch 42, B. C. 556. This was the fifth year of the reign of *Cræsus*, and refers perhaps to his first inquiry concerning his son who was dumb; to which the Oracle replied, that *in an evil day he should hear his son speak!* which was afterwards verified at the surprise of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*; when the son, alarmed for his father's life, eagerly exclaimed to the Persian soldier, “ *Kill not Cræsus!*”

Epoch 43. The supplemental number being obliterated, we may supply B. C. 548, the correct date of the capture of *Cræsus*. This corresponds with the sequel: for *Hipponax*, his contemporary, flourished in the 63d Olympiad, B. C. 528, according to *Pliny*; and *Cræsus* survived *Cyrus*, who died B. C. 529, and lived in the reign of *Cambyses*.

Epoch 45. The conjectural date B. C. 517, furnished by *Selden*, supposing that the last three letters of the supplemental number were III. is raised by *Prideaux*, to B. C. 520, substituting III, or VI. And this probably was the actual year of the accession of *Darius* I. after the death of *Smerdis Magus*, and also after the short reigns of *Maraphis* and *Artaphrenes*, noticed by *Æschylus*, which might altogether have taken up a year or more; but which, according to the construction of *Ptolomy's* Canon, are assigned to *Darius*, in dating his reign B. C. 521, or are included in his first year. See the ensuing article of *Ptolomy's* Canon.

Epoch 50. The conjectural date of the death of *Darius*, B.C. 490, is incorrect, however it be filled up, for it comes before B.C. 486, in the next epoch; but *Xerxes* succeeded *Darius* in B.C. 485, according to the Canon.

Epoch 52, 53. These dates are each a year too high.

Epoch 55. The supplemental number being mutilated, the date is furnished from *Diodorus Siculus*.

Epoch 61, 62, 65, are also supplied from *Diodorus*. The last, however, is incorrect, B.C. 406; for the accession of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, the brother of *Cyrus the younger*, was not till B.C. 404, according to the Canon.

ERAS OF IPHITUS, AND OF THE OLYMPIADS.

Ουτ' Ολυμπιας αγωνα
Φερτερον αυδασομεν.

“ Nothing better than *the Olympic games*
Can we celebrate.”—PIND. Od. 1.

× These celebrated games were originally instituted in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*, by the Phrygian *Pelops*, who settled in the Grecian Peninsula, called from him *Peloponnesus*, about B.C. 1350. They were repeated by the *Theban Hercules*, about B.C. 1325, and after a long interruption, restored in part by *Iphitus*, king of *Elis*, and celebrated at *Olympia*, on the banks of the river *Alpheus*, B.C. 884, according to the most probable account. However, the Vulgar Era of the Olympiads did not commence till 108 years after, July 19, B.C. 776. From which time, they were regularly continued every four years complete, or fifth year current, and lasted for five days, on each of which were celebrated the different games of *leaping*, *running*, *throwing the discus*, *darting*, and *wrestling*; the last day fell on the first full moon after the Summer solstice, and the next day the prizes were awarded*.

Pausanias, that accurate antiquary, who flourished about A.D. 170, and had himself inspected the Olympic register at *Elis*, gives the following particular account of their gradual restoration:—

“ After *Iphitus* had revived the festival in the manner above related, the memory of several ancient customs was still lost, and it was by slow degrees that men came to the remembrance of them, and added to the games whatever they happened to recollect. This is evident. For reckoning *from the time when the memorials of the Olympiads go on without interruption*, the

* Επει εν τη πανσεληνη ο Ολυμπιακος αγων αγειται, και τη εκκαιδεκατη γινεται κρισις. Schol. in *Pindar*. Od. 3.

first prize given was for the *foot-race*, which was won by *Coræbus*, the *Elean*. Afterwards, in the 14th Olympiad, the *Diaulos*, (or double course) was added; when *Hypenus*, of *Pisa*, bore away the olive-branch for the *Diaulos*, as did *Acanthus* in the next Olympiad. Then, in the 18th Olympiad, they recollected the *Pentathlos*, (or the five exercises) and the *wrestling*." Eliac. 1. p. 394.

The registry of the victors in the games, and consequently of the *Olympiads* themselves, or Quadriennial Cycle, the first year of which was appropriated to the celebration of the games, was carefully kept at *Elis*, and the names of the victors inserted in it by the presidents of the games. *Pausanias* found it perfect, except in the 211th Olympiad, A.D. 65, "which (says he,) is the only Olympiad omitted in the register of the *Eleans*." *Phocic*. p. 892. It was therefore a register of the most public authenticity. See *Musgrave's* Vindication of the *Olympiads*, p. 230.

Before *Pausanias*, the judicious *Strabo* had remarked, that *Coræbus* was the first victor in the Olympic games, and *Athenæus* afterwards particularly notices his profession as a cook. Lib. ix. p. 392. And the learned chronologer *Varro* justly considers the era of the Olympiads, as forming the limit between the *fabulous* and *historical* ages. These testimonies infinitely outweigh the objections of *Plutarch*, too hastily adopted by Sir *Isaac Newton*, in his *Chronology*, p. 47; namely, that the register of the Olympiads was published rather late, "by *Hippias*, the *Elean*, about the 105th Olympiad, B.C. 360, and from no certain materials."

The adjustment of this era to the Christian is fully ascertained by historical and astronomical evidence.

The learned *Censorinus*, in his excellent work, *De die natali*, cap. 21, marks the year in which he wrote it, A.D. 238, in the consulate of *Ulpianus* and *Pontianus*, by its reference to some of the most remarkable eras*; and among the rest states, that it

* Secundum *Varronis* rationem, nisi fallor, hic annus cujus velut index et titulus quidem est *Ulpianus* et *Pontianus* consulatus (A.D. 238) ab *Olympiade primâ* millesimus est et quartus decimus, ex diebus duntaxat *æstivis* quibus agon Olympicus celebratur. A *Româ* autem conditâ, nongentesimus nonagesimus primus, et quidem ex *Parilibus*, unde Urbis anni numerantur.—Ab *Ægyptiis* quidam anni in literas relati sunt; ut quas *Nabonnazarus* nominant, quod a primo imperii ejus anno consurgunt; quorum hic nongentesimus octogesimus est: Item *Philippi* [*Aridæi*] qui ab excessu *Alexandri Magni* numerantur; et ad hunc usque perducti, annos quingenta sexaginta duos consummant: sed horum initia semper a primo die mensis ejus sumuntur, cui apud

was “ the 1014th year from the first Olympiad, reckoned from the Summer days, on which the Olympic games were celebrated.” But 1014—A.D. 238=B.C. 776.

Polybius relates, that in the third year of the 140th Olympiad, during the Spring, there happened two memorable battles; the former between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, at the lake *Thrasymene* in *Italy*; the latter between *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy*, at *Raphia*, in *Cœle-Syria*. And also, that in the course of that same year, there was an eclipse of the moon, which terrified the *Gallic* auxiliaries whom *Attalus* was bringing over from Europe, in consequence of which they refused to proceed. Lib. v. p. 442. The third year of the 140th Olympiad began July, B.C. 218, and ended July, B.C. 217; but in the former Julian year, there was a great eclipse of the moon on September 1, an hour after midnight, in which the moon was near an hour and half immersed in the earth’s shadow, and which therefore was fully sufficient to terrify the ignorant and superstitious; and the battle of *Thrasymene* was fought in the next Julian year, B.C. 217, in the consulate of *Servilius Geminus* and *C. Flaminius* II. but as it was in Spring, it fell within the compass of the same Olympic year. But 139 Olympiads and two years over make 558 years, which added to B.C. 218, give B.C. 776 for the date of the first Olympiad. These demonstrative characters are furnished by *Petavius*, tom. ii. p. 56.

The following Table gives the first year of each Olympiad, and the victor in the *Stadium*, or foot-race: whence the second, third, and fourth years, are easily found.

XV. TABLE OF OLYMPIADS.

OLYM.	B.C.	OLYM.	B.C.
1. <i>Choræbus</i> , Eliens.	776	7. <i>Daicles</i> , Messen.	752
2. <i>Antimachus</i> , Eliens.	772	8. <i>Anticles</i> , Messen.	748
3. <i>Androcles</i> , Messen.	768	9. <i>Xenocles</i> , Messen.	744
4. <i>Polychares</i> , Messen.	764	10. <i>Dotades</i> , Messen.	740
5. <i>Æschines</i> , Messen.	760	11. <i>Leochares</i> , Messen.	736
6. <i>Oebotas</i> , Dumæus.	756	12. <i>Oxythemis</i> , Coron.	732

Ægyptios nomen est *Thoth*, quique hoc anno fuit ante diem septimum Kal. Julias *Censorin.* de die natali. cap. 21, or *Petav.* 2, p. 53. Hence,

- 1. Era of the *Olympiads* 1014—A.D. 238=B.C. 776.
- 2. Era of *Rome* 991—A.D. 238=B.C. 753.
- 3. Era of *Nabonassar* 985—A.D. 238=B.C. 747.
- 4. Era of *Philip* 562—A.D. 238=B.C. 324.

OLYM.	B.C.	OLYM.	B.C.
13. <i>Diocles</i> , Corinth.	728	61. <i>Agatharcus</i> , Coreyr.	536
14. <i>Damon</i> , Corinth.	724	62. <i>Eryxidas</i> , Chalcid.	532
15. <i>Orsippus</i> , Megar.	720	63. <i>Parmenides</i> , Camar.	528
16. <i>Pythagoras</i> , Lacon.	716	64. <i>Evander</i> , Thessal.	524
17. <i>Polus</i> , Epidaur.	712	65. <i>Apochas</i> , Tarent.	520
18. <i>Tellis</i> , Sicyon.	708	66. <i>Ischyryus</i> , Himer.	516
19. <i>Menon</i> , Megar.	704	67. <i>Phanas</i> , Pellin.	512
20. <i>Atherades</i> , Lacon.	700	68. <i>Ischomachus</i> , Croton.	508
21. <i>Pantacles</i> , Athen.	696	69. <i>Ischomachus</i>	504
22. <i>Pantacles</i>	692	70. <i>Nicoras</i> , Opunt.	500
23. <i>Icarius</i> , Hyper.	688	71. <i>Tisicrates</i> , Croton.	496
24. <i>Cleoptolemes</i> , Lacon.	684	72. <i>Tisicrates</i>	492
25. <i>Thalpius</i> , Lacon.	680	73. <i>Astylus</i> , Croton.	488
26. <i>Calisthenes</i> , Lacon.	676	74. <i>Astyllus</i> , Syracus.	484
27. <i>Eurybates</i> , Lacedæm.	672	75. <i>Suchus</i> , Syracus.	480
28. <i>Charmes</i> , Lacon.	668	76. <i>Scamander</i> , Mitylen. . . .	476
29. <i>Chionis</i> , Lacedæm.	664	77. <i>Dates</i> , Arg.	472
30. <i>Chionis</i>	660	78. <i>Parmenides</i> , Post.	468
31. <i>Chionis</i>	656	79. <i>Xenophon</i> , Corinth.	464
32. <i>Cratinus</i> , Megar.	652	80. <i>Torymbas</i> , Thessal.	460
33. <i>Gyges</i> , Lacon.	648	81. <i>Polymnastus</i> , Cyren.	456
34. <i>Stomas</i> , Athen.	644	82. <i>Lycus</i> , Thessal.	452
35. <i>Sphærus</i> , Lacon.	640	83. <i>Criso</i> , Himer.	448
36. <i>Phrynon</i> , Athen.	636	84. <i>Criso</i>	444
37. <i>Euryclidas</i> , Lacon.	632	85. <i>Criso</i>	440
38. <i>Olyntheus</i> , Lacon.	628	86. <i>Theopompus</i> , Thessal.	436
39. <i>Ripsoleus</i> , Laced.	624	87. <i>Sophron</i> , Ambrac.	432
40. <i>Olyntheus</i>	620	88. <i>Symmachus</i> , Messen.	428
41. <i>Cleonidas</i> , Theban.	616	89. <i>Symmachus</i>	424
42. <i>Lycotas</i> , Lacon.	612	90. <i>Hyperbius</i> , Syracus.	420
43. <i>Cleon</i> , Epidaur.	608	91. <i>Exaginetus</i> , Agrigent.	416
44. <i>Gelo</i> , Lacon.	604	92. <i>Exaginetus</i>	412
45. <i>Anticratis</i> , Epidaur.	600	93. <i>Eubatos</i> , Cyren.	408
46. <i>Chrysomaxus</i> , Lacon.	596	94. <i>Crocynas</i> , Lariss.	404
47. <i>Eurycles</i> , Lacon.	592	95. <i>Minos</i> , Athen.	400
48. <i>Glaucias</i> , Croton.	588	96. <i>Eupolemus</i> , Eliens.	396
49. <i>Lycinus</i> , Croton.	584	97. <i>Terinæus</i> , Eliens.	392
50. <i>Epitelides</i> , Lacon.	580	98. <i>Sosippus</i> , Athen.	388
51. <i>Eratosthenes</i> , Croton.	576	99. <i>Dicon</i> , Syracus.	384
52. <i>Agis</i> , Eliens.	572	100. <i>Dionysiodorus</i> , Tarent.	380
53. <i>Agnon</i> , Peparèth.	568	101. <i>Damon</i> , Thuri.	376
54. <i>Hippostratus</i> , Croton.	564	102. <i>Damon</i>	372
55. <i>Hippostratus</i>	560	103. <i>Pythostratus</i> , Athen.	368
56. <i>Phædrus</i> , Pharsal.	556	104. <i>Eubotas</i> , Cyren.	364
57. <i>Ladromus</i> , Lacon.	552	105. <i>Porus</i> , Cyren.	360
58. <i>Diognetus</i> , Croton.	548	106. <i>Donis</i> , Maliens.	356
59. <i>Archilochus</i> , Coreyr.	544	107. <i>Smicrinus</i> , Tarent.	352
60. <i>Appellæus</i> , Eliens.	540	108. <i>Polycles</i> , Cyren.	348

OLYM.	A.D.	OLYM.	A.D.
203. <i>Apollonius</i> , Epidaur.	33	206. <i>Valerius</i> , Mitylen.	45
204. <i>Serapion</i> , Alex.	37	207. <i>Athenodorus</i> , Ægin.	49
205. <i>Eubulidas</i> , Laod.	41	208. <i>Athenodorus</i>	53

ERA OF THE FOUNDATION OF ROME.

This celebrated *Roman Era* succeeds next in order of time to the *Grecian*. Its adjustment to the Christian Era is also equally ascertained from History and Astronomy.

1. *Censorinus* reckoned that the year A.D. 238, in which he wrote his work, was the 991st from the foundation of Rome, by the *Varronian* computation. But $991 - \text{A.D. } 238 = \text{B.C. } 753$. See *Petav.* tom. ii. p. 53, 69.

2. *Cicero* and *Plutarch* both relate, that on the day of the foundation of *Rome*, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which happened, according to the latter, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, B.C. 754—3. But by astronomical calculation, there was an eclipse of the sun visible at *Rome*, B.C. 753, July 5, aft. $4\frac{1}{2}$, dig. 4, agreeing in every respect except the quantity. This also adjusts the *Grecian* and *Roman* eras together. See *Cicero* de Div. lib. ii. *Plutarch* in *Romulo*.

3. *Livy* records, in the consulate of *Livius Salinator* and *Valerius Messala*, U.C. 566, a total eclipse of the sun, which, by astronomical calculation, happened B.C. 188, July 17, morn. 8h. 38m. dig. $10\frac{5}{4}$: but the sum of these years gives B.C. 754, complete, or B.C. 753, current. *Livy*, lib. xxxviii. 36.

4. *Livy* also records, that in the consulate of *Paulus Æmilius* and *Licinius Crassus*, U.C. 586, *Sulpitius Gallus*, a military tribune, predicted an eclipse of the moon to happen on the ensuing night, from the second to the fourth hour, which accordingly happened the night before the famous battle of *Pydna*, in which *Perseus*, king of Macedon, was defeated, and this encouraged the Romans, and dispirited the Macedonians. And by astronomical calculation, there was an eclipse of the moon, B.C. 168, June 21, which began, aft. 6h. 14m. and lasted four hours, 15. dig. The total immersion, or eclipse, began 7h. 32m. or in the second hour of the night, and lasted till the fourth hour, exactly agreeing with the prediction of *Gallus*, which identifies the eclipses, and shews considerable skill, on his part, at that early age. It also proves, that *Livy* was incorrect, in assigning

the night of the eclipse, *pridie nonas Septembris*. The context in the preceding chapter shews, that the season of the year was rather about the *Summer solstice*. Livy, lib. xlv. 37. But the sum of these years gives B.C. 754, complete, or B.C. 753, current, for the date of the foundation of Rome, according to the *Varro-nian* computation, which is infallibly established by means of these eclipses.

The following Table is continued to near the close of *Trajan's* reign :—

XVI. TABLE OF ROMAN KINGS AND CONSULS.

KINGS.

U. C.	B. C.		U. C.	B. C.		
1.	754.	Romulus	38	138. 617.	Tarquinius Priscus . .	38
39.	716.	Numa Pompilius	43	176. 579.	Servius Tullius	44
82.	673.	Tullus Hostilius	32	220. 535.	Tarquinius Superbus .	25
114.	641.	Ancus Martius	24			

CONSULS.

245*.	509.	L. Junius Brutus	}	255.	499.	P. Veturius Geminus.	
		M. Horatius Pulvillus.		T. Æbutius Elva.			
		L. Tarq. Collatinus		}	256.	498.	T. Lartius Flavius II.
		P. Valerius Poplicola.			Q. Cloelius Siculus.		
246.	508.	P. Valerius Poplicola II.	}	257.	497.	A. Sempron. Atratinus.	
		T. Lucretius Tricipitinus.		M. Minucius Augurinus.			
247.	507.	P. Valerius Poplicola III.	}	258.	496.	A. Postumius Albus.	
		M. Horatius Pulvillus II.		A. Virginius Tricostus.			
248.	506.	Sp. Lartius Flavius.	}	259.	495.	Ap. Claudius Sabinus.	
		T. Herminius Aquilinus.		P. Servilius Priscus.			
249.	505.	M. Valerius.	}	260.	494.	A. Virginius Tricost. II.	
		P. Postumius Tubertus.		T. Veturius Geminus.			
250.	504.	P. Valerius Poplicola IV.	}	261.	493.	Sp. Cassius Viscellinus II.	
		T. Lucret. Tricipitinus II.		Post. Comin. Auruncus II.			
251.	503.	P. Postumius Tubertus II.	}	262.	492.	T. Geganius Macerinus.	
		Agrippa Menen. Lanatus.		P. Minucius Augurinus.			
252.	502.	Opiter Virginius Tricostus.	}	263.	491.	M. Min. Augurinus II.	
		Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.		A. Sempron. Atratinus II.			
253.	501.	Post. Comin. Auruncus.	}	264.	490.	Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.	
		T. Lartius Flavius.		Sp. Lartius Flavius II.			
254.	500.	Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus.	}	265.	489.	C. Julius Iulus.	
		Man. Tullius Longus.		P. Pinarius Rufus.			

* Refert *Censorinus*, *Primos Ludos Sæculares*, exactis Regibus, post Romam conditam annis 245, a *Valerio Publicola* institutos esse. Cap. 17.

CONSULS.

U. B. B. C.		U. B. B. C.
266. 488.	Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Sex. Furius Fusus.	285. 469. A. Virgin. Tricostus. T. Numicius Priscus.
267. 487.	C. Aquilius Tuscus. T. Sicinius Sabinus.	286. 468. T. Quintius Barbatus II. Q. Servilius Priscus.
268. 486.	Sp. Cassius Viscellinus III. Proc. Virginius Tricostus.	287. 467. Tib. Æmilius Mamerc. II. Q. Vibulanus.
269. 485.	Q. Fabius Vibulanus. S. Cornel. Malug. Cossus.	288. 466. Sp. Postumius Albus. Q. Servilius Priscus II.
270. 484.	L. Æmilius Mamercinus. C. Fabius Vibulanus.	289. 465. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. T. Quintius Barbatus III.
271. 483.	M. Fabius Vibulanus. L. Valer. Poplic. Potitus.	290. 464. A. Postumius Albus. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
272. 482.	C. Julius Iulus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II.	291. 463. P. Servilius Priscus. L. Æbutius Elva.
273. 481.	C. Fabius Vibulanus II. Sp. Furius Fusus.	292. 462. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus. T. Veturius Geminus.
274. 480.	Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus. M. Fabius Vibulanus II.	293. 461. P. Volumn. Amintinus. Serv. Sulpicius Camerinus.
275. 479.	C. Fabius Vibulanus III. T. Virgin. Tricost. Rutilus.	294. 460. P. Valerius Poplicola II. } L. Quinct. Cincinnatus. }
276. 478.	L. Æm. Mamercinus II. C. Serv. Ahala. } C. Corn. Lent. Esquilin. }	295. 459. Q. Fabius Vibulanus III. L. Cornel. Malug. Cossus.
277. 477.	C. Horatius Pulvillus. T. Menenius Lanatus.	296. 458. C. Nautius Rutilus II. L. Minucius Augurinus.
278. 476.	A. Virg. Tricost. Rutilus. Sp. Servilius Structus.	297. 457. C. Horatius Pulvillus. Q. Minucius Augurinus.
279. 475.	P. Valerius Poplicola. C. Nautius Rutilus.	298. 456. M. Valerius Maximus. Sp. Virginius Tricost.
280. 474.	L. Furius Medull. Rufus. A. Manlius Vulso.	299. 455. T. Romulius Rocus. C. Veturius Cicurinus.
281. 473.	L. Æmil. Mamercinus III. Vopiscus Julius Iulus. } Opiter Virginius. }	300. 454. Sp. Tarpeius Montanus. A. Æternius Fontinalis.
282. 472.	L. Pinarius Rufus Mamerc. P. Furius Fusus.	301. 453. Sex. Quintilius. P. Horatius Tergeminus.
283. 471.	Ap. Claudius Sabinus. T. Quintius Barbatus.	302. 452. P. Sestius Capitolinus. T. Menenius Lanatus.
284. 470.	L. Valerius Poplicola II. Tib. Æmilius Mamercinus.	303. 451. Appius Claudius Crassinus. T. Genucius Augurinus.

DECENVIRS.

Appius Claudius Crassinus. T. Gen. Augurinus, &c.	305. 449. Ap. Claud. Crassinus III. Q. Fab. Vibulanus, II. &c.
304. 450. Ap. Claudius Crassinus II. Q. Fabius Vibulanus, &c.	

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.		U. C. B. C.	
	L. Valerius Poplicola.	317. 437.	M. Geg. Macerinus III.
	T. Horatius Barbatus.		L. Sergius Fidenas.
306. 448.	Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.	318. 436.	M. Cornelius Malugin.
	T. Virginius Tricostus.		L. Papirius Crassus.
307. 447.	M. Geganius Macerinus.	319. 435.	C. Julius Iulus II.
	C. Julius Iulus.		L. Virginius Tricostus.
308. 446.	T. Q. Capit. Barbatus IV.	320. 434.	C. Julius Iulus III.
	Agrippa Furius Fusus.		L. Virginius Tricostus II.
309. 445.	M. Genucius Augurinus.	321. 433.	M. Fabius Vibulanus.
	C. Curtius Philo.		M. Fossius Flaccinator.
310. 444.	T. Clœlius Siculus.		L. Sergius Fidenas.
	A. Sempron. Atratinus. } L. Papirius Mugillanus. } L. Sempronius Atratinus.	322. 432.	L. Pinarius Rufus.
			L. Furius Medullinus.
311. 443.	M. Geganius Macerinus.		Sp. Postumius Albus.
	T. Q. Capitol. Barbat. V.	323. 431.	T. Quint. Pennus Cincin.
312. 442.	M. Fabius Vibulanus.		C. Julius Mento.
	Post. Æbutius Cornicen.	324. 430.	L. Papirius Crassus.
313. 441.	C. Furius Pacilus Rufus.		L. Julius Iulus.
	M. Papirius Crassus.	325. 429.	L. Sergius Fidenas II.
314. 440.	Proc. Geganius Macerinus.		Hostus Lucret. Tricipitin.
	L. Menenius Lanatus.	326. 428.	T. Quint. Pennus Cin. II.
315. 439.	T. Quint. Capitolinus VI.		A. Cornelius Cossus.
	Agrippa Menen. Lanatus.	327. 427.	L. Papirius Mugillanus II.
316. 438.	M. Æmilius Mamercin.		C. Servilius Struct. Ahala.
	L. Quint. Cincinnatus.		
	L. Julius Iulus.		

MIL. TRIBUNES.

328. 426.	T. Q. Pennus Cincin. &c.	341. 413.	M. Cornelius Cossus.
329. 425.	A. Sempronius Atratin. &c.		L. Furius Medullinus.
330. 424.	L. Horatius Barbatus, &c.	342. 412.	Q. Fabius Ambustus.
331. 423.	C. Sempronius Atratinus.		C. Furius Pacilus.
	Q. Fabius Vibulanus.	343. 411.	M. Papirius Mugillanus.
332. 422.	L. Man. Vulso Capitol. &c.		C. Nautius Rutilus.
333. 421.	T. Quintius Capitolinus.	344. 410.	M. Æmilius Mamercinus.
	Numer. Fabius Vibulanus.		C. Valerius Potitus.
334. 420.	T. Q. Pen. Cincin. II. &c.	345. 409.	Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
335. 419.	Agrippa Menenius, &c.		L. Furius Medullinus II.
336. 418.	M. Papir. Mugillanus, &c.	346. 408.	C. Julius Iulus, &c.
337. 417.	P. Lucretius Tricipit. II. &c.	347. 407.	C. Val. Volusinus II. &c.
338. 416.	A. Semp. Atratinus II. &c.	348. 406.	P. Cor. Rutilus Cossus, &c.
339. 415.	P. Cornelius Cossus, &c.	349. 405.	C. Julius Iulus, &c.
340. 414.	Q. Fab. Vibulanus II. &c.	350. 404.	P. Cor. Maluginensis, &c.

U. C.	B. C.		U. C.	B. C.	
351.	403.	M. Æmil. Mamercin. II. &c.	370.	384.	A. Manlius Capitolinus, &c.
352.	402.	C. Servilius Ahala III. &c.	371.	383.	S. Corn. Malugin. III. &c.
353.	401.	L. Valerius Potitus IV. &c.	372.	382.	L. Val. Poplicola IV. &c.
354.	400.	P. Licinius Calvus, &c.	373.	381.	Sp. Papirius Crassus, &c.
355.	399.	C. Duilius, &c.	374.	380.	M. Furius Camillus VI. &c.
356.	398.	L. Valerius Potitus V. &c.	375.	379.	L. Valerius Poplic. V. &c.
357.	397.	L. Julius Iulus II. &c.	376.	378.	C. Manlius Capitolinus, &c.
358.	396.	P. Licinius Calvus, &c.	377.	377.	Sp. Furius Medullinus, &c.
359.	395.	P. Cornelius Cossus, &c.	378.	376.	L. Æmilius Mamer. V. &c.
360.	394.	M. Furius Camillus III. &c.	379.	375.	L. Sextius Lateranus II. C. Licinius Stolo II.
361.	393.	L. Lucretius Flavius. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.	380.	374.	L. Sextius Lateranus III. C. Licinius Stolo III.
362.	392.	L. Valerius Potitus. M. Manlius Capitolinus.	381.	373.	L. Sextius Lateran. IV. C. Licinius Stolo IV.
363.	391.	L. Lucretius Flavius, &c.	382.	372.	L. Sext. Lateranus V. C. Licinius Stolo V.
364.	390.	Q. Fabius Ambustus, &c.	383.	371.	L. Furius Medullinus II. &c.
365.	389.	M. Furius Camillus, <i>Dictat.</i> L. Valerius, <i>Mag. Equit.</i>	384.	370.	Q. Servilius Priscus III. &c.
366.	388.	L. Valerius Poplicola II. &c.	385.	369.	L. Quint. Capitolinus, &c.
367.	387.	T. Quintius Cincinnat. &c.	386.	368.	M. Furius Camillus, <i>Dictat.</i>
368.	386.	L. Papirius Cursor, &c.	387.	367.	A. Cornelius Cossus, &c.
369.	385.	M. Furius Camillus IV. &c.			

CONSULS.

388.	366.	L. Æmilius Mamercinus. L. Sextius Lateranus.	399.	355.	C. Sulpicius Pæticus III. M. Valerius Poplicola.
389.	365.	L. Genucius Aventinus. Q. Servilius Ahala.	400.	354.	M. Fabius Ambustus III. T. Quint. Pennus Capitol.
390.	364.	C. Sulpicius Pæticus. C. Licinius Calvus.	401.	353.	C. Sulpicius Pæticus IV. M. Valerius Poplicola II.
391.	363.	L. Æmilius Mamertinus. Cn. Genucius Aventinen.	402.	352.	P. Valerius Poplicola. C. Martius Rutilus II.
392.	362.	Q. Servilius Ahala II. L. Genucius Aventin.	403.	351.	C. Sulpicius Pæticus V. T. Quintius Cincinnatus.
393.	361.	C. Licinius Calvus II. C. Sulpicius Pæticus II.	404.	350.	M. Popilius Lænas III. L. Cornelius Scipio.
394.	360.	M. Fabius Ambustus. C. Pætilius Libo.	405.	349.	L. Furius Camillus Crassus. Appius Claudius.
395.	359.	M. Pomponius Lænas. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus.	406.	348.	M. Popilius Lænas IV. M. Valerius Corvus.
396.	358.	C. Fabius Ambustus. C. Plautius Proculus.	407.	347.	C. Plautius Hypsæus. T. Manlius Torquatus.
397.	357.	C. Manlius Rutilus. Cn. Manlius Capitolin. II.	408.	346.	M. Valerius Corvus II. C. Pætilius Libo.
398.	356.	M. Fabius Ambustus II. M. Popilius Lænas II.	409.	345.	M. Fabius Dorso. Ser. Sulpicius Camerin.

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.	U. C. B. C.
410. 344. C. Martius Rutilus. T. Manlius Torquatus II.	433. 321. T. Veturius Calvinus II. Sp. Postumius Albinus
411. 343. M. Valerius Corvus III. A. Cornelius Cossus.	434. 320. L. Papirius Cursor II. Q. Publilius Philo III.
412. 342. C. Martius Rutilus IV. Q. Servilius Ahala.	435. 319. L. Papirius Cursor III. Q. Aulius Cerretanus II.
413. 341. C. Plautius Hypsæus. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.	436. 318. L. Plautius Venno. M. Fossius Flaccinator.
414. 340. T. Manlius Torquatus. P. Decius Mus.	437. 317. Q. Æmilius Barbula. C. Junius Bubulcus.
415. 339. Tib. Æmilius Mamertinus. Q. Publilius Philo.	438. 316. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. M. Popilius Lænas.
416. 338. F. Furius Camillus. C. Mænius.	439. 315. L. Papirius Cursor IV. Q. Publilius Philo IV.
417. 337. C. Sulpicius Longus. P. Ælius Pætus.	440. 314. M. Pætilius Libo. C. Sulpicius Longus IV.
418. 336. L. Papirius Crassus. Cæso Duilius.	441. 313. L. Papirius Cursor V. C. Junius Bubulcus II.
419. 335. M. Valerius Corvus IV. M. Atilius Regulus.	442. 312. M. Valerius Maximus. P. Decius Mus.
420. 334. T. Veturius Calvinus. Sp. Postumius Albinus.	443. 311. C. Junius Bubulcus III. Q. Æmilius Barbula II.
421. 333. [L. Papirius Cursor. C. Pætilius Libo.]	444. 310. Q. Fabius Rullianus II. C. Martius Rutilus.
422. 332. A. Cornelius Cossus IV. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.	445. 309. L. Pap. Cursor, <i>Dict.</i> II. Junius Bubulcus, <i>Eq. Mag.</i>
423. 331. M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Valerius Flaccus.	446. 308. P. Decius Mus II. Q. Fabius Maximus III.
424. 330. L. Papirius Crassus II. L. Plautius Venno.	447. 307. App. Claudius Cæcus. L. Volumnius Flamma.
425. 329. L. Æmilius Mamercus. C. Plautius Decianus.	448. 306. Q. Martius Tremulus. P. Cornelius Arvina.
426. 328. C. Plautius Proculus. P. Cornelius Scapula.	449. 305. L. Postumius Megellus. Tib. Minucius Augurinus.
427. 327. L. Cornelius Lentulus. Q. Publilius Philo.	450. 304. P. Sempronius Sophus. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
428. 326. C. Pætilius Libo II. L. Papirius Mugillanus.	451. 303. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Genucius Aventin.
429. 325. L. Furius Camillus II. D. Junius Brutus.	452. 302. M. Livius Denter. M. Æmilius Paulus.
430. 324. L. Papirius Cursor, <i>Dictat.</i> L. Pap. Crassus, <i>Eq. Mag.</i>	453. 301. Q. Fabius Maxim. <i>Dict.</i> II. M. Æmil. Paulus, <i>Eq. Mag.</i> M. Valer. Corvus, <i>Dict.</i> II.
431. 323. C. Sulpicius Longus II. Q. Aulius Cerretanus.	454. 300. Q. Appuleius Pansa. M. Valerius Corvus V.
432. 322. Q. Fabius Maximus. L. Fulvius Curvus.	

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.

455. 299. M. Fulvius Pætinus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
456. 298. L. Cornelius Scipio.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
457. 297. Q. Fabius Maximus IV.
P. Decius Mus III.
458. 296. App. Claudius Cæcus II.
L. Volunnius Flamma II.
459. 295. Q. Fabius Maximus V.
P. Decius Mus IV.
460. 294. L. Postumius Megellus II.
M. Atilius Regulus.
461. 293. L. Papirius Cursor.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
462. 292. Q. Fabius Gurges.
D. Junius Brutus Sceva.
463. 291. L. Postumius Megellus III.
C. Junius Bubulcus.
464. 290. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Curius Dentatus.
465. 289. M. Valerius Corvinus.
Q. Cædicius Noctua.
466. 288. Q. Martius Tremulus II.
P. Cornelius Arvina II.
467. 287. M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Nautius Rutilus.
468. 286. M. Valerius Potitus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
469. 285. C. Claudius Canina.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
470. 284. C. Servilius Tucca.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
471. 283. P. Cornelius Dolabella.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
472. 282. C. Fabricius Luscinus.
Q. Æmilius Papius.
473. 281. L. Æmilius Barbula.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
474. 280. P. Valerius Lævinus.
Tib. Coruncanus.
475. 279. P. Sulpitius Saverrio.
P. Decius Mus.
476. 278. C. Fabricius Luscinus II.
Q. Æmilius Papius.
477. 277. P. Cornelius Rufinus II.
Cn. Junius Bubulcus II.

U. B. B. C.

478. 276. Q. Fabius Gurges II.
C. Genucius Clepsina.
479. 275. M. Curius Dentatus II.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.
480. 274. M. Curius Dentatus III.
Serv. Cornelius Merenda.
481. 273. C. Fabius Dorso.
C. Claudius Canina II.
482. 272. L. Papirius Cursor II.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus II.
483. 271. C. Quintius Claudus.
L. Genucius Clepsina.
484. 270. C. Genucius Clepsina II.
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
485. 269. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Fabius Pictor.
486. 268. P. Sempronius Sophus.
Ap. Claudius Crassus.
487. 267. M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Junius Libo.
488. 266. M. Fabius Pictor.
D. Junius Pera.
489. 265. Q. Fabius Gurges III.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
490. 264. Ap. Claudius Caudex.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
491. 263. M. Valerius Messala.
M. Otacilius Crassus.
492. 262. L. Postumius Megellus.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
493. 261. L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
494. 260. Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Duilius.
495. 259. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Aquilius Florus.
496. 258. A. Atilius Calatinus.
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.
497. 257. C. Atilius Regulus.
Cn. Cornelius Blasio II.
498. 256. L. Manlius Vulso.
Q. Cædicius. }
M. Atilius Regulus II. }
499. 255. Ser. Fulvius Nobilior.
M. Æmilius Paulus.

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.

500. 254. Cn. Cornelius Scipio II.
A. Atilius Calatinus II.
501. 253. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
C. Sempronius Blæsus.
502. 252. C. Aurelius Cotta.
P. Servilius Geminus.
503. 251. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Furius Pacilus.
504. 250. C. Atilius Regulus II.
L. Manlius Vulso II.
505. 249. P. Claudius Pulcher.
L. Junius Pullus.
506. 248. C. Aurelius Cotta II.
P. Servilius Geminus II.
507. 247. L. Cæcilius Metellus II.
M. Fabius Buteo.
508. 246. M. Otacilius Crassus II.
M. Fabius Licinus.
509. 245. M. Fabius Buteo.
C. Atilius Bulbus.
510. 244. A. Manlius Torquatus.
C. Sempronius Blæsus II.
511. 243. C. Fundanius Fundulus.
C. Sulpicius Gallus.
512. 242. C. Lutatius Catulus.
A. Postumius Albinus.
513. 241. A. Manlius Torquatus II.
Q. Luctatius Cerco.
514. 240. C. Claudius Centho.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
515. 239. C. Mamilius Turinus.
Q. Valerius Falto.
516. 238. Tib. Sempron. Gracchus.
P. Valerius Falto.
517. 237. L. Cornelius L. Caudinus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
518. 236. P. Cornelius L. Caudinus.
C. Licinius Varus.
519. 235. T. Manlius Torquatus.
C. Atilius Bulbus II.
520. 234. L. Postumius Albinus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
521. 233. Q. Fabius Maximus.
M. Pomponius Matho
522. 232. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
M. Publicius Malleolus.

U. C. B. C.

523. 231. M. Pomponius Matho.
C. Papirius Maso.
524. 230. M. Æmilius Barbula.
M. Junius Pera.
525. 229. L. Postumius Albinus II.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
526. 228. Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
527. 227. P. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
528. 226. M. Valerius Messala.
L. Apustius Fullo.
529. 225. L. Æmilius Papus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
530. 224. T. Manlius Torquatus II.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus II.
531. 223. C. Flaminius Nepos.
P. Furius Philus.
532. 222. Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
533. 221. P. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Minucius Rufus.
534. 220. L. Veturius Philo.
C. Lutatius Catulus.
535. 219. M. Livius Salinator.
L. Æmilius Paulus.
536. 218. P. Cornelius Scipio.
T. Sempronius Longus.
537. 217. C. Flaminius Nepos II.
Cn. Servilius Geminus.
538. 216. C. Terentius Varro.
L. Æmilius Paulus II.
539. 215. L. Postumus Albinus III.
Q. Fabius Maximus III. }
Tib. Semp. Gracchus. }
540. 214. Q. Fabius Maximus IV.
M. Claudius Marcellus III.
541. 213. Q. Fabius Maximus V.
Tib. Semp. Gracchus II.
542. 212. Q. Fulvius Flaccus III.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
543. 211. P. Sulpicius Galba.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
544. 210. M. Valerius Lævinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus IV.

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.

545. 209. Q. Fabius Maximus V.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV.
546. 208. M. Claudius Marcellus V.
Tib. Quintius Crispinus.
547. 207. C. Claudius Nero.
M. Livius Salinator II.
548. 206. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Veturius Philo.
549. 205. P. Cornelius Scipio Afr.
P. Licinius Crassus.
550. 204. M. Cornelius Cethegus.
P. Sempronius Tuditanus.
551. 203. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Cn. Servilius Geminus.
552. 202. Tib. Claudius Nero.
M. Servilius Geminus.
553. 201. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
554. 200. P. Sulpitius Galba.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
555. 199. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
P. Villius Tappulus.
556. 198. T. Quintius Flaminius.
Sex. Ælius Pætus.
557. 197. C. Cornelius Cethegus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
558. 196. L. Furius Purpureo.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
559. 195. M. Porcius Cato.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
560. 194. P. Corn. Scipio Afric. II.
Tib. Sempronius Longus.
561. 193. C. Cornelius Merula.
Q. Minucius Thermus.
562. 192. L. Quintius Flaminius.
Cn. Domi. Ahenobarbus.
563. 191. M. Acilius Glabrio.
P. Cornel. Scipio Nasica.
564. 190. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Lælius.
565. 189. Cn. Manlius Vulso.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
566. 188. C. Livius Salinator.
M. Valerius Messala.
567. 187. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
C. Flaminius.

U. C. B. C.

568. 186. Sp. Postumius Albinus.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
569. 185. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
570. 184. P. Claudius Pulcher.
L. Porcius Licinus.
571. 183. Q. Fabius Labeo.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
572. 182. L. Æmilius Paulus.
Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.
573. 181. P. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus.
574. 180. A. Postumius Albinus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
575. 179. L. Manlius Acidinus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
576. 178. M. Junius Brutus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
577. 177. C. Claudius Pulcher.
Tib. Semp. Gracchus.
578. 176. Cn. Corn. Scipio Hispalus.
Q. Petilius Spurius.
579. 175. P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Æmilius Lepidus II.
580. 174. Sp. Postumius Albinus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
581. 173. L. Postumius Albinus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
582. 172. C. Popilius Lænas.
P. Ælius Ligus.
583. 171. P. Licinius Crassus.
C. Cassius Longinus.
584. 170. A. Hostilius Mancinus.
A. Atilius Serranus.
585. 169. Q. Marcius Philippus II.
Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
586. 168. L. Æmilius Paulus II.
C. Licinius Crassus.
587. 167. Q. Ælius Pætus.
M. Junius Pennus.
588. 166. C. Sulpicius Gallus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
589. 165. T. Manlius Torquatus.
Cn. Octavius.
590. 164. A. Manlius Torquatus.
Q. Cassius Longinus.

CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.

591. 163. Tib. Semp. Gracchus II.
M. Juventius Thalna.
592. 162. P. Cornel. Scipio Nasica.
C. Marcius Figulus.
593. 161. M. Valerius Messala.
C. Fannius Strabo.
594. 160. L. Anicius Gallus.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.
595. 159. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
596. 158. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
C. Popilius Lænas II.
597. 157. Sex. Julius Cæsar.
L. Aurelius Orestes.
598. 156. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Marcius Figulus II.
599. 155. P. Cor. Scipio Nasica II.
M. Claudius Marcellus II.
600. 154. Q. Opimius.
L. Postumius Albinus.
601. 153. Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
T. Annius Luscus.
602. 152. M. Claud. Marcellus III.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
603. 151. L. Licinius Lucullus.
A. Postumius Albinus.
604. 150. T. Quintius Flamininus.
M. Acilius Balbus.
605. 149. L. Marcius Censorinus.
M. Manilius.
606. 148. Sp. Postumius Albinus.
L. Calpurnius Piso.
607. 147. P. Corn. Scip. Æmilianus.
C. Livius Drusus.
608. 146. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Mummius.
609. 145. Q. Fabius Æmilianus.
L. Hostilius Mancinus.
610. 144. Serv. Sulpicius Galba.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
611. 143. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
612. 142. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
613. 141. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Q. Pompeius Nepos.

U. C. B. C.

614. 140. C. Laelius Sapiens.
Q. Servilius Cæpio.
615. 139. Cn. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Popilius Lænas.
616. 138. P. Cor. Scip. Nas. Serapio.
D. Junius Brutus.
617. 137. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
C. Hostilius Mancinus.
618. 136. P. Furius Pilus.
Sex. Atilius Serranus.
619. 135. Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.
Q. Calpurnius Piso.
620. 134. P. Cor. Scip. Nas. Æmil. II.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.
621. 133. P. Mucius Scævola.
L. Calpurnius Piso.
622. 132. P. Popilius Lænas.
P. Rupilius.
623. 131. P. Licinius Crassus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
624. 130. C. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Perpenna.
625. 129. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Aquilius Nepos.
626. 128. Cn. Octavius Nepos.
T. Annius Rufus.
627. 127. L. Cassius Longinus.
L. Cornelius Cinna.
628. 126. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Aurelius Orestes.
629. 125. M. Plautius Hypsæus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
630. 124. C. Cassius Longinus.
C. Sextius Calvinus.
631. 123. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
T. Quintius Flamininus.
632. 122. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Fannius Strabo.
633. 121. L. Opimius Nepos.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
634. 120. P. Manilius Nepos.
C. Papirius Carbo.
635. 119. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
636. 118. M. Porcius Cato.
Q. Martius Rex.

CONSULS.

U. C.	B. C.		U. C.	B. C.	
637.	117.	L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Mucius Scævola.	660.	94.	C. Cælius Caldus. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
638.	116.	L. Licinius Geta. Q. Fabius Maximus.	661.	93.	C. Valerius Flaccus. M. Herennius.
639.	115.	M. Æmilius Scaurus. M. Cæcilius Metellus.	662.	92.	C. Claudius Pulcher. M. Perpenna.
640.	114.	M. Acilius Balbus. C. Porcius Cato.	663.	91.	L. Marcus Philippus. Sex. Julius Cæsar.
641.	113.	C. Cæcilius Metellus. Cn. Papirius Carbo.	664.	90.	L. Julius Cæsar. P. Rutilius Lupus.
642.	112.	M. Livius Drusus. L. Calpurnius Piso.	665.	89.	Cn. Pompeius Strabo. L. Porcius Cato.
643.	111.	P. Corn. Scipio Nasica. L. Calpurnius Bestia.	666.	88.	L. Cornelius Sylla. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
644.	110.	M. Minucius Rufus. Sp. Postumius Albinus.	667.	87.	Cn. Octavius. L. Cornelius Cinna.
645.	109.	Q. Cæcil. Metellus Numid. M. Junius Silanus.	668.	86.	C. Marius VII. L. Cornelius Cinna II.
646.	108.	Ser. Sulpicius Galba. M. Aurelius Scaurus.	669.	85.	L. Cornelius Cinna III. Cn. Papirius Carbo.
647.	107.	L. Cassius Longinus. C. Marius.	670.	84.	Cn. Papirius Carbo II. L. Cornelius Cinna IV.
648.	106.	C. Atilius Serranus. Q. Servilius Cæpio.	671.	83.	L. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus. C. Junius Norbanus.
649.	105.	P. Rutilius Rufus. C. Manilius.	672.	82.	C. Marius, C. Fil. Cn. Papirius Carbo III.
650.	104.	C. Marius II. C. Flavius Fimbria.	673.	81.	M. Tullius Decula. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
651.	103.	C. Marius III. L. Aurelius Orestes.	674.	80.	L. Cornelius Sylla II. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
652.	102.	C. Marius IV. L. Lutatius Catulus.	675.	79.	P. Servilius Vatia Isaur. App. Claudius Pulcher.
653.	101.	C. Marius V. M. Aquilius.	676.	78.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
654.	100.	C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus.	677.	77.	D. Junius Brutus. Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
655.	99.	M. Antonius Nepos. A. Postumius Albinus.	678.	76.	Cn. Octavius. C. Scribonius Curio.
656.	98.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus. T. Didius.	679.	75.	L. Octavius. C. Aurelius Cotta.
657.	97.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. P. Licinius Crassus.	680.	74.	L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Aurelius Cotta.
658.	96.	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Cassius Longinus.	681.	73.	M. Terent. Varro Lucullus. C. Cassius Varus.
659.	95.	P. Licinius Crassus. Q. Mutius Scævola.	682.	72.	L. Gellius Poplicola. Cn. Corn. Lent. Clodianus.

CONSULS.

U. C.	B. C.		U. C.	B. C.	
683.	71.	Cn. Aufidius Orestes. P. Corn. Lentulus Sura.	706.	48.	C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isaur.
684.	70.	M. Licinius Crassus. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.	707.	47.	C. Julius Cæsar, <i>Dictat.</i> II. M. Antonius, <i>Eq. Mag.</i>
685.	69.	Q. Hortensius. Q. Cæcilius Met. Creticus.	708.	46.	C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
686.	68.	L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Martius Rex.	709.	45.	C. Julius Cæsar IV. M. Lepidus, <i>Eq. Mag.</i>
687.	67.	C. Calpurnius Piso. M. Acilius Glabrio.	710.	44.	C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius, <i>Eq. Mag.</i>
688.	66.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. L. Volcatius Tullus.	711.	43.	C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius, &c.
689.	65.	L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Manlius Torquatus.	712.	42.	L. Munacius Plancus. M. Æmilius Lepidus II.
690.	64.	L. Julius Cæsar. C. Marcus Figulus.	713.	41.	L. Antonius. P. Servil. Vatia Isaur. II.
691.	63.	M. Tullius Cicero. C. Antonius Nepos.	714.	40.	Cn. Domitius Calvinus II. C. Asinius Pollio.
692.	62.	D. Junius Silanus. L. Licinius Muræna.	715.	39.	L. Marcus Censorinus. C. Calvisius Sabinus.
693.	61.	M. Pupius Piso. M. Valerius Messala.	716.	38.	App. Claudius Pulcher C. Norbanus Flaccus.
694.	60.	L. Afranius. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.	717.	37.	M. Agrippa. L. Caninius Gallus.
695.	59.	C. Julius Cæsar. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.	718.	36.	L. Gellius Poplicola. M. Cocceius Nerva.
696.	58.	L. Calpurnius Piso. A. Gabinus.	719.	35.	L. Cornificius Nepos. Sex. Pompeius Nepos.
697.	57.	P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.	720.	34.	L. Scribonius Libo. M. Antonius II.
698.	56.	Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellin. L. Marcus Philippus.	721.	33.	C. Cæsar Octavianus II. L. Volcatius Tullus.
699.	55.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.	722.	32.	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. C. Sossius Nepos.
700.	54.	L. Domitius Ænobarbus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.	723.	31.	C. Cæsar III. M. Messala Corvinus.
701.	53.	Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.	724.	30.	C. Cæsar IV. M. Licinius Crassus.
702.	52.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. sine Collega.	725.	29.	C. Cæsar V. Sext. Apuleius.
703.	51.	Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.	726.	28.	C. Cæsar VI. M. Agrippa II.
704.	50.	L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.	727.	27.	C. Cæsar Augustus VII. M. Agrippa III.
705.	49.	C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Cornelius Lentulus. C. Julius Cæsar, <i>Dictator.</i>	728.	26.	C. Cæsar Augustus VIII. T. Statilius Taurus II.

CONSULS.

U.C.	B.C.		U.C.	B.C.	
729.	25.	C. Cæsar Augustus IX. M. Junius Silanus.	752.	2.	Augustus Cæsar XIII. M. Plautius Silvanus.
730.	24.	C. Cæsar Augustus X. C. Norbanus Flaccus.	753.	1.	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus. L. Calpurnius Piso.
731.	23.	C. Cæsar Augustus XI. Cn. Calpurnius Piso.			
732.	22.	M. Claudius Marcellus. L. Arruntius.	U.C.	A.D.	
733.	21.	Q. Æmilius Lepidus. M. Lollius.	754.	1.	C. Julius Cæsar Vipsan. L. Æmilius Paulus.
734.	20.	M. Appuleius. P. Silius Nerva.	755.	2.	P. Venucius Nepos. P. Alfenius Varus.
735.	19.	Q. Sentius Saturninus. Q. Lucretius Vespillo.	756.	3.	L. Ælius Lamia. M. Servilius Geminus.
736.	18.	P. Cornelius Lentulus. Cn. Cornel. Lentulus.	757.	4.	Sex. Ælius Catus. C. Sentius Saturninus.
737.	17.	C. Furnius. C. Junius Silanus.	758.	5.	Cn. Cornelius Sylla. L. Valerius Messala.
738.	16.	L. Domitius Ænobarb. P. Cornelius Scipio.	759.	6.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Arruntius Nepos.
739.	15.	M. Livius Drusus. L. Calpurnius Piso.	760.	7.	A. Licinius Nerva. Q. Cæcilius Metel. Creticus.
740.	14.	M. Licinius Crassus. Cn. Cornel. Lentulus.	761.	8.	M. Furius Camillus. S. Nonius Quinctilianus.
741.	13.	Tib. Claudius Nero. P. Quinctilius Varus.	762.	9.	C. Poppæus Sabinus. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.
742.	12.	M. Valerius Messala. P. Sulpicius Quirinus.	763.	10.	P. Cornelius Dolabella. C. Junius Silanus.
743.	11.	Q. Ælius Tubero. P. Fabius Maximus.	764.	11.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. T. Statilius Taurus.
744.	10.	J. Antonius Africanus. Q. Fabius Maximus.	765.	12.	Tib. Germanicus Cæsar. C. Fonteius Capito.
745.	9.	Claudius Drusus Nero. T. Quinctius Crispinus.	766.	13.	C. Silius Nepos. L. Munacius Plancus.
746.	8.	C. Marcus Censorinus. C. Asinius Gallus.	767.	14.	Sex. Pompeius Nepos. Sex. Apuleius Nepos.
747.	7.	Tib. Claudius Nero II. Cn. Calpurnius Piso.	768.	15.	Tib. Drusus Cæsar. C. Norbanus Flaccus.
748.	6.	D. Lælius Balbus. C. Antistius Vetus.	769.	16.	T. Statil. Sisenna Taurus. L. Scribonius Libo.
749.	5.	Augustus Cæsar XII. L. Cornelius Sylla.	770.	17.	C. Cæcilius Rufus. L. Pomponius Flaccus.
750.	4.	C. Calvisius Sabinus II. L. Passienus Rufus.	771.	18.	Cl. Tib. Nero, August. III. Germanicus Cæsar II.
751.	3.	L. Cornelius Lentulus. M. Valerius Messallinus.	772.	19.	M. Junius Silanus. L. Norbanus Balbus.
			773.	20.	M. Valerius Messala. M. Aurelius Cotta.

CONSULS.

U.C.	A.D.	U.C.	A.D.		
774.	21.	Cl. Tib. Nero August. IV. Drusus Cæsar, Tib. F. II.	797.	44.	C. Vibius Crispinus. T. Statilius Taurus.
775.	22.	D. Haterius Agrippa. C. Sulpicius Galba.	798.	45.	M. Vinutius Quartinus. M. Statilius Corvinus.
776.	23.	C. Asinius Pollio. C. Antistius Vetus.	799.	46.	P. Valerius Asiaticus. M. Junius Silanus.
777.	24.	Sex. Cornelius Cethegus. L. Visellius Varro.	800.	47.	Claudius Cæsar, Aug. IV. L. Vitellius II.
778.	25.	M. Asinius Agrippa. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.	801.	48.	A. Vitellius. L. Vipsanius Poplicola.
779.	26.	C. Calvisius Sabinus. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	802.	49.	C. Pompeius Longinus. Q. Verranius Nepos.
780.	27.	M. Licinius Crassus. L. Calpurnius Piso.	803.	50.	C. Antistius Vetus. M. Suillius Rufus.
781.	28.	Ap. Junius Silanus. P. Silius Nerva.	804.	51.	Claudius Augustus V. S. Corn. Scipio Orphitus.
782.	29.	C. Rubellius Geminus. C. Fusius Geminus.	805.	52.	P. Corn. Sylla Faustus. L. Salvius Otho.
783.	30.	M. Vinutius Quartinus. C. Cassius Longinus.	806.	53.	D. Junius Silanus. Q. Aterius Antonius.
784.	31.	Cl. Tib. Nero, August. V. L. Ælius Sejanus.	807.	54.	M. Asinius Marcellus. M. Acilius Aviola.
785.	32.	Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. A. Vitellius Nepos.	808.	55.	Nero Augustus. L. Antistius Vetus.
786.	33.	Serg. Sulpicius Galba. L. Cornelius Sylla.	809.	56.	Q. Volusius Saturninus. P. Cornelius Scipio.
787.	34.	L. Vitellius Nepos. Paullus Fabius Priscus.	810.	57.	Nero Augustus II. L. Calpurnius Piso.
788.	35.	C. Sestius Camerinus. M. Servilius Geminus.	811.	58.	Nero Augustus III. M. Valerius Messala.
789.	36.	Sex. Papius Gallienus. Q. Plautius Nepos.	812.	59.	C. Vipsanius Apronianus. C. Fonteius Capito.
790.	37.	Cn. Acerronius Proculus. C. Pontius Nigrinus.	813.	60.	Nero Augustus IV. Cossus Corn. Lentulus.
791.	38.	M. Aquilius Julianus. P. Nonius Asprenas.	814.	61.	C. Cæsonius Pætus. C. Petron. Turpilianus.
792.	39.	C. Cæsar Caligula, Aug. II. L. Apronius.	815.	62.	P. Marius Celsus. L. Asinius Gallus.
793.	40.	C. Cæsar Caligula, Aug. III. L. Gellius Poplicola.	816.	63.	L. Memmius Regulus. P. Virginius Rufus.
794.	41.	C. Cæsar Caligula, Aug. IV. Cn. Sentius Saturninus.	817.	64.	C. Lecanius Bassus. M. Licinius Crassus.
795.	42.	Claudius Cæsar, Aug. II. L. Licinius Largus.	818.	65.	P. Silius Nerva. C. Jul. Atticus Vestinus.
796.	43.	Claudius Cæsar, Aug. III. L. Vitellius II.	819.	66.	C. Suetonius Paulinus. L. Pontius Tiliensis.

CONSULS.

U. C. A. D.

820. 67. L. Fonteius Capito.
C. Julius Rufus.
821. 68. C. Silius Italicus.
M. Celerius Trachalus.
822. 69. Serv. Sulpicius Galba Imp.
T. Vinius Rufinus.
823. 70. Flav. Vespasianus Imp. II.
Titus Vespasianus.
824. 71. F. Vespasianus Imp. III.
M. Cocceius Nerva.
825. 72. Flav. Vespasianus Imp. IV.
Titus Vespasianus II.
826. 73. Flavius Domitianus.
M. Valerius Messalinus.
827. 74. F. Vespasianus Imp. V.
Titus Vespasianus III.
828. 75. F. Vespasianus Imp. VI.
Titus Vespasianus IV.
829. 76. F. Vespasianus Imp. VII.
Titus Vespasianus V.
830. 77. F. Vespasianus Imp. VIII.
Titus Vespasianus VI.
831. 78. L. Ceionius Commodus.
C. Cornelius Priscus.
832. 79. Flav. Vespasianus Imp. IX.
Titus Vespasianus VII.
833. 80. Titus Vespasianus VIII.
Flav. Domitianus VII.
834. 81. M. Plautius Silvanus.
M. Annii Verus Pollio.
835. 82. F. Domitianus Imp. VIII.
T. Flavius Sabinus.
836. 83. F. Domitianus Imp. IX.
T. Virginius Rufus.
837. 84. F. Domitianus Imp. X
Appius Junius Sabinus
838. 85. F. Domitianus Imp. XI.
T. Aurelius Fulvius.
839. 86. F. Domitianus Imp. XII.
S. Cornelius Dolabella.
840. 87. F. Domitianus Imp. XIII.
A. Volusius Saturninus.
841. 88. F. Domitianus Imp. XIV.
L. Minucius Rufus.
842. 89. T. Aurelius Fulvus II.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
843. 90. F. Domitianus Imp. XV.
M. Cocceius Nerva II.

U. C. A. D.

844. 91. M. Ulpius Trajanus.
M. Acilius Glabrio.
845. 92. F. Domitianus Imp. XVI.
A. Volusius Saturninus II.
846. 93. Sex. Pompeius Collega.
Cornelius Priscus.
847. 94. L. Nonius Asprenas.
M. Arricinius Clemens.
848. 95. F. Domitianus Imp. XVII.
T. Flavius Clemens.
849. 96. C. Fulvius Valens.
C. Antistius Vetus.
850. 97. Cocceius Nerva Imp. III.
T. Virginius Rufus III.
851. 98. Cocceius Nerva Imp. IV.
Ulpius Trajanus II.
852. 99. C. Sosius Senecio II.
A. Cornelius Palma.
853. 100. Ulpius Trajanus Imp. III.
M. Cornelius Fronto III.
854. 101. Ulpius Trajanus Imp. IV.
S. Articuleius Pætus.
855. 102. C. Sosius Senecio III.
L. Licinius Sura II.
856. 103. Ulp. Trajanus Imp. V.
L. Appius Maximus II.
857. 104. — Suranus II.
P. Neratius Marcellus.
858. 105. Tib. Julius Candidus II.
A. Julius Quadratus.
859. 106. L. Ceionius Commodus.
L. Tutius Cerealis.
860. 107. C. Sosius Senecio IV.
L. Licinius Sura III.
861. 108. Ap. Annii Trebonius.
M. Atilius Bradua.
862. 109. A. Cornelius Palma II.
C. Calvisius Tullus II.
863. 110. Clodius Crispinus.
Solenus Orphitus.
864. 111. L. Calpurnius Piso.
Vettius Rusticus Bolanus.
865. 112. Ulp. Trajanus Imp. VI.
C. Julius Africanus.

Sub *Vespasiano* Imperatore, FASTI
CONSULARES, Marmoris incisi, in *Capitolio*
positi sunt. *Marsham*, p. 502.

THE ERA OF NABONASSAR.

THIS scientific *Chaldean* Era commenced soon after the *Grecian* and the *Roman*. Combined with the *Christian*, they form the four cardinal Eras of Sacred and Profane Chronology.

The origin of this Era is thus represented by *Syncellus*, from the accounts of *Polyhistor* and *Berosus*, the earliest writers extant on *Chaldean* History and Antiquities.

“*Nabonassar* [King of *Babylon*] having collected the acts of his predecessors, destroyed them, in order that the computation of the reigns of the *Chaldean* kings might be made from himself*.”

It began therefore with the reign of *Nabonassar*, Feb. 26, B.C. 747. The form of year employed therein, is the moveable year, of 365 days, consisting of 12 equal months of 30 days, and five supernumerary days; which was the year in common use, as we have seen, among the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, and the principal Oriental nations, from the earliest times. This year ran through all the seasons, in the course of 1461 years, as observed before.

Though the Historic Era of *Nabonassar* began the 26th of February, this was not the Astronomical commencement of the grand period of 1461 years: that began 120 years before, March 28, B.C. 867; when there was a synchronism of the *New Moon* and *Vernal Equinox* on that day †; which was the beginning of the *Chaldean* year also, and therefore the fittest for the commencement either of the very *first*, or at least a *new* period of their *Annus Magnus*.

The freedom of the *Nabonassarean* year, from intercalation, rendered it peculiarly convenient for astronomical calculation. Hence it was adopted by the early Greek astronomers, *Timocharis* and *Hipparchus*; and by those of the *Alexandrian*

* Ναβονασαρος συναγαγων τας πραξεις των προ αυτου βασιλεων, ηφανισεν, οπως απ' αυτου η καταριθμησις γινηται των Χαλδαιων βασιλεων. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 207.

† This is demonstrated in a curious periodical publication, by Mr. *Howes*, entitled, *Critical Observations on Books, Ancient and Modern*, Vol. iii. Append. p. 57, 58, *White*, 1788, from a newly constructed *Calippic* Table, and from two Solar Eclipses, Aug. 4, B.C. 868, and July 24, B.C. 867, furnished by M. *Pingrè*, *Hist. Acad. Bell.* N. B. By reckoning the first year before the *Vulgar* Era, O, he dates these eclipses a year short of the common mode; namely, B.C. 867 and 866.

school, *Ptolomy*, &c. In consequence of this, the whole historical catalogue of reigns has been commonly, though improperly, called *Ptolomy's Canon*; because he probably continued the original table of *Chaldean* and *Persian* kings, and added thereto the *Egyptian* and *Roman*, down to his own time.

The commencement of the Era of *Nabonassar*, B.C. 747, is critically defined, both from History and Astronomy.

1. *Thucydides*, B. 8, has preserved a curious original document, in the third treaty of peace concluded between *Tissaphernes* and the *Peloponnesians*, beginning with its date: "In the 13th year of the reign of *Darius* [II, *Nothus*,] &c." This treaty, it appears from the history, was made in winter, in the 20th year of the Peloponnesian war, which began in the spring, B.C. 431; and, consequently, the 20th year, in winter, was the beginning of the Julian year, B.C. 410: which, added to the 13th year of *Darius*, or 337th of the Era, gives its commencement, B.C. 747.

2. *Censorinus*, in the valuable synchronisms mentioned before, states, that the 986th *Nabonassarean* year began the 7th of the Calends of July, or June 25, in the year A.D. 238, in which he published his work. Therefore, that *Nabonassarean* year did not end till June 25, of the next Julian year, A.D. 239; which, subtracted from 986, gives the commencement of the Era, B.C. 747.

3. According to *Ptolomy*, *Hipparchus* selected three ancient eclipses of the moon, out of those observed at *Babylon*, and brought from thence; of which the first happened in the first year; and the two others, in the second year of *Mardok Empadus*, the fifth king in succession from *Nabonassar*. This proves decisively, that the *Era of Nabonassar* was in established use before the time of *Hipparchus*, though he did not give the collected years from the beginning of the Era. These, probably, were not reckoned up in the original *Chaldean* Era, which only marked the succession of kings, and the number of years which each reigned. The collected years might have been added afterwards by the *Egyptian* astronomers.

Ptolomy himself mentions a lunar eclipse of 7 digits, in the 7th year of *Ptolomy Philometor*, and 574th year from *Nabonassar*, which happened on the 27th of the Egyptian month *Phamenoth*, and lasted from the 8th, to the 10th hour. In that year, the 27th of *Phamenoth*, was the first of May. And, by astrono-

mical calculation, there was a lunar eclipse of 7 dig. 26 min. on May 1, B.C. 174, which lasted 2 h. 50 min.; and this year, B.C. 174, added to 573 years complete, gives B.C. 747, for the commencement of the Era.

The following Tables of *Nabonassarean* years, reduced to *Julian*; and of the collective days of the twelve months of the *Egyptian*, or *Nabonassarean* year, are of considerable use in calculation.

TABLE XVII.

NABONASSAREAN YEARS, ADJUSTED TO JULIAN YEARS.

N. E.	B. C.	N. E.	B. C.
1	Feb. 26, 747	124	Jan. 26, 624
4	25, 744	128	25, 620
8	24, 740	132	24, 616
12	23, 736	136	23, 612
16	22, 732	140	22, 608
20	21, 728	144	21, 604
24	20, 724	148	20, 600
28	19, 720	152	19, 596
32	18, 716	156	18, 592
36	17, 712	160	17, 588
40	16, 708	164	16, 584
44	15, 704	168	15, 580
48	14, 700	172	14, 576
52	13, 696	176	13, 572
56	12, 692	180	12, 568
60	11, 688	184	11, 564
64	10, 684	188	10, 560
68	9, 680	192	9, 556
72	8, 676	196	8, 552
76	7, 672	200	7, 548
80	6, 668	204	6, 544
84	5, 664	208	5, 540
88	4, 660	212	4, 536
92	3, 656	216	3, 532
96	2, 652	220	2, 528
100	1, 648	224	1, 524
104	Jan. 31, 644		
108	30, 640	N. E.	B. C. CON.
112	29, 636	228	Dec. 31, 521 520
116	28, 632	232	30, 517 516
120	27, 628	236	29, 513 512

N. E.		B. C.	CON.	N. E.		B. C.	CON.
240	Dec. 28,	509	508	432	Nov. 10,	317	316
244	27,	505	504	436	9,	313	312
248	26,	501	500	440	8,	309	308
252	25,	497	496	444	7,	305	304
256	24,	493	492	448	6,	301	300
260	23,	489	488	452	5,	297	296
264	22,	485	484	456	4,	293	292
268	21,	481	480	460	3,	289	288
272	20,	477	476	464	2,	285	284
276	19,	473	472	468	1,	281	280
280	18,	469	468	472	Oct. 31,	277	276
284	17,	465	464	476	30,	273	272
288	16,	461	460	480	29,	269	268
292	15,	457	456	484	28,	265	264
296	14,	453	452	488	27,	261	260
300	13,	449	448	492	26,	257	256
304	12,	445	444	496	25,	253	252
308	11,	441	440	500	24,	249	248
312	10,	437	436	504	23,	245	244
316	9,	433	432	508	22,	241	240
320	8,	429	428	512	21,	237	236
324	7,	425	424	516	20,	233	232
328	6,	421	420	520	19,	229	228
332	5,	417	416	524	18,	225	224
336	4,	413	412	528	17,	221	220
340	3,	409	408	532	16,	217	216
344	2,	405	404	536	15,	213	212
348	1,	401	400	540	14,	209	208
352	Nov. 30,	397	396	544	13,	205	204
356	29,	393	392	548	12,	201	200
360	28,	389	388	552	11,	197	196
364	27,	385	384	556	10,	193	192
368	26,	381	380	560	9,	189	188
372	25,	377	376	564	8,	185	184
376	24,	373	372	568	7,	181	180
380	23,	369	368	572	6,	177	176
384	22,	365	364	576	5,	173	172
388	21,	361	360	580	4,	169	168
392	20,	357	356	584	3,	165	164
396	19,	353	352	588	2,	161	160
400	18,	349	348	592	1,	157	156
404	17,	345	344	596	Sept. 30,	153	152
408	16,	341	340	600	29,	149	148
412	15,	337	336	604	28,	145	144
416	14,	333	332	608	27,	141	140
420	13,	329	328	612	26,	137	136
424	12,	325	324	616	25,	133	132
428	11,	321	320	620	24,	129	128

N. E.		B. C.	CON.	N. E.		A. D.
624	Sept. 23,	125	124	756	Aug. 21,	8
628		22,	121	760		20, 12
632		21,	117	764		19, 16
636		20,	113	768		18, 20
640		19,	109	772		17, 24
644		18,	105	776		16, 28
648		17,	101	780		15, 32
652		16,	97	784		14, 36
656		15,	93	788		13, 40
660		14,	89	792		12, 44
664		13,	85	796		11, 48
668		12,	81	800		10, 52
672		11,	77	804		9, 56
676		10,	73	808		8, 60
680		9,	69	812		7, 64
684		8,	65	816		6, 68
688		7,	61	820		5, 72
692		6,	57	824		4, 76
696		5,	53	828		3, 80
700		4,	49	832		2, 84
704		3,	45	836		1, 88
708		2,	41	840	July 31,	92
712		1,	37	844		30, 96
716	Aug. 31,	33	32	848		29, 100
720		30,	29	852		28, 104
724		29,	25	856		27, 108
728		28,	21	860		26, 112
732		27,	17	864		25, 116
736		26,	13	868		24, 120
740		25,	9	872		23, 124
744		24,	5	876		22, 128
				880		21, 132
				884		20, 136
748	Aug. 23,		1	888		19, 140
752		22,	4			

N. B. It is necessary to observe, that in the first year of *Darius Hystaspes*, two *Chaldean*, or *Nabonassarean* years, began in the same *Julian* year, B.C. 521; namely, the 227th, on the first of *January*, and the 228th, on the 31st of *December* following. Before this time, the *Chaldean* year, which began in any *Julian* year, is also the year *conumerary* with it, or the year for the most part coinciding therewith. Thus the years N. E. 224, 225, 226, 227, beginning *January* 1, coincide throughout with the *Julian* years, B.C. 524, 523, 522, 521, respectively, beginning on the same day; and are, therefore, *conumerary* therewith, critically; and if we ascend to the first of the Era, N.E. 1, it began *February* 26, or only 57 days later than the *Julian*, B.C. 747; which, therefore, was *conumerary* the remainder of the year. Hence every *Chaldean* year before 228, is *conumerary* with the *Julian* year in which it began; and, accordingly, is rightly placed in *Petavius'* Tables, Lib. XIII. of the *Doctrina Temp.* Vol. II. p. 309,

&c. But in consequence of his placing both these *Chaldean* years, 227, 228, in the same *Julian* year, B.C. 521, because they both *began* in it; no ensuing *Chaldean* year, down to the commencement of the *Christian era*, is conumerary with the *Julian* year placed against it, but rather with the following *Julian* year: thus the year N. E. 228, its first day excepted in B.C. 521, is all contained in B.C. 520, with which, therefore, it is, in strictness, conumerary. *Marshall*, on the 70 weeks of *Daniel*, and *Blair*, in his *Chronology*, more skilfully mark the conumerary years from thence, to the end, in a separate column. The sagacious *Howes* noticed this distinction, in his *Critical Observations*, Vol. I. p. 246, 247; my not sufficiently adverting to which, occasioned, in the former edition, an error in the Table; which, after all, is rather *apparent* than real; since surely the *conumerary* years are entitled to more regard, and correspond better with the history of those times, and with the Greek Chronology.

TABLE XVIII.

NABONASSAREAN DAYS.

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Thoth.</i>	<i>Paophi.</i>	<i>Athyr.</i>	<i>Chæac.</i>	<i>Tybi.</i>	<i>Mechir.</i>	<i>Phamenoth.</i>	<i>Pharmuthi.</i>	<i>Pachon.</i>	<i>Pauni.</i>	<i>Epiphi.</i>	<i>Mesori.</i>
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1	1	31	61	91	121	151	181	211	241	271	301	331
2	2	32	62	92	122	152	182	212	242	272	302	332
3	3	33	63	93	123	153	183	213	243	273	303	333
4	4	34	64	94	124	154	184	214	244	274	304	334
5	5	35	65	95	125	155	185	215	245	275	305	335
6	6	36	66	96	126	156	186	216	246	276	306	336
7	7	37	67	97	127	157	187	217	247	277	307	337
8	8	38	68	98	128	158	188	218	248	278	308	338
9	9	39	69	99	129	159	189	219	249	279	309	339
10	10	40	70	100	130	160	190	220	250	280	310	340
11	11	41	71	101	131	161	191	221	251	281	311	341
12	12	42	72	102	132	162	192	222	252	282	312	342
13	13	43	73	103	133	163	193	223	253	283	313	343
14	14	44	74	104	134	164	194	224	254	284	314	344
15	15	45	75	105	135	165	195	225	255	285	315	345
16	16	46	76	106	136	166	196	226	256	286	316	346
17	17	47	77	107	137	167	197	227	257	287	317	347
18	18	48	78	108	138	168	198	228	258	288	318	348
19	19	49	79	109	139	169	199	229	259	289	319	349
20	20	50	80	110	140	170	200	230	260	290	320	350
21	21	51	81	111	141	171	201	231	261	291	321	351
22	22	52	82	112	142	172	202	232	262	292	322	352
23	23	53	83	113	143	173	203	233	263	293	323	353
24	24	54	84	114	144	174	204	234	264	294	324	354
25	25	55	85	115	145	175	205	235	265	295	325	355
26	26	56	86	116	146	176	206	236	266	296	326	356
27	27	57	87	117	147	177	207	237	267	297	327	357
28	28	58	88	118	148	178	208	238	268	298	328	358
29	29	59	89	119	149	179	209	239	269	299	329	359
30	30	60	90	120	150	180	210	240	270	300	330	360

+ 5

Thoth. *Paophi.* *Athyr.* *Chæac.* *Tybi.* *Mechir.* *Phamenoth.* *Pharmuthi.* *Pachon.* *Pauni.* *Epiphi.* *Mesori.*

Thus in the foregoing instance, Table XVIII. shews that the 27th of Phamenoth is 207 days from the beginning of the year, and Table XVII. shews that the year N. E. 574, began October 6, but Table IV. foregoing, shews that October 6th is the 279th day, wanting 86 days of the end of the year. Deduct these 86 days from 207, and the remainder 121, corresponds to May 1, in the Julian Calendar.

According to *Syncellus*, from the time of *Nabonassar*, the Chaldeans accurately observed the times of the motions of the stars; and *Pliny* relates from *Epigenes*, an author of the first credit, that the Chaldeans had astronomical observations of 720 years engraved upon bricks; which, counted backwards from the second year of *Augustus*, (in his own time probably) would fall on the beginning of the Era of *Nabonassar*, and perfectly accords with the ancient eclipses made use of by *Hipparchus*, of which the earliest was N.E. 27, the first of *Mardok Empad*, according to *Ptolomy*. And *Ptolomy* himself has recorded a great number of eclipses, whose times he has marked by the *Nabonassarean* years in which they happened throughout the whole Canon; which may therefore justly be styled the most scientific in its construction of any within the whole range of ancient chronology.

PTOLOMY'S CANON.

Claudius Ptolomæus, the celebrated Alexandrian mathematician and astronomer, if not the original framer, was at least the continuator of this celebrated Canon down to his own time. He flourished in the reign of the second *Antoninus*.

The first correct edition of it was published by *Calvisius* in his *Opus Chronologicum*, A.D. 1613, from a copy sent to him by Doctor *Overall*, Dean of St. Paul's, and transcribed from the original, accidentally found annexed to a manuscript of *Ptolomy's* Astronomy. And *Petavius*, in his *Rationarium Temporum*, published in 1672, has given at the end of it a second edition of the Canon from a manuscript copy of *Theon's* Commentary on *Ptolomy*, collated with another ancient manuscript of the same in the French king's library, both of which agree entirely with that of *Calvisius*, except in the spelling of some of the names. And from these the Canon itself, from *Nabonassar* to *Antoninus Pius*, was republished by *Jackson*, *Chronological Antiquities*,

Vol. I. p. 443, &c. From him (with a few corrections) it is given in Table XIX. (which originally contained no more than the reigns, and the collected years) with the current years of the *Nabonassarean* Era, and their accommodation to the Vulgar Christian Era, and the corresponding names of some of the *Chaldean* kings in sacred and profane history.

TABLE XIX. PTOLOMY'S CANON.

CHALDEAN KINGS.

COLL.	Y.	N.E.	B.C.
14. Nabonassar	14	1	747
16. Nadius	2	15	733
21. Chinzirus and Porus	5	17	731
26. Jugæus	5	22	726
38. Mardok Empad, or <i>Merodach Baladan</i>	12	27	721
43. Archian	5	39	709
45. Interregnum I.	2	44	704
48. Belibus	3	46	702
54. Apronadius	6	49	699
55. Regibelus	1	55	693
59. Mesesemordak	4	56	692
67. Interregnum II.	8	60	688
80. Asaradin, or <i>Esarhaddon</i>	13	68	680
100. Saosduchin	20	81	667
122. Chyniladon	22	101	647
143. Nabopolassar, or <i>Labyntus</i>	21	123	625
186. Nabokolassar, or <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i>	43	144	604
189. Ilvarodam, or <i>Evilmerodach</i>	(2) 3	187	561
194. Nericassolassar, <i>Neriglissar</i> , or <i>Belshazzar</i> (4) 5	5	190	558
211. Nabonadius.....	17	195	553

PERSIAN KINGS.

218. Cyrus	(9) 7	212	536
226. Cambyses.....	8	219	529
262. Darius I. son of <i>Hystaspes</i>	36	227	521
283. Xerxes *	21	263	485

* In the Table of PERSIAN KINGS, all the *Julian* years, from *Xerxes* to *Alexander* of Macedon, inclusive, are *conumerary* years, and therefore require to be raised a unit higher each, to give the *Julian* years in which their reigns began; as follows:

COLL.	Y.	N.E.	B.C.	B.C.
283. Xerxes - - - -	21,	263	- - 486,	instead of 485 conumer.
324. Artaxerxes I. - -	41,	284	- - 465,	464
343. Darius II. - - -	19,	325	- - 424,	423
389. Artaxerxes II. - -	46,	344	- - 405,	404
410. Ochus - - - -	21,	390	- - 359,	358
412. Arogus - - - -	2,	411	- - 338,	337
416. Darius III. - - -	4,	413	- - 336,	335
424. Alexander of Mac. -	8,	417	- - 332,	331

COLL.	Y.	N.E.	B.C.
324. Artaxerxes I. <i>Longimanus</i>	41	284	464
343. Darius II. <i>Nothus</i>	19	325	423
389. Artaxerxes II. <i>Mnemon</i>	46	344	404
410. Ochus.....	21	390	358
412. Arogus, or Arses	2	411	337
416. Darius III. <i>Codomannus</i>	4	413	335

GRECIAN KINGS.

424. Alexander of Macedon	8	417	331
431. Philip Aridæus	7	425	324
443. Alexander Ægus	12	432	317

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

463. Ptolemy Lagus.....	20	444	305
501. ——— Philadelphus	38	464	285
526. ——— Euergetes	25	502	247
543. ——— Philopator	17	527	222
567. ——— Epiphanes	24	544	205
602. ——— Philometor	35	568	181
631. ——— Euergetes II.....	29	603	146
637. ——— Soter	36	632	117
696. Dionysius	29	668	81
718. Cleopatra	22	697	52

ROMAN EMPERORS.

COLL.	Y.	N.E.	B.C.	COLL.	Y.	N.E.	A.D.
761. Augustus	43	719	30	825. Vespasian	10	816	68
				828. Titus	3	826	78
			A.D.	843. Domitian	15	829	81
783. Tiberius	22	762	14	844. Nerva.....	1	844	96
787. Caius Caligula	4	784	36	863. Trajan.....	19	845	97
801. Claudius.....	14	788	40	884. Adrian	21	864	116
815. Nero	14	802	54	907. Antoninus Pius	23	885	137

† TABLE XX. A CONTINUATION OF THE CANON.

ROMAN EMPERORS.

	Y.	A.D.		Y.	A.D.
Marcus Aurelius, or } Antoninus Philosophus }	19	161	Two Gordians	3	235
Commodus	13	180	Gordian, jun.	5	238
Pertinax	1	193	Philip the Arabian	6	243
Septimius Severus	17	194	Decius	2	249
Caracalla	6	211	Gallus Hostilius	2	251
Opilius Macrinus	1	217	Valerian and Gallienus....	15	253
Heliogabalus	4	218	Claudius	2	268
Alexander Severus	13	222	Aurelianus	5	270
			Tacitus and Florian	1	275

	Y.	A.	D.		Y.	A.	D.
Probus	6	276		Constantine II.	4	337	
Carus	2	282		Constantius alone	20	341	
Diocletian	20	284		Julian the Apostate	2	361	
Constantius Chlorus	2	304		Jovian	1	363	
Constantine the Great	31	306		Partition of the Empire ..	0	364	

EASTERN EMPERORS.

Valens	15	364	Michael	2	811
Theodosius the Great....	16	379	Leo V.	8	813
Arcadius	13	395	Michael II.	8	821
Theodosius II.	42	408	Theophilus	13	829
Marcianus	7	450	Michael III.	25	842
Leo I.	17	457	Basilius	19	867
Leo II.	2	474	Leo VI.	24	886
<i>End of the Western Empire.</i>		476	Alexander I.	1	910
Anastasius	27	491	Constantine VI.	49	911
Justin I.	9	518	Romanus	3	960
Justinian	38	527	Nicephorus II.	6	963
Justin II.	13	565	John Zemisces	7	969
Tiberius II.	4	578	Basilius II.	50	976
Mauricius	20	582	Constantine VII.	2	1026
Phocas	8	602	Romanus II.	6	1028
Heraclius	31	610	Michael IV.	7	1034
Constans II.	27	641	Michael V.	1	1041
Constantine III.	17	668	Constantine VIII.	12	1042
Justinian II.	9	685	Theodora	3	1054
Leontius	3	694	Isaac Comnenus ..	2	1057
Apsimar, or Tiberius	7	697	Constantine IX.	9	1059
Justinian II. again	7	704	Romanus III.	3	1068
Philippicus Bardanes	2	711	Michael VI.	7	1071
Anastasius II.	2	713	Alexius Comnenus	37	1078
Theodosius III.	2	715	Nicephorus III.	3	1115
Leo III. ..	24	717	John Comnenus	25	1118
Constantine IV.	34	741	Manuel Comnenus	37	1143
Leo IV.	5	775	Alexius Comnenus II.	3	1180
Constantine V.	17	780	Andronicus	2	1183
Irene	5	797	Isaac Angelus	9	1185
Nicephorus	9	802	Alexius III.	10	1194

EMPERORS OF NICE.

Theodore Lascaris ..	18	1204	Andronicus III.	21	1320
John Ducas	33	1222	John Paleologus	50	1341
Theodore II.	3	1255	Manuel Paleologus	33	1391
John Lascaris	1	1258	John Paleologus II.	24	1424
Michael Paleologus.	24	1259	Constantine Paleologus ..	5	1448
Andronicus II.	37	1283	<i>End of the Eastern Empire</i>		1453

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

	YEARS.	A. D.		YEARS.	A. D.	
Henry VI.	last	8	1453	Charles I.	23	1625
Edward IV. and V.	22	1461		Charles II.	36	1648
Richard III.	2	1483		James II.	4	1684
Henry VII.	24	1485		William III.	13	1688
Henry VIII.	38	1509		Anne.	13	1701
Edward VI.	6	1547		George I.	13	1714
Mary	5	1553		George II.	33	1727
Elizabeth	44	1558		George III.		1760
James I.	23	1602				

To the authenticity of these copies of *Ptolomy's Canon*, the strongest testimony is given by their exact agreement throughout, with above 20 dates and computations of eclipses in *Ptolomy's Almagest*, recited by *Jackson*, as he himself acknowledges. Vol. I. p. 450.

From its great use as an astronomical era, confirmed by unerring characters of eclipses, this Canon justly obtained the highest authority among historians also. It has most deservedly been esteemed an invaluable treasure, *omni auro pretiosior*, as *Calvisius* says, and of the greatest use in Chronology, without which, as *Marsham* observes, there could scarcely be any transition from sacred to profane history; and by means of it, some important dates are supplied in sacred Chronology, that could not otherwise be ascertained. It fills up especially an important chasm, from the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reign of *Cyrus*, without which the term of the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, ending with the latter, could not easily be adjusted.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that accurate as these authentic copies of the Canon unquestionably are every where else, in this single period a small correction is necessary, to accommodate it to Scripture; for, according to the Canon, from the first of *Nabokolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 604, to the first of *Cyrus*, B.C. 538, is an interval of only 66 years; and therefore, if the Captivity began in the end of the third, or commencement of the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, B.C. 605, Dan. i. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 1; Jer. xxv. 1; from thence, to the accession of *Cyrus*, was only 67 years complete, or 68 current.

To remedy this, *Syncellus*, the oldest Christian author who has noticed it, in his valuable *Chronographia*, composed about the year A.D. 780, has given two copies of the Canon; the one

he calls a Mathematical and Astronomical copy, pretending that it is the same as that of *Ptolomy*, which it certainly is not; the other, an Ecclesiastical copy, partly taken, as he says, from *Josephus**, and partly from *Africanus*, and other Christian historians, p. 207 and 147, note. Both these copies agree in having two interpolated years in the reigns of *Ilvarodam* and *Nericassolassar*, making together eight years instead of six; with this difference, that the one copy gives to the former three years, and to the latter five; while the other gives to the former five, to the latter three years, reversing the numbers.

About A.D. 960, an anonymous Greek Canon, inserted in *Scaliger's Emendatio Temporum*, p. 743, adopted this interpolation of two years, assigning three years to *Ουαλαμαροδαχ*, *Evilmerodach*, and five years to *Βαλτασαρ*, *Belshazzar*; and the succeeding chronologers, *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Prideaux*, *Jackson*, &c. have adopted this interpolation as indispensably necessary to reconcile the Canon to Holy Writ, which is effectually done thereby; for from the commencement of the Captivity, B.C. 605, to the corrected first of *Cyrus*, B.C. 536, is 69 years complete, or 70 years current, which corresponds to the account of *Josephus*: "In the first year of the reign of *Cyrus*, which was the *seventieth* (το ἑβδομηκοστόν) from the day of the removal of our people from their native land to *Babylon*, &c." Ant. 11, 1, 1. And it seems from *Ezra's* account, that the return of the children of Israel from captivity was completed in the *seventh* month of the first year of *Cyrus*, (Ezra iii. 1.) who, though styled "king of *Persia*," in the decree for their return, yet "it was after THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN had given him *all the kingdoms of the earth*," or after his conquest of *Babylon*. Ezra i. 1, 2. And it is afterwards expressly stated to be "the first year of *Cyrus*, king of *Babylon*." Ezra v. 13.

How then are we to account for this anticipation of two years in the original Canon, dating the accession of *Cyrus*, B.C. 538?

This may satisfactorily be explained from the usage of the Canon in a parallel case. It is remarkable, that the accession of *Alexander* the Great to the Persian throne is dated from his decisive victory at *Arbela*, Oct. 1, B.C. 331, not from the death of *Darius*, his rival, the year after, about Midsummer, B.C. 330.

* But *Josephus*, Contr. Apion. lib. i. in his copy of the Canon, assigns only two years to *Evilmerodach*, and four to *Neriglissar*.

And *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, says, that “the Greeks themselves considered the *Persian* empire as subverted from that moment; and accordingly, after the battle, saluted *Alexander* king of *Asia*, who sacrificed magnificently to the gods on the occasion.”

In like manner the Canon dates the accession of *Cyrus*, not from the capture of *Babylon* itself, B.C. 536, but from his decisive victory over the rebellious king of *Babylon*, who is called *Nabonadius*, about two years before, B.C. 538, when he defeated him in a pitched battle, and drove the *Babylonians* into the city, which he afterwards besieged, and, at length, took by a stratagem, noticed both by *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, of turning the waters of the *Euphrates* into a lake, or canal, above the town, and sending parties of troops to enter the channel of the river, above and below the town, as soon as it became fordable; by which means the city was taken “at each end” by surprise, Jer. li. 31, during the drunken festival of the *Sakea*, Jer. li. 41.

And, indeed, that the siege of *Babylon* could not have lasted much less than two years, may fairly be collected from the accounts of *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*. The former says, that “the *Babylonians* having laid up provisions for many years, were under no apprehensions about the siege: on the other hand, *Cyrus*, finding *much time consumed*, and his affairs not at all advanced, was at a great loss what he should do next; when, at last, either by some other person’s suggestion, or by his own sagacious invention, he resolved upon the following stratagem,” &c. B. 1, §. 190, 191*.

Xenophon also sufficiently intimates, that *Cyrus* did not expect to take the city in *less than a year*: for *Cyrus*, he says, divided his army into twelve parts, that each division might be employed a month, in turn, at the siege, whilst the rest were engaged “in a work of so great *labour* and *time*, as digging the canal,” &c. where “the depth of the *Euphrates* was sometimes greater than the height of two men standing on each other.” Cyrop. B. 7.

That *Cyrus* did not survive the capture of *Babylon* above seven years, may also be collected from *Xenophon*. This histo-

* *Victo Nabonido, non statim fuisse potitum Babylone, testis Herodotus—sed multum post temporis:—tunc vere completi sunt 70 anni captivitatis. Scaliger. Notæ Ad Fragm. p. 16.*

rian, the basis of whose *Cyropædia* is true, though the work be embellished with some fictitious ornaments, and who served in *Asia* under *Cyrus* the younger, and therefore had an opportunity of learning many particulars of the life of *Cyrus* the Great, unknown to the Greeks, relates, that “*Cyrus* usually spent seven months in the year at *Babylon*, during the winter season, because the climate was warm; three months at *Susa* in spring; and two months at *Ecbatana* during the heat of summer; that he might enjoy an equal temperature throughout his extensive dominions.” Lib. viii. p. 498. Hutchinson. Shortly after, he observes, that “*Cyrus*, in process of time, being now very elderly, comes from [these his usual places of residence] to the *Persians*, the seventh [year] in the course of his sovereignty*,” and shortly after dies. Lib. viii. p. 499.

And that *Cyrus* actually died, and was succeeded by his son *Cambyses*, B. C. 529, according to the Canon, is demonstrated by a lunar eclipse, recorded by *Ptolomy* as happening in the seventh year of *Cambyses*, N.E. 225. or B.C. 523; for B.C. 523 + 6 = B.C. 529.

We are therefore abundantly warranted to deduct two years from the nine assigned by the Canon to the reign of *Cyrus*, reckoning from his decisive victory over the *Babylonians*, in order to reduce the commencement of his sovereignty to the actual capture of *Babylon*, two years after: this deduction exactly compensating the addition of two years to the reigns of *Evilmerodach* and *Belshazzar*, and thus preserving the subsequent integrity of the Canon; while, in the important period of the Captivity, it is thus easily and naturally reconciled to Holy Writ and Sacred Chronology. For though the *Chaldeans* might date the sovereignty of *Cyrus* from that decisive victory, which put an end to the independence of the *Babylonians*, yet the sacred historians would naturally date that sovereignty from the capture of *Babylon*, the era of their own deliverance from the Babylonish captivity.

And this is the only correction necessary to be admitted. Those of *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Prideaux*, *Jackson*, &c. altering the

* The original is, Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ αἰωνοῦ προκεχωρηκοτος, μαλα δὴ πρεσβευτης ὡν ὁ Κυρος αφικνεῖται εἰς Περσας, το ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. Here *Hutchinson*, in his note (a) contends, that το ἑβδομον should be taken adverbially for “the seventh time,” like the Latin *septimum*. But the seventh time is equivalent to the seventh year, ince he went thither only once a year.

dates and lengths of the ensuing reigns after *Cyrus*, under the specious name of *corrections*, are in reality *corruptions*, founded in ignorance of the principles on which it was originally constructed; as *Marsham* truly observes: “Chronographi Christiani futilibus conjecturis nimium indulgentes, miris modis Canonem hunc *castigarunt*, vel potius *conturbarunt*.” Chron. p. 506.

1. Thus, *Jackson*, by continuing downwards the two interpolated years of *Evilmerodach* and *Belshazzar*, dates the reigns of *Cambyses*, B.C. 527; *Darius I.* B.C. 519; *Xerxes*, B.C. 483; *Artaxerxes I.* B.C. 462; *Darius II.* B.C. 421; and *Artaxerxes II.* B.C. 402; each two years lower than the *Canon*, in defiance of several eclipses recorded by *Ptolomy* as observed at *Babylon*; viz. in the seventh year of *Cambyses*; in the 20th and 31st of *Darius I.*; and in the 23d of *Artaxerxes II.*; ascertaining the true dates of the commencement of their reigns, in conformity with the *Canon*. *Jackson*, Vol. I. pp. 453, 454.

2. By an unwarrantable defalcation, he drops three years of the reign of *Artaxerxes II.* reducing it to 43 years, against the genuine copies of the *Canon*, and those of *Syncellus* also; and by this means, dates the succeeding reigns of the *Persian* kings a year higher than the *Canon*; namely, *Ochus*, B.C. 359; *Arses*, B.C. 338; *Darius III.* B.C. 336; and *Alexander the Great*, B.C. 332, antedating the accession of *Alexander* a year before the decisive victory of *Arbela*, in the year B.C. 331, as demonstrated by the lunar eclipse recorded by *Plutarch*, eleven days before the battle. *Jackson*, vol. I. p. 455.

3. A leading cause of these corruptions of the *Canon* by *Jackson*, may perhaps be traced to a fanciful and unfounded hypothesis which he adopted, respecting the time of the famous prophecy of the 70 weeks in *Daniel*; for, assuming that they began in the 20th year of *Ahasuerus*, Neh. ii. 1. and mistaking this prince for *Xerxes*, with *Josephus*, who in reality was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; from his supposed date of the 20th of *Xerxes*, there were 463 years to the Christian era, and from thence 27 more to our Lord's baptism and preaching, A.D. 28, amounting to 490 years exactly; but the canonical date of the 20th of *Xerxes* being two years higher, would make the amount 492 years, overturning the hypothesis. *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 454. Not. (27.)

II. The principles upon which this truly scientific *Canon* was constructed are next to be explained.

RULE I. *The reigns consist of full or complete years, which*

are reduced to *Julian* years, Table XVII. in order to preserve the continuity of time in reckoning.

RULE 2. *Each king's reign begins at the Thoth, or New year's day before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor.*

Thus, the actual accession of Alexander the Great was at the decisive victory of *Arbela*, Oct. 1, B.C. 331, but his reign in the Canon began the preceding new year's day of the same current *Nabonassarean* year, Nov. 14, B.C. 332, which ended soon after the battle, Nov. 14, B.C. 331.

The death of Alexander the Great was in the 114th Olympiad, according to *Josephus*, May 22, B.C. 323*; but the era of his successor, *Philip Aridæus*, began in the Canon the preceding new year's day, Nov. 12, B.C. 324, as confirmed by *Censorinus*, who reckons from thence 294 years to the accession of *Augustus*, B.C. 30. But B.C. 324 — 294 = B.C. 30.

Tiberius died March 16, A.D. 37, but the reign of his successor, *Caius Caligula*, began in the Canon from the preceding new year's day, Aug. 14, A.D. 36.

From these two rules, it follows, that *the last year of any reign belongs thereto wholly, or exclusively*, and that *the beginning of a reign is sometimes dated in the Canon near a full year before the actual accession, and frequently one nominal Julian year before*. Whence *Petavius* complained that *Ptolomy* often makes the Roman emperors after *Caligula* begin their reign a year too soon. *Rationar. Temp.* Pars II. lib. iv. c. 6. This peculiar construction of the Canon was first fortunately discovered by the learned *Dodwell*, in the Appendix to his *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, and was afterwards confirmed by *Vignoles* in his *Chronology*. “In this Canon,” says he, “the first year of each king commences with the year which is *current* at his accession, although a considerable part of it should have been already past. We have just as many proofs of it as there are kings, with the time of whose death we are made acquainted;” and he has proved it in several cases of *Persian* kings in the Canon: but they are too intricate to be adduced. *Chronol. Sacré*, Berlin, 1738, ch. ii. sect. 4.

* *Josephus* contr. Apion. lib. i. § 22, says, “All historians acknowledge that *Alexander* died in the 114th *Olympiad*,” which began about the Summer solstice, B.C. 324; consequently, the 22d of May, or beginning of June, when he died, fell in the ensuing *Julian* year, B.C. 323.

Although the Canon assigns eight full years to the reign of *Alexander* the Great, which are included in the sum of collected years from *Nabonassar*, 424; yet it apparently contains only seven *Julian* years, namely, from B.C. 331, to B.C. 324. In order, therefore, to compleat the seeming deficiency, *Jackson* unskillfully interpolated one year in his reign, making it begin a year earlier, B.C. 332. While to compensate for this year, and the two other interpolated years of *Evilmerodach* and *Belshazzar*, he omitted three years of the longest reign, of *Artaxerxes* II.; following *Diodorus*, as he says. By this compensation of errors, his ensuing Canon of *Egyptian* kings' reigns is correct; and so is that of the *Roman* emperors till *Caligula*, in whose reign he interpolates a year, and renders the remainder of the Canon incorrect to the end.

RULE 3. *The names of kings who reigned less than a year are omitted in the Canon; namely,*

<i>Laborosoarchod</i>	- - -	9 months	before	<i>Nabonadius</i> .
<i>Smerdis Magus</i>	- - -	7	_____	<i>Cambyses</i> .
<i>Maraphis</i>	- - -	3	_____	} _____ <i>Darius</i> I.
<i>Artaphrenes</i>	- - -	3	_____	
<i>Artabanus</i>	- - -	7	_____	_____ <i>Artaxerxes</i> I.
<i>Xerxes</i> II. $1\frac{1}{2}$	}	- -	8	_____ { _____ <i>Darius</i> II.
<i>Sogdianus</i> $6\frac{1}{2}$				
<i>Galba</i>	- - -	7	_____	} _____ <i>Vespasian</i> .
<i>Otho</i>	- - -	3	_____	
<i>Vitellius</i>	- - -	3	_____	

RULE 4. *But the short reigns of such kings are not suppressed; they are tacitly included either in the first year of the successor, if there be but one reign, or else distributed between the last year of the predecessor, and the first of the successor, if there be more, exceeding a year all together.*

Thus, the nine months of *Laborosoarchod* are included in the first year of *Nabonadius*. The same will hold of the seven months of *Artabanus*, and the eight of *Xerxes* II. and *Sogdianus*. But the seven months of *Smerdis Magus*, according to *Herodotus*, were included in the reign of *Cambyses*, which was actually no more than seven years and five months, and thereby made eight years in the Canon. While the reigns of the two conspirators, *Maraphis* and *Artaphrenes*, who, according to *Æschylus*, succeeded *Smerdis Magus*, and which might have amounted to about half a year more, were included in the first year of their associate, *Darius* I. who succeeded them.

In like manner the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, were distributed between their predecessor *Nero* and their successor *Vespasian*; but the greater portion of the amount of their reigns, 13 months, fell to the latter: for *Nero* died June 9, A.D. 68, and the *Thoth*, or New year's day that year, fell on August 6th, near two months after, which therefore were included in his reign, ending the New year's day *after* his death. *Vespasian's* accession was on July 1, in the ensuing year, A.D. 69; but his reign began, according to the second rule, on the *foregoing* New year's day, August 6, A.D. 68. Consequently, his first year included the 11 remaining months of the omitted emperors.

The inquisitive reader may find this very intricate subject copiously discussed in the learned and ingenious publication before referred to, *Howe's Critical Observations on Books*, Vol. I.

Table XX. contains a useful continuation of *Ptolomy's Canon*, down to the accession of his present Majesty, GEORGE III. taken from *Kennedy's Astronomical Canon*, with some corrections. Chronol. p. 148.

ERA OF SELEUCIDÆ, OR ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

This Era was so called from *Seleucus*, the successor of *Alexander* the Great, in the kingdom of *Syria*. It was more usually called the *Era from Alexander*, under which title it is still used by the Syrian Christians; and by the Arabs it was styled *Dil-carnaim* "of the two horned," meaning *Alexander*, who wished to be considered as the son of Jupiter *Ammon*, whose emblem was a Ram, and was so described in *Daniel's* prophecies. In the first book of *Maccabees*, i. 10, it was called the Era of "the kingdom of the Greeks," or of *Alexander's* successors. By the Jews, the *Era of Contracts*, because they were obliged to regulate their civil concerns thereby. *Josephus* is perhaps the only ancient writer who has joined to it the name of *Seleucus*, Ant. 12, 5, 3, whose power was by no means established when it commenced, nor for some time after, till the decisive battle of *Ipsus*, B.C. 301.

This era properly began from the death of *Alexander Ægus*, the son of *Alexander* the Great, who was murdered in the fifth year of his reign, B.C. 312, or the 12th year of the era of *Philip*, and therefore it properly began at the extinction of *Alexander*

the Great's posterity, or the end of their dominion. And as the era of *Philip* was continued in the series of *Egyptian* kings, beginning with *Ptolomy Lagus**, down to the Roman emperors, so this era likewise branched off from thence; and from its prevailing in *Syria* chiefly, the most powerful of the kingdoms erected by *Alexander's* successors thence assumed the name of *Seleucus*. Thus *Albategni*, the great Arabian astronomer and mathematician, in his work *De Scientia Stellarum*, c. 30, relates, that "he observed an eclipse of the sun in the year of *Dilkarnaim*, 1202, which is the 1214th year from *Alexander's* death, in the month *Ab*." Evidently considering it as the continuation of the Era of *Philip*, which began at *Alexander's* death, (or rather the end of his reign in the Canon) and not at the accession of *Seleucus*, as *Prideaux* and others have imagined. This year of the eclipse was 1202—B.C. 312=A.D. 890 complete, or 891 current; and the *Syrian* month *Ab* corresponded to *August* in the *Julian* Calendar, and accordingly, the astronomical tables intimate a solar eclipse, A.D. 891, August 8.

This example shews, that the fixed *Syro-Macedonian* year, which began at the calends of October, was used in computing by this era, as well as the moveable *Chaldean* or *Egyptian* by *Ptolomy*. And from the difference of half a year, between the end of *Alexander's* reign in the Canon, November 12, B.C. 324, and his death, May 22, in the ensuing year, B.C. 323, may we satisfactorily account for a variation in the date of this era, B.C. 312, or B.C. 311; the *Syrians* reckoning the twelve preceding years from the former epoch, the *Greeks* from the latter. Some *Greek* cities in Asia, also, began it in Spring, others in Autumn, and in different months of those seasons, as well as different days of those months. All these diversities indicate, that when they substituted *Syrian* or *Macedonian* months, and an intercalated fixed year, instead of the moveable retrograde year of the *Chaldean* and *Philippine* era, current in Asia, they departed irregularly from the old rule of the commencement of the civil year, without agreeing on any new general rule to supply its place, which has been of infinite detriment to Ancient Chronology.

Hence we may reconcile some apparent dissonances in the two books of the *Maccabees* :

* Although *Alexander Ægus* was murdered about the fifth year of his reign, it is continued to the twelfth year in the Canon, comprehending the anarchy that ensued till the establishment of *Ptolomy Lagus* on the throne of Egypt.

1 Mac. vi. 16. The death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* is dated “in the 149th year” of the kingdom of the Greeks; but 2 Mac. xi. 22—33, a letter of *Antiochus Eupator*, his son, who succeeded him, “after his father was translated to the gods,” is dated a year earlier, “in the 148th year, and on the 15th day of the month *Xanthicus*.”

Again: 1 Mac. vi. 20.—“in the 150th year,” *Judas* besieged the garrison in “the tower,” or citadel, who fled for refuge to *Eupator*, when the latter invaded *Judea*, but afterwards made peace with the Jews; but 2 Mac. xiii. 1. refers these transactions to “the 149th year.”

Lastly, 1 Mac. vii. 1. represents *Demetrius Soter*, the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, as departing from *Rome*, where he had been a hostage, invading and putting *Antiochus Eupator* and *Lysias* to death, “in the 151st year;” but 2 Mac. xiv. 1, 2. refers this transaction to the 150th year. Compare 2 Mac. xiii. 1. and 2 Mac. xiv. 4.

The author of the first book of the *Maccabees* dated the commencement of the year from the first month, *Nisan*, or *Xanthicus*, in Spring; the author of the second, who was a different person, and of inferior estimation, dated it half a year later, from the seventh month, *Tisri*, or Autumn. Hence the letter of *Antiochus Eupator* to the Jews, dated the 15th of *Xanthicus*, was in the 148th year complete, or 149 current, according to the former, but only in the 148th current, according to the latter; and this solution satisfactorily reconciles the apparent dissonances between both.

The following Table of the reigns of *Seleucus* and his successors, until the voluntary annexation of the kingdom to *Armenia* by the Syrians, will be found equally useful in the study of Sacred and Profane History, during that turbulent and intricate period. It is chiefly collected from Dr. *Gillies' History of the World*, from *Alexander* to *Augustus*, 1807.

TABLE XXI. KINGS OF SYRIA.

	Y.	S.E.	B.C.
<i>Seleucus Nicator</i>	32	1	312
<i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	33	280
<i>Antiochus II. Theos</i>	15	52	261
<i>Seleucus II. Callinicus</i>	21	67	246
<i>Seleucus III. Keraunus</i>	2	88	225
<i>Antiochus III. Magnus</i>	36	90	223

	Y.	S.E.	B.C.
Seleucus IV. Philopator	12	126	187
Antiochus IV. Epiphanes	11	138	175
Antiochus V. Eupator	2	149	164
Demetrius Soter	11	151	162
Alexander Balas	5	162	151
Demetrius II. Nicator	2	167	146
Antiochus VI. Epiphanes	1	169	144
Diodotus, or Tryphon	5	170	143
Antiochus VII. Sidetes	8	175	138
Demetrius II. again	4	183	130
Alexander II. Zebina	4	187	126
Antiochus VIII. Grypus	25	191	122
Seleucus VI. Nicator	5	216	97
Philip	8	221	92
Tigranes, king of <i>Armenia</i>		229	84

KINGS OF DAMASCUS.

Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus	18	196	113
Antiochus X. Eusebes	3	218	95
Demetrius III. Eukærus	4	229	92
Antiochus XII.	4	225	88
Tigranes, king of <i>Armenia</i>		229	84

ERA OF THE HEJIRA, or FLIGHT OF MAHOMET.

This celebrated Era of *Mahomet's* flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, commenced July 16, A.D. 622, the second day of the new Moon, when she became visible. See *Abulfeda's* Life of *Mahomet*, p. 53.

The use of the *Lunar* year was appointed by *Mahomet*, rejecting intercalations. He alludes thereto in the *Koran*. Sur. x. verse 5. "GOD has given light to the Sun, and brightness to the Moon: He has regulated her phases; they serve mankind to divide the time, [by weeks, and months] and to count the years*."

A complete Lunation, or *Synodical* month, consisting of 29½ days, the *Arabs* composed their months of 29 and 30 days alternately, thus:

	D. COLL.			D. COLL.	
1. <i>Muharram</i>	30	30	3. <i>Rabia</i> I.	30	89
2. <i>Saphar</i>	29	59	4. <i>Rabia</i> II.	29	118

* See *Savary's* French Translation of the *Koran*; which is much more faithful and elegant than *Sale's* English Translation.

	D. COLL.			D. COLL.	
5. <i>Jomada I.</i>	30	148	9. <i>Ramadan.</i>	30	266
6. <i>Jomada II.</i>	29	177	10. <i>Shawal</i>	29	295
7. <i>Rajam</i>	30	207	11. <i>Dulkaadah</i>	30	325
8. <i>Shaaban</i>	29	236	12. <i>Dulheggia</i>	29	354

This *Lunar* year of 354 days, falling short eleven days of the common Julian, or Calendar year of 365 days, is moveable, or runs through all the seasons in $\frac{365}{11} = 33\frac{2}{11}$ years. So that a cycle of 33 Lunar years gains an entire year upon the Calendar; containing only 32 Julian years. And three cycles gaining three years, we may reckon a hundred Lunar years equal to 97 Solar.

Beveridge in his *Chronology*, Lib. 1. Cap. 17., has given accurate rules for reducing the *years, months, days, and feriæ* or week-days, of the current years of the *Hejira*, to Calendar time, by the help of which was constructed a large and useful table in *Playfair's Chronology*, p. 305., which is here republished, in an improved form; marking the several cycles, in which the preceding and following years of the *Hejira*, at the end of one cycle and the beginning of another, are both found to begin in the same *Julian*, or Calendar year, between the limits of the first month, *January*, and the last, *December*. The *first* Cycle of the *Hejira* is broken, containing only 19 years; for it began 14 years earlier: since, $14 + 19 = 33$ years. The Asterisks (*) mark the Intercalary years of the *Arabs*, in which they adjust their *Lunar* year to the *Solar*, by inserting a month.

TABLE XXII. YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.
I.	1	622	July ..	16 6	I.	13*	634	March	7 2
	2*	623	July ..	5 3		14	635	Feb. ..	25 7
	3	624	June ..	24 1		15	636	Feb. ..	14 4
	4	625	June ..	13 5		16*	637	Feb. ..	2 1
	5*	626	June ..	2 2		17	638	Jan. ..	23 6
	6	627	May ..	23 7		18*	639	Jan. ..	12 3
	7*	628	May ..	11 4		19	640	Jan. ..	2 1
	8	629	May ..	1 2	II.	20	640	Dec. ..	21 5
	9	630	April ..	20 6		21*	641	Dec. ..	10 2
	10*	631	April ..	9 3		22	642	Nov. ..	30 7
	11	632	March	29 1		23	643	Nov. ..	19 4
	12	633	March	18 5		24*	644	Nov. ..	7 1

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	
II.	25	645	Oct. . . 28	6	III.	71	690	June . . 15	4	
	26*	646	Oct. . . 17	3		72	691	June . . 4	1	
	27	647	Oct. . . 7	1		73*	692	May . . 23	5	
	28	648	Sept. . . 25	5		74	693	May . . 13	3	
	29*	649	Sept. . . 14	2		75	694	May . . 2	7	
	30	650	Sept. . . 4	7		76*	695	April. . 21	4	
	31	651	Aug. . . 24	4		77	696	April. . 10	2	
	32*	652	Aug. . . 12	1		78*	697	March 30	6	
	33	653	Aug. . . 2	6		79	698	March 20	4	
	34	654	July . . 22	3		80	699	March 9	1	
	35*	655	July . . 11	7		81*	700	Feb. . . 26	5	
	36	656	June . . 30	5		82	701	Feb. . . 15	3	
	37*	657	June . . 19	2		83	702	Feb. . . 4	7	
	38	658	June . . 9	7		84*	703	Jan. . . 24	4	
	39	659	May . . 29	4		85	704	Jan. . . 14	2	
	40*	660	May . . 17	1		86	705	Jan. . . 2	6	
	41	661	May . . 7	6		IV.	87	705	Dec. . . 23	4
	42	662	April. . 26	3			88	706	Dec. . . 12	1
	43*	663	April. . 15	7			89*	707	Dec. . . 1	5
	44	664	April. . 4	5			90	708	Nov. . . 20	3
	45	665	March 24	2			91	709	Nov. . . 9	7
	46*	666	March 13	6			92*	710	Oct. . . 29	4
	47	667	March 3	4			93	711	Oct. . . 19	2
	48*	668	Feb. . . 20	1			94	712	Oct. . . 7	6
	49	669	Feb. . . 9	6			95*	713	Sept. . . 26	3
50	670	Jan. . . 29	3	96	714		Sept. . . 16	1		
51*	671	Jan. . . 18	7	97*	715		Sept. . . 5	5		
52	672	Jan. . . 8	5	98	716		Aug. . . 25	3		
III.	53	672	Dec. . . 27	2	99		717	Aug. . . 14	7	
	54*	673	Dec. . . 16	6	100*		718	Aug. . . 3	4	
	55	674	Dec. . . 6	4	101		719	July . . 24	2	
	56*	675	Nov. . . 25	1	102		720	July . . 12	6	
	57	676	Nov. . . 14	6	103*		721	July . . 1	3	
	58	677	Nov. . . 3	3	104		722	June . . 21	1	
	59*	678	Oct. . . 23	7	105		723	June . . 10	5	
	60	679	Oct. . . 13	5	106*		724	May . . 29	2	
	61	680	Oct. . . 1	2	107	725	May . . 19	7		
	62*	681	Sept. . . 20	6	108*	726	May . . 8	4		
	63	682	Sept. . . 10	4	109	727	April. . 28	2		
	64	683	Aug. . . 30	1	110	728	April. . 16	6		
	65*	684	Aug. . . 18	5	111*	729	April. . 5	3		
	66	685	Aug. . . 8	3	112	730	March 26	1		
	67*	686	July . . 28	7	113	731	March 15	5		
	68	687	July . . 18	5	114*	732	March 3	2		
	69	688	July . . 6	2	115	733	Feb. . . 21	7		
	70*	689	June . . 25	6	116*	734	Feb. . . 10	4		

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.
IV.	117	735	Jan. . . 31	2	VI.	163*	779	Sept. . . 17	6
	118	736	Jan. . . 20	6		164	780	Sept. . . 6	4
	119*	737	Jan. . . 8	3		165	781	Aug. . . 26	1
V.	120	737	Dec. . . 29	1	166*	782	Aug. . . 15	5	
	121	738	Dec. . . 18	5	167	783	Aug. . . 5	3	
	122*	739	Dec. . . 7	2	168*	784	July . . 24	7	
	123	740	Nov. . . 26	7	169	785	July . . 14	5	
	124	741	Nov. . . 15	4	170	786	July . . 3	2	
	125*	742	Nov. . . 4	1	171*	787	June . . 22	6	
	126	743	Oct. . . 25	6	172	788	June . . 11	4	
	127*	744	Oct. . . 13	3	173	789	May . . 31	1	
	128	745	Oct. . . 3	1	174*	790	May . . 20	5	
	129	746	Sept. . . 22	5	175	791	May . . 10	3	
	130*	747	Sept. . . 11	2	176*	792	April . . 28	7	
	131	748	Aug. . . 31	7	177	793	April . . 18	5	
	132	749	Aug. . . 20	4	178	794	April . . 7	2	
	133*	750	Aug. . . 9	1	179*	795	March 27	6	
	134	751	July . . 30	6	180	796	March 16	4	
	135	752	July . . 18	3	181	797	March 5	1	
	136*	753	July . . 7	7	182*	798	Feb. . . 22	5	
	137	754	June . . 27	5	183	799	Feb. . . 12	3	
	138*	755	June . . 16	2	184	800	Feb. . . 1	7	
	139	756	June . . 5	7	185*	801	Jan. . . 20	4	
140	757	May . . 25	4	186	802	Jan. . . 10	2		
141*	758	May . . 14	1	VII.	187*	802	Dec. . . 30	6	
142	759	May . . 4	6		188	803	Dec. . . 20	4	
143	760	April . . 22	3		189	804	Dec. . . 8	1	
144*	761	April . . 11	7		190*	805	Nov. . . 27	5	
145	762	April . . 1	5		191	806	Nov. . . 17	3	
146*	763	March 21	2		192	807	Nov. . . 6	7	
147	764	March 10	7		193*	808	Oct. . . 25	4	
148	765	Feb. . . 27	4		194	809	Oct. . . 15	2	
149*	766	Feb. . . 16	1		195	810	Oct. . . 4	6	
150	767	Feb. . . 6	6		196*	811	Sept. . . 23	3	
151	768	Jan. . . 26	3	197	812	Sept. . . 12	1		
152*	769	Jan. . . 14	7	198*	813	Sept. . . 1	5		
153	770	Jan. . . 4	5	199	814	Aug. . . 22	3		
VI.	154	770	Dec. . . 24	2	200	815	Aug. . . 11	7	
	155*	771	Dec. . . 13	5	201*	816	July . . 30	4	
	156	772	Dec. . . 2	4	202	817	July . . 20	2	
	157*	773	Nov. . . 21	1	203	818	July . . 9	6	
	158	774	Nov. . . 11	6	204*	819	June . . 28	3	
	159	775	Oct. . . 31	3	205	820	June . . 17	1	
	160*	776	Oct. . . 19	7	206*	821	June . . 6	5	
	161	777	Oct. . . 9	5	207	822	May . . 27	3	
	162	778	Sept. . . 28	2	208	823	May . . 16	7	

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.
VII.	209*	824	May..	4 4	IX.	255	868	Dec... 20	2
	210	825	April..	24 2		256*	869	Dec... 10	7
	211	826	April..	13 6		257	870	Nov... 29	4
	212*	827	April..	2 3		258*	871	Nov... 18	1
	213	828	March	22 1		259	872	Nov... 7	6
	214	829	March	11 5		260	873	Oct. . .	27 3
	215*	830	Feb. . .	28 2		261*	874	Oct. . .	16 7
	216	831	Feb. . .	18 7		262	875	Oct. . .	6 5
	217*	832	Feb. . .	7 4		263	876	Sept. . .	24 2
	218	833	Jan. . .	27 2		264*	877	Sept. . .	13 6
	219	834	Jan. . .	16 6		265	878	Sept. . .	3 4
	220*	835	Jan. . .	5 3		266*	879	Aug. . .	23 1
	VIII.	221	835	Dec. . .		26 1	267	880	Aug. . .	12 6
222		836	Dec. . .	14 5	268	881	Aug. . .	1 3	
223*		837	Dec. . .	3 2	269*	882	July . .	21 7	
224		838	Nov. . .	23 7	270	883	July . .	11 5	
225		839	Nov. . .	12 4	271	884	June. .	29 2	
226*		840	Oct. . .	31 1	272*	885	June. .	18 6	
227		841	Oct. . .	21 6	273	886	June. .	8 4	
228*		842	Oct. . .	10 3	274	887	May . .	28 1	
229		843	Sept. . .	30 1	275*	888	May . .	16 5	
230		844	Sept. . .	18 5	276	889	May . .	6 3	
231*		845	Sept. . .	7 2	277*	890	April. .	25 7	
232		846	Aug. . .	28 7	278	891	April. .	15 5	
233		847	Aug. . .	17 4	279	892	April. .	3 2	
234*		848	Aug. . .	5 1	280*	893	March	23 6	
235		849	July . .	26 6	281	894	March	13 4	
236*		850	July . .	15 3	282	895	March	2 1	
237		851	July . .	5 1	283*	896	Feb. . .	19 5	
238		852	June . .	23 5	284	897	Feb. . .	8 3	
239*		853	June . .	12 2	285	898	Jan. . .	28 7	
240		854	June. .	2 7	286*	899	Jan. . .	17 4	
241		855	May . .	22 4	287	900	Jan. . .	7 2	
242*		856	May . .	10 1	X.	288	900	Dec. . .	26 6
243		857	April. .	30 6		289	901	Dec. . .	16 4
244		858	April. .	19 3		290	902	Dec. . .	5 1
245*		859	April. .	8 7		291*	903	Nov. . .	24 5
246	860	March	28 5	292		904	Nov. . .	13 3	
247*	861	March	17 2	293		905	Nov. . .	2 7	
248	862	March	7 7	294*		906	Oct. . .	22 4	
249	863	Feb. . .	24 4	295		907	Oct. . .	12 2	
250*	864	Feb. . .	13 1	296*		908	Sept. . .	30 6	
251	865	Feb. . .	2 6	297		909	Sept. . .	20 4	
252	866	Jan. . .	22 3	298		910	Sept. . .	9 1	
253*	867	Jan. . .	11 7	299*		911	Aug. . .	29 5	
254	868	Jan. . .	1 5	300		912	Aug. . .	18 3	

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	
X.	301	913	Aug. . .	7 7	XI.	347	958	March 25	5	
	302*	914	July ..	27 4		348*	959	March 14	2	
	303	915	July ..	17 2		349	960	March 3	7	
	304	916	July ..	5 6		350	961	Feb. . .	20 4	
	305*	917	June..	24 4		351*	962	Feb. . .	9 1	
	306	918	June..	14 1		352	963	Jan. . .	30 6	
	307*	919	June..	3 5		353	964	Jan. . .	19 3	
	308	920	May ..	23 3		354*	965	Jan. . .	7 7	
	309	921	May ..	12 7		XII.	355	965	Dec. . .	28 5
	310*	922	May ..	1 4			356*	966	Dec. . .	17 2
	311	923	April..	21 2			357	967	Dec. . .	7 7
	312	924	April..	9 6			358	968	Nov. . .	25 4
	313*	925	March	29 3			359*	969	Nov. . .	14 1
	314	926	March	19 1			360	970	Nov. . .	4 6
	315	927	March	8 5			361	971	Oct. . .	24 3
	316*	928	Feb. . .	25 2			362*	972	Oct. . .	12 7
	317	929	Feb. . .	14 7			363	973	Oct. . .	2 5
	318*	930	Feb. . .	3 4			364	974	Sept. . .	21 2
	319	931	Jan. . .	24 2			365*	975	Sept. . .	10 6
	320	932	Jan. . .	13 6			366	976	Aug. . .	30 4
321*	933	Jan. . .	1 3	367*	977		Aug. . .	19 1		
XI.	322	933	Dec. . .	22 1	368		978	Aug. . .	9 6	
	323	934	Dec. . .	11 5	369		979	July ..	29 3	
	324*	935	Nov. . .	30 2	370*		980	July ..	17 7	
	325	936	Nov. . .	19 7	371		981	July ..	7 5	
	326*	937	Nov. . .	8 4	372		982	June . .	26 2	
	327	938	Oct. . .	29 2	373*		983	June . .	15 6	
	328	939	Oct. . .	18 6	374		984	June . .	4 4	
	329*	940	Oct. . .	6 3	375	985	May ..	24 1		
	330	941	Sept. . .	26 1	376*	986	May ..	13 5		
	331	942	Sept. . .	15 5	377	987	May ..	3 3		
	332*	943	Sept. . .	4 2	378*	988	April. .	21 7		
	333	944	Aug. . .	24 7	379	989	April. .	11 5		
	334	945	Aug. . .	13 4	380	990	March 31	2		
	335*	946	Aug. . .	2 1	381*	991	March 20	6		
	336	947	July ..	23 6	382	992	March 9	4		
	337*	948	July ..	11 3	383	993	Feb. . .	26 1		
	338	949	July ..	1 1	384*	994	Feb. . .	15 5		
	339	950	June..	20 5	385	995	Feb. . .	5 3		
	340*	951	June..	9 2	386*	996	Jan. . .	25 7		
	341	952	May ..	29 7	387	997	Jan. . .	14 5		
342	953	May ..	18 4	388	998	Jan. . .	3 2			
343*	954	May ..	7 1	XIII.	389	998	Dec. . .	23 6		
344	955	April. .	27 6		390	999	Dec. . .	13 4		
345	956	April. .	15 3		391	1000	Dec. . .	1 1		
346*	957	April. .	4 7		392*	1001	Nov. . .	20 5		

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M.	F.
XIII.	393	1002	Nov... 10	3	XIV.	439	1047	June..28	1
	394	1003	Oct. . .30	7		440	1048	June.. 16	5
	395*	1004	Oct. . .18	4		441*	1049	June.. 5	2
	396	1005	Oct. . . 8	2		442	1050	May..26	7
	397*	1006	Sept...27	6		443	1051	May.. 15	4
	398	1007	Sept...17	4		444*	1052	May.. 3	1
	399	1008	Sept... 5	1		445	1053	April .23	6
	400*	1009	Aug...25	5		446*	1054	April .12	3
	401	1010	Aug...15	3		447	1055	April . 2	1
	402	1011	Aug... 4	7		448	1056	March 21	5
	403*	1012	July ..23	4		449*	1057	March 10	2
	404	1013	July ..13	2		450	1058	Feb. . .28	7
	405	1014	July .. 2	6		451	1059	Feb. . .17	4
	406*	1015	June..21	3		452*	1060	Feb... 6	1
	407	1016	June..10	1		453	1061	Jan...26	6
	408*	1017	May ..30	5		454	1062	Jan...15	3
	409	1018	May ..20	3		455	1063	Jan... 4	7
	410	1019	May .. 9	7	XV.	456	1063	Dec...25	5
	411*	1020	April..27	4		457*	1064	Dec...13	2
	412	1021	April..17	2		458	1065	Dec... 3	7
	413	1022	April.. 6	6		459	1066	Nov...22	4
	414*	1023	March 26	3		460*	1067	Nov...11	1
	415	1024	March 15	1		461	1068	Oct. . .31	6
	416*	1025	March 4	5		462	1069	Oct. . .20	3
	417	1026	Feb. . .22	3		463*	1070	Oct. . . 9	7
	418	1027	Feb. . .11	7		464	1071	Sept...29	5
	419*	1028	Jan. . .31	4		465	1072	Sept...17	2
	420	1029	Jan. . .20	2		466*	1073	Sept... 6	6
	421	1030	Jan. . . 9	6		467	1074	Aug...27	4
XIV.	422	1030	Dec. . .29	3		468*	1075	Aug...16	1
	423	1031	Dec. . .19	1		469	1076	Aug... 5	6
	424	1032	Dec. . . 7	5		470	1077	July ..25	3
	425*	1033	Nov...26	2		471*	1078	July ..14	7
	426	1034	Nov...16	7		472	1079	July .. 4	5
	427*	1035	Nov... 5	4		473	1080	June..22	2
	428	1036	Oct. . .25	2		474*	1081	June..11	6
	429	1037	Oct. . .14	6		475	1082	June.. 1	4
	430*	1038	Oct. . 3	3		476*	1083	May..21	1
	431	1039	Sept...23	1		477	1084	May..10	6
	432	1040	Sept...11	5		478	1085	April .29	3
	433*	1041	Aug...31	2		479*	1086	April .18	7
	434	1042	Aug...21	7		480	1087	April . 8	5
	435	1043	Aug...10	4		481	1088	March 27	2
	436*	1044	July ..29	1		482*	1089	March 16	6
	437	1045	July ..19	6		483	1090	March 6	4
	438*	1046	July .. 8	3		484	1091	Feb. . .23	1

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.
XV.	485*	1092	Feb. . . 12	5	XVII.	531*	1136	Sept. . . 29	3
	486	1093	Feb. . . 1	3		532	1137	Sept. . . 19	1
	487*	1094	Jan. . . 21	7		533	1138	Aug. . . 8	5
	488	1095	Jan. . . 11	5		534*	1139	Aug. . . 28	2
XVI.	489	1095	Dec. . . 31	2		535	1140	Aug. . . 17	7
	490*	1096	Dec. . . 19	6		536*	1141	Aug. . . 6	4
	491	1097	Dec. . . 9	4		537	1142	July . . 27	2
	492	1098	Nov. . . 28	1		538	1143	July . . 16	6
	493*	1099	Nov. . . 17	5		539*	1144	July . . 4	3
	494	1100	Nov. . . 6	3		540	1145	June . . 24	1
	495	1101	Oct. . . 26	7		541	1146	June . . 13	5
	496*	1102	Oct. . . 15	4		542*	1147	June . . 2	2
	497	1103	Oct. . . 5	2		543	1148	May . . 22	7
	498*	1104	Sept. . . 23	6		544	1149	May . . 11	4
	499	1105	Sept. . . 13	4		545*	1150	April . . 30	1
	500	1106	Sept. . . 2	1		546	1151	April . . 20	6
	501*	1107	Aug. . . 22	5		547*	1152	April . . 8	3
	502	1108	Aug. . . 11	3		548	1153	March 29	1
	503	1109	July . . 31	7		549	1154	March 18	5
	504*	1110	July . . 20	4		550*	1155	March 7	2
	505	1111	July . . 10	2		551	1156	Feb. . . 25	7
	506*	1112	June . . 28	6		552	1157	Feb. . . 13	4
	507	1113	June . . 18	4		553*	1158	Feb. . . 2	1
	508	1114	June . . 7	1		554	1159	Jan. . . 23	6
	509*	1115	May . . 27	6		555	1160	Jan. . . 12	3
	510	1116	May . . 16	3	XVIII.	556*	1160	Dec. . . 31	7
	511	1117	May . . 5	7		557	1161	Dec. . . 21	5
	512*	1118	April . 24	4		558*	1162	Dec. . . 10	2
	513	1119	April . 14	2		559	1163	Nov. . . 30	7
	514	1120	April . 2	6		560	1164	Nov. . . 18	4
	515*	1121	March 22	3		561*	1165	Nov. . . 7	1
	516	1122	March 12	1		562	1166	Oct. . . 28	6
	517*	1123	March 1	5		563	1167	Oct. . . 17	3
	518	1124	Feb. . . 19	3		564*	1168	Oct. . . 5	7
	519	1125	Feb. . . 7	7		565	1169	Sept. . . 25	5
	520*	1126	Jan. . . 27	4		566*	1170	Sept. . . 14	2
	521	1127	Jan. . . 17	2		567	1171	Sept. . . 4	7
	522	1128	Jan. . . 6	6		568	1172	Aug. . . 23	4
XVII.	523*	1128	Dec. . . 25	3		569*	1173	Aug. . . 12	1
	524	1129	Dec. . . 15	1		570	1174	Aug. . . 2	6
	525	1130	Dec. . . 4	5		571	1175	July . . 22	3
	526*	1131	Nov. . . 23	2		572*	1176	July . . 10	7
	527	1132	Nov. . . 12	7		573	1177	June . . 30	5
	528*	1133	Nov. . . 1	4		574	1178	June . . 19	2
	529	1134	Oct. . . 22	2		575*	1179	June . . 8	6
	530	1135	Oct. . . 11	6		576	1180	May . . 28	4

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.		
XVIII.	577*	1181	May..	17	1	XIX.	623	1226	Jan. . .	2	6
	578	1182	May..	7	6	XX.	624	1226	Dec. . .	22	3
	579	1183	April..	26	3	625	1227	Dec. . .	12	1	
	580*	1184	April..	14	7	626*	1228	Nov. . .	30	5	
	581	1185	April..	4	5	627	1229	Nov. . .	20	3	
	582	1186	March	24	2	628	1230	Nov. . .	9	7	
	583*	1187	March	13	6	629*	1231	Oct. . .	29	4	
	584	1188	March	2	4	630	1232	Oct. . .	18	2	
	585	1189	Feb. . .	19	1	631	1233	Oct. . .	7	6	
	586*	1190	Feb. . .	8	5	632*	1234	Sept. . .	26	3	
	587	1191	Jan. . .	29	3	633	1235	Sept. . .	16	1	
	588*	1192	Jan. . .	18	7	634	1236	Sept. . .	4	5	
	589	1193	Jan. . .	7	5	635*	1237	Aug. . .	24	2	
	XIX.	590	1193	Dec. . .	27	2	636	1238	Aug. . .	14	7
		591	1194	Dec. . .	16	6	637*	1239	Aug. . .	3	4
		592	1195	Dec. . .	6	4	638	1240	July . .	23	2
		593	1196	Nov. . .	24	1	639	1241	July . .	12	6
594		1197	Nov. . .	13	5	640*	1242	July . .	1	3	
595		1198	Nov. . .	3	3	641	1243	June . .	21	1	
596		1199	Oct. . .	23	7	642	1244	June . .	9	5	
597		1200	Oct. . .	12	5	643*	1245	May . .	29	2	
598		1201	Oct. . .	1	2	644	1246	May . .	19	7	
599		1202	Sept. . .	20	6	645	1247	May . .	8	4	
600		1203	Sept. . .	10	4	646*	1248	April. .	26	1	
601		1204	Aug. . .	29	1	647	1249	April. .	16	6	
602		1205	Aug. . .	18	5	648*	1250	April. .	5	3	
603		1206	Aug. . .	8	3	649	1251	March 26	1		
604		1207	July . .	28	7	650	1252	March 14	5		
605		1208	July . .	16	4	651*	1253	March 3	2		
606		1209	July . .	6	2	652	1254	Feb. . .	21	7	
607		1210	June . .	25	6	653	1255	Feb. . .	10	4	
608		1211	June . .	15	4	654*	1256	Jan. . .	30	1	
609		1212	June . .	3	1	655	1257	Jan. . .	19	6	
610		1213	May . .	23	5	656*	1258	Jan. . .	8	3	
611		1214	May . .	13	3	XXI.	657	1258	Dec. . .	29	1
612	1215	May . .	2	7	658		1259	Dec. . .	18	5	
613	1216	April. .	20	4	659		1260	Dec. . .	6	2	
614	1217	April. .	10	2	660		1261	Nov. . .	26	7	
615	1218	March 30	6		661		1262	Nov. . .	15	4	
616	1219	March 19	3		662		1263	Nov. . .	4	1	
617	1220	March 8	1		663		1264	Oct. . .	24	6	
618	1221	Feb. . .	25	5	664		1265	Oct. . .	13	3	
619	1222	Feb. . .	15	3	665		1266	Oct. . .	2	7	
620	1223	Feb. . .	4	7	666		1267	Sept. . .	22	5	
621	1224	Jan. . .	24	4	667		1268	Sept. . .	10	2	
622	1225	Jan. . .	13	2	668	1269	Aug. . .	31	7		

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.			
XXI.	669	1270	Aug..	20	4	XXII.	715	1315	April..	7	2	
	670	1271	Aug..	9	1		716*	1316	March	26	6	
	671	1272	July..	29	6		717	1317	March	16	4	
	672	1273	July..	18	3		718	1318	March	5	1	
	673	1274	July..	7	7		719*	1319	Feb..	22	5	
	674	1275	June..	27	5		720	1320	Feb..	12	3	
	675	1276	June..	15	2		721	1321	Jan..	31	7	
	676	1277	June..	4	6		722*	1322	Jan..	20	4	
	677	1278	May..	25	4		723	1323	Jan..	10	2	
	678	1279	May..	14	1		XXIII.	724	1323	Dec..	30	6
	679	1280	May..	3	6		725*	1324	Dec..	18	3	
	680	1281	April..	22	3		726	1325	Dec..	8	1	
	681	1282	April..	11	7		727*	1326	Nov..	27	5	
	682	1283	April..	1	5		728	1327	Nov..	17	3	
	683	1284	March	20	2		729	1328	Nov..	5	7	
	684	1285	March	9	6		730*	1329	Oct..	25	4	
	685	1286	Feb..	27	4		731	1330	Oct..	15	2	
	686	1287	Feb..	16	1		732	1331	Oct..	4	6	
	687	1288	Feb..	6	6		733*	1332	Sept..	22	3	
	688	1289	Jan..	25	3		734	1333	Sept..	12	1	
689	1290	Jan..	14	7	735	1334	Sept..	1	5			
690	1291	Jan..	4	5	736*	1335	Aug..	21	2			
XXII.	691	1291	Dec..	24	2	737	1336	Aug..	10	7		
	692*	1292	Dec..	12	6	738*	1337	July..	30	4		
	693	1293	Dec..	2	4	739	1338	July..	20	2		
	694	1294	Nov..	21	1	740	1339	July..	9	6		
	695*	1295	Nov..	10	5	741*	1340	June..	27	3		
	696	1296	Oct..	30	3	742	1341	June..	17	1		
	697*	1297	Oct..	19	7	743	1342	June..	6	5		
	698	1298	Oct..	9	5	744*	1343	May..	26	2		
	699	1299	Sept..	28	2	745	1344	May..	15	7		
	700*	1300	Sept..	16	6	746*	1345	May..	4	4		
	701	1301	Sept..	6	4	747	1346	April..	24	2		
	702	1302	Aug..	26	1	748	1347	April..	13	6		
	703*	1303	Aug..	15	5	749*	1348	April..	1	3		
	704	1304	Aug..	4	3	750	1349	March	22	1		
	705	1305	July..	24	7	751	1350	March	11	5		
	706*	1306	July..	13	4	752*	1351	Feb..	28	2		
	707	1307	July..	3	2	753	1352	Feb..	18	7		
	708*	1308	June..	21	6	754	1353	Feb..	6	4		
	709	1309	June..	11	4	755*	1354	Jan..	26	1		
	710	1310	May..	31	1	756	1355	Jan..	16	6		
	711*	1311	May..	20	5	757*	1356	Jan..	5	3		
	712	1312	May..	9	3	XXIV.	758	1356	Dec..	25	1	
	713	1313	April..	28	7	759	1357	Dec..	14	5		
	714*	1314	April..	17	4	760*	1358	Dec..	3	2		

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.
XXIV.	761	1359	Nov... 23	7	XXV.	807	1404	July.. 10	1
	762	1360	Nov... 11	4		808	1405	June.. 29	2
	763*	1361	Oct. . . 31	1		809*	1406	June.. 18	6
	764	1362	Oct. . . 21	6		810	1407	June.. 8	4
	765	1363	Oct. . . 10	3		811	1408	May.. 27	1
	766*	1364	Sept... 28	7		812*	1409	May.. 16	5
	767	1365	Sept... 18	5		813	1410	May.. 6	3
	768*	1366	Sept... 7	2		814	1411	April.. 25	7
	769	1367	Aug... 28	7		815*	1412	April.. 14	4
	770	1368	Aug... 16	4		816	1413	April.. 3	2
	771*	1369	Aug... 5	1		817*	1414	March 23	6
	772	1370	July.. 26	6		818	1415	March 13	4
	773	1371	July.. 15	3		819	1416	March 1	1
	774*	1372	July.. 3	7		820*	1417	Feb. . . 18	5
	775	1373	June.. 23	5		821	1418	Feb. . . 8	3
	776*	1374	June.. 12	2		822	1419	Jan. . . 28	7
	777	1375	June.. 2	7		823*	1420	Jan. . . 17	4
	778	1376	May.. 21	4		824	1421	Jan. . . 6	2
	779*	1377	May.. 10	1	XXVI.	825	1421	Dec. . . 26	6
	780	1378	April.. 30	6		826*	1422	Dec. . . 15	3
	781	1379	April.. 19	3		827	1423	Dec. . . 5	1
	782*	1380	April.. 7	7		828*	1424	Nov... 23	5
	783	1381	March 28	5		829	1425	Nov... 13	3
	784	1382	March 17	2		830	1426	Nov... 2	7
	785*	1383	March 6	6		831*	1427	Oct. . . 22	4
	786	1384	Feb. . . 24	4		832	1428	Oct. . . 11	2
	787*	1385	Feb. . . 12	1		833	1429	Sept... 30	6
	788	1386	Feb. . . 2	6		834*	1430	Sept... 19	3
	789	1387	Jan. . . 22	3		835	1431	Sept... 9	1
	790*	1388	Jan. . . 11	7		836*	1432	Aug... 28	5
XXV.	791	1388	Dec. . . 31	5		837	1433	Aug... 18	3
	792	1389	Dec. . . 20	2		838	1434	Aug... 7	7
	793*	1390	Dec. . . 9	6		839*	1435	July.. 27	4
	794	1391	Nov... 29	4		840	1436	July.. 16	2
	795	1392	Nov... 17	1		841	1437	July.. 5	6
	796*	1393	Nov... 6	5		842*	1438	June.. 24	3
	797	1394	Oct. . . 27	3		843	1439	June.. 14	1
	798*	1395	Oct. . . 16	7		844	1440	June.. 2	5
	799	1396	Oct. . . 5	5		845*	1441	May.. 22	2
	800	1397	Sept... 24	2		846	1442	May.. 12	7
	801*	1398	Sept... 13	6		847*	1443	May.. 1	4
	802	1399	Sept... 3	4		848	1444	April.. 20	2
	803	1400	Aug... 22	1		849	1445	April.. 9	6
	804*	1401	Aug... 11	5		850*	1446	March 29	3
	805	1402	Aug... 1	3		851	1447	March 19	1
	806*	1403	July.. 21	7		852	1448	March 7	5

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.
XXVI.	853*	1449	Feb. . . 24	2	XXVIII.	899*	1493	Oct. . . 12	7
	854	1450	Feb. . . 14	7		900	1494	Oct. . . 2	5
	855	1451	Feb. . . 3	4		901	1495	Sept. . . 21	2
	856*	1452	Jan. . . 23	1		902*	1496	Sept. . . 9	6
	857	1453	Jan. . . 12	6		903	1497	Aug. . . 30	4
	858*	1454	Jan. . . 1	3		904	1498	Aug. . . 19	1
XXVII.	859	1454	Dec. . . 22	1	905*	1499	Aug. . . 8	5	
	860	1455	Dec. . . 11	5	906	1500	July . . 28	3	
	861*	1456	Nov. . . 29	2	907*	1501	July . . 17	7	
	862	1457	Nov. . . 19	7	908	1502	July . . 7	5	
	863	1458	Nov. . . 8	4	909	1503	June . . 26	2	
	864*	1459	Oct. . . 28	1	910*	1504	June . . 14	6	
	865	1460	Oct. . . 17	6	911	1505	June . . 4	4	
	866*	1461	Oct. . . 6	3	912	1506	May . . 24	1	
	867	1462	Sept. . . 26	1	913*	1507	May . . 13	5	
	868	1463	Sept. . . 15	5	914	1508	May . . 2	3	
	869*	1464	Sept. . . 3	2	915	1509	April. . 21	7	
	870	1465	Aug. . . 24	7	916*	1510	April. . 10	4	
	871	1466	Aug. . . 13	4	917	1511	March 31	2	
	872*	1467	Aug. . . 2	1	918*	1512	March 19	6	
	873	1468	July . . 22	6	919	1513	March 9	4	
	874	1469	July . . 11	3	920	1514	Feb. . . 26	1	
	875*	1470	June . . 30	7	921*	1515	Feb. . . 15	5	
	876	1471	June . . 20	5	922	1516	Feb. . . 5	3	
	877*	1472	June . . 8	2	923	1517	Jan. . . 24	7	
	878	1473	May . . 29	7	924*	1518	Jan. . . 13	4	
	879	1474	May . . 18	4	925	1519	Jan. . . 3	2	
	880*	1475	May . . 7	1	XXIX.	926	1519	Dec. . . 23	6
	881	1476	April. . 26	6		927	1520	Dec. . . 12	4
	882	1477	April. . 15	3		928	1521	Dec. . . 1	1
	883*	1478	April. . 4	7		929*	1522	Nov. . . 20	5
	884	1479	March 25	5		930	1523	Nov. . . 10	3
	885	1480	March 13	2		931	1524	Oct. . . 29	7
	886*	1481	March 2	6		932*	1525	Oct. . . 18	4
887	1482	Feb. . . 20	4	933		1526	Oct. . . 8	2	
888*	1483	Feb. . . 9	1	934		1527	Sept. . . 27	6	
889	1484	Jan. . . 30	6	935*		1528	Sept. . . 15	3	
890	1485	Jan. . . 18	3	936		1529	Sept. . . 5	1	
891*	1486	Jan. . . 7	7	937*		1530	Aug. . . 25	5	
XXVIII.	892	1486	Dec. . . 28	5		938	1531	Aug. . . 15	3
	893	1487	Dec. . . 17	2		939	1532	Aug. . . 3	7
	894*	1488	Dec. . . 5	6		940*	1533	July . 23	4
	895	1489	Nov. . . 25	4		941	1534	July . 13	2
	896*	1490	Nov. . . 14	1		942	1535	July . . 2	6
	897	1491	Nov. . . 4	6		943*	1536	June . . 20	3
	898	1492	Oct. . . 23	3		944	1537	June . . 10	1

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.			
XXIX.	945	1538	May..	30	XXX.	991	1583	Jan. . .	15			
	946*	1539	May..	19		992*	1584	Jan. . .	4	7		
	947	1540	May..	8		993	1585	Dec. . .	24	5		
	948*	1541	April..	27		XXXI.	994	1585	Dec. . .	13	2	
	949	1542	April..	6			995*	1586	Dec. . .	2	6	
	950	1543	March	25			996	1587	Nov. . .	22	4	
	951*	1544	March	15			997*	1588	Nov. . .	10	1	
	952	1545	March	4			998	1589	Oct. . .	31	6	
	953	1546	Feb. . .	21			999	1590	Oct. . .	20	3	
	954*	1547	Feb. . .	11			1000*	1591	Oct. . .	9	7	
	955	1548	Jan. . .	30			1001	1592	Sept. . .	28	5	
	956*	1549	Jan. . .	20			1002	1593	Sept. . .	17	2	
	957	1550	Jan. . .	9			1003*	1594	Sept. . .	16	6	
	958	1551	Dec. . .	29			1004	1595	Aug. . .	27	4	
	XXX.	959*	1551	Dec. . .			29	1005	1596	Aug. . .	15	1
		960	1552	Dec. . .			18	1006*	1597	Aug. . .	4	5
		961	1553	Dec. . .			7	1007	1598	July . .	25	3
962*		1554	Nov. . .	26	1008*		1599	July . .	14	7		
963		1555	Nov. . .	16	1009		1600	July . .	3	5		
964		1556	Nov. . .	4	1010		1601	June . .	22	2		
965*		1557	Oct. . .	24	1011*	1602	June . .	11	6			
966		1558	Oct. . .	14	1012	1603	June . .	1	4			
967*		1559	Oct. . .	3	1013	1604	May . .	20	1			
968		1560	Sept. . .	22	1014*	1605	May . .	9	5			
969		1561	Sept. . .	11	1015	1606	April . .	29	3			
970*		1562	Aug. . .	31	1016*	1607	April . .	18	7			
971		1563	Aug. . .	21	1017	1608	April . .	7	5			
972		1564	Aug. . .	9	1018	1609	March	27	2			
973*		1565	July . .	29	1019*	1610	March	16	6			
974		1566	July . .	19	1020	1611	March	6	4			
975		1567	July . .	8	1021	1612	Feb. . .	23	1			
976*	1568	June . .	26	1022*	1613	Feb. . .	11	5				
977	1569	June . .	16	1023	1614	Feb. . .	1	3				
978*	1570	June . .	5	1024	1615	Jan. . .	21	7				
979	1571	May . .	26	1025*	1616	Jan. . .	10	4				
980	1572	May . .	14	1026	1617	Dec. . .	30	2				
981*	1573	May . .	3	XXXII.	1027	1617	Dec. . .	19	6			
982	1574	April . .	23		1028	1618	Dec. . .	9	4			
983	1575	April . .	12		1029	1619	Nov. . .	28	1			
984*	1576	March	31		1030*	1620	Nov. . .	16	5			
985	1577	March	21		1031	1621	Nov. . .	6	3			
986*	1578	March	10		1032	1622	Oct. . .	26	7			
987	1579	Feb. . .	28		1033*	1623	Oct. . .	15	4			
988	1580	Feb. . .	17		1034	1624	Oct. . .	4	2			
989*	1581	Feb. . .	5		1035	1625	Sept. . .	23	6			
990	1582	Jan. . .	26		1036*	1626	Sept. . .	12	3			

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.
XXXII.	1037	1627	Sept...	2 1	XXXIII.	1083	1672	April..	19 6
	1038*	1628	Aug... 21	5		1084	1673	April..	8 3
	1039	1629	Aug... 11	3		1085*	1674	March 28	7
	1040	1630	July.. 31	7		1086	1675	March 18	5
	1041*	1631	July.. 20	4		1087*	1676	March 6	2
	1042	1632	July.. 9	2		1088	1677	Feb... 24	7
	1043	1633	June.. 28	6		1089	1678	Feb... 23	4
	1044*	1634	June.. 17	3		1090*	1679	Feb... 2	1
	1045	1635	June.. 7	1		1091	1680	Jan... 23	6
	1046*	1636	May.. 26	5		1092	1681	Jan... 11	3
	1047	1637	May.. 16	3		1093*	1682	Dec... 31	7
	1048	1638	May.. 5	7	XXXIV.	1094	1682	Dec... 21	5
	1049*	1639	April.. 24	4		1095	1683	Dec... 10	2
	1050	1640	April.. 13	2		1096*	1684	Nov... 28	6
	1051	1641	April.. 2	6		1097	1685	Nov... 18	4
	1052*	1642	March 22	3		1098*	1686	Nov... 7	1
	1053	1643	March 12	1		1099	1687	Oct... 28	6
	1054	1644	Feb... 28	5		1100	1688	Oct... 16	3
	1055*	1645	Feb... 17	2		1101*	1689	Oct... 5	7
	1056	1646	Feb... 7	7		1102	1690	Sept... 25	5
	1057*	1647	Jan... 27	4		1103	1691	Sept... 14	2
	1058	1648	Jan... 17	2		1104*	1692	Sept... 2	6
	1059	1649	Jan... 5	6		1105	1693	Aug... 23	4
	1060*	1650	Dec... 25	3		1106*	1694	Aug... 12	1
XXXIII.	1061	1650	Dec... 15	1		1107	1695	Aug... 2	6
	1062	1651	Dec... 4	5		1108	1696	July.. 21	3
	1063*	1652	Nov... 22	2		1109*	1697	July.. 10	7
	1064	1653	Nov... 12	7		1110	1698	June.. 30	5
	1065	1654	Nov... 1	4		1111	1699	June.. 19	2
	1066*	1655	Oct... 21	1		1112*	1700	June.. 7	6
	1067	1656	Oct... 10	6		1113	1701	May.. 28	4
	1068*	1657	Sept... 29	3		1114	1702	May.. 17	1
	1069	1658	Sept... 19	1		1115*	1703	May.. 6	5
	1070	1659	Sept... 8	5		1116	1704	April.. 25	3
	1071*	1660	Aug... 27	2		1117*	1705	April.. 14	7
	1072	1661	Aug... 17	7		1118	1706	April.. 4	5
	1073	1662	Aug... 6	4		1119	1707	March 24	2
	1074*	1663	July.. 26	1		1120*	1708	March 12	6
	1075	1664	July.. 15	6		1121	1709	March 2	4
	1076*	1665	July.. 4	3		1122	1710	Feb... 19	1
	1077	1666	June.. 24	1		1123*	1711	Feb... 8	5
	1078	1667	June.. 13	5		1124	1712	Jan... 29	3
	1079*	1668	June.. 1	2		1125	1713	Jan... 17	7
	1080	1669	May.. 22	7		1126*	1714	Jan... 6	4
	1081	1670	May.. 11	4		1127	1715	Dec... 27	2
	1082*	1671	April.. 30	1	XXXV.	1128*	1715	Dec... 16	6

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.	CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.	F.			
XXXV.	1129	1716	Dec. . .	5	4	XXXV.	1148	1735	May . .	13	3	
	1130	1717	Nov. . .	24	1		1149	1736	May . .	1	7	
	1131*	1718	Nov. . .	13	5		1150*	1737	April	20	4	
	1132	1719	Nov. . .	3	3		1151	1738	April	10	2	
	1133	1720	Oct. . .	22	7		1152	1739	March	30	6	
	1134*	1721	Oct. . .	11	4		1153*	1740	March	18	3	
	1135	1722	Oct. . .	1	2		1154	1741	March	8	1	
	1136*	1723	Sept. . .	20	6		1155	1742	Feb. . .	25	5	
	1137	1724	Sept. . .	9	4		1156*	1743	Feb. . .	14	2	
	1138	1725	Aug. . .	29	1		1157	1744	Feb. . .	4	7	
	1139*	1726	Aug. . .	18	5		1158*	1745	Jan. . .	23	4	
	1140	1727	Aug. . .	8	3		1159	1746	Jan. . .	13	2	
	1141	1728	July . .	27	7		1160	1747	Jan. . .	2	6	
	1142*	1729	July . .	16	4		1161*	1748	Dec. . .	22	3	
	1143	1730	July . .	6	2		XXXVI.	1162	1748	Dec. . .	11	1
	1144	1731	June . .	25	6			1163	1749	Nov. . .	30	5
	1145*	1732	June . .	13	3			1164*	1750	Nov. . .	19	2
1146	1733	June . .	3	1	1165	1751		Nov. . .	9	7		
1147*	1734	May . .	23	5								

O. S.

N. S.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.O.S.	M.N.S.	F.		
XXXVI.	1166*	1752†	October	28	November	8	4
	1167	1753	October	18	October	29	2
	1168	1754	October	7	October	18	6
	1169*	1755	September . .	26	October	7	3
	1170	1756	September . .	15	September . .	26	1
	1171	1757	September . .	4	September . .	15	5
	1172*	1758	August. . . .	24	September . .	4	2
	1173	1759	August	14	August	25	7
	1174	1760	August	2	August	13	4
	1175*	1761	July	22	August	2	1
	1176	1762	July	12	July	23	6
	1177*	1763	July	1	July	12	3
	1178	1764	June	20	July	1	1
	1179	1765	June	9	June	20	5
	1180*	1766	May	29	June	9	2
	1181	1767	May	19	May	30	7
	1182	1768	May	7	May	18	4
1183*	1769	April	26	May	7	1	
1184	1770	April	16	April	27	6	
1185	1771	April	5	April	16	3	
1186*	1772	March	24	April	4	7	

† In 1752, when the *New Style* began, *eleven* days were omitted, from Sept. 3 to Sept. 14.

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.O.S.	M.N.S.	F.	
XXXVI.	1187	1773	March 14	March..... 25	5	
	1188*	1774	March 3	March..... 14	2	
	1189	1775	February 21	March..... 4	7	
	1190	1776	February 10	February.... 21	4	
	1191*	1777	January 29	February.... 9	1	
	1192	1778	January 19	January 30	6	
	1193	1779	January 8	January 19	3	
	1194*	1780	Decem. 28, 1779	January 8	7	
	XXXVII.	1195	1780	December ... 17	December .. 28	5
		1196*	1781	December 6	December .. 17	2
		1197	1782	November....26	December .. 7	7
		1198	1783	November .. 15	November .. 26	4
		1199*	1784	November .. 3	November .. 14	1
1200		1785	October 24	November .. 4	6	
1201		1786	October 13	October 24	3	
1202*		1787	October 2	October 13	7	
1203		1788	September .. 21	October 2	5	
1204		1789	September .. 10	September .. 21	2	
1205*		1790	August 30	September .. 10	6	
1206		1791	August 20	August 31	4	
1207*		1792	August 8	August 19	1	
1208		1793	July 29	August 9	6	
1209		1794	July 18	July 29	3	
1210*	1795	July 7	July 18	7		
1211	1796	June 26	July 7	5		
1212	1797	June 15	June 26	2		
1213*	1798	June 4	June 15	6		
1214	1799	May 25	June 5	4		
1215	1800†	May 13	May 24	1		
1216*	1801	May 2	May 13	5		
1217	1802	April 22	May 3	3		
1218*	1803	April 11	April 22	7		
1219	1804	March..... 31	April 11	5		
1220	1805	March..... 20	March..... 31	2		
1221*	1806	March..... 9	March..... 20	6		
1222	1807	February ... 27	March..... 10	4		
1223	1808	February.... 16	February ... 27	1		
1224*	1809	February.... 4	February 15	5		
1225	1810	January 25	February 5	3		
1226*	1811	January 14	January 25	7		
1227	1812	January 4	January 15	5		
1228	1813	Dec. (1812) 23	January 3	2		

† From 1800, twelve days are omitted, improperly, by *Playfair*; for the omission of 12 days will not take place till A.D. 1900: therefore all his numbers are here lowered; May 25 to May 24, &c. to the end.

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A.D.	M.O.S.	M.N.S.	F.
XXXVIII.	1229*	1813	December ... 12	December .. 23	6
	1230	1814	December ... 2	December .. 13	4
	1231	1815	November .. 21	December .. 2	1
	1232*	1816	November .. 9	November .. 20	5
	1233	1817	October 30	November .. 10	3
	1234	1818	October 19	October 30	7
	1235*	1819	October 8	October 19	4
	1236	1820	September .. 27	October 8	2
	1237*	1821	September .. 16	September .. 27	6
	1238	1822	September .. 6	September .. 17	4
	1239	1823	August 26	September .. 6	1
	1240*	1824	August 14	August 25	5
	1241	1825	August 4	August 15	3
	1242	1826	July 24	August 4	7
	1243*	1827	July 13	July 24	4
	1244	1828	July 2	July 13	2
	1245	1829	June 21	July 2	6
	1246*	1830	June 10	June 21	3
	1247	1831	May 31	June 11	1
	1248*	1832	May 19	May 30	5
	1249	1833	May 9	May 20	3
	1250	1834	April 28	May 9	7
	1251*	1835	April 17	April 28	4
	1252	1836	April 6	April 17	2
	1253	1837	March 26	April 6	6
	1254*	1838	March 15	March 26	3
	1255	1839	March 5	March 16	1
	1256*	1840	February.... 22	March 4	5
	1257	1841	February.... 11	February.... 22	3
	1258	1842	January 31	February.... 11	7
	1259*	1843	January 20	January 31	4
	1260	1844	January 10	January 21	2
	1261	1845	Dec. (1844) 29	January 9	6
XXXIX.	1262*	1845	December .. 18	December .. 29	3
	1263	1846	December 8	December .. 19	1
	1264	1847	November .. 27	December .. 8	5
	1265*	1848	November .. 15	November .. 26	2
	1266	1849	November .. 5	November .. 16	7
	1267*	1850	October 25	November .. 5	4
	1268	1851	October 15	October 26	2
	1269	1852	October 3	October 14	6
	1270*	1853	September .. 22	October 3	3
	1271	1854	September .. 12	September .. 23	1
	1272	1855	September .. 1	September .. 12	5
	1273*	1856	August 20	August 31	2
	1274	1857	August 10	August 21	7

YEARS OF THE HEJIRA.

CYC.	HEJ.	A. D.	M. O. S.	N. S.	F.	
XXXIX.	1275	1858	July.. 30	August 10	4	
	1276*	1859	July. 19	July 30	1	
	1277	1860	July 8	July 19	6	
	1278*	1861	June 27	July 8	3	
	1279	1862	June 17	June 28	1	
	1280	1863	June 6	June 17	5	
	1281*	1864	May 25	June 5	2	
	1282	1865	May 15	May 26	7	
	1283	1866	May 4	May 15	4	
	1284*	1867	April 23	May 4	1	
	1285	1868	April 12	April 23	6	
	1286*	1869	April 1	April 12	3	
	1287	1870	March. 22	April 2	1	
	1288	1871	March 11	March 22	5	
	1289*	1872	February. . . . 28	March. 10	2	
	1290	1873	February. . . . 17	February 28	7	
	1291	1874	February 6	February 17	4	
	1292*	1875	January 26	February 6	1	
	1293	1876	January 16	January 27	6	
	1294	1877	January 4	January 15	3	
	1295*	1878	Dec. (1877) 24	January 4	6	
	XL.	1296	1878	December .. 14	December .. 25	5
		1297*	1879	December .. 3	December .. 14	2
		1298	1880	November .. 22	December .. 3	7
1299		1881	November .. 11	November .. 22	4	
1300*		1882	October 31	November .. 11	1	
1301		1883	October 21	November .. 1	6	
1302		1884	October 9	October 20	3	
1303*		1885	September .. 28	October 9	7	
1304		1886	September .. 18	September .. 29	5	
1305		1887	September .. 7	September .. 18	2	
1306*		1888	August 26	September .. 6	6	
1307		1889	August 16	August 27	4	
1308*		1890	August 5	August 16	1	
1309		1891	July 26	August 6	6	
1310]		1892	July 14	July 25	3	
1311*		1893	July 3	July 14	7	
1312	1894	June 23	July 4	5		
1313	1895	June 12	June 23	2		
1314*	1896	May 31	June 11	6		
1315	1897	May 21	June 1	4		
1316*	1898	May 10	May 21	1		
1317	1899	April 30	May 11	6		
1318	1900	April 18	April 30	3		

N. B. In the intercalary years, marked by the asterisks, the twelfth month, *Dul-heggia*, consists of 30 days. The *feriæ* all along are accommodated to the *Old Style*.

The use of this XXII^d. Table, of the *Years of the Hejira*, &c. may be thus illustrated.

Al Junabi, an Arab historian, relates that *Mahomet Khan* took *Constantinople* in the 857th year of the *Hejira*, on the 20th day of *Jomad I.*, the *third* day of the week, or Tuesday. *Pocock's* Supplement to his Latin translation of *Abulfaragi*, p. 47. But by this Table, the 857th of the *Hejira*, began A.D. 1453, Jan. 12, on the sixth day of the week, or Friday. And by the foregoing Table of *Arabian* months, the 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 Table IV. of *Julian* days. But the Cycle of the sun, that year, was 6, the Dominical letter G, the character of May 29, B. It was, therefore, the third day of the week, or Tuesday. And how critically this calculation corresponds to the fact, appears from the patriarchal history of *Crusius*, thus stating the capture of the city. Ησαν χρονοι απο Χριστου γενεσεως χιλιοι τετρακοσιοι πεντηκοντα τρεις. Μαιω εικοστη εννατη, ημερα 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 it affords an instance of the great ingenuity and accuracy of the chronological rules and tables in question; and especially of the value of this Table, which gives, at first sight, the result of a long and intricate calculation, by which *Beveridge* comes to the same conclusion, pp. 119—127.

The following easy-rule will serve, without the Tables, to reduce the current years of the *Hejira*, to *Julian*, or *Calendar* years.

Since 100 years of the Hejira are equal to 97 Julian years, 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 *Hejira* 699, *Othman*, the founder of the Turkish empire, assumed the title of *Sultan*. Multiply the number of centuries, 7, by 3; which gives 21, the number of *Julian* years omitted; subtract this from 699, and the remainder, 678, added to the elapsed 621 *Julian* years, before the era of the *Hejira* commenced, gives A.D. 1299, the same as in the

Table. When the year proposed, however, is the last of a Cycle, it will give the result a year short.

INDIAN ERAS.

Megasthenes, a native of *Persia*, who enjoyed the confidence of *Seleucus Nicator*, and of *Sibyrtius*, governor of *Aracosia*, (the modern *Candahar* and *Gazni*) was frequently sent by them on embassies to the court of *Chandra Gupta*, (called *Sandrocutos* and *Sandraccottus* by the Greek historians) and also resided at the court of *Porus*. He wrote a history of *Indian* affairs, which is unfortunately lost, as from his country, his abilities, and his opportunities of conversing with the most learned and intelligent *Hindus*, we might have derived from it much authentic information on the subject. See *Asiat. Research*. Vol. V. p. 242, 290, &c.

In a fragment, however, preserved by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, he declares, that "the *Hindus* and the *Jews* were the only people who had a just conception of the creation of the world, and of the beginning of things;" and he states, that "the *Hindus* did not carry back their history and antiquities above 5042 years* and three months, from *Alexander's* invasion of India," B.C. 327. Their earliest era, therefore, B.C. 5369, differs only 42 years from the rectified Era of the Creation, B.C. 5411.

Since his time, the *Brahmins* have invented eras of the most extravagant antiquity, which are, in fact, no other than vast *Astronomical Cycles*, formed by retrospective calculation, like the *Julian Period*; and this is demonstrated by Mr. *Davis*, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 228, in a very ingenious communication on the *Astronomical Computations of the Hindus*. There, he states, that the *Hindu* astronomers chose as a radix, from which to compute the planetary motions, that point of time counted back, when they must have been in conjunction in the beginning of *Mesha*, or *Aries*, and coeval with which they supposed the Creation. Taking also into computation a slow motion of the Nodes and Apsides, which they had discovered, they found that it would require a vast cycle of 4320 millions of years, before the planets would return precisely to the same situation again. This grand Anomalistic period they denomi-

* Some manuscripts read 6042 years, but the other reading agrees better with the *Mosaical* account.

nated a *Calpa*. The *Calpa* they divided into 1000 *Maha yugas*, or “great conjunctions,” each consisting of 4,320,000 years, and a *Maha yuga* into ten lesser *yugas*, consisting each of 432,000 years. The *Maha yuga* was an Anomalistical period of the sun and moon, at the end of which, the moon, her apogee, and ascending node, are to be found in conjunction with the sun in the first of *Aries*; the planets also deviating from that point only as much as is their latitude, and the difference between their mean and true anomaly.

HINDU AGES OF THE WORLD.

The *Maha yuga* was also divided into four lesser *yugas*, or ages, which seem to have been formed on ideas similar to the *Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages* of the *Greeks*; “according to the different proportions of *virtue* prevailing on earth,” in the language of *Surya Sidhanta*, their oldest astronomical treatise.

	Y.
1. <i>Satya yuga</i>	4 × 432,000 = 1,728,000
2. <i>Treta yuga</i>	3 × 432,000 = 1,296,000
3. <i>Dwapar yuga</i>	2 × 432,000 = 864,000
4. <i>Cali yuga</i>	1 × 432,000 = 432,000
	—————
<i>Maha yuga</i>	10 × 432,000 = 4,320,000

In the *Satya*, or Age of “Virtue,” four parts or all mankind were supposed to be good; in the *Treta*, or *Treda*, “three” parts; in the *Dwapar*, *Duapar*, or *Duabara*, “two” parts; and in the *Cali yuga*, or “black conjunction,” only one part. The common factor, 432,000 years, was shewn in the preceding article on YEARS, to have been formed of the great astronomical cycle of 24,000 years, comprising the grand revolution of the sphere of the fixed stars, occasioned by the precession of the equinoxes, 54 seconds per annum, according to the *Hindu* calculation; multiplied by 18 years, the Chaldean *Saros*, or *Plinian* period of the lunar inequalities. These four ages composed a *Maha yuga*, and a thousand *Maha yugas* one *Calpa*, or “a day” of *Brahma*, “the Creator.” A sublime idea, corresponding to SCRIPTURE. Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8.

It is agreed by the Hindu astronomers in general, that the *Cali yuga*, or last age, under which mankind now live, began when the equinoctial points were in the first degrees of *Mesha*

and *Tula*, or *Aries* and *Libra*, B.C. 3102. *Asiat. Research.* Vol. II. p. 274, and p. 392.

The *Cali yuga* was the Hindu era of the Deluge. This is ingeniously collected by Captain *Wilford*, from the famous Arabian astronomer *Albumazar*, or *Abu-mazar*, about the middle of the ninth century, who lived in the court of the Caliph *Al Mamum*, and carefully studied the Hindu antiquities, especially the time of the creation of the world, its duration, and the conjunctions of the planets. He represented, that “the *Hindus* reckoned from the Flood to the *Hejira*, 720,634,442,715 days, or 3725 years.” *Asiat. Research.* Vol. V. p. 242, 293. Here is a manifest error, the number of days greatly exceeding the number of years. By a very ingenious correction, Mr. *Davis* found out that this was exactly the number of days elapsed of the *Calpa*, or from the Creation to the Flood, and only from the Flood to the *Hejira* 3725 years. *Asiat. Research.* Vol. IX. p. 579, 671. Subtracting, therefore, the date of the *Hejira*, A.D. 622, there remains B.C. 3103 for the date of the Deluge.

And this correction is verified by the *Persian Chronology*; for, according to *George of Trebizonde*, the Persians reckoned from the Deluge to the Era of *Jesdejird*, A.D. 632, (ten years after the *Hejira*) 3735 years, 10 months, and 23 days; which gives precisely the same date of the Deluge, B.C. 3103, current, or B.C. 3102, complete; but this is the date of the *Cali yuga*, consequently, the *Cali yuga* denoted the Deluge. *Asiat. Research.* IX. 673. This is further proved from the *Cumarica Chanda*, which states, that “after three thousand and one hundred years of the *Cali yuga* shall be expired, king *Saka*, or *Salivahana**, will appear to remove wretchedness from the world.” This was to be a divine child, born of a virgin, and the son of the great *Tacshaka*, or “carpenter.” See *Wilford's* Essay on the Kings of *Magodha*, p. 435. *Asiat. Research.* Vol. IX.

But though the date of the Astronomical Era, *Cali yuga*, be invariably fixed to B.C. 3102, the Historical Era of that name fluctuates considerably.

The <i>Bhagavat</i> reckons it.	B.C. 1913
The <i>Vishnu Purana</i>	1905
Other <i>Puranas</i>	1370
The followers of <i>Jina</i>	1078

* Captain *Wilford* traces a resemblance in *Salivahana* to *Sala*, or *Shiloh*, in Jacob's prophecy. *Asiat. Research.* Vol. VIII. p. 601.

This discordancy of dates is sufficiently accounted for by *Wilford*, in the following discouraging survey of the present state of *Hindu Chronology*.

“In all their chronological lists, the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view but to adjust a certain number of *epochs*. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with the names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise, they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their reigns to some among them better known, or of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of these kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some pre-conceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking one famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon for ancient writers to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions. In this manner, the lists of the ancient kings of *Persia*, both by oriental writers and others in the west, have been compiled: and some instances of this nature might be produced from SCRIPTURE.—Through their emendations and corrections, you see a total want of *historical* knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some *disingenuity* is but too obvious.” *Wilford's Essay on Vicra Maditya*, &c. p. 469, quarto.

Indeed the gross imposition practised on Captain *Wilford*, and *Sir William Jones*, in the supposed *Sanscrit* account of *Noah* and his three sons, under the names of *Satyavarnam*, *Sherma*, *Charma*, and *Jyapeti*; forged in the *Padma Puran*, and translated by *Sir William Jones*; *Asiat. Research*. Vol. iii. p. 67, 262, octavo, are abundantly sufficient to justify the charge of disingenuousness, in the modern *Pundits*, or interpreters.

Besides the *Cali yuga*, there are two other principal Eras in use among the *Hindus*: namely, the *Sombot*, or Era of *Vicra maditya*, B.C. 56; and the *Sakabdo*, from the death of *Rajah Soko*, or *Saka*, A.D. 79. These are collected from ancient records and monuments. Thus, there is a royal grant of land, on a copper plate, found among the ruins of *Mongeer*, dated in the 33d *Sombot*, B.C. 23. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. i. p. 123: another, in the Era of *Vicra maditya*, 1005, or B.C. 1061, p. 287: a third, in the year 123, or 1230, of the same Era, A.D. 67, or A.D. 1174, p. 379: a fourth, in the year of King *Saka*, 939, or A.D. 1018, p. 357.

CHINESE ERAS.

Martinius, a learned Jesuit, who resided many years in *China*, says, in his history, that the Chinese writers dated the Deluge about 3000 years before the Christian Era. *Sinens. Hist. lib. 1, p. 12.* This nearly accords with the *Cali yug*, or Hindu date, B.C. 3102.

Great uncertainty prevails respecting the origin and first period of the Chinese empire. None of the ancient annals exist, a few fragments excepted; they perished by a singular calamity: the Emperor *Hoangti*, B.C. 213, like *Nabonassar*, the King of Babylon, in an earlier age, ambitious of being reputed by posterity the founder of the Empire, ordered all the books, medals, inscriptions, coins, and monuments of antiquity, to be destroyed, that there might remain no earlier record, date, or authority relative to religion, science, and politics, than those of his own reign. Hence, their most authentic history, composed from the relics of their ancient books, by *Sse-ma-tsién*, about a century before Christ, marked neither the dates nor the durations of reigns, or of dynasties, until B.C. 878. And in the *Memoirs concerning the History, Arts, &c. of the Chinese*, extracted from the Grand Annals, and lately published by the Missionaries of *Pekin*, it is asserted, that all the relations or events prior to the reign of *Yao*, or *Yau*, (as differently pronounced by different writers) which they date, B.C. 2057, “are fabulous, composed in modern times, unsupported by authentic records, and full of contradictions. And that neither the *Chou-king*, or *Xu-king*, their most ancient and authentic record, nor the books of *Confucius*, (who died B.C. 479) or of his disciples, make mention of any genealogies, or princes, before *Yao*. It is also proved, that the origin of the *Chinese Empire* cannot be placed higher than one or two generations before *Yao*.”

This is confirmed by the discordancy of the dates assigned to his reign by different writers: *Duhalde* asserts, from the most approved Chinese historians, that *Yao* began to reign B.C. 2357; *Martinius* and *Couplet*, B.C. 2159: *Freret* observes, that nothing certain was recorded in the Chinese Annals previous to the reign of *Yao*, who flourished B.C. 2325, or B.C. 2307. The latest accounts, we see, reduce it to B.C. 2057, three hundred years lower than the first.

† But the first date of *Duhalde*, which differs not much from those of *Freret*, seems to be preferable, from an ancient inscription in Chinese letters, upon a plate of marble, and preserved in the temple of a Jewish colony, who settled in *China*, A.D. 73, three years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus*; and have still a settlement at *Cai fong-fou*, the capital city of the province of *Honan*, about 150 leagues from *Pekin*. They came originally from *Persia*, through *Chorasan* and *Samarkand*, from commercial views, and at first amounted to 70 families, of the tribes of *Benjamin*, *Levi*, *Judah*, &c.; but were reduced to seven families, when they were visited by the learned Jesuits, *Gozani*, *Comurge*, and *Gaubil*, A.D. 1720, who published their accounts of this singular colony, in *Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. Tom. VII.; from which a curious extract is given by *Brotier*, in the notes of his excellent edition of *Tacitus*, Tom. III. p. 567, &c.

This inscription, which was made by a literary Jew, named *King-tchong*, A.D. 1444, is as follows:

“The author of the law of *Israel* (*Y-se-lo-ye*) is *Abraham* (*Ha-vou-lo-han*), the nineteenth from *Adam* (*Ha-tan*). That holy man lived 146 years before the beginning of *Tcheou*. His law was transmitted by tradition to *Moses* (*Nieche*). He received his book on mount *Sinai* (*Si-na*): there he fasted forty days and forty nights. He was always conversant with Heaven. In his book are fifty-three sections.”—It adds, that “*Moses* lived 613 years after the beginning of *Tcheou*.” P. 575, 576.

This Era of *Tcheou* did not commence with the first prince of the dynasty of that name, whose reign began B.C. 1122; for *Abraham* certainly was much earlier. It derived its name from a celebrated division of the Empire into twelve *Tcheou*, or provinces; made by the Emperor *Yao*, in the eightieth year of his reign, (B.C. 2357—80=) B.C. 2277. According to *Gaubil's* computation. This would bring the birth of *Abraham* to (B.C. 2277—146=) B.C. 2131; which differs only 22 years from the rectified era of his birth, B.C. 2153. And the birth of *Moses* to (B.C. 2277—613=) B.C. 1664; which differs only 64 years from the rectified era thereof, B.C. 1728. And if, as *Brotier* suspects, the time of *Moses* was reckoned not from his birth, but from his mission to his brethren, 40 years after, B.C. 1688; it would reduce the difference of the Chinese account, to 24 years. † This near coincidence of Sacred and Chinese Chronology, is extremely curious, and tends to confirm both. We are therefore

warranted to date the commencement of the Chinese Empire, with the reign of *Yao*, about 22 years higher, B.C. 2379, or about 235 years after the division of the earth, or its colonization by the families of Noah's sons, B.C. 2614, according to our rectified Era; which is not improbable.

The reduction of the era of *Yao's* reign 300 years lower, by the last Missionaries, was designed, most probably, to reconcile the Chinese with the curtailed Jewish Chronology in Europe; or with the Chronology of *Petavius*, founded thereon, and established in the Church of Rome: for thus, the reduced birth of *Abraham*, B.C. 1831, would differ only 19 years from the vulgar Jewish date, B.C. 1812; and the mission of *Moses*, B.C. 1388, would differ 36 years from the vulgar Jewish date, B.C. 1352; and near a century more, from the dates of *Petavius*.

The boasted eclipse of the Sun, in the reign of the fourth Emperor of the first dynasty, founded by *Yao*, *Chong-kang*, upon which the advocates of the early *scientific* attainments of the *Chinese* lay so great a stress; and among the rest, the over-fanciful *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 424, is thus recorded in the *Chou King*:

“On the first day of the moon, in the reign of *Chong Kang*, and at the autumnal equinox, there was an eclipse of the sun at eight o'clock in the morning, in the constellation *Fang*, (which belongs to the forehead of *Scorpio*) and *Hi* and *Ho*, (who presided in the tribunal of Astronomy) pretended they knew nothing at all of it. They were plunged in wine and debauchery, paying no regard to ancient customs, and entirely forgetful of their duty:” which was to observe and record this eclipse in the Calendar. And for this neglect they were put to death.

This account is so vague, that nothing certain can be collected from it. *Ko*, a learned Chinese writer, in a work recently published on the Chinese Antiquities, has remarked, that “neither the date of the year, nor its quantity, are mentioned.” Accordingly, Astronomers have differed widely in regard to the year in which it happened: it has been referred to the several years, B.C. 2885, 2159, 2155, 2137, 2007, and 1948.

Jackson has pitched on the third year, B.C. 2155; in which, says he, “Father *Gaubil* found this Eclipse to have happened on the eleventh day of October, in the sign and at the hour set down in the *Chinese Annals*: but that, however, it was so small, as not to be quite *one digit* in quantity at *Pekin*, just after sun rising; and by consequence, lasted not very many minutes in

China. *This (says he) is a very remarkable attestation to the truth of the ancient Chinese Annals.* P. 425.

In the same breath, however, *Jackson* remarks, and naturally enough, “But then, if the Eclipse was really *so small and so short*, it is not to be wondered that the two Astronomers, *Hi* and *Ho*, should not have observed it: nor could any others hardly be supposed to have seen it.”

Rejecting, therefore, this Eclipse, which “*Whiston* found to have been over in *China*, above an hour *before* sun-rising;” and therefore absolutely invisible to *Hi*, *Ho*, or any one else; *Jackson* stumbles on the next, B.C. 2137, Oct. 22, about three digits, seen at *Pekin*, the middle of which was about sun-set, or half an hour after five in the afternoon, according to *Whiston's* calculation. And “this,” *Jackson* pronounces, “is *probably*, if not *certainly*, the true Eclipse mentioned in the Chinese Annals of *Xu-king*.” P. 426.—Though it violates all the conditions!—At all events, *Jackson* was predetermined to have an Eclipse, right or wrong. And on this infallible Eclipse, he proceeds to rectify the whole Chinese Chronology! P. 427, &c.

The fact seems to be, that the Eclipse, (if there was any such) was interpolated in the Annals long after, to enhance the antiquity of the nation.

The same will hold of another boasted astronomical calculation, found also in the same Annals; that “*Tchien-hio* knew by calculation, that in one of the years of his reign, there would be a conjunction of the planets, observable in the constellation *Che*, (nearly corresponding to *Pisces*:) in consequence of which, he chose that year to be the first in his Calendar, and made it commence at the new moon of the Vernal Equinox.” *Playfair*, p. 78.

But *Gaubil* informs us, that the most credible *Chinese* historians consider this conjunction as fictitious, and omit it in their works: while the *European* Astronomers have wearied themselves to find it out, in the years B.C. 2513, 2461, 2449, 2012.

But the fullest refutation of these supposed early astronomical calculations in *China*, is furnished by the acknowledged time when *Eclipses* began to be regularly recorded in their Annals; when they began to calculate Eclipses. In the year B.C. 776, which was the beginning of the Olympic Era, an Eclipse of the Sun, in the 6th year of *Yeou-rang*, is noticed in their histories; which, according to *Couplet's* calculation, happened about 11 o'clock in the morning of Sept. 6; and was about 4 digits.

Another, in the 51st year of *Ping-vang*, as computed backward by *Gaubil*, happened B.C. 720, Feb. 22, about 10 in the morning, and was about 8 digits.

It is remarkable, that at the ensuing full moon, after this solar Eclipse, observed in *China*, happened that Eclipse of the moon, recorded by the *Chaldeans*, in the second year of *Mardok Em-pad*, N.E. 28, in the same year, B.C. 720. These two Eclipses mutually verify each other. *Jackson*, Vol. ii. p. 480.

It was not till the middle of the fifth century before Christ, that *Comets* began to be noticed in the history of *Sema-kouang*, and that very imperfectly, for several centuries after.

Is it to be imagined then, that they were able to compute an eclipse of the sun, and the conjunction of five planets, in times of such remote antiquity as pretended? Or if they were, how is the omission of all the intermediate Eclipses, in so long an interval, to be accounted for*?"

THE PRIMITIVE SPHERE.

Astronomy seems to have been cultivated in the earliest times, on account of its great and various utility. To discover the courses, or revolutions, of the sun and moon, which were originally "ordained for *signs* and for *seasons*, and for *days* and for *years*," was necessary for an accurate knowledge of these several measures of time and of the vicissitude of seasons; so important in *History*, *Agriculture*, *Navigation*, and the due celebration of stated *religious* festivals.

The fixed stars therefore first noticed with attention, were probably those which lay nearest to the sun and moon in their paths through the heavens; because, by observation of their relative positions and distances from such stars, the length of the *Month* and of the *Year* could only be determined. Hence, the first part of the Primitive Sphere that was framed, was naturally the *Zodiac*.

The earliest classification of the *zodiacal* stars, was probably into distinct groups or clusters, formed by connecting lines: such as were found on the most ancient Planispheres, among the *Chinese*; according to *Goguet*, Vol. ii. p. 403. And the *names* assigned to them, were probably at first significant only of their

* The cycle of *sixty* years, employed certainly at an early period by the *Chinese*, on which *Jackson* lays much stress, was entirely of a civil nature, like the *Roman Indiction*, and had no relation to Astronomy.

qualities. Thus, the book of *Job*, the oldest composition extant probably in the whole world ; since *Job* himself, who seems to have the best claim to it, was contemporary with *Nahor*, *Abraham's* grandfather, represents the cardinal constellations of spring and autumn, in his time, by *Chimah*, signifying "charming," corresponding to *Taurus* ; and *Chesil*, "chilled," corresponding to *Scorpio* ; and the cardinal constellations of winter and summer, by *Aish*, signifying "a group," or "assemblage," expressive of *Ursa Major* ; and *Mazaroth*, "raging," or "furious," expressive of *Canis*, in the sultry "dog days." As will be proved in the adjustment of *Job's* Chronology.

Of the time when the *animal* constellations, (*Zωδία*, whence the *Zodiac* derived its name,) were first introduced, there are no traces preserved in ancient history. They probably were the invention of the *Chaldeans*, to whom the Ancients in general attribute the invention of Astronomy ; *Herodotus*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, &c. And not later, it should seem, than the time of *Nimrod's* death, when that "mighty hunter before the Lord" was supposed to be translated to the constellation *Orion*, with his hounds, *Sirius* and *Canicula* ; and the bear, his principal game among the wild beasts, into *Ursa Major* ; according to *Homer*. See the account of *Nimrod*, in the *Assyrian Chronology*.

It is the concurrent opinion of the most eminent Antiquaries, *La Pluche*, *Bryant*, *Sir William Jones*, *Maurice*, *Faber*, *Kett*, *Barret*, &c. that the Primitive Sphere was framed by *Noah's* posterity before the Dispersion ; and that from *Chaldea*, it was propagated to *India*, *Egypt*, and *Greece*. And indeed the general likeness that prevails among the *Zodiacal* constellations in all these countries, both in number and figures, seems strongly to warrant their descent from some common original or prototype.

In the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 292, *Sir William Jones* has given the twelve constellations of an ancient *Indian Zodiac*, which are explained in Sanscrit verse, of which he has given the following verbal translation :

"The *Ram*, *Bull*, *Crab*, *Lion*, and *Scorpion*, have the figures of these five animals respectively ; the *Pair*, are a *Damsel* playing on a *Vina*, (or Indian Guittar), and a *Youth* wielding a mace ; the *Virgin* stands on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp, in the other, an ear of rice corn ; the *Balance* is held by a weigher, with a weight in one hand ; the *Bow* by an archer, whose hinder parts are like those of a horse ; the *Sea Monster*

has the face of an antelope ; the *Ewer* is a water-pot, borne on the shoulder of a man, who empties it ; the *Fishes* are two, with their heads turned to each others tails : and all these are supposed to be in such places as suit their several natures."

The only difference between this and the *Grecian* Zodiac, is in two of the constellations ; the *Damsel* and *Youth*, instead of the twins, *Castor* and *Pollux* ; and the *Sea Monster*, instead of *Capricorn* ; and these probably were the original constellations, which the *Greeks* metamorphosed, according to their usage, not knowing the meaning of these *astronomical* symbols.

The whole *Zodiac* might perhaps have been originally framed by *Noah's* posterity, to record the great leading events in the history of mankind, from the Creation to the Deluge. It is truly remarkable, that four of the constellations, the *Fishes*, *Ram*, *Bull*, and Human *Pair*, exactly express the progress of animal creation, in the first chapter of *Genesis*, ascending from the lowest species, *fish*, to the last and noblest, *Adam* and *Eve* ; while the two last, the *Sea Monster* and *Ewer*, bear an obvious analogy to the *Deluge*, in the seventh chapter. The six remaining signs may possibly apply to the intermediate events which brought on the Deluge ; but these, being beyond my skill to decypher, I leave to professed Antiquaries.

II. ELEMENTS

OF

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

TEMPUS EDAX RERUM, TUQUE INVIDIOSA VETUSTAS,
OMNIA DESTRUITIS!————

OVID.

O TIME, *consumer of things, and envious* ANTIQUITY,
Ye all destroy!

II. ELEMENTS

OF

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION I.

PRESENT STATE OF HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

ART. I. REVIEW OF EPOCHS, ERAS, AND PERIODS.

HISTORY in general may not improperly be compared to a rich and copious repository, in which are stored, for the example and benefit of posterity, all the various “knowledge of things” and events, of customs and manners, virtues and vices, arts and sciences, which have contributed to the rise and fall of states, to the happiness and misery of mankind, individually and collectively*. But all these precious materials, unless they be arranged in order, and digested according to the times, are no better than a rude and confused mass. Without *Chronology*, History would lose its most valuable characters of *truth* and *consistency*, and scarcely rise above the level of *romance*: for, as it is well observed by an ancient chronologer, *Tatian*:—

Παρ' οἷς ασυναρτητος εστιν ἡ των χρονων αναγραφη,
Παρα τουτοις ουδε τα της ιστοριας αληθευειν δυναται.

“With those to whom the computation of the times is unconnected, not even the facts of history can be verified.”

But *Chronology* itself ought to be correct and accurate:

* Hoc illud est præcipuè in *cognitione rerum* salubre ac frugiferum: *omnis te exempli documenta*, in illustri posita monumento, intueri; inde, *tibi tuæque reipublicæ* quod imitere capias; inde, *scædum inceptu, scædum exitu*, quod vites. *Livius in præfat.*

otherwise it will fail to discharge properly its important functions, as “the *eye*,” and even “the *soul of history* ;” it will propagate error, and render “confusion worse confounded ;” it will form strong holds and fastnesses of *scepticism* and *infidelity* : and some of the most specious weapons, the most mischievous shafts that have been levelled against the veracity and credibility of *Sacred History*, have been supplied from this quarter, to *Voltaire*, *Bailly*, and their associates ; and “those *misregulators of time, the Bible Chronologists*,” are subjects of the pointed ridicule of that witling, *Paine*.

And *what is the present state of Historical Chronology?*—This we may learn from a competent judge, the celebrated *Joseph Scaliger* ; thus complaining of the *variety, discordance, and imperfection of chronological systems* : In multis *judicium*, in quibusdam *diligentiam* requiro ; neque enim dum *verum* adepti sunt. Argumento fuerint, *omnium* quotquot de his rebus tractarunt *dissentiones* ; ut *inter tot millia chronologorum, vix inter duos de eadem re conveniat!*—Ab eorum lectione *incertior atque indoctior sum quam dudum* *.

To illustrate the observations and censures of this great *technical* chronologer, I shall first take a pretty extensive review of the surprising diversity of opinions that have prevailed among chronologers, respecting the leading *epochs, eras, and periods*, by reference to which all historical facts are usually regulated, and arranged in order of time. These are to CHRONOLOGY what the *Cardinal points, and prime meridians*, are to ASTRONOMY and GEOGRAPHY ; without which it would be impossible to delineate accurately on the celestial and terrestrial globes, the true places and relative positions of *stars, planets, and comets* ; of *countries, cities, mountains, and rivers* : but how carelessly these have been hitherto determined, where the greatest exactness and precision attainable are required, may appear from the variety of opinions respecting them.

In every system of Historical Chronology, sacred and profane, the two grand *eras*, of the *Creation of the World*, and of the *Nativity of Christ*, have been usually adopted as standards, by reference to which all subordinate epochs, eras, and periods, have been adjusted ; such as those of *the Deluge, the Exode of the Israelites from Egypt, the reign of Sesostris, the destruction*

* De *Emendatione Temporum*, lib. 1. sub initio, p. 2.

of *Troy*, the overthrow of *Nineveh*, the foundation of *Solomon's Temple*, the foundation of *Rome*, the era of the *Olympiads*, the eclipse of *Thales*, the time of *Cyrus*, &c. But how wide are their variations, may appear from the following lists :

1. *Epochs of the CREATION.*

		B. C.
<i>Alphonsus</i> , King of Castile, A.D. 1252	{	6984
		6484
<i>Onuphrius Panvinius</i>		6310
<i>Indian Chronology</i>	{	6204
		6174
<i>Babylonian Chronology</i>	6158	
<i>Chinese Chronology</i>	6157	
<i>Diogenes Laertius</i> , B.C. 222	6138	
<i>Egyptian Chronology</i>	6128	
<i>Diodorus Siculus</i> , B.C. 80.....	6081	
<i>Suidas</i> , A.D. 1090.....	6000	
<i>Sulpitius Severus</i> , A.D. 420.....	5469	
<i>Manetho</i> , B.C. 304	5877	
<i>Pezron</i>	5872	
<i>Lactantius</i> , A.D. 306	5801	
<i>Cary</i>	5708	
<i>Nicephorus</i> , A.D. 758	5700	
<i>Riccioli</i>	5634	
<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i> , A.D. 194.....	5624	
<i>Fasti Siculi</i>	5608	
<i>Vossius</i>	5598	
<i>Septuagint Computation</i>	5586	
<i>Septuagint Alexandrine</i> , used by <i>Constantinop. Abyssinian</i> , and <i>Russian Churches</i>	}	5508
<i>Persian Chronology</i>	5507	
<i>Cedrenus</i> , A.D. 1060.....	{	5506
		5493
<i>Maximus Martyr</i> , A.D. 196.....		5501
<i>Julius Africanus</i> , A.D. 218 }	}	5500
<i>Syncellus</i> , A.D. 792		
<i>Eutychius</i> , A.D. 937		
<i>Chronicle of Axum in Abyssinia</i>	5500	
<i>Q. Julius Hilarion</i>	5497	
<i>Demetrius</i> , B.C. 220	{	5487
		5444
<i>Eupolemus</i> , B.C. 174	5443	
<i>Jackson</i>		5426
	{	5555
<i>Josephus</i> , A.D. 94		5481
		5402
		4698

		B.C.
<i>Theophilus, B. of Antioch, A.D. 168</i>	}	<i>Gregory</i> 5626
		<i>Petavius</i> 5515
		<i>Kennicott</i> 5507
		<i>Abulfaragi</i> 5409
<i>Hales</i>		5411
<i>Indian Computation</i>	<i>Megasthenes</i>	5369
<i>Augustin, A.D. 354</i>	<i>Genebrard</i>	5351
<i>Talmudists</i> ..	<i>Petrus Alliaccens.</i>	5344
<i>Isidore, A.D. 412</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5336
<i>Albumazar, A.D. 540</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5328
<i>Rabanus Maurus, A.D. 778</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5296
<i>Septuagint Vatican</i>		5270
<i>Isidorus Hispalensis, A.D. 304</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	5210
<i>Paulus de Fossembrona</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5201
<i>Eusebius, A.D. 315</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	} 5200
<i>Martyrologium Romanum</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	
<i>Bede, A.D. 673</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	5199
<i>Irish Computation, Eochodius, &c.</i>	<i>O'Conor</i>	5199
<i>Orosius, A.D. 430</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5198
<i>Philo Judæus, A.D. 40</i> }	<i>Playfair</i>	5196
<i>Sigibertus, A.D. 1100</i> }		
<i>Epiphanius, A.D. 368</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	5049
<i>Justin Martyr, A.D. 140</i> }	<i>Playfair</i>	5000
<i>Metrodorus, B.C. 170</i> }		
<i>Ado, B. of Vienne, A.D. 860</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	4832
<i>Origen, A.D. 230</i>		4830
<i>Fresnoy</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4700
<i>Aurelius Cassiodorus, A.D. 463</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	4697
<i>Samaritan Computation</i>	<i>Scaliger</i>	4427
<i>Seder Olam Sutha</i>	<i>Ganz</i>	4359
<i>Odeaton Astrologus</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	4320
<i>Samaritan Text</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4305
<i>Hebrew Text</i> ..		4161
<i>Jewish Computation</i> ..	<i>Abulfaragi</i>	4220
<i>Marianus Scotus, A.D. 1080</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4192
<i>Jewish Computation</i> ..	<i>Riccioli</i>	4184
<i>Laurentius Codomannus</i>	}	<i>Uni. Hist.</i> 4141
		<i>Chevreau</i> 4140
<i>Nicholas Vignier</i>		4128
<i>Thomas Lidyat</i>		4103
<i>Ribera</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4095
<i>Genebrard</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4090
<i>Arnold de Pontac</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4088
<i>Chinese Jews</i>	<i>Brotier</i>	} 4079
<i>Michael Mæstlinus</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	
<i>Ricciolus</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	4062
<i>Maimonides</i> }	}	<i>Uni. Hist.</i> 4058

		B. C.
<i>Salianus</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	4053
<i>Labbæus</i>	<i>Chevreau</i>	4052
<i>Spondanus</i> }		4051
<i>Torniellus</i> }		
<i>Langius</i>	{ <i>Strauchius</i>	4041
	{ <i>Chevreau</i>	4040
<i>Pererius</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	4021
<i>Rheinhold</i>		4020
<i>Playfair</i>		} 4008
<i>Walker</i>		
<i>Kennedy, Bedford, Ferguson</i>		4007
<i>Capellus</i>		4005
<i>Usher, Lloyd, Simpson, Spanheim, Calmet, Le Chais, Blair, &c.</i> } and <i>English Bible</i>		4004
<i>Hevelius</i> }		} 4000
<i>Marsham</i> }		
<i>Kepler</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3993
<i>Petavius</i>		3984
<i>Bibliander</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3980
<i>Krentzheim</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3971
<i>Bucholtzer, Matthias</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	} 3970
<i>Cluverius, Bozhornius, Jansenius</i>	<i>Chevreau</i>	
<i>Bullinger</i>		3969
<i>Bunting, Bardius</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3967
<i>Longomontanus</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3966
<i>Melancthon</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3964
<i>Reynoldus</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3962
<i>Luther</i>		3961
<i>Lightfoot</i>		3960
<i>Salmeron, Picus Mirandula</i>	<i>Chevreau</i>	3959
<i>Lamberg</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	3958
<i>Herwart</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3955
<i>Irish Computation, Coemhain, &c.</i>	<i>O'Conor</i>	3952
<i>Cornelius a Lapide</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3951
<i>Scaliger, Isaacson</i>		3950
<i>Strauchius</i>		3949
<i>Johannes Micrelius</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3948
<i>Helvicus</i>		3947
<i>John Carrion</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3944
<i>Jerom, A.D. 392</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3941
<i>Gerard Mercator, Beroaldus</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3928
<i>James Gordon</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3880
<i>Arias Montanus</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3849
<i>Helvigius</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3836
<i>Some Talmudists</i>	<i>Uni. Hist.</i>	3784
<i>David Ganz</i>		3761
<i>Vulgar Jewish Computation</i>	<i>Strauchius</i>	3760
<i>Rabbi Gersom</i>	<i>Playfair</i>	3754

		B. C.
<i>Seder Olam Rabba</i> , or "Great Chronicle of the World," A.D. 130.....	}	Ganz 3751
Rabbi <i>Habsom</i>		Uni. Hist. 3740
Rabbi <i>Nosen</i>		Uni. Hist. 3734
Rabbi <i>Hillel</i> , A.D. 358.....		3700
Rabbi <i>Zacuth</i>		Uni. Hist. 3671
Rabbi <i>Lipman</i>		Uni. Hist. 3616

Here are upwards of 120 different opinions, and the list might be swelled to 300; as we are told by *Kennedy*, in his *Chronology*, p. 350. This specimen, however, is abundantly sufficient to shew the disgraceful discordance of chronologers, even in this prime era: the extremes differing from each other, not by *years*, nor by *centuries*, but even by *chiliads*; the first exceeding the last no less than 3268 years!

II. *Epochs of the NATIVITY.*

		U. C. B. C.
<i>Tillemont, Mann, Priestly</i>		747 7
<i>Kepler, Capellus, Dodwell, Pagi</i>		748 6
<i>Chrysostom, Petavius, Prideaux, Playfair, Hales</i>		749 5
<i>Sulpitius Severus, Usher</i>		750 4
<i>Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alex. Eusebius, Syncellus, Baronius,</i> <i>Calvisius, Vossius</i>	}	751 3
<i>Epiphanius, Jerom, Orosius, Bede, Salian, Sigonius, Scaliger</i>		752 2
<i>Chronicon Alexand. Dionysius, Luther, Labbæus</i>		753 1
		A. D.
<i>Herwart</i>		754 1
<i>Paul of Middleburgh</i>		755 2
<i>Lydiat</i>		756 3

Here are ten different years, (reckoned by the *era of the foundation of Rome*, and accommodated to the *vulgar Christian era*) which have been respectively adopted by so many celebrated chronologers, ancient and modern. Considering the comparative recency of OUR LORD'S *nativity*, this variety of opinions may naturally appear more extraordinary and surprising than the preceding, which relate to so remote and obscure an event as the *creation of the world*.

The *vulgar Christian era*, commencing with the Julian year, January 1, U.C. 754, according to the *Varronian* computation, though now acknowledged to be incorrect, if referred to the nativity of Christ, (which its inventor, *Dionysius*, mistakenly placed in the preceding year, U.C. 753) is still to be retained as

a long established era, commencing from a known fixed epoch, both forwards and backwards, and furnishing the most convenient standard of comparison for all others.

Vulgaris illa quam tenemus era conservanda est, quæ præteritarum rerum memoriam usu jam inveterata continet; et undecunq̄ue ducatur nihil ad veritatis fidem interest. Petavius, tom. 2. p. 215.

III. Epochs of the DELUGE.

	B.C.		B.C.
<i>Septuagint Version</i>	3246	<i>Playfair</i>	2352
<i>Jackson</i>	3170	<i>Usher, and English Bible</i>	2348
<i>Hales</i>	3155	<i>Marsham</i>	2344
<i>Josephus</i>	3146	<i>Petavius</i> ..	2329
<i>Persian Computation</i>	3103	<i>Irish Computation, Coemhaim,</i>	
<i>Cali yuga, or Hindu Computa-</i>		&c.	2296
<i>tion</i>	3102	<i>Strauchius</i>	2293
<i>Samaritan Text</i>	2998	<i>Hebrew Text</i>	2288
<i>Howard</i>	2698	<i>Vulgar Jewish Computation</i> ..	2104

Of these several opinions, selected from a great number, the extremes differ no less than 1142 years. Indeed the variations of this important era, whence the history of the present race of mankind properly begins, are more perplexing and mischievous than those of the Creation itself.

Usher's date, attached to our English Bible, has been relinquished by the ablest chronologers of the present time, from its inconceivableness with the rise of the primitive empires, the *Assyrian, Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese*; all suggesting earlier dates of the Deluge. Hence, the authors of that great and elaborate work, the *Ancient Universal History*, adopted, in preference thereto, the date of the Deluge furnished by the *Samaritan Hebrew text*; and their example has been followed by Captain *Wilford*, in his *Remarks on the Hindu Chronology*, published in the *Asiatic Researches*.

IV. Epochs of the Exode of the ISRAELITES from Egypt.

	B.C.		B.C.
<i>Josephus, Hales</i>	1648	<i>Scaliger, Strauchius</i>	1497
<i>Jackson</i>	1593	<i>Kennedy</i>	1495
<i>Playfair</i>	1555	<i>Usher, and English Bible</i>	1491
<i>Petavius</i>	1531	<i>Helvicus, Marsham</i>	1488
<i>Irish Computation, Coemhaim,</i>		<i>Vulgar Jewish Chronology</i>	1312
&c.	1502		

The gradual enlargement of this date from the lowest, but earliest, the *Jewish*, to the highest, is remarkable. It shews that succeeding chronologers found the dates of their predecessors insufficient to accord with the range of ancient history.

V. Epochs of the Reign of SESOSTRIS.

	B.C.		B.C.
<i>Playfair</i>	1555	<i>Jackson</i>	1338
<i>Usher</i>	1489	<i>Hales</i>	1308
<i>Eusebius</i>	1487	<i>Newton</i>	974
<i>Larcher</i>	1356	<i>Marsham</i>	967

Here the extremes differ from each other nearly 600 years!

VI. Epochs of the Destruction of TROY.

	B.C.
Life of <i>Homer</i> , <i>Dodwell</i> , <i>Whiston</i> , <i>Freret</i> , <i>Bouhier</i> , <i>Larcher</i>	1270
<i>Dicæarchus</i> , B.C. 310	1212
<i>Parian Chronicle</i> , B.C. 264	{ 1209
	{ 1184
<i>Timæus Siculus</i> , B.C. 270	1193
<i>Democritus</i> , B.C. 362; <i>Vell. Paterculus</i> , A.D. 31.	1191
<i>Apollodorus</i> , B.C. 115; <i>Dionys. Halicarnass.</i> B.C. 5; <i>Usher</i> , <i>Simpson</i> , <i>Strauchius</i> , <i>Playfair</i>	{ 1184
<i>Eratosthenes</i> , B.C. 194; <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> , B.C. 80; <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Lactantius</i> , <i>Syncellus</i> , <i>Scaliger</i> , <i>Hales</i>	{ 1183
<i>Sosibius</i>	1171
<i>Newton</i>	904

Here the difference of the extremes is 366 years.

VII. Periods from the Exode of the ISRAELITES to the Foundation of SOLOMON'S Temple.

	Y.		Y.
<i>Julius Africanus</i>	741	<i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i>	573
<i>Syncellus</i>	659	<i>Playfair</i>	540
<i>Paschal Chronicle</i>	632	<i>Petavius</i>	519
<i>Josephus</i> , <i>Hales</i>	*621	<i>Kennedy</i>	512
<i>Theophilus</i>	612	<i>Strauchius</i> , <i>Marsham</i> , <i>Houbigant</i> , and <i>Hebrew Text</i>	480
<i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Præp. Evangel.</i>	600	<i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Chronicon.</i> }	479
<i>Vossius</i>	591	<i>Usher</i> , <i>Lang.</i> }	
<i>Sulpitius Severus</i>	588		
<i>Jackson</i>	579		

* This is the correct date of *Josephus*: there are two spurious dates in his present text, 612, and 592, years.

Here the extremes differ 262 years. And if to this we add the uncertainty attached to the epoch of the Exode, whence this period has been computed, the determination of the true time has been hitherto, as *Houbigant* justly states, *Quæstio chronologica omnium difficillima*.

VIII. *Epochs of the Foundation of ROME.*

	B.C.
<i>Varro</i> , Proclamations of the Emperors, <i>Augustus</i> , <i>Claudius</i> , &c.	
The Historians, <i>Tacitus</i> , <i>Plutarch</i> , <i>Dion</i> , <i>Aulus Gellius</i> , <i>Censorinus</i> , <i>Onuphrius</i> , <i>Baronius</i> , &c. The Chronologers, <i>Petavius</i> , <i>Beveridge</i> , <i>Strauchius</i> , <i>Plagfair</i> , &c. <i>Hales</i>	753
<i>Cato</i> , <i>Dionys</i> . <i>Halicarnass</i> . <i>Solinus</i> , <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Fasti Consulares</i> of <i>Ainsworth's</i> Dict.	752
N.B. <i>Livy</i> , <i>Cicero</i> , <i>Pliny</i> , and <i>Velleius Paterculus</i> , fluctuate between the <i>Varronian</i> and <i>Catonian</i> computations.	
<i>Polybius</i>	751
<i>Fabius Pictor</i> , <i>Diodorus Siculus</i>	747
<i>L. Cincius</i>	728
<i>Newton</i>	627

Here the difference of the extremes is 126 years.

IX. *Epochs of the Overthrow of NINEVEH.*

	B.C.		B.C.
<i>Petavius</i>	{	896 <i>Prideaux</i>	612
		597 <i>Newton</i>	609
<i>Strauchius</i>		875 <i>Eusebius</i> , <i>Blair</i> , <i>Jackson</i> , <i>Play-</i>	606
<i>Ctesias</i>		<i>fair</i> , <i>Hales</i>	
<i>Josephus</i>		710 <i>Marsham</i> , <i>Universal History</i> ..	605
<i>Usher</i>	{	748 <i>Helvicus</i>	602
		626 <i>Vignoles</i>	596

Here the extremes differ 300 years. *Petavius* and *Usher*, misled by *Ctesias*, have supposed a double capture of *Nineveh*, the first by *Arbaces*, the second by *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadonosor*, when it was finally destroyed: differing widely from each other, and from the truth.

X. ECLIPSES supposed to have been that of THALES.

The solar eclipse foretold by *Thales*, which put an end to a battle between the *Medes* and *Lydians*, and is of the greatest importance in adjusting the *Median*, *Lydian*, and *Assyrian* chronology, has had the following claimants:

	B.C
<i>Howes</i>	March 5, 618
<i>Calvisius</i>	July 30, 607
<i>Bayer, Mayer, Costard, Stukely, Lalande, Pingré,</i> } <i>Montucla, Kennedy, Playfair, Hales</i>	May 17, 603
<i>Usher</i>	Sept. 19, 601
<i>Petavius, Marsham, Hardouin, Bouhier, Larcher</i>	July.. 9, 597
<i>Pliny, Scaliger, Strauchius, Riccioli, Newton, Ferguson,</i> } <i>Vignoles, Jackson</i>	May, 28, 585
<i>Scaliger, from Eudemus</i>	Oct... 1, 583

Here the extreme eclipses differ 35 years.

Such is the wide discordance that prevails among the learned respecting the principal *epochs* and *periods* of ancient chronology, sacred and profane.



ART. II. REVIEW OF THE LEADING SYSTEMS OF CHRONOLOGY.

IN this second article, I shall briefly examine and compare the general outline of each system.

I. *Chronology of the JEWS.*

The vulgar *Jewish Chronology* is the grand basis upon which the systems of *Scaliger, Petavius, Usher,* &c. and their followers, have been constructed, though not generally acknowledged by themselves.

What a variety of systems have prevailed among the *Jews* of different countries, and at different times, may appear from the foregoing *dates of the Creation*.

1. The *Seder Olam Sutha*, or “Small Chronicle of the World,” published about A.D. 1121, dates the Creation, B.C. 4359. See *David Ganz’s Chronology*, p. 135.

2. The *Eastern Jews*, B.C. 4220. See *Abulfaragi*, Hist. Dynast. p. 72.

3. The *Western Jews*, B.C. 4184, according to *Riccioli*.

4. The *Chinese Jews*, B.C. 4079. See a curious account of a *Jewish* colony settled in *China*, since A.D. 73, in the notes of *Brotier’s* excellent edition of *Tacitus*, Tom. III. p. 567.

5. The *Vulgar Jewish Era*, B.C. 3760. See *Ganz*, p. 177.

6. *Seder Olam Rabba*, or “the great Chronicle of the World,” B.C. 3751. This was the first curtailed system of Jewish chronology, fabricated by Rabbi *Josi*, under the auspices of Rabbi *Akiba*, the abettor of the rebel-impator *Barchochab*, A.D. 130, in the reign of *Adrian*. See *Ganz*, pref. p. 1. and p. 106.

7. Rabbi *Gersom*, B.C. 3754.

8. Rabbi *Habsom*, B.C. 3740.

9. Rabbi *Nosen*, B.C. 3734.

10. Rabbi *Hillel*, B.C. 3700. He was the author of their ingenious *Technical Chronology*, about A.D. 358.

11. Rabbi *Zacuth*, B.C. 3671.

12. Rabbi *Lipman*, B.C. 3616. He published a work called *Nizachon*, or “a Victory over Christianity,” in 1559. This notable champion of Judaism, outstripping all his predecessors in anachronisms and absurdity, (in which the Jewish chronologists abound) fixes the time of Christ’s birth in a new and unheard-of way.

He contends, that *Jesus of Nazareth* was contemporary with Rabbi *Joshua*, son of *Perechiah*, and that he was born in the fourth year of King *Jannæus*, or *Alexander*, which he dates in the year of the creation, 3615. And to set aside the Jewish tradition, that *Jesus* was born in the days of *Helen*, Queen of *Adiabene*, and of *Herod* the Great, he absurdly supposes that *Helen*, who lived about the year of the Creation 3803, according to *Ganz*, was the wife of the aforesaid *Jannæus*, who lived about 188 years earlier! See *Ganz’s Chronology*, p. 270, 271.

The following outline of their vulgar system is collected from *Ganz*.

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Adam</i> created	1656	.. 1	.... 3760
<i>Deluge</i>	132	.. 1656	.... 2104
<i>Nimrod</i> reigns	3	} 292	1788 1972
<i>Babel</i> built	157		.. 1791	.... 1969
<i>Abraham</i> born	48	.. 1948	.... 1812
Confusion of tongues	22	} 75	1996 1764
<i>Abraham</i> goes to <i>Charran</i>	5		.. 2018	.... 1742
————— <i>Canaan</i>	25	.. 2023	.... 1737
<i>Isaac</i> born	60	} 425	.. 2048 1712
<i>Jacob</i> born	87		2108 1652
<i>Levi</i> born.....	43		.. 2195 1565
Descent to <i>Egypt</i>	210		.. 2238 1522
Exode from <i>Egypt</i>	480	.. 2448	.... 1312
Temple founded	410	.. 2928	.... 832

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
Temple burnt	70	3338	422
Second Temple built	40	3408	352
Era of Contracts	312	3448	312
	<hr/>		
	3760	3760	

The computation of *Ganz*, and of the Jewish chronologers in general, are considerably embarrassed, by their absurd fashion of dropping the chiliads; thus the epoch of the *Deluge* is written contractedly 656, instead of A.M. 1656; *Abraham's* migration to *Charran*, 18, instead of A.M. 2018; the destruction of the *Temple* 338, instead of A.M. 3338; the era of *Contracts*, 448, instead of A.M. 3448, &c.; the chiliads being registered only at the head of each millennium. For ease of comparison, I have reduced the years of the Jewish era of the world, to the vulgar Christian era, in the third column.

The imperfection of the *Jewish Chronology*, may appear from the following considerations:

1. The erection of the powerful empire of *Nimrod*, only 132 years after the *Deluge*, is at variance with the course of nature in the population of the earth, by *Noah's* sons; when on account of the greater longevity of mankind, the interval of generations, or of the birth of the father before the birth of the son, was proportionably longer. But even at the shortest standard of generations, corresponding to the most reduced period of human life, the earth could not have been sufficiently peopled to account for the extensive conquests attributed to *Nimrod* or *Ninus*, by sacred and profane history: nor can it be supposed that *Noah* and his sons would have permitted such a daring rebellion against *patriarchal* government during their life-time. Besides, *Nimrod* himself could scarcely be born so early, if according to the common interpretation of Gen. x. 8, he was the third in descent from *Noah*, the grandson of *Ham*, and the youngest of the sons of *Cush*; and not at all, if he was, most probably, the fifth in descent, and the contemporary of *Peleg*, by the line of *Shem*, in whose days the division or colonization of the earth took place. Gen. x. 25.

2. By a glaring anachronism, *Abraham*, the tenth in descent from *Shem*, is supposed to be born 48 years before the *confusion of tongues!* and the time assigned for his birth, only 292 years after the *Deluge*, is utterly irreconcilable with the state of the

world in his days, according to the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history; for, as judiciously remarked by Sir *Walter Raleigh* long since, “In this patriarch’s time all the then parts of the world were peopled; all nations and countries had their kings: *Egypt* had many magnificent cities, and so had *Palestine*, and all the bordering countries; yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as *India*: and these, not built with sticks, but of hewn stone and ramparts; which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men have supposed.”—“If [then] we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abraham’s* time, yea, before his birth, we shall find that it were very ill done, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over deeply between the flood and *Abraham*: because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed.” History, p. 228, 277. An irrational chronology is indeed the parent of *Scepticism* and *Infidelity*.

3. The period of 480 years, from the Exode to the foundation of *Solomon’s* Temple, is also too short, and is plainly repugnant to the tenor of Scripture, as will appear from the detail of the particulars, collected from *Ganz*.

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
Exode, under <i>Moses</i>	41	2448	1312
<i>Joshua</i>	7	2489	1271
Conquest of <i>Canaan</i>	20	2496	1264
<i>Othniel</i>	} 40	2516	1244
I. Servit. <i>Mesopotam</i> .. 8			
<i>Ehud</i>	} 80	2556	1204
II. Servit. <i>Moab</i> 18			
<i>Shamgar</i>			
<i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i>	} 40	2636	1124
III. Servit. <i>Canaan</i> 20			
<i>Gideon</i>	} 40	2676	1084
IV. Servit. <i>Midian</i> 7			
<i>Abimelech</i>	3	2716	1044
<i>Thola</i>	23	2719	1041
<i>Jair</i>	22	2742	1018
V. Servit. <i>Ammon</i>	17	2764	996
<i>Jephtha</i>	6	2781	979
<i>Ibzan</i>	6	2787	973
<i>Elon</i>	10	2793	967
<i>Abdon</i>	8	2803	957
<i>Sampson</i>	20	2811	949
<i>Eli</i>	40	2831	929
<i>Samuel</i>	11	2871	889

	Y.	A. M.	B. C.
<i>Saul</i> (40)	2	2882	878
<i>David</i>	40	2884	876
<i>Solomon</i>	4	2924	836
Temple founded	480	2928	832

The Jewish chronologers were hard set to make out this detail, as *Ganz* honestly confesses. For,

1. By a curious invention, they included the first four servitudes in the years of the Judges who put an end to them, contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, representing their administrations not as synchronizing with, but as succeeding the servitudes. Judges ii. 18.

2. They were forced to allow the fifth servitude distinct from the administration of *Jephtha*, because it was too long to be included therein, but they curtailed a year from the Scripture account, 18 years; and they curtailed a year more from *Ibzan's* administration.

3. They sunk entirely the sixth servitude to the *Philistines*, of 40 years, because it was too long to be contained in *Sampson's* administration. And to crown all,

4. They reduced *Saul's* reign of 40 years (Acts xiii. 21.) to two years only! The dishonesty of the whole fabrication could be equalled only by its absurdity; furnishing internal evidence, that the period of 480 years is itself a forgery, foisted into the Hebrew text of 1 Kings vi. 1.

5. The same dishonest management appears in the detail of the next period of 410 years, from the foundation to the destruction of the temple.

	Y.	A. M.	B. C.
Temple founded by <i>Solomon</i>	36	2928	832
<i>Rehoboam</i>	17	2964	796
<i>Abiah</i> .. (3)	2	2981	779
<i>Asa</i>	41	2983	777
<i>Jehosophat</i> .. (25)	23	3024	736
<i>Jehoram</i>	8	3047	713
<i>Ahaziah</i>	1	3055	705
<i>Q. Athaliah</i> .. (6)	5	3056	704
<i>Jehoash</i> .. (40)	39	3061	699
<i>Amaziah</i> .. (29)	15	3100	660
<i>Uzziah, or Azariah</i>	52	3115	645
<i>Jotham</i>	16	3167	593
<i>Ahaz</i>	16	3183	577

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Hezekiah</i>	29	3199	561
<i>Manasseh</i>	55	3228	532
<i>Amon</i>	2	3283	477
<i>Josiah</i>	31	3285	475
<i>Jehoahaz</i>			
<i>Jehoiakim</i>	11	3316	444
<i>Jehoiachin</i>			
<i>Zedekiah</i>	11	3327	433
Temple destroyed	410	3338	422

Here the Jewish Chronology has sunk or suppressed 14 years of the reign of *Amaziah*, two years of *Jehosophat*, and one year each of *Jehoash* and *Amaziah*, in all 19 years complete, or 20 years current; and this by the confession of their most learned Rabbis, *Abraham ben David*, *Kimchi*, *Levi ben Gerson*, *Isaac*, and the author of *Meor Enaim*. But what says *Ganz* to their evidence?

“It was not the intention of these learned interpreters to stir up a controversy concerning the number of the years of the creation which we use at this day; for we do not find any of them expressing the slightest intention of increasing or diminishing the usual computation of the years of the creation.”——“Know, therefore, learned reader, that although the words of our Rabbis, *Kimchi*, &c. and their followers, recommending the addition of 15 or 20 years to our tables of the years of the creation, seem preferable to the words of *Rasi*, who rejected them, yet we will not recede from the usage of our forefathers; since ‘the law was left unto us and to our children.’ Hence we are necessitated to abide by the computation of *Rasi*, of blessed memory, and to suppose that *Uzziah* reigned 15 years in the life-time of his father.” P. 37, 38.

This is a striking and melancholy instance of the force of *prejudice*, even on cultivated minds. And not a few Christian Divines, *Protestant* as well as *Romish*, will, perhaps, at first sight, be disposed to consider the present work as a *mischievous innovation* in Chronology; and be tempted to cry out with the *Jew*——“We will not recede from the usage of our forefathers.” See *Kennedy’s Chronology*, p. 88.

6. The last supposed period of 40 years, from the finishing of the second temple, in the sixth of *Darius Hystaspes*, B.C. 516, to the *era of contracts*, B.C. 312, was in reality an interval of no

less than 204 years. This is one of the most flagrant violations of chronological truth ever attempted even by the *Jews* themselves. The enormous defalcation of 164 years is passed over in total silence by *Ganz*, though it was impossible that he could have overlooked it. But he quieted his conscience, for this gross imposition upon his readers, by the *orthodoxy* of his system, and its rigid conformity to the *Seder Olam Rabba*, that Jewish standard of *chronological* faith. As he scrupled not to mutilate the *Sacred Chronicles* themselves, so he did not hesitate to curtail the heretical canon of *Ptolomy*.

I have been the more careful in noticing the errors of the *Jewish Chronology*, because it is, in fact, the ground-work of the ensuing systems of *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Usher*, &c. as observed before, which are little more than corrections thereof, and because several of the preceding observations are equally applicable to their systems.

II. IRISH Chronology.

The Irish *Annalists* and *Bards* paid considerable attention to Chronology. Some of them. *Eochodius*, who flourished in the ninth century, and his followers, the *four Masters*, &c. adopted the Greek computation of the Septuagint Version, and with *Bede*, and the British Church, reckoned 5199 years from the creation to the Christian Era. But others, *Gildas Coemhain*, *Tigerach*, *Flan*, &c. adhered to the shorter Chronology of the Hebrew Masorete text. The system of the latter is contained in the curious and comprehensive Irish poem of *Gildas Coemhain*, containing the annals of the world from the creation to his own time: and he has given a concise and masterly sketch of his system, in the preface of his poem; which has been lately published by that learned Irish scholar, Dr. *O'Conor*, from two ancient Irish MSS. the *Bodleian*, upwards of 500 years old, and another, in the *Stowe Library*, formerly belonging to *O'Flaherty*, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Vol. I. proleg. ii. p. 31, &c. accompanied with a literal Latin translation, and Notes, p. 35, &c.

Gildas Coemhain cecinit.

Annales annalium omnium—*ab initio ritæ primææ*,
Annunciabunt sequentia hæc—*usque ad tempora ultima.*

1656. *Sex anni et 50, res perspicua—mille supra 600 annos, Numero, de ætate primarum generationum—ad diluuium, ab initio mundi.*
292. *Ducenti duo nonaginta* fuere—a diluuiio *ad Abrahamum* [natum] :
942. Ab Abrahamo, *nongenti*, noli omittere 42—usque *David* [regem].
473. A *David, ad captiuitatem*, non falsa (cano)—73 *quadringenti* :
589. A captiuitate ad *Christum*, mansuetum hostiam—89 *quingenti*.
3952. *Ter mille anni*, non falsa (cano)—*duo anni quinquaginta nongenti*
Ad nativitatem filii Mariæ, supra maculam. —————
 ————— *Annales a principio initii mundi*
1072. *Duo septuaginta nitidi* (perfecti ad unguem) sunt supra
 ——— *mille anni*
 A nato *Christo*, ad annum hunc, quo—vii lunæ incepit *Januarius*.
5024. *Viginti quatuor* vere mihi,—et *quinque mille* anni,
 Usque ad annum hunc, famæ inclytæ—a redacto mundo in formam pulchram.

These annals are thus reduced to the vulgar Christian Era.

	YEARS.	B. C.
<i>Creation</i>	1656	3952
<i>Deluge</i>	292	2296
<i>Abraham born</i>	942	2004
<i>David king</i>	473	1062
<i>Babylonish Captivity</i> ..	589	589
<i>Christian Era</i>	3952	1

The year in which *Coemhain* wrote his Annals, A.D. 1072, is ascertained by its *Astronomical* character: for the new moon fell on Dec. 25, 1071; and consequently, the 7th day of the month was Jan. 1, 1072, as critically remarked by Dr. *O'Conor*.

This system nearly corresponds with the

III. Chronology of SCALIGER.

Joseph Scaliger was the first scholar of his own, or of any age; he was distinguished by the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety and extent of his erudition. His celebrated work, *De*

emendatione temporum, first appeared in 1596, and the last and best edition of it was published in 1629. It contains a copious fund of miscellaneous information, classical, historical, and chronological, intermixed with much that is fanciful. Two of its most curious and valuable parts are the *Prolegomena*, and the *Appendix*; the latter especially, which contains *fragments* from the most ancient Greek writers, *Berosus*, *Abydenus*, *Menander*, *Herodotus*, &c. collected chiefly from *Josephus*, and enriched with his own notes. *Technical chronology* is the professed subject of his work, not *historical*; however, he has incidentally noticed and determined some of the principal epochs of sacred history, and has supplied the following periods in sacred chronology, which are here reduced to the *Julian period*, and to the *vulgar Christian era*. See his *Catholica Temporum*, p. 780.

	YEARS.	J P.	B C.
Creation	1656	.... 764	.... 3950
Deluge.....	292	.... 2420	.... 2294
<i>Abraham</i>	75	.... 2712	.. 2002
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	430	.... 2787	.... 1927
Exode from <i>Egypt</i>	479	.... 3217	.... 1497
Temple founded	428	.... 3696	.... 1018
—— destroyed	59	.... 4124	.... 590
<i>Babylonish</i> Captivity ends	108	.... 4183	.... 531
Second Temple rebuilt	259	.... 4291	.... 423
Dedication by <i>Judas Maccab.</i> ...	164	... 4550	.... 164

In the first five articles he has closely copied the Jewish Chronology, only inserting five years omitted by the *Jews*, to make up the 430 years from *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan* unto the Exode, and deducting one year from the 480, between the Exode and foundation of the temple. And he has enlarged the interval from the foundation to the destruction of the temple by 18 years, according to the corrections of *Kimchi*, &c.; but he incorrectly dates the building of the second temple, B.C. 423, which was finished near a century earlier, B.C. 516, though he has therein partly corrected the notoriously curtailed Jewish date thereof.

Concerning *Daniel's* famous prophecy of the 70 weeks, he rightly concluded, with the *Jews*, that it ended with the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, A.D. 70; and consequently began, B.C. 420, in the fourth year of *Darius Nothus*, king of *Persia*. Proleg. p. 43.

IV. *Chronology of* PETAVIUS.

Dionysius Petavius, or *Petau*, had all the requisites almost of a consummate chronologer. He was skilled in the learned languages, deeply read in universal history, a master of technical chronology, a good mathematician and astronomer, equal to the calculation of eclipses, and exerted the most laborious, patient, and indefatigable industry of research. By the combination of these talents, he was enabled to detect and expose the errors of his more ingenious, but more fanciful rival, *Joseph Scaliger*, but not to establish his own system. Unfortunately, he bowed down too implicitly to the Church of Rome, and to the *Hebrew verity*; reprobating every departure from, or emendation of, the *Masorete* text; and he pronounced the following anathema against those "who dared to assert, that the number 480 years was corrupt," in 1 Kings vi. 1. *Hæc nimis effrænata grassandi in Scripturam licentia, coercenda et repudianda videtur.* Emend. Temp. lib. viii. cap. 9.

Of course, his system is little more than an improvement on the preceding, as will appear from the following comparative outline:—

	Y.	J.P.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Adam</i> (1656)	1655 ..	730 ..	1 ..	3984
<i>Deluge</i>	154 ..	2385 ..	1655 ..	2329
<i>Confusion of Tongues</i> }	65 ..	2539 ..	1809 ..	2175
<i>Nimrod's Reign</i> }				
<i>Ninus reigns</i>	74 ..	2604 ..	1874 ..	2110
<i>Abraham</i>	70 ..	2678 ..	1948 ..	2036
—— goes to <i>Charran</i>	5 ..	2748 ..	2018 ..	1968
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	25 ..	2753 ..	2023 ..	1963
<i>Isaac</i> (60)	59 ..	2778 ..	2048 ..	1936
<i>Jacob</i>	87 ..	2837 ..	2107 ..	1877
<i>Levi</i>	43 ..	2924 ..	2194 ..	1790
<i>Descent to Egypt</i>	216 ..	2967 ..	2237 ..	1747
<i>Exode from Egypt</i>	519 ..	3183 ..	2453 ..	1531
<i>Temple founded</i>	423 ..	3702 ..	2972 ..	1012
—— destroyed	69 ..	4125 ..	3395 ..	589
<i>Second Temple</i>	208 ..	4194 ..	3464 ..	520
<i>Era of Contracts</i>	312 ..	4402 ..	3672 ..	312

Here he has enlarged *Scaliger's* epoch of the creation by 34 years. He reckons the 480 current, or 479 complete years, from the *end* of the *Exode*, which adds 40 years to the period, from

the Exode itself; and fully correcting the mistakes of his predecessors, he dates the rebuilding of the second temple from the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, B.C. 520, when the work was resumed, and afterwards finished in the sixth year of his reign.

His *Chronological Series* of Events from the Creation, B.C. 3983, to A.D. 533, is the fullest I have seen, and deserves to be republished separately for general use. It is in the 13th book, tom. 2, pp. 282—490.

V. Chronology of USHER.

This early-ripe, profound, and various scholar, *James Usher*, was one of the brightest luminaries of the Church of IRELAND, in which he rose by his transcendent merits to the highest dignity of Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of all *Ireland*. He was a great encourager, and munificent patron, of literature in general, and of Oriental in particular. His collection of Oriental MSS., purchased at a great expence in all parts of the world, is highly valuable; and to him principally we owe the publication of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which first began to lessen the superstitious attachment of the learned to the *Hebrew verity*, as it was called, or the supposed immaculate purity of the *Masorete* Hebrew text. But though his own private opinion always was, that the Hebrew copies of the *Old Testament* were no less liable to the errors of transcribers, than those of the *New Testament*, and of *all other books**, yet he scrupled to incur the charge of innovation. Hence his system is little more than a correction of the preceding; to which it is superior in some points, though inferior in others, as will appear from the following comparative outline:—

	Y.	J.P.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Adam</i>	1656	.. 710	.. 1	.. 4004†
<i>Deluge</i>	101	.. 2366	.. 1656	.. 2348
<i>Confusion of Tongues</i>	13	.. 2467	.. 1757	.. 2247

* Ad me quod attinet, sententia mea hæc perpetuo fuit, Hebræum *Veteris T.* codicem scribarum erroribus non minus esse obnoxium quam *Novi* codicem, et *libros alios omnes*. *De Sept. Versione* Syntagm. p. 219.

† The year B.C. 4004, was a remarkable astronomical epoch, when the great axis of the earth's orbit coincided with the line of the equinoxes; and consequently the true and mean equinoxes were united. This curious discovery was announced by the great French astronomer, *La Place*, in his *Méchanique Céleste*, Tom. III. p. 113.

	Y.	J.P.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Nimrod's</i> Reign	108	.. 2480	.. 1771*	.. 2234
<i>Terah</i>	130	.. 2588	.. 1878	.. 2126
<i>Abraham</i>	74	.. 2718	.. 2008	.. 1996
—— goes to <i>Charran</i>	1	.. 2792	.. 2083*	.. 1922
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	25	.. 2793	.. 2084*	.. 1921
<i>Isaac</i>	60	.. 2818	.. 2108	.. 1896
<i>Jacob</i>	80	.. 2878	.. 2168	.. 1836
<i>Levi</i>	50	.. 2958	.. 2248	.. 1756
Descent into <i>Egypt</i>	215	.. 3008	.. 2298	.. 1706
Exode from <i>Egypt</i>	479	.. 3223	.. 2513	.. 1491
Temple founded	424	.. 3702	.. 2992	.. 1012
—— destroyed	69	.. 4126	.. 3396	.. 588
<i>Second Temple</i> built	207	.. 4195	.. 3465	.. 519
<i>Era of Contracts</i>	312	.. 4402	.. 3672	.. 312

From this it appears, that the Chronology of *Usher* is 20 years longer than that of *Petavius*; and it is remarkable, that throughout the whole outlines, they only agree in two dates, namely, the foundation of the Temple, B.C. 1012, and the Era of Contracts, B.C. 312.

The principal improvement of *Usher's* system is in the age of *Terah*, 130 years at the birth of *Abraham*, in which he happily rectified the vulgar error, that *Abraham* was born in the 70th year of his father's age, because he is named the first of his sons, "And *Terah* lived 70 years, and begat *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*." Gen. xi. 26. But *Abraham* was probably the youngest son, and *Haran* certainly the eldest; because *Haran's* two daughters, *Milcáh*, and *Iscah*, the latter surnamed *Sarai*, afterwards *Sarah* †, were married to their uncles, *Nahor* and *Abraham*, respectively. Gen. xi. 29. And *Sarah* was only 10 years younger than *Abraham*. Compare Gen. xvii. 15—17.

Abraham was the son of *Terah* by a second wife. This appears from his apology to *Abimelech*, for his equivocation in calling *Sarah* his sister, "She is the daughter (grand-daughter) of my father, but not the daughter of my mother." Gen. xx. 12. By the same latitude of expression, *Abraham* called his nephew *Lot* "his brother." Gen. xiv. 14. And OUR LORD called his

* These numbers in the series A.M. (or years of the world) are incorrect; they ought each to be a year less, viz. 1770, 2082, 2083. Hence, computations made by this series will frequently differ a year or two from those made by the series B.C. or the years before the vulgar Christian era, which puzzled me for some time before I discovered the cause. The series B.C. is more correct, and should be used in preference.

† *Sarai* signifies "my princess;" *Sarah*, "the princess."

cousin-germans "his brothers and his sisters." Matt. xiii. 55, 56.

And that *Abraham* was born in his father's 130th year, is evident from the age of *Terah*, at his death, 205 years. Gen. xi. 32. At which time *Abraham* was 75 years old. Gen. xii. 4. But $205 - 75 = 130$.

Abraham was named the first of *Terah's* sons, "not from primogeniture, but from pre-eminence," as the *father of the faithful*, and the illustrious ancestor of the *Israelites*, and of the *Jews*, whose "seed was CHRIST," according to the flesh; with whose history the Old Testament properly commences: "Now these are the generations of *Terah*," &c. Gen. xi. 27. All the preceding part of *Genesis* being only introductory thereto. By the same analogy, *Shem*, the second son of *Noah*, is placed first of his three sons, Gen. v. 32, and *Japheth*, "the eldest," last. Compare Gen. x. 21, and xi. 20. Thus *Isaac* is put before *Ishmael*, though 14 years younger. 1 Chron. i. 28. And *Solomon*, the eldest, is reckoned the last of *Bathsheba's* children. 1 Chron. iii. 5*.

Although this addition of 60 years to the age of *Terah*, at *Abraham's* birth, was one of the most brilliant and important of Primate *Usher's* improvements in Chronology, yet it was perhaps injurious to his whole system. Not venturing, it seems, to recede too far from the prevailing systems, in fixing the age of the world, he injudiciously abridged the times before and after *Abraham* too much; for,

1. He reduces the commencement of *Nimrod's* reign still lower than his predecessors, to only 114 years after the deluge.
2. He reduces *Abraham's* sojournment at *Charran* to only one year. Even the five years allowed by the *Jews* and *Petavius* are short of the truth, 15 years; as will be proved hereafter.
3. He retains the spurious period of 480 years, which *Peta-*

* This argument is well stated by *Marsham*, who judiciously adopted the rectification of *Usher*.

Vixit pater (*Terah*) annos 205: post mortem patris, *Abraham* agebat annum ætatis 75: non itaque nasci potuit ante annum patris 130. Qui aliter sentiunt acriter urgent, 'Tharam vixisse annos 70, et genuisse *Abraham*, *Nahor*, *Haran*.' (Gen. xi. 26.) Non autem inde constat, omnes natos isto anno, non omnes eo ordine: *Abraham* ibi prærogativâ, non primogeniturâ, primus. Sic numerantur filii *Abraham*, 'Isaac et *Ismael*.' (1 Chron. i. 28.) At *Ismael* natus anno patris 86, *Isaac* 100. Sic inter *Noe* filios, *Shem* aliquoties primus nominatur. (Gen. v. 22.) At in recensendis genealogiis, secundum ordinem naturæ, tam *Japhet* quam *Ismael* primum locum obtinent. (1 Chron. i. 5 - 29.)

vius had enlarged to 520 current years, or 519 complete; and thereby renders his system, from *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan* downwards, still more defective than that of *Petavius*. The true period is 621 years, as will be proved in the rectification of the Chronology of *Josephus*.

4. His date of the destruction of the temple, B.C. 588, and *Petavius's*, B.C. 589, are both incorrect; it should be B.C. 586, as judiciously determined by *Jackson*, from *Ptolomy's Canon*.

The system of *Usher* has prevailed principally in the *British* empire, and among the divines of the *Reformed Church* on the continent of *Europe*; that of *Petavius* among the divines of the Church of *Rome*. The dates of *Usher* chiefly have been annexed to the last translation of the Bible, and established by public authority; but the system itself being radically defective, these dates must necessarily be erroneous, and therefore ought to be rectified, as furnishing a plausible ground of impeaching the veracity and credibility of Holy Writ to sceptics and infidels.

VI. Chronology of MARSHAM.

The very learned and acute chronologer, Sir *John Marsham*, has ingeniously, though unsuccessfully, attempted to reconcile the leading events of sacred and profane Chronology together, by a comparative view of the *Egyptian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Grecian, &c.* antiquities and chronicles. In the beginning of his *Chronicon*, p. 12. edit. 2. Leipsic, he has given a cursory outline of the *Hebrew* Chronology, from the Creation to the end of the *Babylonish* Captivity, steering his course between *Petavius* and *Usher*.

	Y.	J.P.	B.C.
The Creation	1656 ..	714 ..	4000
Deluge	426 ..	2370 ..	2344
<i>Abraham</i> goes to <i>Canaan</i>	430 ..	2796 ..	1918
Exode from <i>Egypt</i>	480 ..	3226 ..	1488
Temple founded	400 ..	3706 ..	1008
—— destroyed ..	70 ..	4106 ..	608
End of the Captivity in the first of <i>Cyrus</i> ..	538 ..	4176 ..	538

In reckoning 426 years from the Deluge to *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan*, he assigns 291 years to the birth of *Haran*, the eldest of *Terah's* sons, 60 years more to the birth of *Abraham*, and 75 years to his arrival in *Canaan*; but he reduces even lower than the *Jews* the interval 400 years, from the foundation

to the destruction of the temple. From such a defective standard, then, the failure of his plan was naturally to be expected. The principal error which embarrassed his whole scheme of profane Chronology, was the adoption of the mistake of *Josephus*, that the famous *Sesostris*, king of Egypt, was the *Shishac* or *Sesac* of Scripture, who invaded *Rehoboam*, and plundered the temple of Jerusalem; and this, unfortunately, misled Sir *Isaac Newton* also.

VII. *Chronology of NEWTON* *.

This illustrious philosopher, who had laboured so successfully in his youth to improve *experimental philosophy* and *mathematics*, in his immortal *Principia*, *Optics*, *Arithmetica Universalis*, and *Fluxions*, devoted his latter days to the arduous study of *Chronology*, in which, according to the account he gave himself, about five months before his death, to his friend Dr. *Pearce*, late Bishop of Rochester:—"He had spent 30 years, at intervals, in reading over all the authors, or parts of authors, which could

* The author of this Review has long studied and admired the *philosophical* and *mathematical* writings of *Newton*, and has laboured to explain and vindicate them in various publications.

1. *Sonorum Doctrina*, &c. 1778, 4to. Dublin. Designed to explain and illustrate *Newton's* most abstruse and difficult *Theory of Sounds*, and to vindicate the demonstration of its fundamental proposition; *Princip.* Lib. 2. Prop. 47.

2. *Dissertatio de Motibus Planetarum in orbibus excentricis*, 1782, 8vo. Dublin. Designed to unfold *Newton's Planetary and Cometary System*, by a critical explanation of the Corollaries of *Princip.* Lib. 1, Prop. 16, from which it is derived.

3. *Analysis Æquationum*, 1784, 4to. Dublin. Composed principally as a comment on *Newton's Arithmetica Universalis*. In this, his celebrated *Binomial Theorem* is accurately demonstrated; and his method of finding the roots of æquations by approximation is vindicated, against the censure of *De la Grange*.

4. *Analysis Fluxionum*, 1800, 4to. London. An attempt to investigate and explain the genuine principles of *Fluxions*, from *Newton's* very concise account, *Princip.* Lib. 2, Lem. 2, and from his doctrine of *Limits*, or of *prime and ultimate* ratios, briefly delivered in the first section of the first book, to establish the demonstration of his elementary proposition, *the fluxion of a rectangle*, and expose the mistakes of *Maclaurin*, &c.; to vindicate his claim to originality of invention against the advocates of *Leibnitz*, &c.; and to repel the charge of *Materialism*, brought against him by Professor *Robinson*, from his theory of pulses or vibrations, &c.

It was not therefore without considerable reluctance that he could bring himself to censure the *posthumous* work of a venerated author; and accordingly, at first, he omitted to review his *Chronology*; but upon re-consideration, and revisal of this *Introduction*, he found it indispensably necessary to do so, in order to remove from error the powerful weight of such an imposing authority; and also to vindicate and establish the elementary dates of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Egyptian* Chronology, which *Newton*, with much perverted ingenuity, had laboured to overthrow, but in vain.

Amicus *Socrates*, amicus *Plato*, sed magis amica VERITAS.

furnish any materials for forming a just account of the subject; that he had in his reading made collections from these authors, and had, at the end of 30 years, composed from thence his *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*; and that he had written it over several times (*sixteen* times, as the Bishop collected afterwards from his discourse) making few alterations therein but what were for the sake of shortening it, leaving out, in every later copy, some of the authorities and references on which he had grounded his opinion."

A few days before his death, Bishop *Pearce* visited and dined with him at *Kensington*. "I found him," says he, "writing over his *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, without the help of spectacles, at the greatest distance in the room from the windows, and with a parcel of books on the table, casting a shade upon the paper. Seeing this, on my entering the room, I said, 'Sir, you seem to be writing in a place where you cannot well see.' His answer was, 'Little light serves me.' He then told me, that 'he was preparing his *Chronology* for the press, and that he had written the greatest part of it for that purpose*.' The work was published in the year after his death, in 1728, by his nephew, Mr. *Conduitt*, who supplied the authorities found in it at present.

The date of the Creation does not occur any where in the course of the work; but from inspection and comparison of the dates in the *short Chronicle* prefixed, from the death of *Eli*, and capture of the Ark by the *Philistines*, to the invasion of *Judea* by *Sesac*, king of Egypt, in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, it is evident, that he preferred the system of *Petavius* before that of *Usher*. His dates are usually four years higher than those of the former; whence we may collect, that his epoch of the Creation was about B.C. 3988, or four years higher than that of *Petavius*.

	<i>Usher.</i>	<i>Petavius.</i>	<i>Newton.</i>
Death of <i>Eli</i>	B.C. 1117	.... 1096	.... 1100
<i>Saul</i> made King.....	1095	.... 1068	.... 1069
<i>Samuel</i> dies.....	.	.... 1057	.... 1060
<i>David</i> made King	1055	.... 1055	.... 1059
<i>Solomon</i> reigns	1015	.... 1015	.... 1019
Temple founded	1012	.... 1012	.... 1015
<i>Rehoboam</i> reigns	975	.... 975	.... 979
<i>Sesac's</i> Invasion.....	971	.... 970	.... 974

* See Bishop *Pearce's* Life, prefixed to his *Commentary on the Gospels*, p. 42—44.

Here *Newton* notices the time of *Samuel's* death, omitted by *Usher*; and he reduces the reign of *Saul* to 10 years, following *Petavius* rather, who made it only 13 years, than *Usher*, who rightly rated it 40 years.

Notwithstanding the extreme ingenuity of its construction, the Chronology of *Newton* is now generally allowed to err in defect, and to fall short of the truth about *three hundred years*, more or less*. The structure, indeed, is elegant, but it is built upon a sandy foundation.

His fundamental error was the supposed identity of *Sesostris*, the great Egyptian conqueror, with *Sesac*.

“This is no new opinion,” says he: “*Josephus* discovered it when he affirms that *Herodotus* erred in ascribing the actions of *Sesac* to *Sesostris*, and that the error was only in the name of the king: for this is as much as to say, that the true name of him who did those things described by *Herodotus*, was *Sesac*, and that *Herodotus* erred only in calling him *Sesostris*, or that he was called *Sesostris* by a corruption of his name. Our great chronologer, Sir *John Marsham*, was also of opinion that *Sesostris* was *Sesac*. And if this be granted, then it is most certain that *Sesostris* came out of *Egypt*, in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*, to invade the nations, and returned back into *Egypt* in the fourteenth year of that king: and that *Danaus*, then flying from his brother [*Sesostris*] came into Greece within a year or two after.” P. 70.

But this cannot be granted: for, in the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian* Chronology, it will be shewn: 1. That *Herodotus* did not ascribe to *Sesostris* the actions of *Sesac*; 2. That *Sesostris* returned from his *Indian* expedition about B.C. 1300; and that the *Sesac* who invaded *Rehoboam*, about B.C. 985, more correctly, was probably the *Cephrenus* of *Herodotus*, who was supposed to have built the second of the great pyramids of *Memphis*.

Grecian Chronology.

With the return of *Sesostris* from his *Indian* expedition, *Newton* has ingeniously and skilfully connected the leading facts of the earlier Grecian history, by a curious chain of *analytical* reasoning, of which this is the result:

* “Illustriss. *Newtoni* hypothesis, tercentum totos annos à veterum Chronologiâ amputans,” &c.—Dissertat. in *Hesiod.* Edit. Robinson, p. xxxii.

(1.) “ I have stated the time of the return of the *Heraclides* about 340 years before the battle of *Thermopylæ*; (2.) And made the taking of *Troy* eighty years older than that return, according to *Thucydides*; (3.) And the *Argonautic* expedition, a generation older than the *Trojan* war; (4.) And the wars of *Sesostris* in *Thrace*—a generation older than that expedition.”
P. 7.

The dates he assigns thereto are the following, compared with the most approved.

	Newton.	Correct.	Difference.
1. Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i>	B.C. 825	.... 1103	.... 278
2. The taking of <i>Troy</i> .....	.. 904	.... 1183*	.... 279
3. <i>Argonautic</i> Expedition	937	.... 1225†	.... 288
4. Return of <i>Sesostris</i>	965	.... 1300	.... 335

Return of the HERACLIDÆ.

1. To find out this return, *Newton*, following *Herodotus*, counts seventeen double Spartan kings of the two lines of *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, who were born shortly after the return, to the death of *Leonidas*, the last of the former line, at the battle of *Thermopylæ*, B.C. 480; which counted upwards from thence, and multiplied by 20 years apiece, (his average of the duration of reigns) gives 340 years; and this added to B.C. 480, gives B.C. 820, or about B.C. 825, (*Short Chron.*) for the date of the return of the *Heraclidæ*; 278 years lower than the correct date.

But in this case, 1. His average of the length of reigns is too low; in such an uninterrupted succession, the reigns may be considered as equivalent to generations of three to a century. 2. The particular circumstances of the history also may warrant us to consider these 17 generations as equal in length to 19: For *Aristodemus*, who led back the *Heraclidæ*, died a year or two after their return, and left twin sons, *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, who jointly succeeded him. Here then was a long minority, which may have made their joint reigns considerably longer than a generation. Afterwards, there was another long minority in the case of *Charilaus*, the seventh in succession from *Procles*, who was proclaimed king as soon as he was born, by his uncle and guardian, the celebrated legislator, *Lycurgus*. *Cleomenes*,

* See Jackson's Dissertation on the time of the *Argonaut* expedition, Vol. III. p. 318—326.

† *Ibidem*, p. 327—332.

also, the father of *Leonidas*, was advanced in years when his son was born, which lengthened his generation; and *Leonidas* himself was in the decline of life when he was killed*; as appears also from his being contemporary with *Leutychides* the eighth, from the *Messenian* war, by the line of *Procles*. But 19 generations give a term of about 633 years; which differs not much from 623, the correct interval of years between the return of the *Heraclidæ* and the battle of *Thermopylæ*.

And this corresponds very well with the time of the legislation of *Lycurgus*, B.C. 884, according to *Eratosthenes*. For from this to the battle of *Thermopylæ*, B.C. 480, was an interval of 404 years: and from *Charilaus*, the nephew and ward of *Lycurgus*, to *Leutychides*, were eleven kings inclusive. Their reigns may be reckoned equivalent to 12 generations, as observed before; but 404 years, divided by 12, gives $33\frac{2}{3}$ for the mean value of a generation: very near the standard of three generations to a century. See the *Elements of Technical Chronology*.

To support his hypothesis, *Newton* has reduced the time of *Lycurgus* too low; citing *Thucydides*, and *Socrates* in *Plato*, to shew that the institutions of *Lycurgus* were only a little more than 300 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War, in B.C. 404; or about B.C. 708, p. 35, 58. But the Latin version of *Stephen's Thucydides*, 300 years, which he followed, is incorrect; the Greek reads τετρακοσια, 400, which is confirmed by *Duker's* excellent edition, and all the MSS.; and it is strange how *Newton* could either overlook it, or prefer the faulty translation. And this is confirmed by the apposite testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who states, that "the *Lacedemonians* were very powerful after they used the laws of *Lycurgus*, for more than 400 years; till they fell into luxury and slothfulness, and began to use money and amass wealth." For *Agis* repealed the law of *Lycurgus* against gold and silver money, in his last year, B.C. 400.

Newton's additional arguments to fix the time of *Lycurgus* from *Terpander* the musician, and the *Olympic* disk, are vague and unsatisfactory. See *Jackson*, Vol. III. p. 344.

His last argument to determine the return of the *Heraclidæ*, from the time of *Cypselus*, King of Corinth, is inconsistent: for at first, p. 62, he counts six generations from *Melas*, who lived

* *Musgrave* reckons him 52 years old. See his *Vindication of the Chronology of the Olympiads*, p. 162—166.

at the time of their return, to *Cypselus*, whose reign began B.C. 655. Whence, reckoning these generations at 30 years apiece, he dates the return of the *Heraclidæ* $180 + \text{B.C. } 655 = \text{B.C. } 835$. But afterwards, p. 139, from *Aletes*, King of Corinth, who reigned at their return, he enumerates eight of his lineal successors, and after them a succession of *Prytanes*, or Annual Archons, about 42 years, until *Cypselus* began his reign. But surely their reigns and jurisdictions exceeded the length of six generations.

The Destruction of TROY.

2. This next cardinal date must necessarily be raised with the foregoing. And both *Eratosthenes* and *Diodorus Siculus* have ascertained it within a year of each other, by different and independent arguments. According to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the former reckoned 407 years from thence to the *Olympic Era*, B.C. 776, as follows :

	Y.	B. C.
Destruction of Troy	80	.... 1183
Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i>	60	. . . 1103
<i>Ionic</i> Migration	159	.... 1043
Legislation of <i>Lycurgus</i>	108	.... 884
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
Era of the <i>Olympiads</i>	407	776

Tatian also adopted this interval; which is confirmed by the following independent computation :

	Y.	B. C.
Destruction of Troy	10	.... 1183
<i>Aeneas</i> founds <i>Lavinium</i>	8	.... 1173
<i>Ascanius</i> reigns	61	.... 1165
Return of the <i>Heraclidæ</i> ..	328	.... 1104
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
Era of the <i>Olympiads</i>	407	776

This curious and valuable coincidence of *Greek* and *Latin* Chronology, establishing both, is furnished by *Petavius*, Vol. II. p. 36, from some ancient Greek Chronologer, whose name he unluckily omits.

Apollodorus, however, and *Eusebius* following him, reckoned this interval 408 years. Both are consistent; the former denoting complete, the latter, current years. This is plainly intimated by the judicious *Diodorus Siculus*, in his date of the destruction of *Troy*, Lib. XIV. cap. 1. He reckons that the dissolution of the *Athenian* government, at the end of the *Peloponnesian* war,

in the 94th Olympiad, when *Cocynas*, of Larissa, was victor in the games, B.C. 404, took place in the 780th year *current* from the destruction of Troy; which gives the date of the latter B.C. 1184; and consequently 779 years complete from B.C. 1183.

ARGONAUTIC Expedition.

3. Along with its predecessors, the time of the *Argonautic* expedition requires also to be raised. *Newton*, following *Diodorus Siculus* and *Tatian*, reckons it one generation prior to the destruction of *Troy*, because the sons of *Argonauts* were engaged in the war: but *Herodotus* places it in the second generation before. We are warranted, therefore, to raise the interval from 33 to 42 years.

Newton, to give collateral support to his system from *astronomy*, laboured to confirm his assigned date of the *Argonautic* Expedition by an ingenious but fanciful argument derived from

The Precession of the Equinoxes.

By an elaborate process, p. 81—90, he computes the amount of the precession of the Equinoxes and Solstices from the time of the *Argonautic* expedition to the end of the year 1689, or the beginning of 1690, to have been 36 degrees, 44 minutes of longitude; and by a subsequent correction, reduces it to 36 degrees, 29 minutes: which, turned into time, at the rate of 72 years for each degree of precession, would give 2647 years, in the former instance, and 2627 years in the latter. These years, therefore, counted backwards from A.D. 1690, give the date of the *Argonautic* expedition, B.C. 957; and by the correction, B.C. 937, which is the very year assigned.

Newton, like *Archimedes*, might say, Δος που στω, και τον κοσμον κινησω, “Give me footing, and I will move the world.” But here, unfortunately, he wanted *data*. 1. His assumption of the positions of the cardinal points of the ecliptic, in the middles of the constellations of *Aries*, *Cancer*, *Chelæ*, and *Capricorn*, is altogether gratuitous at the time of the *Argonautic* expedition; and can be proved to be false, from the correcter date of it, and the correcter rate of precession, one degree in $71\frac{1}{2}$ years. 2. The primitive celestial sphere was certainly not invented either by *Chiron* or *Musæus*, jointly or separately, for the use of the *Argonauts*, in that expedition; for it was invented long before, by the *Chaldean* astronomers, whence it was

adopted by the *Indians*, and by the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*. See the *Elements of Technical Chronology*.

Nor, 3. did "its asterisms, as *Newton* supposes, relate to the circumstances of the *Argonauts*, their contemporaries, or predecessors;" but probably to the earliest circumstances of patriarchal history; *Argo*, to *Noah's* ark; *Chiron*, to *Noah* himself, with his *altar* and *sacrifice*, after the flood; *Orion* and his dogs, to *Nimrod*, that "mighty hunter;" the great and little *bear*, the *hare*, &c. to his game, &c. And, 4. to crown all, *Canopus*, the principal star in the constellation *Argo*, is only 37 degrees from the south pole, and the greatest part of the constellation lies still nearer to it: the course of their voyage lay between 39 and 45 degrees of north latitude: consequently, if the sphere had been either constructed by, or for the *Argonauts*, the framer would not have given the name of the ship *Argo* to a constellation invisible at *Pagasæ*, whence they set out, and at *Colchis*, whither they came. The southerly position of this constellation, seems rather to indicate the approach of the waters of the deluge from that quarter of the globe, where "the fountains of the great deep were broken up;" probably in the vicinity of the south pole, if we may judge from the resting of the ark upon Mount *Ararat*, in *Armenia*, northwards, from the more abrupt and violent disruptions of the coasts of the old and new continents, southwards than northwards; and from the copious fossil remains of southern animals and vegetables, found very far to the northward at the present day. See the *Elements of Sacred Geography*.

In detailing the fabulous accounts of the asterisms, *Newton* appears to have given too much credit to the monstrous fictions of *Grecian* mythology*, under which, however, are frequently disguised, or caricatured, the genuine features of primeval tradition, and sacred history.

His additional astronomical arguments for confirming the assigned date of the *Argonautic* expedition, drawn from the positions of the cardinal points, in the times of *Thales* and *Meton*, (p. 91, 92) are unsatisfactory, because the observations of these early astronomers were coarse, as he himself confesses,

* *Mirari licet, egregium hunc philosophum, in mathematicis demonstrationibus δεινοτατον, sperasse, tam levibus argumentis, ab anilibus fabulis petitis, universam antiquorum chronologiam se posse subvertere! Hesiod. Variorum 1737, Dissert. p. xxxv.*

and even so, have not been accurately recorded; the difference between the beginning or end of the same constellation, making a difference of about 2145 years in the calculation. From such observations no accurate conclusions can be drawn.

HESIOD.

His astronomical argument, however, for determining the time of *Hesiod*, and from thence supporting his assumed date of the *Trojan* war, deserves to be considered, because it will be found not only to militate against his system, but even to support the ancient, and to verify the *Parian Chronicle* in this case.

“*Hesiod*,” says he, “tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice, the star *Arcturus* rose just at sunset: and thence it follows, that *Hesiod* flourished about a hundred years after the death of Solomon, (about B.C. 870, *Short Chronicle*) or in the generation or age next after the *Trojan* war, as *Hesiod* himself declares.” P. 93.

The passage to which he alludes is this:

Εὐτ' ἂν δ' ἑξάκοντα μετὰ τροπᾶς ἡελίοιο
Χειμερὶ ἐκτελεσθ' Ἰεὺς ἡμάτα, δὴ ρα τοτ' ἀστὴρ
Ἀρκτουρος προλιπὼν ἱερον ροον Ὠκεανοιο
Πρωτον παμφαινῶν ἐπιτελλεται ἀκροκνεφαίος.

“When *Jove* shall have completed sixty days
After the winter solstice, then the star
Arcturus, forsaking the ocean's sacred flood,
First rises *achronically*, all shining.”—*Opera et Dies*, v. 564.

Here “the star *Arcturus*” is put, by a usual metonymy, for the whole constellation *Bootes*, of which it is the most conspicuous: this is evident from the word παμφαινῶν, “*all-shining*,” which is inapplicable to a *single star**, but corresponds with the usual phrases of the ancient astronomers respecting the risings of the *constellations*, either partially or totally; μεσος ἐπιτελλει, ὅλος ἐπιτελλει, &c.; sometimes, with the addition of the words φανερος, ἐκφανης. And *Homer* also uses ἀστὴρ, (which properly denotes a single “*star*,”) in the sense of σημα, a “*sign*,” or constellation; applying both to Κυν' Ὠριωνος, “*Orion's dog*,” or the constellation *Canis*. Ibid. 20. *Plautus*

* A single star has no apparent or sensible diameter, and therefore rises and sets nearly at once.

too applies both *Stella* and *Signum* to *Arcturus*, in his prologue to the *Rudens*.

“Ita sum, ut videtis, splendens *stella* candida,
Signum quod semper tempore exoritur suo,
 Hic atque in cælo: nomen *Arcturo* est mihi.”

Virgil likewise applies *sidus* to *Arcturus*:

“*Arcturi sidera, Hædorumque dies servandi.*”—*Georg.* 1, 204.

It does not appear from this passage of *Hesiod*, at what *place*, or in what *time*, the observation was originally made; whether at *Ascra*, the poet's residence, in *Bœotia*, or in a higher or lower latitude; whether in his own age, or from more ancient calendars; or whether the true or apparent rising of the constellation is meant: all which circumstances enter into, and materially affect, the result of the calculation.

Let us, however, suppose that the poet speaks of the apparent *Achronycal* rising of the constellation, at his own country, and in his own age.

In the latitude of *Ascra*, about 38 degrees, 30 minutes, and in the year assigned by *Newton*, B.C. 870, which was Bissextile, the apparent *Achronycal* rising of *Arcturus*, happened at the beginning of February 18, when the sun was in the 21st degree of *Aquarius*, and depressed twelve degrees below the horizon: that is, 50 entire days from the day of the winter solstice that year, including the extremes. But this falls short of the poet's observation of 60 days; which is repeated and verified both by *Eudoxus* and *Democritus*, and therefore is not liable to the suspicion of an error in the text.

Let us next take the year assigned to *Hesiod*, by the *Parian* Chronicle, B.C. 944; or, for the ease of calculation, B.C. 942, which was Bissextile; and, instead of *Arcturus*, take the star which rises last in the constellation *Bootes*, and is a star of the third magnitude, marked *aζ* by *Bayer*, and which therefore is visible at the horizon, when the sun is depressed 14 degrees below it. This star then rose *achronycally* in the beginning of February 27, or the *sixtieth* day after the day of the winter solstice, including the extremes: a usual mode of computation, of which we find many instances in sacred and profane authors.

This curious calculation, so satisfactorily verifying the *Parian* date of *Hesiod's* time, and refuting *Newton's* abbreviation, was made by a skilful astronomer, Doctor *Joseph Atwell*, and is in-

serted in the learned *Dissertation* prefixed to *Robinson's* excellent Variorum edition of *Hesiod's* works, 1737. Oxon. p. xxvii., &c. See the Editor's preface.

Newton's mistake, in lowering so much the time of *Hesiod* below the received chronology, may be traced to his mistake and misrepresentation of *Hesiod's* celebrated five ages * of the world, 1. The *Golden*; 2. The *Silver*; 3. The *Brazen*; 4. The *Heroic*; and 5. The *Iron*: in his *Opera et Dies*.

"*Hesiod*," says he, "hath told us himself that he lived in the age next after the wars of *Thebes* and *Troy*, [i. e. the *Iron* age.] And that this age should end when the men *then living* grew hoary, and dropt into the grave: and therefore it was but of an ordinary length." P. 31. And again:

"*Hesiod* himself tells us, that he lived in the *fifth* age, the age next after the taking of *Troy*: and therefore he flourished within 30 or 35 years after it." P. 160. And further:

"*Hesiod*, describing these four ages of the *gods* and *demigods* of Greece, [the *Golden*, *Silver*, *Brazen*, and *Heroic* ages] represents them to be *four generations* of men; each of which ended when the men *then living* grew old and dropt into the grave; and tells us, that the *fourth* ended with the wars of *Thebes* and *Troy*." P. 158.—"The four first ages succeeded the flood of *Deucalion*." P. 161.—"This flood was succeeded by four *ages* or *generations* of men:—the last of which ended with the *Trojan* war." P. 13.

In these several passages, *Newton* evidently appears to have confounded $\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, the word uniformly used by *Hesiod* in describing these five ages; signifying "a *race*," (or peculiar cast of men, distinguished from others, by some *physical* or *moral* qualities, as is evident from the context) with $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha$, "a *generation*," or the men of a single *age*; three of which were equivalent to a century. And this fundamental error has deranged his entire chronology of those ages, and of the early times of *Greece*.

To rescue this curious and important period of ancient chronology from the uncertainty and perplexity under which it has so long laboured, which *Newton*, his predecessors, and successors, have all failed to explain and clear up; however hazardous, and even presumptuous, may be the attempt, at present, respecting a subject so very obscure and intricate, and so much disputed

* *Ovid* reckons only four ages, including the *Heroic* in the *Brazen* age.

by the ablest critics and antiquaries, I will proceed to examine carefully the account given by *Hesiod* himself; and by comparing it with sacred history and primitive tradition, hope to offer at least a more rational and consistent account of *Hesiod's Ages of the World*, than has hitherto appeared, which I will preface in his own language :

Εἰ δ' ἐθελεῖς, ἕτερον τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφῶσω
 Ἐν καὶ ἐπισταμένως· σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βαλλέο σῆσιν.

Opera et Dies, v. 106.

HESIOD'S *Ages of the World*.

1. His *Golden Age* bears no relation at all to *Grecian History*. It is evidently an imperfect tradition of the *primeval* times, before and after the fall; including the *paradisaical* state of our first parents, and also the purer state of *Seth's* line, until his descendants, "*the sons of God*," as they were styled in Scripture for their superior piety, about the age of the righteous *Enoch*, the seventh from *Adam*, began to be corrupted by their promiscuous inter-marriages with the fair, but frail, "*daughters of men*" of the apostate *Cainite* race. Gen. vi. 1, 2; iv. 25; Jude 14.

To this period, *Hesiod's* account bears a remarkable analogy: "When *Saturn* reigned, and men lived like *gods*, free from cares, without labour and sorrow, and the infirmities of age; rich in *sheep**, dear to the happy gods, enjoying the spontaneous *fruits* of the earth in great abundance, and all manner of good things; and dying without pain, as if overcome by sleep. After death they became *demons* (or good angels) and were admitted to the council of *Jove*, and were appointed guardians of mankind. They went to and fro throughout the earth, observing the righteous or unrighteous deeds of men, dispensers of wealth. Such was their *royal* reward." Vers. 108—126.

Josephus also cites *Hesiod* (though no where extant in his present works) among the authors who recorded that the "first men lived a *thousand* years." Ant. i. 3, 9.

2. The *Silver* age seems to have succeeded the general deluge †.

* Μηλοῖς: I have rendered it "*sheep*," as it is afterwards understood, vers. 163; rather than "*fruits*," with the *Latin* translation, *pomis*; because the *pastoral* state is thereby distinguished from the *agricultural*. Gen. iv. 2.

† The learned and ingenious Mr. *Mitford* supposes that the first two ages preceded

At that time the original standard of longevity ending with *Noah*, was shortened by successive reductions, from 600 years, the age of *Shem*, to 400, 200, &c. years. Still, however, the mean length of generations to the days of *Abraham*, was a *hundred* years and upwards, according to the longer Greek computation of the *Septuagint* and *Josephus*, supported by the *Samaritan* text. This age probably reached from the deluge to the colonization of the earth, in the days of *Peleg*; or fifth from *Shem*. Gen. xi. 1—32.

It seems to be thus described by *Hesiod*:—"This was a race much inferior indeed; like the *Golden*, neither in body nor mind. Still at a *hundred* years of age they were *boys*, bred up with their careful mothers in simplicity at home. But their term of *manhood* was short, and they died early, suffering for their folly, because they could not abstain from injury to each other, and from impiety to the gods, whose lawful and customary sacrifices they would not offer; wherefore *Jove*, in his wrath, removed them, because they gave not due honours to the happy gods." And the following remarkable exception seems to relate to the first and purest patriarchs of this age, "who after their deaths were called *the second happy mortals*, for still honour attended even these." V. 140—143.

3. The three ensuing ages seem to have been peculiar, in a great measure, to the region of *Greece*, the poet's country. His description of the *Brazen* Age seems to relate to the early state of *Greece*, during its successive colonizations or settlements, by the various wandering tribes of *Asia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Egypt*;

the Deluge; that the *Golden* age only represented the state of man in *Paradise*, before the fall; and the *Silver*, that which succeeded it. *Hist. Greece*, Vol. I. p. 63, 155.

This cannot be: for *Hesiod's* description of the *Golden* age evidently extended beyond the *paradisaical* state, in which *Adam* and *Eve* had no children; and includes that period in which "men began to multiply on the face of the earth." 2. His account of the diminution of the standard of human life in the *Silver* age, does not agree to the *Antediluvian* times, but agrees remarkably well to the patriarchal generations after the Deluge. Besides *Mitford's* hypothesis excludes the righteous *Noah* and his sons from any of the ages; as the three last refer entirely to *Greece*, in his opinion, which seems to be well founded.

Sir *Isaac Newton's* opinion, that the *Golden* and *Silver* ages, or races, relate particularly to *Greece*, as well as the *Brazen*, the *Heroic*, and the *Iron*, he justly rejects, as "wholly unwarranted."

Hesiod, under the preceding fable of the formation of the fair *Pandora*, who with her box of evils deceived *Epimetheus*, when nothing was left behind but *Hope*, (vers. 60—99) seems to have allegorized the history of the creation of *Eve*, of the fall, and of the *hope* of redemption through "the seed of the woman."

which was described by *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Plutarch*, in his life of *Theseus*, to have been a turbulent and insecure state of piracy, rapine, and violence of every kind. Such was the rape of *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus*, king of *Argos*, by some *Phœnician* traders, about B.C. 1745; the rape of *Europa*, daughter of *Agenor*, king of *Tyre*, by some *Greeks*, in reprisal, about B.C. 1600; which formed a precedent for the rape of *Helen* afterwards, by *Alexander*, or *Paris*, of *Troy*. Herod. Lib. I. 1.

These seem to be described by *Hesiod's* "*Brazen race*, in no respect like the *Silver*; robust, warlike, hardy, and rapacious; having *brazen weapons*, and *brazen houses* (probably *armour*) and working with brazen tools, for *iron was not yet discovered*. They perished by each other's hands, and went to the house of *Hades*, *nameless*, (or without renown,)"—because they wanted *poets* or *historians*, in those rude and barbarous times, to celebrate their exploits*. Vers. 144, 145.

This age ended with *Deucalion's* flood; for we are told by *Apollodorus*, and by *Proclus*, in their *Scholia*, that "*Jove* sent a flood to destroy the men of the *Brazen Age*." See *Homer*, *Iliad*. 1, 10. Didym.

This *Deucalion* and his flood, however, are not to be confounded with the former *Deucalion*, or *Noah*, described by *Ovid*, *Lucian*, &c. and the general deluge; though several of the circumstances of the former are injudiciously applied to the latter, by the poets and their scholiasts. *Deucalion* was a proper name in frequent use among the *Greeks*, on account of the celebrity of the first. There are four *Deucalions*, at least, on record: *Noah*, the first; the present *Deucalion*, king of *Thessaly*; *Deucalion*, son of *Prometheus*, and brother of *Atlas*; and *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*, an *Argonaut*, and the father of

* This interpretation of *αὐωνυμοί*, "*nameless*," by which the *Brazen* was distinguished from the *Heroic Age*, is supported by *Horace* in the following marked references:—

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi: sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longâ
Nocte; carent quia vate sacro.—OD. 4, 9, 25.

Nam fuit ante Helenam mulier teterrima belli
Causa: sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos Vencrem incertam rapientes, more ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.—SAT. 1, 3, 108.

Idomeneus, who warred at *Troy*. Indeed, the confusion of different persons bearing the same name, is one of the most fruitful sources of error and perplexity in ancient history and chronology.

4. The *Heroic Age*, which succeeded, is represented by *Hesiod* as “A *divine* race, juster and better than the *brazen*; they were called *demigods*. But the two last generations thereof perished in destructive war and direful combat; namely, they who warred at *Thebes* about the sheep of *Ædipus*, [or disputed the succession to his inheritance, such as *Tydeus*, *Capaneus*, &c.] and they who invaded *Troy* by sea in ships, to avenge the rape of *Helen*, [such as their sons, *Diomedes*, *Sthenelus*, &c.] yet these were, after death, translated by *Jove* to the *happy isles*, in the deep [*Atlantic*] ocean. There they pass a quiet life, and the earth produces them annually a triple harvest of pleasant fruits.” Vers. 156—174.

This *Heroic Age*, so celebrated by the principal *poets* and *historians* of *Greece*,—*Hesiod*, *Homer*, *Apollonius*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, &c. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Diodorus Siculus*, &c. included six or seven generations, which *Sir Isaac* has so unmercifully pared away to *four*! For we learn from *Apollodorus*, in his *Scholia* on *Homer*, *Iliad*. xii. 117, and from *Homer* himself, *Iliad*. vi. 154—206, combined, that *Deucalion*, king of *Thessaly*, had seven descendants in one line; and from *Proclus*, that he had six by another, from the flood to the end of the *Trojan* war; namely, *Hellen*, *Æolus*, *Sisyphus*, *Glaucus*, *Bellerophon*, *Hippolochus*, and *Glaucus II.* in the former; and *Hellen*, *Æolus*, *Critheus*, *Pheretes*, *Admetus*, and *Eumelus*, in the latter. It began therefore, with *Deucalion's* flood, in the second year of his reign, B.C. 1548, according to the *Parian Chronicle*; and it ended B.C. 1183.

5. The *Iron Age* followed the destruction of *Troy*, in the course of which *Hesiod* himself lived. He abruptly introduces his account of it by an ardent wish, either “*that he had died before it began, or should be born after its end*;” struck with a lively sense of the daily and incessant toils and miseries of life. And he predicts, that *Jove* shall destroy this race likewise, when the natural and moral degeneracy of mankind shall come to the full; “*when men shall grow grey-headed soon after their birth* * , or the term of life shall dwindle to its shortest standard,

* *Ευτ' αν γεινομενοι πολιοκροταφοι τελεθωσιν.* This expression is similar to that which *Josephus* puts in the mouth of *Abraham*, deploring the shortness of his son *Isaac's*

compared with the original in the Golden Age; when human miseries, and crimes of every kind against God and man shall prevail universally: then shall white-robed *Modesty* and retributive *Justice*, forsaking the world, fly away to heaven, leaving grievous woes to mortals; and of evil there shall be no remedy*." Vers. 174—201.

6. *Hesiod* no where notices expressly a sixth age to succeed the *Iron*, nor that it should be a state of *regeneration*, or revival of the *Golden Age*. Both these circumstances, however, are strongly implied in the wish itself:—

Μηκετ' επειτ' ωφειλον εγω πεμπτοισι μετειναι
 Ανδρασιν, αλλ' η προσθε θανειν, η επειτα γενεσθαι
 Νυν γαρ δη γενοσ εστι σιδηρεον'

"O that I had not been doomed to live among
 Men of the *fifth* race; but that I had either
 Died before, or *were to be born after!*
 For *now*, indeed, there is an *iron* race."

And this is confirmed by that profound antiquary *Virgil*, who, in his celebrated description of the *Golden Age* revived, unquestionably refers to several of the preceding passages, and furnishes an excellent supplement, as it were, to *Hesiod*. Eclog. 4.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas :
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna :
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
Casta fave Lucina : tuus jam regnat Apollo.—
Ille Deûm vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit
Permixtos Heroas ; et ipse videbitur illis,
Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.—

life, when going to be sacrificed: επειδη γεννηθεις αποθανοιη, "since you must die soon after your birth!" Ant. i. 13, 3. And *Hesiod* himself has explained it shortly after by αυφα γηρασκοντας τοκhas, men "speedily growing old after they become parents." Vers. 185. *Newton* has miserably misunderstood the meaning, and perverted the application of this passage; 1. by supposing that it related to the men then living in *Hesiod's* days; and 2. that it was applicable to the preceding ages, when the men then living in each of them should grow old also, as symptomatic of their dissolution.

* This gradual deterioration of the *Iron Age* is well expressed by *Horace*:—

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies!—
 Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
 Nqs nequiores; mox daturos
 Progeniem vitiosiore.—Od. 3, 6, 45.

Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quæ vehat *Argo*
 Delectos *Heroas* : erunt etiam altera bella,
 Atque iterum ad *Trojam* magnus mittetur *Achilles*.—

Omnis feret omnia Tellus.—

Here “*the last age*,” “*the renewal* of a great succession of generations,” “*the return* of the virgin, *Astræa*, or *Justice*,” who had fled near the close of the *Iron Age*; “*the return* of *Saturn’s* reign,” which began with the *Golden Age*; “*the birth* of this *Apollo* at the end of the *Iron Age*, and recommencement of the *Golden* ;” “*his living* the life of the *gods*, and conversing with (*Divis*) the *Demons*, *Demigods*, and *Heroes* ;” and “*the restoration* of universal *peace* and *plenty*,” as in *Saturn’s* reign, &c. all convey the strongest marks of reference to *Hesiod’s* account of the ages.

Virgil, however, professed to record only the “*Cumæan Sibyl’s prophecy* ;” and *Hesiod*, too, might have derived his ages of the world from the same source ; for this *Sibyl*, or wandering prophetess, *Phæbi Triviaque Sacerdos*, “*priestess* of the *Sun* and *Moon*,” came originally, we are told, from *Babylonia*, and settled at *Cuma*, on the coast of *Italy*, about or after the time of the destruction of *Troy*, where she was supposed to have lived to the reign of *Tarquin*, to whom she offered for sale her prophecies, comprised in nine volumes ; of which the king at length, after she had burnt the rest, purchased three, for the same price she had demanded, at first, for the whole. But *Hesiod’s* father lived at *Cuma*, and removed from thence to *Ascra*, in *Bœotia* ; consequently, he might have been acquainted with that early tradition of six millenary ages of the world, which prevailed throughout the East, and was propagated to the West, by the *Sibyls* and others : which perhaps was founded on *Balaam’s* prophecies, foretelling the coming of CHRIST. “*A star shall arise from Jacob*,” &c. And it is truly remarkable, that “*the Star* of our salvation,” the true *Apollo*, or “*Sun* of righteousness,” “*the Prince* of *peace*,” was actually born in the course of the sixth millenary age, about A.M. 5411, or shortly before, according to our rectification ; and began that partial *regeneration* of the world, which the true word of prophecy tells us will be completed at his second advent in glory.

The adulation of *Virgil*, indeed, misapplied this *Sibylline* prophecy, to the infant of whom *Scribonia*, the wife of *Augustus*, was then pregnant, in the year of *Pollio’s* consulship, B.C. 40 ; but

who, belying the poet's prediction, proved to be a daughter, according to *Dio Cassius*, namely, the infamous *Julia*, as she afterwards turned out. See *Martyn's* learned Notes on the fourth Eclogue of *Virgil*, p. 156.

The age of *Hesiod*, therefore, (to return to that) was not "within 30 or 35 years after the destruction of *Troy*," as *Newton* misrepresents, but rather the *Parian* date, B.C. 944, not less than 239 years after; nay, it was probably more than 239 years: for *Thucydides* declares, that "*Homer* was born a long time after the Trojan war;" and *Homer* flourished B.C. 907, according to the *Parian* Chronicle, only 37 years after *Hesiod*. And *Herodotus* also, born B.C. 484, represents *Hesiod* and *Homer* as living not above 400 years before his time, or about B.C. 884*, which is about 300 years lower than the established date of *Troy*. And this testimony of *Herodotus*, "the oldest historian of the *Greeks* now extant," which *Newton* himself cites, p. 160, militates most strongly against him; for B.C. 884, subtracted from his curtailed date of *Troy*, B.C. 904, leaves only an interval of 20 years; which is altogether absurd, as well as inconsistent with the foregoing, of 30 or 35 years.

I strongly suspect that *Newton* himself was aware of this absurdity and inconsistency, and to hide it, referred the time of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, by a round-about reckoning, to the remoter date of *Solomon's* death, instead of immediately referring it to the nearer date of *Troy*. "And therefore (says he) *Hesiod* and *Homer* flourished (B.C. 884.) within 110 or 120 years after the death of *Solomon* (B.C. 979.) and according to my reckoning, the taking of *Troy* was but one generation earlier," p. 160. We miss, indeed, in his *Chronology*, that luminous arrangement, accuracy, and precision, which mark his earlier productions in *philosophy* and *mathematics*; for $979 - 884 = 95$ years only.

I have been thus particular in noticing and correcting the leading errors and defalcations in *Newton's Grecian Chronology*, because it is the most ingenious, and also the most elaborate, abstruse, and difficult part of the work; and because, from the imposing authority of his great name, it is still held in estimation by some respectable historians and chronologers. For although it has been censured by many of the learned—*Whiston* and *Bedford*, in 1728, the very year of its publication; *Shuck-*

* *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, that *Lycurgus*, when he was a young man, conversed with *Homer*. He afterwards collected his *Rhapsodies*, or scattered poems, together.

ford, in 1730; *Atwell* and *Robinson*, in 1737; *Squire*, in 1741; *Costard*, in 1746; *Musgrave*, in 1772; and *Freret* and *Larcher*, in *France*, either in the whole, or in part; yet still we find it adopted by the learned authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, and preferred by others since; by the ingenious *Howard*, in his *Thoughts on the Structure of the Globe*, 1797, by the latest and best historian of *Greece*, *Mitford**; and by a professed chronologer, *Walker*, so recently as 1796, who, though he censures some parts of the work, and justly rejects the supposed identity of *Sesostris* and *Sesac*, yet still adopts his subsequent dates of the *Argonautic* expedition, the return of the *Heraclidæ*, and the destruction of *Troy*; and even reduces the date of the last to B.C. 900, four years later than *Newton*. He seems to have been led into this by a fond wish to vindicate the now generally acknowledged *poetic licence* of *Virgil*, in making “*Æneas* coeval with *Dido*,” although she flourished about 300 years before him, by the most correct account: *Walker’s* reduced date, B.C. 900, exceeding only by 17 years, *Newton’s* date of the foundation of *Carthage*, B.C. 883. See his *Analysis of Historical Time*, p. 392.

Latin Chronology.

This also has suffered from *Newton’s* chronological pruning-knife. He has, without scruple, lopped off 126 years from the established date of the foundation of *Rome*, which he reduces to B.C. 627, by the following arguments drawn from the reigns of the *Roman* and *Alban* kings:—

1. “The reigns of the seven kings of *Rome* are reckoned at 244 years † from the building of *Rome* to the regifuge. But this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature: for I do not meet with any instances in all history, since Chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, *most of whom were slain*, reigned 244 years in continual succession, [or, $34\frac{6}{7}$ years a piece.] The seven reigns of the kings of *Rome*, *four or five of them being slain, and one deposed*, may, at a moderate reckoning, amount to 15 or 16 years apiece, one with another. Let them be reckoned at 17 years apiece, and they will amount to 119 years, which, counted backwards from the regifuge, An. 1. Olymp.

* See *Mitford’s Appendix* to chap. iv. b. 1. *Of the Chronology of Grecian History.*

† *Regnatum Romæ ab conditâ urbe ad liberatam, annos ducentos quadraginta quatuor.* *Livy*, 1, 60.

68, (or B.C. 508.] will place the building of Rome, B.C. 627." p. 37, 127.

It is indeed unquestionably true, that an average of nearly 35 years to a reign is too long, where *Romulus* and *Tullus Hostilius*, probably, and *Tarquinius Priscus* and *Servius Tullius*, certainly, were slain, and *Tarquinius Superbus* deposed; more especially in an elective government, where, as *Plutarch* observes, "not one of them left his crown to his son:" for *Ancus Martius*, and *Tarquinius Superbus*, though of royal families, were not the sons of their predecessors, and the other five were of different families, foreign as well as native.

But, on the other hand, in turbulent and elective monarchies, *interregnums* are longer and more frequent than in hereditary; and indeed, from the constitution of the Roman government at that time, they necessarily took place on every demise: the senate or patricians appointing an *interrex*, until the successor should be elected, and the election ratified by the people assembled in *Comitia*. Thus *Livy* notices one after the death of *Romulus**, which lasted a year; he mentions two more after the deaths of *Numa* † and *Tullus Hostilius* ‡, but without stating their duration; and he observes, that *Tarquinius Superbus* expedited the election, in order to exclude the young sons of his predecessor, *Ancus Martius* §. We may therefore fairly infer, that there were *interregnums* also after the deaths of *Tarquinius Priscus* and *Servius Tullius*, though unnoticed by *Livy*; and that as they were both murdered, their long reigns included *interregna* of considerable length.

Though *Livy* seems undecided upon some points in the history, such as the precise year in which the battle at the lake *Regillus* was fought, shortly before the death of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and complains much of the confusion of the annals of that period, after the capture of Rome by the *Gauls* ||, yet he

* *Annum intervallum regni fuit.* Lib. 1, c. 17.

† *Numæ morte ad interregnum res rediit.* Inde *Tullum Hostilium*—*regem* populus jussit. c. 22.

‡ *Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat; hique interregem nominaverant.* Quo *comitia* habente, *Ancum Martium* *regem* populus creavit. c. 32.

§ *Jam filii [Anci] prope puberem ætatem erant.* Quo magis *Tarquinius* instare ut *quam primum* *comitia* regi creando fierent. Quibus *indictis*, sub tempus *pueros venatum* ablegavit. c. 35.

|| *Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut nec qui consules secundum quosdam, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tanta vetustate non rerum modo, sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis.* Lib. 2, c. 21.

expresses no doubt of the duration of the regal dynasty for 244 years. And his detail of the reigns critically corresponds to the outline ; which is also confirmed by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.

Roman Kings.

	<i>Livy.</i>	B.C.	<i>Dionys.</i>	B.C.
1. <i>Romulus</i>	37	753	38	754
Interregnum	1			
2. <i>Numa Pompilius</i>	43	715	43	716
3. <i>Tullus Hostilius</i>	32	672	32	673
4. <i>Ancus Martius</i>	24	640	24	641
5. <i>Tarquinius Priscus</i>	38	616	38	617
6. <i>Servius Tullius</i>	44	578	41	579
7. <i>Tarquinius Superbus</i>	25	534	29	538

Regifuge	244	509	245	509

The death or disappearance of *Romulus* (who probably was murdered, and made away with by the senators) during a thunder-storm, and a great obscuration of the day, *Liv.* 1, 16, seems to correspond accurately to a solar eclipse on May 26, B.C. 715 ; which therefore may tend to verify his reign of 38 years, including the interregnum, commencing B.C. 753 ; and furnishes a powerful astronomical argument against *Newton's* reduction. It is remarkable, that in the whole course of his *Chronology*, he has neglected, or designedly omitted, the infallible evidence of well-attested *eclipses*, because, perhaps, they would not bend to his favourite hypothesis. Such prepossession is really surprising in so great a philosopher. Indeed the *Varronian* era of the foundation of Rome, B.C. 753, is fully established by the combined weight of *historical* and *astronomical* evidence, as will be proved in the ensuing *Chronological Apparatus*.

2. *Newton's* next argument is drawn from his reduced date of the destruction of *Troy*, B.C. 904 ; from which, if counted downwards, the reigns of the 14 *Alban* kings, at his reduced average of 20 years apiece, amounting to 280 years, would end B.C. 624, giving the foundation of Rome three years lower than his former reduction, p. 126. But this is equally inconclusive, as will appear from the following rectification of their *Chronology* :—

† *Alban Kings.*

	Y.	B.C.
Destruction of <i>Troy</i>	10	1183
1. <i>Æneas</i> builds <i>Lavinium</i>	8	1173
2. <i>Ascanius</i>	38	1165

	Y.	B. C.
<i>Ascanius</i> founds <i>Alba longa</i> * .....	....	1143
3. <i>Æneas Sylvius</i>	29	1127
4. <i>Latinus Sylvius</i>	51	1098
5. <i>Alba</i>	39	1047
6. <i>Atis</i>	26	1008
7. <i>Capys</i>	28	982
8. <i>Capetus</i>	(13) 31	954
9. <i>Tiberinus</i> †	8	923
10. <i>Agrippa</i>	41	915
11. <i>Romulus Sylvius</i>	19	874
12. <i>Aventinus</i>	37	855
13. <i>Proca</i>	23	818
14. <i>Numitor</i> and <i>Amulius</i>	42	795
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
Foundation of <i>Rome</i>	430	753

In this list, collected from *Livy*, *Ovid*, and *Dionysius Hal.* the duration of the whole, 430 years, is determined from the establishment of the extreme dates; according to which, the intermediate reigns, taken from *Dion. Hal.* are adjusted with a slight amendment. By mistake, he split *Æneas Sylvius* into two separate kings, and thereby increased the list to 15. Retaining, therefore, the reign of the former, 29 years, as correct, I have substituted the 31 years of the latter, instead of the 13 assigned by him to *Capetus*, in which there is a deficiency of 18 years, requisite to complete the whole period of 430 years. Deducting, therefore, the ten years from the destruction of *Troy*, to the building of *Lavinium*, from which we may date the reign of *Æneas*, these 14 kings, in the course of 420 years, give an average of 30 years apiece. This sufficiently accords with the course of nature, in a *lineal* succession of kings, at that early period; especially, when in the case of *Ascanius*, there was a *minority* †, which also might have happened in others, and thereby have increased these reigns nearly to the standard of generations.

3. *Newton* himself assigns different amounts of the *Latin* and *Roman* kings, and of the average of their joint reigns. At first,

* Inter *Lavinium* et *Albam longam* coloniam deductam, triginta ferme interfuere anni. *Liv.* I. 3.

† *Tiberinus*, in trajectu *Albulæ* amnis submersus, celebre ad posterum nomen flumini dedit. *Ibid.*

‡ Nondum maturus imperio *Ascanius Æneæ* filius erat: tamen id imperium ei ad puberem ætatem incolume mansit: tantisper tutelâ muliebri (tanta indoles in *Lavinia* erat) res Latina, et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. *Liv.* I. 3.

p. 66, 67, misled by *Dionysius Halicarnass.* he reckons 15 Latin and 7 Roman kings, or 22 in all, and allowing them 18 years apiece, he assigns to them a period of 396 years. But afterwards, tacitly correcting the mistake, p. 126, 127, he reduces the Latin kings to 14, with *Livy*, and the whole to 21; and now, counting these reigns at 19 years apiece, he gets an amount of 399 years, nearly corresponding with the former. Thus does this literary *Procrustes* torture dates, by arbitrarily stretching or contracting them to fit the iron bedstead of his hypothesis! when he lengthens the kings, he shortens the reigns, and *vice versâ*.

His ingenious advocate, *Hooke*, infers from *Livy*, I. 40, where he speaks of the 38th year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, as being *almost a hundred years* after the reign of *Romulus**, which, by the received Chronology, was 137 years, that he disregarded it. —*Remarks on the History of the seven Roman Kings.* But this does not follow: for the sons of *Ancus*, in whose mouth he puts the observation, when conspiring the death of *Tarquinius Priscus*, purposely abridged the time, to excite odium against the succession of *Servius Tullius*, his son-in-law, as if indignant, that in so short a time after the reign of a god, the *Romans* could be so degenerate as to submit to the government of “a slave, and the son of a slave †!” Though *Livy*, in his very concise summary, mentions neither the *lives* nor the *reigns* of the *Alban* kings, and only the reigns of the *Roman*, yet he evidently adopted the received chronology respecting both, and this after mature research at the most enlightened period of Roman history.

Egyptian Chronology.

It is in this branch of his work that *Newton* has erred most grievously. Misled and perplexed by his radical mistake of *Sesostris*, for *Sesac*, he has introduced inextricable confusion into the whole system of *Egyptian Chronology*, and the most extraordinary anachronisms.

1. The Shepherd Dynasty, who conquered Egypt before

* — *Post centesimum fere annum, quàm Romulus Deo prognatus, Deus ipse, tenuerat regnum—id servus, servâ natus, possideat!*

† *Crevier*, in his note on the passage, judiciously observes:—*Centesimus jam et duodequagesimus agebatur annus ex quo Romulus decesserat: sed filii Anci consulto decurtant annorum numerum ad augendam invidiam ex ipsa temporum vicinitate.*

Abraham's days, about B.C. 2159, as will be shewn hereafter, and came originally from *Arabia*, according to *Manetho*, is lowered by *Newton* to the days of *Joshua*, above 500 years, and converted into the *Canaanites*, who fled from *Joshua*, and retired in great numbers into Egypt, and there conquered *Timaus* (*Thamus*, or *Thammuz*,) king of the lower Egypt, and reigned there under their kings *Salatis*, *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apophis*, *Janias*, *Assis*, &c. until the days of *Eli* and *Samuel*; when, in the days of the former, they were expelled from Egypt by *Misphragmuthosis*, &c.; and in the days of the latter, B.C. 1100, the *Philistines*, strengthened by the access of the Shepherds, conquered *Israel*, and took the ark. P. 9, 10.

2. The list of *Egyptian Kings*, furnished by *Herodotus*, is thus altered by *Newton*, p. 246, 247:—

<i>Herodotus.</i>	B. C.	<i>Newton.</i>	B. C.
1. <i>Menes</i>	2412	4. <i>Sesostris</i>	974
* *			
2. <i>Nitocris</i>	1742	5. <i>Pheron</i>	
* *			
3. <i>Mæris</i>	1327	6. <i>Proteus</i>	909
4. <i>Sesostris</i>	1308	1. <i>Menes</i>	
5. <i>Phæron</i>	1275	7. <i>Rhampsinitus</i>	887
6. <i>Proteus</i>	1214	3. <i>Mæris</i>	860
7. <i>Rhampsinitus</i>	1124	8. <i>Cheops</i>	825
8. <i>Cheops</i>	1082	9. <i>Cephren</i>	824
9. <i>Cephren</i>	1032	10. <i>Mycerinus</i>	808
10. <i>Mycerinus</i>	986	2. <i>Nitocris</i>	802
* *			
11. <i>Asychis</i>	815	11. <i>Asychis</i>	788
12. <i>Anysis</i>	771	12. <i>Anysis</i>	788
13. <i>Sabacon</i>	769	13. <i>Sabacon</i>	751
<i>Anysis</i> again	719	<i>Anysis</i> again	
14. <i>Sethon</i>	713	14. <i>Sethon</i>	751
15. Twelve contemp. Kings	673	15. Twelve contemp. Kings	
16. <i>Psammitichus</i>	658	16. <i>Psammitichus</i>	655
17. <i>Nechus</i>	619	17. <i>Nechus</i>	617
18. <i>Psammis</i>	603	18. <i>Psammis</i>	
19. <i>Apries</i>	597	19. <i>Apries</i>	
20. <i>Amasis</i>	569	20. <i>Amasis</i>	
21. <i>Psammenitus</i>	529	21. <i>Psammenitus</i>	

In his first ten kings *Newton* has strangely dislocated the order of *Herodotus*; in the last eleven he follows the same. To *Newton's* list I have assigned the dates collected from his *Short Chronicle*; to that of *Herodotus* the results of the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian Chronology*.

The errors and derangements of *Newton* in this branch of Chronology are wild and extravagant.

1. He annihilates all *Egyptian* Chronology before the time of *Joshua*, though Sacred History testifies that it was a considerable kingdom in the days of *Joseph* and *Jacob*, and even of *Abraham*; and it is represented among “the first of the kingdoms,” after the Deluge, by the united voice of sacred and profane history.

2. He leaves a great chasm between the time of *Joshua* and the accession of *Rehoboam*, or from the supposed expulsion of the *Shepherds* to the supposed commencement of the reign of *Sesostris*, his *Sesac*.

3. *Sesostris*, the fourth mentioned by *Herodotus*, is made the founder of the Egyptian empire, at least 334 years lower than his truer time; and *Menes**, the real founder, according to *Herodotus*, is degraded to the fourth place, and rated above 1500 years lower than his time. *Nitocris* also, the second noticed by *Herodotus*, and long before *Mæris*, is thrust down to the tenth place, and rated 940 years below her probable time. The reign of *Cheops* †, the supposed founder of the first of the great pyramids near *Memphis*, to whom *Herodotus* had expressly assigned 50 years, is reduced by *Newton* to a single year; and that of *Cephren*, the supposed builder of the second, is reduced from 56, to 16 years.

4. On the other hand, he places *Sethon*, priest of *Vulcan*, too high, by 38 years; for his reign is accurately determined from Scripture to B.C. 713; since, according to *Herodotus*, he reigned in the year of *Sennacherib*'s invasion of *Egypt*. And in consequence of this mistake, he reckons no less than 96 years from the time of his accession to the sole reign of *Psammitichus*, who was one of the twelve contemporary kings, and who dethroned the rest; and has given him a reign of 38 years more. So that, deducting the true length of *Sethon*'s reign, 40 years, *Psammitichus* reigned conjointly with the twelve kings, 56 years; and in all 94 years!—a period equivalent to five reigns, according to his reduced standard, $5 \times 19 = 95$ years.

Who now can read, without surprise and wonder, *Newton*'s

* In the Short Chronicle, *Menes* is dated B.C. 912; and put before *Proteus*, B.C. 909. P. 28, 29.

† 825. “*Cheops* reigns in *Egypt*. He built the greatest pyramid for his sepulchre.” P. 32.

final statement of the result of his discoveries in chronology. P. 8.

“ I have drawn up the following *chronological table* so as to make *chronology* suit (1.) With the *course of nature* [in the exact lengths of *reigns* and *generations*]; (2.) With *Astronomy* [in the *precession of the equinoxes* and *achronycal* risings of the stars]; (3.) With *Sacred History*, [in the times of the *Shepherd* invasion of *Egypt*, and of *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*]; (4.) With *Herodotus*, the father of History, [in the *order* and *times* of the *Egyptian* kings]; and (5.) With *itself*: without the many *repu gnancies* complained of by *Plutarch*.”

“ I do not pretend to be exact to a *year*: there may be errors of *five* or *ten* years, and sometimes *twenty*; and not much above.”
—*Credat Judæus!*

The rest of his chronology relates to the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*; it abounds, indeed, with considerable errors and anachronisms, but not of such magnitude or moment as these already described. I shall, therefore, wave them, for fear of protracting this review to a disproportionate length; and conclude with some conjectures on the causes which probably contributed to his deplorable failure in *Chronology*.

1. By a rare felicity of genius, this great man possessed, in an extraordinary degree, the art of collecting, combining, and amalgamating a great variety of unconnected, and seemingly discordant materials, drawn from widely different sources, *History*, *Mythology*, *Antiquities*, *Etymology*, and *Astronomy*, into one common mass of evidence. But his arguments were frequently fanciful and inconclusive, because he was more attentive to their number than to their weight; and he seemed to shut his eyes sometimes against the strongest, when they militated against a favourite hypothesis. Thus the positive and united testimony of the *Parian Chronicle*, *Thucydides*, and *Herodotus*, infinitely out-weighing all his counter-authorities, to determine the true time of *Hesiod*, were of no avail to change his pre-conceived opinion.

2. By a procedure still more unjustifiable, he did not scruple to *wrest evidence*, or strain a testimony to a sense foreign from its true import, in order to support his hypothesis. Thus he introduces Scripture to prove the identity of *Sesostris* and *Sesac*, from the supposed conquests of the latter: to whom, according to his interpretation, “*GOD gave the kingdoms of the lands.*”

2 Chron. xii. 8. pp. 69, 219. But this is a mistake: the text only signifying that to punish the *Jews*, for their rejection of the *Theocracy*, or Divine government, GOD gave them into the hand of *Sesac*; and put them under that severer yoke of *human tyranny* under which the neighbouring kingdoms or countries groaned: “*that they may know [the difference between] my service, and the service of the countries around:*” or, as well explained by *Josephus*, “*that they might learn, whether it were less burthensome to serve man rather than GOD.*”

He is also equally incorrect in his etymological analogy between the names *Sesostris* and *Sesac*. The true name of the *Egyptian* hero was *Seth*, *Sethos*, or *Sethosis*, which the Greeks metamorphosed, according to their fashion, into *Sesostris*: but, שישק, *Sisak*, (or שושק, *Susak*, as it is written, 1 Kings xiv. 25) may most easily and naturally be derived from ש, (in composition, the contraction of אשר) *qui*, and שקה (*Sakah*) *bibit*; it might therefore have been an appellation signifying a “*tippler*” or “*drunkard**,” given to the *Egyptian* king, in derision or contempt. And nothing is recorded of him in Scripture, but his sacrilegious plunder of the temple, and of the royal treasures at *Jerusalem*, and return home again. How different his name and actions from the noble character and extensive conquests of the ancient *Egyptian* hero!

By a similar mistake, from those passages of Scripture, that “*the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews: for that was an abomination to the Egyptians;*” because “*every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians,*” Gen. xliii. 32; xlv. 34; he infers: that “*the Egyptians, in the time of Joseph, were under the government of the genuine Egyptians, and not under that of the Shepherds,*” p. 198. But he is mistaken in supposing that this happened *before* the government of the *Shepherds*; the text plainly proves that it was *after*; for why, unless from their *past* sufferings, ending with the expulsion of the *Shepherds*, about 30 years before, and which therefore were not yet forgotten, should “*every shepherd be an abomination to the Egyptians?*”

3. But the chief cause of his failure was *suppression of*

* In this sense evidently, the word ששך, “*Sesach*,” is applied to the last king of *Babylon*, as prophetic of the *drunken feast*, during which the city was surprised and taken by *Cyrus*, Jer. xxv. 26; li. 39—57. This anniversary feast was called by the Greeks, Σακεαι ἡμέραι.

evidence. Every time he transcribed the work, he shortened it, by leaving out some of the authorities and references on which he had grounded his opinion. This necessarily rendered his *sixteenth* and last copy the most imperfect and unsatisfactory of all; for surely in the course of 30 years he must have *forgotten* or *mistaken* several of his original documents: we have seen instances of both. Besides it savoured too much of *self-sufficiency* to attempt to obtrude his own opinions upon the world, without deigning to state or explain the grounds of them.

Thus, in his *Egyptian Chronology*, the foregoing dates assigned by him, in the *Short Chronicle*, to the kings of *Egypt*, have not even the shadow of proof; not a trace of them remains in the body of the work, if ever it existed there. Several of them appear like the fictions of a disordered imagination; and his ingenious, but visionary system, upon the whole, resembles “the fantastic forms in an evening cloud: we seem to descry castles, and mountains, and gigantic appearances; but while we gaze, the forms die away, and we are soon lost in gloom and uncertainty.” *Bryant.*

VIII. *Chronology of KENNEDY.*

This is a most eccentric system, and deserves to be noticed for its singularity. It is purely *astronomical*; the chronology of it being subservient to the astronomy; whence he denominates the work, *Physiological Chronology*, as distinguished from *Historical*. *Introduct.* p. 11.

He begins *à priori* from the date of the Creation, which he arbitrarily assumes to have been in the year B.C. 4007, three years higher than *Usher*, because it possessed some remarkable *astronomical* characters; namely, that the autumnal equinox, when he supposes the world to have been created, began 1. at noon, 2. at the time of full moon, and 3. on the fourth day of the week: and on these data he frames his system, in a bulky quarto volume of about 750 pages.

The following is an outline of his *Sacred Chronology*:—

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
The Creation	1656 ..	1 ..	4007
Deluge	222 ..	1656 ..	2351
Terah	130 ..	1878 ..	2129
Abraham	74 ..	2008 ..	1999

	Y.	A.M.	B.C.
<i>Abraham</i> goes to <i>Charran</i>	1	2082	1925
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	25	2083	1924
<i>Isaac</i>	60	2108	1899
<i>Jacob</i> (130)	129	2168	1839
—— descent to <i>Egypt</i>	215	2297	1710
<i>Exode</i>	512	2512	1495
Temple founded	395	3024	983
—— destroyed		3419	588

As he assigns no reasons, it is in vain to seek where he got his dates of the *Exode*, and the foundation of *Solomon's Temple*, which differ from all the foregoing, and even from the *Hebrew* text; though he is a violent stickler for its immaculate purity.

“The *Jewish Hebrew Text*, I will beg leave to affirm, has never been corrupted in the article of *Chronology*, either by Jew or Pagan, by chance or design.” P. 141.

——“It is not more certain that there are a *sun* and *moon* in the heavens, than it is, that not a single error of the press, or of a *Jewish* transcriber, has crept into the present copies of the *Masorete Hebrew text*, to give the least interruption to its chronological series of years.” P. 277.

Such extravagant and revolting assertions would better become a bigotted *Jewish Rabbi*, than a rational English Divine. His arbitrary postulates of the astronomical characters requisite for the commencement of the world, according to the *Mosaic* account, are imposed on the public with a confidence ill corresponding to their fancifulness. *Ferguson*, in his letter to *Kennedy*, calls the astronomical part of his scheme, “a train of scientific deceptions.” And *Ferguson* was an able practical astronomer. He allows *Kennedy*, however, the merit of confirming what others had suggested; namely, the coincidence of the first day of the week, under the *Jewish* and *Christian* dispensation, with the seventh of the *Patriarchal*. This, however, appears to be exceedingly doubtful, if not repugnant to the *Mosaic* account, of the revival of the Sabbath in the wilderness, after it had been lost during the *Egyptian* servitude.

Kennedy has brought down his chronological series from his year of the Creation, B.C. 4007, to A.D. 1761, the accession of his present Majesty, *George III.* in two tables: the former, a very long table of the entire series of years, in the first 69 pages of the work. To this he has accommodated, with great labour and

considerable ingenuity, a large set of *solar* and *lunar* tables, beginning from his assumed era of the world, which seem to agree surprisingly in the computation of *eclipses*, with the results of the most skilful modern astronomers, computed from the most approved tables in present use. His method is certainly simpler and shorter, and may serve to give near conclusions, where strict accuracy is not required. There is also another abridgment of the former long table, in five pages, 145—150. And this, from A.D. 137, the end of *Ptolomy's* canon, is certainly useful, as exhibiting a continued and connected series of reigns, down to A.D. 1761, which is not to be found in one view elsewhere. It is given in the *Elements of Technical Chronology*, with some corrections.

The plan of this work might perhaps have been suggested by the system of *Alphonsus*, king of Castile, A.D. 1252. This scientific prince supposed that the world began with a cycle of 7000 years, comprehending the anomaly of the motion of the *Apsides*, and ending according to his computation, A.D. 16, which 16 years subducted from the whole period, left his epoch of the Creation, B.C. 6984. See *Muller's* edition of the *Alphonsine Tables*, and *Spanheim's Chron. Sacra*. P. 147.

IX. *Chronology of PLAYFAIR.*

Principal *Playfair*, of *St. Andrew's, Scotland*, published, in 1784, a splendid and useful folio volume, which may be considered as an improvement of *Blair's Chronology*. It is both *technical* and *historical*: beginning with an account of the principles of the science, and of the chief *epochs, eras, and periods* used in Chronology; proceeding to a short *chronological history* of the most remarkable kingdoms and states, ancient and modern, from the earliest times to the present; and concluding with a valuable set of *chronological tables and charts*, the *chronology of eclipses, &c.* and a copious *biographical index* of the most remarkable persons of every class, in all ages of the world, with concise notes of their respective characters. An improved and enlarged edition of this valuable work is preparing, we understand, for publication.

The following is a comparative outline of his system of *sacred chronology*, collected from his Tables, p. 310, 311, the basis of which, uninfluenced by *Kennedy's* infallible calculations, he places a year higher, B.C. 4008, following in general, though

occasionally deviating from, the received systems, derived from the *Jewish Chronology*.

	Y.	J. P.	A. M.	B. C.
<i>Adam</i>	1656	714	1	4008
<i>Deluge</i>	222	2362	1656	2352
<i>Terah</i>	70	2584	1878	2130
<i>Abraham</i>	74	2654	1948	2060
—— goes to <i>Charran</i>	1	2728	2022	1986
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	25	2729	2023	1985
<i>Isaac</i>	60	2754	2048	1960
<i>Jacob</i>	130	2814	2108	1900
<i>Descent to Egypt</i>	215	2944	2238	1770
<i>Exode</i>	540	3159	2453	1555
<i>Temple founded</i>	425	3699	2993	1015
—— destroyed		4126	3420	588

1. With the vulgar chronology of the *Jews*, *Scaliger*, and *Petavius*, he reckons 292 years from the *Deluge* to *Abraham's* birth, retaining the vulgar error that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son, which was judiciously rejected by *Usher*, *Marsham*, and *Kennedy*.

2. With *Usher* and *Kennedy*, he allows only one year for *Abraham's* stay at *Charran*, whereas the *Jews* and *Petavius* allowed five; the correct number was 15 years.

3. He has enlarged the period from the *Exode* to the foundation of *Solomon's Temple*, to 540; but this is still too short, and consequently his chronology of this period is cramped and embarrassed, like his predecessors: the correct length was 621 years.

4. He has nearly followed in his assigned duration of the *Temple*, *Petavius*, 423 years, *Usher*, 424. And, consequently, his chronology of the *Kings of Judah* labours under the same defects as theirs: the correct length was 441 years.

X. *Chronology of JACKSON.*

Among the first of the modern school of Chronology who ventured to break through the shackles of the received systems founded on the shorter *Hebrew* computation, was the acute and learned *Isaac Vossius*. Rejecting the *Jewish* chronology altogether, of which the preceding systems were merely modifications, he at once adopted the longer *Greek* computation, derived from the *Septuagint* version. But as they erred in defect, so his erred in excess, running into the opposite extreme: for his date

of the Creation, B.C. 5598, was soon found to be too high. Still, however, the system of *Vossius* was favourably received in England, and patronized by several learned men; *Hudson*, the editor of *Josephus*, in his notes, *Whiston*, *Kennicott*, &c. until at length the learned, ingenious, and adventurous *Jackson*, reduced his system to a lower standard, nearer to the truth; proposing, as a correcter date of the Creation, B.C. 5426, in his *Chronological Antiquities*, 3 vols. 4to. 1752.

This erudite and elaborate, but desultory work, contains a rich mass of valuable materials and original documents, collected from various quarters, and many ingenious criticisms and conjectural emendations of the received systems. And had the author been more attentive to method, and less diffusive; had he indulged less in fanciful and unfounded hypotheses, such as the *second Cainan*, &c. he would probably have given a more unexceptionable system, and superseded the necessity of the present attempt. That his system requires emendation also, will appear from the following comparative outline, collected from several detached periods, scattered through the first volume, pp. 36, 66, 132, 145, 189.

	Y.	A. M.	B. C.
<i>Adam</i>	2256	1	5426
<i>Deluge</i>	137	2256	3170
<i>Second Cainan</i>	389	2393	3033
<i>Dispersion of Mankind</i>	6	2782	2344
<i>Nimrod's Reign</i>	470	2788	2638
<i>Terah</i>	70	3258	2168
<i>Abraham</i>	75	3328	2098
—— goes to <i>Canaan</i>	25	3393	2023
<i>Isaac</i>	60	3428	1998
<i>Jacob</i>	86	3488	1938
<i>Levi</i>	41	3574	1852
<i>Cohath</i>	60	3615	1811
<i>Anram</i>	78	3675	1751
<i>Moses</i>	80	3753	1673
<i>Exode</i>	579	3833	1593
<i>Temple founded</i>	428	4412	1014
—— destroyed		4840	586

The fundamental error of this system, is the interpolation of the *second Cainan*, and his generation of 130 years, between those of *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, from the Septuagint version of Gen. xi. 13, where only it is to be found. This mischievous error *Jackson* "held fast, and would not let it go:" he clung to

it with all the fondness of *Newton* for his favourite identity of *Sesostris* and *Sesac*; and he resisted the strongest arguments for its exclusion from the sacred text. This led him, in the construction of his system, to make the time from the Deluge to *Abraham* too long, and the remainder too short. To reduce the former time lower, he adopted the vulgar error that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son, and he allowed no time for his sojournment at *Charran*. And because his errors in excess exceed those in defect, his date of the Creation is somewhat too high. Still his system is preferable to the rest: he has enlarged the period from the Exode to the foundation of *Solomon's* Temple, beyond any of his predecessors, to 579 years, and thereby brought it nearer to the truth; and he has critically determined his fundamental date, B.C. 586, which his predecessors placed two or three years higher.

In the foregoing review of these several systems, I have introduced, along with the years of the *Vulgar Christian Era*, those of the *Julian Period*, and of the *Creation of the World*, because the authors themselves make use of them. But the best and simplest is the first, which proceeds backwards and forwards from a known fixed point: the commencement of the *Julian Period*, being imaginary, and even so, deduced from the *Christian Era*; and the commencement of the *Creation of the World*, varying with each system. Its use, therefore, is only productive of confusion and perplexity. Much is it to be wished that Chronologers would confine themselves to the first, following the example of the *English Bible*, and *Newton*, in his *Short Chronicle*; or, that if they sometimes unavoidably introduce other *Eras*, (as those of the *Olympiads*, the foundation of *Rome*, *Nabonassar*, &c.) they would save their readers the trouble of reducing them to the common standard of the *Christian Era*. It would enable them also to reason more clearly themselves.

SECTION II.

IMPROVEMENT OF CHRONOLOGY.

ART. I. RULES OF CHRONOLOGIZING.

WHEN we survey the strange variety and discordancy of the several received systems of Chronology, scarcely two of them agreeing, even in their fundamental dates, and all differing from each other, more or less, in the principles of their construction, and in the application of those principles; sometimes adjusting sacred chronology by profane, and sometimes the reverse, without any settled rule or standard; we may naturally be led to despair of any solid or scientific improvement of the subject; especially at this advanced season, after the failure of so many of the greatest *Scholars, Historians, Mathematicians, and Astronomers**; when no fresh documents can be expected; and when many valuable records, to which the earlier Chronologers had access, are now lost and swallowed up in the abyss of time. A modern Chronologer declares: "If it is easy to *pull down* the system of *Chronologists*, it is by no means so to *build up* in their room one that can support itself against all difficulties: *I do not even believe it possible.*" *Larcher. Herodote, Tom. I, p. 309, 1st Edit.*

It is indeed "easy to *pull down*," as may appear from the foregoing section: but "to *build up*," is most difficult;—to cleanse the *Augean* stable of the mass of errors, accumulated in the course of ages, and still accumulating from the indolent practice of building upon decayed and rotten foundations, at present, is a task most arduous and truly *Herculean*. Still, however, though difficult the attempt, it is by no means "*impossible*," in *Larcher's* desponding style, provided the work be undertaken in a right way, and pursued upon a correct plan; provided certain fixed and established principles, or *rules of chronologizing*, be laid down and steadily adhered to; and that the original records and documents still subsisting, be more closely inspected, and more critically compared together, than has been hitherto done; and that Sacred Chronology be made

* *Scaliger*, speaking of the requisites for a Chronologer, says, *Nemo, nisi liberalibus disciplinis, et omnigenis artibus initiatus, accedat.* And perhaps the failure of so many may be ascribed to their being only *partially* qualified for the study: few possessing all the requisites,

the invariable basis and standard of profane, by reference to which the whole of ancient Chronology must be adjusted, as by the only certain criterion. For as the venerable *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, the earliest Christian Chronologer, observed :

Ὁ παρ χρόνος καὶ τὰ ἐτὴ δεικνύται τοῖς βουλομένοις πειθεσθαι τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ.

“ *The whole time* [from the Creation] *and the years* [since] *are discoverable by those who are willing to obey THE TRUTH.*”

Nor is *Chronology*, at present, in a more wretched state than was *Philosophy* before the days of *Newton* ; during the reign of the *Aristotelian*, *Ptolomaic*, and *Cartesian* systems ; furnishing but too much occasion to the profane remark of the scientific *Alphonsus* : that if “ *GOD had deigned to consult him at the Creation, he could have given HIM good advice !*” Indeed, *Ptolomy’s epicycles*, to account for the regressions of the planets ; *Descartes’s vortices*, to account for their annual motions ; and the eternity of the world, according to the *Peripatetic* system, were revolting to reason and science, and repugnant to the laws of mechanics, and of natural history.

The same admirable methods and the same means that were so successfully employed by the illustrious *Newton*, in raising *Experimental Philosophy* from her low estate of vassalage, under fanciful and unfounded *hypotheses*, to her proper rank and dignity as a *science*, are still open in *Chronology*. Had he exerted the same “ *patient thinking*,” (to which he modestly attributed his success in *Philosophy* and *Mathematics*) the same cool and unprejudiced judgment, the same dislike to idle *hypotheses*—“ *hypotheses non fingo*”—in his *chronological* studies, we should not have to regret the waste of his time, and the perversion of his great talents, for the last thirty years of his life ; nor would there probably have been occasion for the present rectification of Ancient Chronology. Even before *Newton*, the sagacious *Bacon*, in his *Improvements of the Sciences*, skilfully pointed out the course to be pursued by the *Chronologer* :

“ By *persevering industry*, and by *scrupulous attention* to *genealogies, monuments, inscriptions, names, titles, traditions* and *archives, fragments of history*, and *scattered passages from rare books* on very different subjects, may a *VENERABLE TABLET* be preserved from the *shipwreck of time* ; a work *operose* and *painful* to the author, but extremely *delightful* to his readers.”

But “ *persevering industry*” and “ *scrupulous attention*” may

be helped considerably by the following *Canons*, or *Rules of Chronologizing*, suggested by *Newton's Rules of Philosophizing*, in his *Principia*, lib. iii. And such indeed are still more necessary in *Chronology* than in *Philosophy*, on account of the greater obscurity of the subject, the wider range of materials to be collected and compared together, and the various and perplexing degrees of evidence, or counter-evidence, they are capable of affording in all their different bearings and aspects.

RULE I. *To adhere to the Scriptural Standard.*

The oldest records of time now extant are unquestionably the *Mosaical*. They are much earlier than the fragments of *Sanchoniatho*, *Berosus*, and *Manetho*, and indeed exhibit internal evidence of a purer and remoter antiquity, free from those monstrous fictions and absurdities, under which these heathen records caricature the venerable features of primæval history. The only sure and certain *pole-star*, to guide our wandering steps through the mazes, the deserts, and the quicksands of *ancient* and *primæval Chronology*, in which so many adventurers have been lost or swallowed up, by following the *ignis fatuus* of their own imaginations, or the treacherous glare of *hypotheses*, are the SACRED SCRIPTURES, well understood, and carefully and critically compared together; for otherwise, they also may be perverted into sources of error and confusion. "If we take THE BIBLE along with us, it is a teacher that will direct us through all the obscurity and maze of things, solve every difficulty, and lead up truth to the fountain-head." *Ellis*. "The purest and most fruitful source of *ancient history* is, doubtless, to be found in the HOLY BIBLE." *Bielfield*.

"The history recorded by *Moses* appears like a bright but remote object, seen through the glass of an excellent optician, clear, distinct, and well defined; but when we look back upon the accounts transmitted concerning the *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Medes*, and *Scythians*, or those of the early ages of *Italy* and *Greece*, we find nothing but a series of incredible and inconsistent events, and groups of strange beings,

Abortive, monstrous, and unkindly mixed,
Gorgons, and Harpies, and Chimeras dire."

Such is the just and beautiful imagery of the learned and ingenious, but sometimes over-fanciful *Bryant*.

This was the primary canon prescribed by the earliest Christian Chronologer *Theophilus*, in the foregoing passage, when by "THE TRUTH" he evidently meant HOLY WRIT, as appears from the following restriction:—"We are ignorant, perhaps, of the accurate amount of *all the years*, because *current months and days* are not set down in the SACRED WRITINGS."

And to the neglect of this canon we may trace up much of that heterogeneous mixture of *sacred* and *profane chronology*, which disgraces and embarrasses the systems of *Scaliger*, *Usher*, *Petavius*, &c. Had these great men, for instance, attended more closely to the sacred Scriptures, they would not have adopted that gross error of the double capture of *Nineveh*, nor would *Newton* have identified *Sesostris* with *Sesac*. If, on the other hand, the present work shall be found to have improved, in any respect, upon its predecessors, the improvement may be principally ascribed to the careful study of, and rigid adherence to, THE ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

RULE II. *To begin with the Analytical Method, and end with the Synthetical.*

The former part of this rule is well expressed by *Dodwell*: *A certioribus temporibus ad incertiora progrediendum*, "To proceed from the [*nearer*] times which are more certain, to the [*remoter*] which are more uncertain," or from "*known to unknown dates*."

The nature and application of the *Analytical* and *Synthetical* methods, is thus admirably taught by *Newton*, in his *Optics*, p. 380.

"As in *Mathematics*, so in *Natural Philosophy*, the investigation of *difficult* things by the method of *Analysis*, ought ever to precede the method of *Composition* [or *Synthesis*.]

"This *Analysis* consists in making experiments and observations, and in drawing general conclusions from them by *Induction*, and admitting of no objections against the conclusions, but such as are taken from *experiments*, or other *certain truths*: for *hypotheses* are not to be regarded in *Experimental Philosophy*. By this way of *Analysis*, we may proceed from *compounds* to *ingredients*, &c. and in general from *effects* to their *causes*, and from particular causes to more general ones, till the argument end in the most general. This is the method of *Analysis*."

“And the *Synthesis* consists in assuming the *causes* discovered and established as *principles*, and by them explaining the *phenomena* proceeding from them, and proving the explanations.”

And *Newton* himself has finely illustrated the application of these methods in his *Optics* and *Principia*, and also in his *Chronology*. In the last of these works, he investigated, by the *Analytical* method, his four cardinal epochs of *Grecian* Chronology, beginning with the lowest, the return of the *Heraclidæ*, as best known, and ending with the highest, the return of *Sesostris*, as least known, and connecting the intermediate epochs with each other, and with the extremes. And again, from these cardinal epochs assumed as principles, he has deduced several subordinate dates, as *Deucalion's* flood, the arrival of *Cadmus* in Greece, the flight of *Danaus*, &c.

The great *Basil* recommended the *Analytical* method for the discovery of the duration of the world.

“It is possible for you to learn from what time the creation of this world began, if *going backwards from the present to the past*, you shall endeavour to find out the first day of the creation; for by this method, you will find out from whence time acquired its first motion,” as measured by the motions of the *sun* and *moon*.

And as a key to the right understanding of the plan upon which the following work was constructed, the leading elementary date, by reference to which the whole range of *sacred* and *profane Chronology* has been adjusted, is the birth of *Cyrus*, B.C. 599, which led to his accession to the throne of *Persia*, B.C. 559; of *Media*, B.C. 551; and of *Babylonia*, B.C. 536: for, from these several dates, carefully and critically ascertained and verified, the several respective chronologies of these kingdoms branched off; and from the last especially, the destruction of *Solomon's* temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 586, its correcter date; which led to its foundation, B.C. 1027; thence to the *Exode*, B.C. 1648; thence to *Abraham's* birth, B.C. 2153; thence to the reign of *Nimrod*, B.C. 2554; thence to the *Deluge*, B.C. 3155; and thence to the *Creation*, B.C. 5411. And this date of the Creation is verified by the rectification of the systems of *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, as will be shewn in the sequel.

RULE III. *Not to adopt any Date, that shall be repugnant to any other established Date.*

This rule is essentially requisite to give uniformity and consistency to the whole system of Ancient Chronology, sacred and profane.

Thus, the generally received date of the destruction of *Solomon's* temple, B.C. 588, is inconsistent with the true and only date of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, B.C. 604, as established and verified by *Ptolomy's* scientific canon; by the application of which, the unfounded hypothesis of a double commencement of his reign, during his father's life, and after his death, is discarded.

The sagacious *Jackson* detected an error of two years even in *Ptolomy's* celebrated canon, but he omitted the necessary compensation in the reign of *Cyrus*, as dated from the capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536. This rectification of the canon itself discovers the correct date of the expiration of the *Babylonish* captivity, which has been hitherto an apple of discord among the chronologers.

RULE IV. *Never to frame an Hypothesis, nor to assign a conjectural Date, except in Cases of downright Necessity.*

Thus, until every other resource had failed, I did not venture to assume the preaching of *Jonah* to the *Ninerites*, B.C. 800, according to *Jackson's* conjecture; that of the Bible Chronology, B.C. 862, being too early: nor the accession of *Astyages*, B.C. 601, two years before the birth of his grandson *Cyrus*. *Petavius* has an excellent remark on the subject, which cannot be too carefully attended to by Chronologers:—"As nothing is more easy, so nothing is less tolerable, than to transfer to the most ancient writers the fault of our own error and unskilfulness; on the contrary, nothing is more prudent and more desirable than to attribute very much to the authority and fidelity of the ancients; and not to recede therefrom, unless when we are admonished and convinced by the clearest and plainly necessary indications of truth." *Petav.* Vol. II. p. 87. Indeed, to *rash conjectures*, and *fanciful hypotheses*, may we attribute very much of the disrepute which the science of Chronology has unjustly incurred, by the treatment it has experienced even from *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Newton*, and *Jackson*.

RULE V. *Carefully and critically to distinguish between different Persons, in different Ages and Countries, called by the same Name; and, on the other Hand, to unite or identify Persons bearing different names, in different Authors, or at different Times of their Lives.*

The diversity of persons bearing the same name, and the diversity of names attributed to the same person, in sacred and profane history, form two of the most frequent and prominent causes of error and perplexity in adjusting sacred and profane Chronology. Thus *Nimrod*, and one of his descendants in the *Assyrian* empire, were both called *Ninus*, and the exploits of the former attributed to the latter, to the great embarrassment of the history: on the other hand *Sesostris*, the celebrated Egyptian conqueror of *Herodotus*, was called *Sethosis* and *Osymanduas* by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Vexoris* by *Justin*, &c.

By the sober and skilful application of these rules, suggested experimentally, and matured gradually, in the course of these researches, both by my own mistakes, and those of my predecessors, in this most abstruse and difficult investigation; and by more careful and critical revision and comparison of all the various original documents, still extant, of ancient *History*, *Antiquities*, *Etymology*, *Mythology*, and *Astronomy*, connected with *Chronology*, I am persuaded, that the whole of Ancient Chronology, Sacred and Profane, may be reduced to one simple, uniform, and consistent system, in which all the parts shall correspond with each other, and with the whole, without “the many *repugnancies* most justly complained of,” in all the systems that have hitherto appeared; and the whole be brought to the highest degree of *probability*, bordering on *moral certainty*, beyond which it cannot be raised, from the imperfection of several of the leading *data*: for “*who can count the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of the world,*” with absolute certainty, but HE that made them all—THE ANCIENT OF DAYS.

ART. II. REVISION AND COMPARISON OF THE SHORTER HEBREW, AND LONGER GREEK COMPUTATIONS, IN THE PATRIARCHAL GENEALOGIES.

The removal of *error* is the first step towards the discovery of *truth*. Let us therefore proceed to examine carefully and critically the most ancient of these venerable documents, which have survived the ravages of time, and are still extant in the records of the genealogies of the *antediluvian* patriarchs, Gen. v. and of the *postdiluvian*, Gen. xi.; for upon these, every system of Patriarchal Chronology must necessarily be built.

The first circumstance that strikes us on comparing these lists, as they are given in the *Masorete* and *Samaritan* Hebrew texts, in the Greek version of the *Septuagint*, and in *Josephus*, (who was well acquainted both with the original *Hebrew*, and with the *Greek* version) is a remarkable difference in the lengths of the successive generations, amounting to 600 years in the antediluvian, and to 700 years in the postdiluvian; and which, it is evident, could not have originated from *accident*, but from premeditated *design*: for in the Hebrew, the centenary deficiencies in the lengths of the generations are added to the residues of the lives; whereas, in the Greek version, the centenary additions to the lengths of the generations are subducted from the residues of lives, so as to make the totals of lives equal, according to the following tables.

GENERAL TABLES OF PATRIARCHAL GENEALOGIES.

TABLE I. BEFORE THE DELUGE.

	GENERATIONS.				RESIDUES.			LIVES.		
	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Joseph.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
1. Adam ...	130	130	230	230 ..	800	800	700 ..	930	930	930
2. Seth	105	105	205	205 ..	807	807	707 ..	912	912	912
3. Enos	90	90	190	190 ..	815	815	715 ..	905	905	905
4. Cainan	70	70	170	170 ..	840	840	740 ..	910	910	910
5. Malaleel ..	65	65	165	165 ..	830	830	730 ..	895	895	895
6. Jared	162	62	162	162 ..	800	785	800 ..	962	847	962
7. Enoch	65	65	165	165 ..	300	300	200 ..	365	365	365
8. Methuselah	187	67	187	187 ..	782	653	782 ..	969	720	969
9. Lamech	182	53	188	182 ..	595	600	565 ..	777	653	753
10. Noah	600	600	600	600						
Deluge	1656	1307	2262	2256						

TABLE II. AFTER THE DELUGE.

	GENERATIONS.				RESIDUES.			LIVES.		
	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Joseph.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
1. Deluge. <i>Shem</i>	2	2	2	12 ..	500	500	500..	600		
2. <i>Arphaxad</i> ...	35	135	135	135 ..	403	303	403..	438		
[<i>Cainan</i> II...]			130]				330]			
3. <i>Salah</i>	30	130	130	130 ..	403	303	303..	433		
4. <i>Eber</i>	34	134	134	134 ..	430	270	270..	404		
5. <i>Peleg</i> , or <i>Phaleg</i>	30	130	130	130 ..	209	109	209	239		
6. <i>Reu</i> , or <i>Ragau</i>	32	132	132	130 ..	207	107	207..	239		
7. <i>Serug</i>	30	130	130	132 ..	200	100	200..	230		
8. <i>Nahor</i>	29	79	79	120 ..	119	69	129..	148		
9. <i>Terah</i>	70	70	70	70 ..	135	75	135..	205	145	250
10. <i>Abraham</i>	292	942	1072	993						
Totals	1948	2249	3334	3249						

Thus, *Adam's* generation, or his age at the birth of *Seth*, is reckoned by the *Masorete* and *Samaritan* Hebrew texts, 130 years; the residue of life, 800 years; and the total, 930 years; whereas, in the *Septuagint* and *Josephus*, the generation is enlarged to 230 years; the residue of life diminished to 700 years; so as to make the total 930 years the same*.

Besides this general and uniform difference of the addition or subtraction of a century, in the respective lists of generations, there are considerable variations in the four lists of the *Masorete*, *Samaritan*, *Septuagint*, and *Josephus*, some of which must be accidental, others designed.

Originally, however, there did not exist any remarkable difference between the Hebrew and Greek copies. This we learn from the important attestations of *Philo* and *Josephus*, those great antiquaries and historians.

Philo, of *Alexandria*, who flourished in the Apostolic age, thus speaks of the accuracy and fidelity of the Greek version, and of the high veneration in which it was held by the *Jews* in his time:—

“The 72 interpreters seriously reflected with themselves, how

* This remark is as old at least as *Augustine's* time, who flourished about A.D. 395.

“In his autem continuatur ipsius mendositatis similitudo; ita ut ante genitum filium qui ordini inseritur, alibi supersint centum anni, alibi desint; post genitum autem, ubi deerant supersint, ubi supererant desint; ut summa conveniat. Et hoc in prima, secunda, tertia, quarta, quinta, septima generatione invenitur. Videtur habere quandam, si dici potest, error ipse constantiam; nec casum redolet sed industriam.—*De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xv. 13.

arduous a task it was to interpret or translate the laws contained in the Divine Oracles, so as neither to add nor diminish, nor to alter any thing, but to retain their original form." And he observes, that the most learned *Jews*, best skilled in both languages, the *Hebrew* (which he calls *Chaldee*) and the *Greek*, at the time it was made, B.C. 240, styled the translators, "not *interpreters* merely, but *prophets*, who with the purest spirit had entered into the genuine sentiments of *Moses*." And he adds, that "an annual festival was celebrated in the isle of *Pharos*, where the version was made, until his time, to preserve the memory of it, and to thank God for so great a benefit." *De Vita Mosis*.

Josephus also, who flourished in the next generation after *Philo*, and published his admirable *Antiquities*, about A.D. 94, relates, that "at the request of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, a copy of the law [of *Moses*] was sent by the high-priest from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria*, written in letters of gold, upon leaves of parchment wonderfully joined together. And that the version, after it was finished, was read in public, in order that every one might observe whether it was in any respect redundant or deficient; but the interpretation was adjudged by all to be so well done, that it ought to remain, as it was, without alteration." *Antiq.* 12, 2, 12, p. 517. Hudson's edit.

And *Josephus* himself, who was well skilled in both languages, professes that he translated his *Antiquities* from the *Hebrew* Scriptures into the *Greek* language, without adding to, or diminishing from, the original, for which he expresses the highest veneration. See his *Life*, §. 2; *Proem.* §. 2, 3; and *Antiq.* 10, 10, 6.

From these joint testimonies of *Philo* and *Josephus*, therefore, we may safely conclude, 1. That there was originally no difference between the *Hebrew* genealogies and those of the *Greek* version; and 2. That the computation of *Josephus* was conformable to both in his time; and consequently, 3. That either the *Hebrew* copies, or the *Greek* copies, both of the *Septuagint* and of *Josephus*, have been adulterated since his time.

II. That the adulteration took place in the *Hebrew* copies, rather than in the *Greek*, is most highly probable, for several reasons:

The superstitious veneration for the "*Hebrew verity*," as it was called, or supposed immaculate purity of the *Masorete* editions of the *Hebrew* text, which possessed some of the prin-

principal Hebraists and Divines of the last age, and precluded any enquiries or discussions of this nature, is now lowered to its proper level of rational respect. The great *Usher* seems to have entertained juster sentiments on the subject than most of his contemporaries, though he scrupled to innovate in Chronology, or recede much from the received systems in his time; when too many, like *Kennedy*, were obstinately and blindly attached to the Hebrew verity. But the inspection of various editions since, and the copious collations of the Hebrew text with a great number of MSS. collected from all parts of the world, by the laudable industry and extensive researches of *Kennicott* and *De Rossi*, and other learned men, have proved that the *Sacred Classics* are no more exempt from various readings than the *profane*. Nor indeed could it be otherwise, without a *continued miracle*, if we consider the vast number of transcripts that have been made by copiers, more or less skilful, and more or less careful, in all parts of the world; and surely their variations are equally the province of *philological criticism*, to approve some, and to reject others, according to the number and weight of the authorities for or against.

1. Hence the *Hebrew* copies were equally obnoxious to adulteration as the *Greek*.

2. But the *Hebrew* copies afforded greater facilities and opportunities of adulteration than the *Greek*: for, in the course of the *Jewish* war, until the final destruction of *Jerusalem*, and expulsion of the Jews from Judea, in the reign of *Adrian*, vast numbers of the *Hebrew* copies must have been lost or destroyed, besides those that were taken away by the conquerors among other spoils; and the few that were left were confined, in great measure, to the *Jews* themselves, as the *Hebrew* language was not in general use, like the *Greek*. Whereas, of the *Greek* copies, even if all that were possessed by the *Hellenistic* Jews, not only in *Palestine*, but throughout the world, had been destroyed, which was far from being the case, yet the copies of the *Septuagint*, in the possession of the *Christians* every where, rendered any material adulteration of the *Greek* text, at least in so important a case as that of the genealogies, well nigh impossible.

3. The temptation to adulteration was also greater in the *Hebrew* than in the *Greek*.

* After the first destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, A.D. 70, the Jews were so oppressed by their national calamities, that

they could think of nothing else for some time; but about the end of the first century of the Vulgar Era, they were roused to oppose the wonderful progress of Christianity. What principally excited their rage and vexation was, that "their own *scriptures*" were turned into artillery against them, to prove that "JESUS was indeed the CHRIST," from the days of the Apostles. Acts xviii. 28.

In order to bring the Septuagint vulgate version, which was usually referred to by the *Christians*, into disrepute, they instituted a solemn fast on the 8th day of *Tebeth* (*December*), to curse the memory of its having been made. Some of the Rabbins compare it to "that unlucky day for *Israel*, when the golden calf was made." See *Hodius de Version. Græc.* p. 121. And they set up three other Greek versions in opposition thereto, framed from their curtailed Hebrew text.

The first was that of *Aquila*, published about A.D. 128, two years before the *Seder Olam Rabba*. He was originally a Pagan priest, who became a *Christian*, and afterwards, on his expulsion from the Church for irregular conduct, turned a renegado to Judaism, and became a pupil to that famous Rabbi *Akiba*, "whose name," says *David Ganz*, "is gone forth from one end of the world unto the other, and we have the whole oral law from his hand," p. 99: who for 40 years was president of the *Sanhedrim*, and had no less than 40,000 disciples, which qualified him to become one of the most subtle and formidable, as he was one of the most malignant adversaries of Christianity.

And now was written or "sealed" by Rabbi *Jose*, under the auspices and instigation of *Akiba*, the *Seder Olam Rabba*, or Jewish curtailed system of Chronology, A.D. 130, about five years before the total demolition of *Jerusalem*, and desolation of *Judæa* by *Adrian*; in the course of which war, *Akiba*, and the false Christ and rebel *Barchocab*, whom he abetted, were slain, and their adherents destroyed. See *David Ganz's* Chronology, entitled *Zemach David*, "the branch of *David*," translated by *Vorstius*, pp. 1, and 106, where this curious and valuable account of the time of the publication, and of the authors of the *Seder Olam Rabba*, is given.

Aquila is charged by *Epiphanius* with wresting Scripture, contrary to the interpretation of the Septuagint version, to a different sense, in order to invalidate the testimonies concerning CHRIST. De *Mensur. et Pond.* Cap. 15. And an unpublished

Greek tract in the *Bodleian* library, inspected by *Kennicott*, relates, that "*Aquila* being filled with much rage, and imagining mischiefs in his heart, was transported by an unjust envy, and anathematizing Christianity, he became a *Jew*; and having assiduously learned the power of the Hebrew elements, and being superficially instructed in the Hebrew tongue, he interpreted Scripture, *wishing to conceal the testimonies concerning CHRIST*. Whenever, therefore, you find in the *Hebrew*, (for even there also he obliterated) or in the *Greek*, *the testimonies concerning CHRIST disguised*, know that it was the insidious contrivance of *Aquila*." See the original passage in the masterly *Dissertatio generalis* subjoined to the second volume of *Kennicott's* Hebrew Collations of the Bible, §. 69.

Justin Martyr, also, in his controversy with *Trypho*, the *Jew*, about A.D. 148, produces several instances of their altering or erasing the prophecies relative to the divinity, passion, and death of *CHRIST*, out of the copies of the *Septuagint* vulgate version used in their synagogues. "Your *Rabbis*, says he to *Trypho*, "have absolutely expunged many passages out of the *Septuagint* version, as I would have you to know."—"Still I will argue with you even from those received passages which ye admit, *which if your Rabbis had understood, be assured they would have expunged them*."

This testimony of *Justin Martyr*, who was himself a *Samaritan*, and understood the *Hebrew* Scriptures also, is of the greatest weight; and the following of *Irenæus*, who died A.D. 202, decides the point:

"If the *Jews* (says he) had known that we should have made use of those testimonies that are to be drawn from the *Scriptures*, they would never have hesitated themselves to burn their own *Scriptures*."

Hence we may safely conclude, that the adulteration was rather of the *Hebrew* genealogies than of the *Greek*; and that it was introduced, probably by *Aquila*, just before the time of the fabrication of the *Seder Olam Rabba*, A.D. 130, founded thereon.

Aquila published two editions of his version; about A.D. 185, a second translation was published by *Theodotion*, whom *Jerom* calls "a *Jew* and a *blasphemer*." This was principally designed to supersede the use of the vulgate version of the *Septuagint* among the *Jews*; which it soon did, as it more nearly resembled the style of that formerly venerable, but now obnoxious version, than *Aquila's*. *Theodotion's* translation of the book

of *Daniel* was introduced into the *Christian* Churches also, as being deemed more accurate than the *Septuagint*, and thus the *Septuagint* version of that book was unfortunately long lost. Still, however, the rest of the version was providentially retained and preserved; for with all its numerous errors and corruptions at present, it is still one of our most useful and valuable helps to the understanding of the *prophecies* especially, because it was written before the birth of *CHRIST*, when there was no temptation to adulteration. A third translation was afterwards made by *Symmachus*, A.D. 200. He was a *Samaritan* and an *Ebionite* Christian, and gave a freer translation than the rest, according to *Eusebius*.

Although the corruption of the Hebrew genealogies began as early as *Aquila's* version, A.D. 128, and was sanctioned by the *Seder Olam Rabba*, A.D. 130, yet it does not appear to have made any considerable progress for two centuries after. *Theophilus*, bishop of *Antioch*, who died A.D. 181, was the first Christian chronologer who attempted to compute the age of the world from Scripture. In his third book to *Autolytus*, he reckoned 2362 years from the creation to the deluge, and 1036 years from the birth of *Arphaxad*, two years after the deluge, to the birth of *Isaac*, which would give 938 years from the deluge to the birth of *Abraham*. These dates are incorrect: the first being too high, the last too low. But that he did not take them from the *Septuagint* is evident, because they both differ from it; and he expressly omits the *second Cainan*, found only in the *Septuagint*; consequently, he took them from some *Hebrew* copy, which followed the longer computation, and he allowed from *Adam* to *Seth* 330 years, a century more than the *Septuagint*.

Indeed, the shorter computation did not prevail in the *Hebrew* Bibles until a good while after his death; for *Eusebius*, who died A.D. 340, "found in the *Hebrew* copies which he consulted, different accounts of the times, some following the longer, others the shorter computations."

III. The motive which led the *Jews* to mutilate the *Patriarchal* genealogies, is most clearly exposed by *Ephrem Syrus*, who died A.D. 378.

"The *Jews*," says he, "have subtracted 600 years from the generations of *Adam*, *Seth*, &c. in order that their own books might not convict them concerning the coming of *CHRIST*: he having been predicted to appear for the deliverance of mankind after 5500 years."

2. This remarkable prediction or tradition, of the appearance of CHRIST in the course of the sixth millenary age of the world, and which was actually fulfilled, is still more fully explained by the excellent *Armenian* annalist *Abulfaragi*, p. 72.

“ It having been foretold in the *Law* and the *Prophets* concerning the MESSIAH, that he should be sent in ‘ *the last times*,’ and the earlier Rabbins finding no better device to reject [JESUS, as] THE CHRIST, than to alter the generations of the patriarchs, *by which the age of the world might be known*, they subtracted a century from *Adam’s* age until the birth of *Seth*, and added the same to his residue of life ; and this they did in the lives of the rest of *Adam’s* descendants, down to *Abraham*. By this device, their computation shewed that [JESUS] CHRIST was manifested near the middle of the *fifth* millenary of the age of the world, which, according to them, was to last for 7000 years ; and they said, *We are still in the middle of the time, and the time appointed for the MESSIAH’S advent is not yet come.*”

Here *Abulfaragi* reckons according to the eastern *Jews*, who dated the creation, B.C. 4220, consequently JESUS was born near the middle of their *fifth* age of the world. The western *Jews*, who date it B.C. 3760, following the *Seder Olam Rabba* nearly, depress his birth to the middle of the *fourth* age.

3. The origin of this notion of the six millenary ages of the world, is well explained by the learned *Gregory*, of *Oxford*.

“ In the first verse of the first chapter of *Genesis*, the Hebrew letter **א**, *Aleph*, which in the *Jewish* arithmetic stands for 1000, is six times found. From hence, the ancient *Cabbalists* concluded that the world would last 6000 years. Because also God was six days about the Creation, and *a thousand years with him are but as one day* ; (Ps. xc. 4 ; 2 Pet. iii. 8.) therefore after six days, that is, 6000 years’ duration of the world, there shall be a seventh day, or millenary sabbath of rest.”

This early tradition of the *Jews* was found also in the *Sibyline Oracles*, and in *Hesiod*, as we have seen ; in the writings of *Darius Hystaspes*, the old king of the *Medes*, derived probably from the *Magi* ; and in *Hermes Trismegistus*, among the *Egyptians* : and was adopted by the early Christian Fathers, *Clemens*, *Timotheus*, and *Theophilus*, bishop of *Antioch*, who observed, that “ upon the sixth day GOD made man, and man fell by sin ; so upon the sixth day of the Chiliad, (or sixth mil-

lenary age of the world) our Lord JESUS CHRIST came into the world, and saved man by his cross and resurrection."

"But to weaken or defend the tradition itself," says *Gregory*, "I have no engagement upon me. It yieldeth me this observation, that in the opinion of those who held it, our Saviour was to come in the flesh in the sixth millenary of the world."

The prevalence, therefore, of this tradition throughout the *Pagan, Jewish, and Christian* world, whether well founded, or otherwise, was a sufficient reason for the *Jews* to endeavour to invalidate it, by shortening their chronology.

IV. The defalcation of the *Hebrew* genealogies is also proved by the concessions of the early Jewish writers :

1. The Targum of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, of the highest authority among the Jews, thus paraphrases Gen. iv. 25. "And Adam knew his wife when 130 years were completed after Abel was killed." And the same account is furnished by the *Bere-shith Rabba, More Nevochim, Midrash Tanchuma, Solomon Jarchi, Elias*, and others of their principal writers. A very ancient book called the *Little Genesis*, also relates that "Cain was born in the 70th year of Adam's life, and Abel in the 77th : that Cain brought his sacrifice in the 97th year of the world, and that Abel offered his in the 99th year, when he was slain by his brother." By this reckoning, Abel was slain about the beginning of the 100th year of the world, or end of the first century ; which, added to the 130 years of Adam's abstinence from his wife, gives the birth of Seth when Adam was 230 years old : exactly conformable to the Greek chronology of the Septuagint and of *Josephus* *.

2. The apocryphal book of *Enoch*, which certainly was older than the Christian era, and probably as old, if not older than the Septuagint Version, and was cited by the Apostles *Jude* and *Peter*, states that the *Egregori*, or "Watchers," of the line of Seth, called "Sons of God," Gen. vi. 2, came down from the high country of *Eden*, where they dwelt, in the days of *Jared*, in the 1070th year of the world, and took to them wives of the daughters of men, or family of Cain, who dwelt in the low country of *Susiana*. But this date corresponds to the 110th year of *Jared*, according to the Greek chronology : whereas it is utterly repugnant to the Hebrew ; which would bring down the

* *Jacobus Edessenus*, who flourished about A.D. 700, states, that he found in some sufficiently accurate *Hebrew histories*, that Adam begat Seth when he was 230 years old.

defection of the *Egregori*, to the 14th year of *Noah's* age. See *Syncellus* Chronograph. p. 12, 16.

This same book of *Enoch*, as cited by *Alexander Polyhistor*, states that the archangel *Uriel*, who presided over the stars, discovered to *Enoch* * the nature of the *month*, and of the *tropical year* [of 365 days] in the 165th year of his age, and 1286th year of the world, which exactly accords with the *Greek* chronology, but differs totally from the *Hebrew*.

V. This defalcation is proved also by internal evidence the most undeniable.

1. In the *Antediluvian* genealogy, the centenary addition is still found in the sixth, eighth, and ninth generations of *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*. Had these been curtailed, like the rest, their lives would have extended beyond the Deluge, contrary to Scripture: for, deducting their three centuries, the Deluge would have happened in the 1356th year of the world: consequently, had their three centuries been added to their residues of lives, like the rest, *Jared* would have survived the Deluge 66 years; *Methuselah*, 200 years; and *Lamech*, 95 years. Not daring, therefore, to shorten the lives of these three patriarchs, the *Jews* were forced to let the original amounts of their generations remain unaltered.

And that this was their motive, is demonstrated by the case of the seventh, *Enoch*: they, without scruple, deducted a century from his generation, and added it to his residue of life; because his life was short, and would not reach to the Deluge; so that the forgery could not be detected.

The reason also why they deducted six centuries and no more, was, that according to their reduced period of 1656 years, *Methuselah* died in the year of the Flood; and *Lamech*, five years before it. This was probably the work of *Aquila* at first.

The *Antediluvian* genealogy is still more corrupt in the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, both in generations and lives. At first the *Samaritans* did not venture to shorten the lives of *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*; they only subtracted a century from *Jared's* generation, and added it to his residue of life, which brought his death within 134 years of the Flood. And so their copies generally stood in the time of *Origen*, about A.D. 230; and some, even until *Jerom*, about A.D. 392. But afterwards

* It is remarkable that *Enoch's* age, 365 years, gives the number of days in a year. The coincidence is curious without recurring to *Rabbinical* mysticism.

they grew less scrupulous; and in order to make the whole genealogy appear more uniform, they deducted a century from each of the remaining generations of *Methuselah* and *Lamech*. But then they were forced to shorten their lives also, to bring their deaths within the compass of the Deluge. By this management, *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*, all died exactly in their year of the Deluge, A.M. 1307: furnishing palpable evidence of the double forgery. With great reason, *Kennicott* conjectures, that *Symmachus*, himself a *Samaritan*, was the author of this. *Disser. Gen.* §. 84, 4.

2. The *Postdiluvian* genealogy also furnishes internal evidence of its corruption.

The sums total of lives given in the *Antediluvian* genealogy, are omitted in the *Postdiluvian*. The chasm is fortunately supplied, and the genuine lengths of generations restored in the *Samaritan* Hebrew text, as follows:

MASORETE TEXT.

1. *Shem*, a son of 100 years, begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood: and *Shem* lived after he begat *Arphaxad* 500 years, and begat sons and daughters:

2. And *Arphaxad* lived 35 years, and begat *Salah*: and *Arphaxad* lived after he begat *Salah* 403 years, and begat sons and daughters:

3. And *Salah* lived 30 years, and begat *Eber*: and *Salah* lived after he begat *Eber* 403 years, and begat sons and daughters:

4. And *Eber* lived 34 years, and begat *Peleg*: and *Eber* lived after he begat *Peleg* 430

SAMARITAN TEXT.

1. *Shem*, a son of 100 years, begat *Arphaxad* two years after the flood: and *Shem* lived after he begat *Arphaxad* 500 years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of *Shem* were 600 years, and he died.

2. And *Arphaxad* lived 135 years, and begat *Salah*: and *Arphaxad* lived after he begat *Salah* 303 years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of *Arphaxad* were 438 years, and he died.

3. And *Salah* lived 130 years, and begat *Eber*: and *Salah* lived after he begat *Eber* 303 years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of *Salah* were 433 years, and he died.

4. And *Eber* lived 134 years, and begat *Peleg*: and *Eber* lived after he begat *Peleg* 270 years,

MASORETE TEXT.

SAMARITAN TEXT.

years, and begat sons and daughters :

5. And *Peleg* lived 30 years, and begat *Reu* [or *Ragau* :] and *Peleg* lived after he begat *Reu* 209 years, and begat sons and daughters :

6. And *Reu* lived 32 years, and begat *Serug* : and *Reu* lived after he begat *Serug* 207 years, and begat sons and daughters :

7. And *Serug* lived 30 years, and begat *Nahor* : and *Serug* lived after he begat *Nahor* 200 years, and begat sons and daughters :

8. And *Nahor* lived 29 years, and begat *Terah* : and *Nahor* lived after he begat *Terah* 119 years, and begat sons and daughters :

9. And *Terah* lived 70 years, and begat *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran* :—and the days of *Terah* were 205 years, and *Terah* died in *Charran*.

and begat sons and daughters : and all the days of *Eber* were 404 years, and he died.

5. And *Peleg* lived 130 years, and begat *Ragau* : and *Peleg* lived after he begat *Ragau* 109 years, and begat sons and daughters : and all the days of *Peleg* were 239 years, and he died.

6. And *Ragau* lived 132 years, and begat *Serug* : and *Ragau* lived after he begat *Serug* 107 years, and begat sons and daughters : and all the days of *Ragau* were 239 years, and he died.

7. And *Serug* lived 130 years, and begat *Nachor* : and *Serug* lived after he begat *Nachor* 100 years, and begat sons and daughters : and all the days of *Serug* were 230 years, and he died.

8. And *Nachor* lived 79 years, and begat *Terah* : and *Nachor* lived after he begat *Terah* 69 years, and begat sons and daughters : and all the days of *Nachor* were 148 years, and he died.

9. And *Terah* lived 70 years, and begat *Abraham*, *Nahor*, and *Haran* :—and the days of *Terah* were 145 years, and *Terah* died in *Charran*.

This uniform chasm, or omission of the total lives of the first eight patriarchs, was introduced early into the *Masorete* Hebrew

text; for it occurs also in the present copies of the *Septuagint*, and in all the other ancient versions; namely, the *Latin Vulgate*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Persic*, and the Targums of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*. Still, however, the *Septuagint* furnishes evidence of the omission, by retaining the last two words, *καὶ ἀπέθανε*, “and he died,” throughout the whole. There cannot, therefore, remain a doubt, that the total lives were originally inserted in the ancient *Jewish Hebrew* copies, as well as in the *Samaritan*; no less than the total lives of the *Antediluvian* patriarchs, in both Hebrew texts, and in all the ancient versions. And the centenary addition to the generations of the first seven patriarchs after the flood, is now fully established, by the triple evidence of the *Samaritan* text, the *Septuagint* version, and *Josephus*.

In *Nahor's* generation, the addition in the *Samaritan* is only 50 years, and also in the *Septuagint*; but, according to the system of *Josephus*, it was 400 years. The *Samaritan* agrees with the *Masorete*, or present Hebrew text, in the generation of *Terah*, 70 years; but it differs in reducing the total of his life from 205 years to 145 years. But the correctness of the former number is confirmed by the *Septuagint*, *Josephus*, and all the ancient versions. Indeed the *Samaritan* alteration was grounded on the vulgar error that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son; for 70 years, the supposed age of *Terah*, at his birth, added to *Abraham's* age of 75 years, when he left *Charran* after his father's death, would make the whole of *Terah's* life 145 years. But it was proved before (in the review of *Usher's* Chronology) that *Abraham* was most probably the youngest of the three sons, and *Haran* certainly the eldest.

And that the number 205 was originally in the *Samaritan* copies, we may collect both from *Origen* and *Jerom*: who both agree in reckoning that *Abraham* was 135 years old in reality, when he left *Charran*: but that the Scripture reckoned him only 75 years; because it was then only that he came to the knowledge of God; the preceding 60 years of his life, he having been addicted to the idolatry of the *Chaldeans*. Although they were wrong in the supposition that *Abraham* was born in the 70th year of *Terah*, yet it is evident that they reckoned *Terah's* whole age 205 years. If then the number 205 be genuine, as it unquestionably is, it demonstrates that *Abraham* was born when *Terah* was 130 years old; and of course that he was 60 years younger than *Haran* the eldest, born in *Terah's*

70th year. And this is the opinion adopted by the most judicious Chronologers and Divines, *Vossius, Usher, Marsham, Kennedy, Capellus, Patrick, Wells, &c.*

VI. The patriarchal generations, both before and after the deluge, according to the shorter Hebrew computation, are repugnant to the course of nature.

Arrian, the historian, justly observes :

“It is natural that they who are soonest liable to old age and death, should in proportion to the shortness of their life arrive soonest at the flower and vigour of their age.” The converse is also concisely expressed by *Augustine* : *Tanto senior erat proportione pubertas, quando vitæ major immensitas.* “The time of *puberty* was so much slower in proportion, when the *length of life* was so much greater.” And the following objection to the curtailed generations before the deluge, is strongly urged by *Eusebius* :

“Since according to the most ancient copy preserved among the *Samaritans*, and which agrees with the *Septuagint* version, they who lived after the flood, down to *Abraham*, did not beget children until after the age of 100 years, and so many more as these copies give them, what reason can be assigned, why their predecessors [before the flood], whose lives were many years longer, should begin to beget children sooner? and not rather at the ages set down in the *Septuagint*? On mature consideration, therefore, we must incline to the latter computation, and necessarily conclude, that the Jewish Hebrew reckoning of the times from *Adam* to *Abraham*, is wrong in all the ages [or generations] except three, *Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech*; and that the *Samaritan* computation is only wrong in the period from *Adam* to the flood: for in the years from the flood to *Abraham*, it agrees entirely with the *Septuagint*.”

Dividing human life into three periods, it appears from observation and experience, that the generative powers continue in full vigour during the second period. And according to this rule, *Noah* was near the close of his second period, when at the age of 600 years he begat *Japheth*, his eldest son, and two years afterwards, *Shem*, his second son; and probably after the same interval, at least, *Ham* his youngest. It was not probable, therefore, that the age of puberty among the Antediluvians, who lived to 900 years and upwards, began sooner than 160 or 170 years, corresponding to 14 or 15 years at present.

Thus, by the same rule *Terah's* eldest son, *Haran*, was born at the commencement of his second period; and *Abraham*, his youngest, near the close of it; bearing a remarkable analogy to *Noah's* case.

Among the Greeks, the celebrated legislator *Solon*, divides human life into ten periods, of seven years each: the third, he reckons the age of puberty, from 14 to 21; the fifth he recommends as the age of marriage, from 28 to 35.

Πεμπτη δ' ὄριον ἀνδρα μεμνημενον ἀρ' ἡγαμου εἶναι,
Καὶ παιδῶν ζῆτειν ἐξοπίσω γενεήν.

“ In the fifth, 'tis time for man to think of wedlock.
And seek to leave behind a progeny of sons *.”

And this accords with *Hesiod's* rule :

Μῆτε τριηκοντῶν ἐτεῶν μάλα πολλ' ἀπολείπων,
Μῆτ' ἐπιθείς μάλα πολλὰ· ἡγάμος δὲ τοι ὄριος οὗτος.

“ Marry not very much under thirty years,
Nor very much over: this is the seasonable age †.”

But this standard, founded in nature and verified by experience in all ages of the world, is violated by the shorter Hebrew computation: to suppose, for instance, that *Cainan*, *Malaleel*, *Jared*, *Enoch*, and *Methuselah*, begat children between 60 and 70, is to the full as preposterous as to suppose the same of children now, between five and six years. It is repugnant to the orderly course of nature; whose regular “*measures*” and proper “*seasons*,” *Hesiod* recommends us to “*mind in all things*.”

Μέτρα φυλάσσεισθαι· Καίρος δ' ἐπι πασιν ἀριστος.

VII. The shorter Hebrew computation is also absurd, or inconsistent with history, sacred and profane.

1. *Eusebius* well remarks: “The error of the *Jewish* Hebrew text is evident from this; that it makes *Abraham* and *Noah* contemporaries, which is inconsistent with all history; for, since according to the Hebrew text, there are no more than 292 years from the flood to *Abraham*; and since, according to the same text, *Noah* survived the flood 350 years; it follows that he lived to the 58th year of *Abraham*!

To this judicious remark we may add:

* See *Solon's* verses, in *Philo, de Mundi opificio*, p. 18. Edit. Colon. 1613.

† *Hesiod. opera et dies*, vers. 695.

2. Upon this supposition, *Idolatry* must have begun and prevailed, and the patriarchal government have been overthrown by *Nimrod* and the builders of *Babel*, during the life-time of the second founder of the *human* race, and his three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*.

3. If *Shem* lived until the 110th year of *Isaac*, and the 50th year of *Jacob*, why was not he included in the covenant of circumcision made with *Abraham* and his family? or why is he utterly unnoticed in their history?

4. How could the earth be so populous in *Abraham's* days, or the kingdoms of *Assyria*, *Egypt*, &c. be established so soon after the deluge? As remarked by Sir *Walter Raleigh*: see page 230.

To this objection, *Newton* replies:

“The four kings from the coasts of *Shinar* and *Elam*, who invaded and spoiled the *Rephaims*, and the inhabitants of the countries of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the kingdoms of *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboim*, were pursued and beaten by *Abraham*, with an armed force of only 318 men: the whole force which *Abraham* and the princes with him could raise.”
Chron. p. 180.

But these 318 men were merely *Abraham's* own domestics; and “the princes,” nothing more than three young neighbours, who personally joined his party, *Aner*, *Eshcol*, and *Mamre*: and he defeated the combined forces of the enemy, not by force, but by stratagem: for he pursued them in their retreat, and overtook them on the fifth night, secure and careless; and attacked them on two different sides of their camp, when they were oppressed with sleep and wine. As we learn from the joint testimony of *SCRIPTURE* and *Josephus*, Ant. 1, 10, 1. And the reflection of the Jewish historian is suitable thereto: “The event shewing, that victory does not depend upon a multitude, and a great armament; but that spirit and valour will overcome any number of adversaries in battle.”

This stratagem was not unlike that by which *Gideon* afterwards defeated the numerous host of the *Midianites*, Judg. vi. 12—22. when *THE LORD* fought for *Israel*; as he did for *Abraham* also.

But proceeds *Newton*: “And *Egypt* was so thinly peopled before the birth of *Moses*, that *Pharaoh* said of the *Israelites*, ‘Behold the people of the children of *Israel* are more and

mightier than we:’ and to prevent their multiplying and growing too strong, he caused their male children to be drowned.”

This also is a misinterpretation of Scripture: the meaning is clearly explained in the sequel: “Come, let us deal wisely with them, *lest they multiply*; and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, *they join themselves to our enemies*, and fight against us, *and get them up out of the land.*”—Here it is evident, that *Pharaoh* did not *then* consider the *Israelites* as “*more and mightier than the Egyptians*;” but only used this precaution to prevent their *future increase*; and in case of a *foreign war*, to prevent them from making a powerful diversion, and effecting, not the conquest of *Egypt*, but their own escape from slavery. And *Pharaoh*, we find, was not afraid to pursue 600,000 of the *Israelites*, able to bear arms at least, if they did not carry them, with 600 chosen chariots, and we may be assured an army proportionable thereto, and probably equal at least to that of the *Israelites*: which gives us rather a high idea of the population of the country at that time. And we learn from *Manetho*, that at the time of the expulsion of the *Shepherd kings*, by the native Egyptian princes of upper *Egypt*, (which took place by the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian Chronology*, about 27 years before the regency of *Joseph*) the Egyptian army which besieged *Avaris* or *Pelusium*, their chief retreat, consisted of 480,000 men: and the expelled *Shepherds* amounted to 240,000 souls.

VIII. I shall close this chain of evidence with an observation deduced from the review of the various opinions entertained of the epoch of the *Creation*. P. 211, &c.

The whole weight of *antiquity* and of the *earliest Fathers of the Church*, is decidedly in favour of the longer Greek computation, *Origen* and *Jerom* excepted; who reckoned it B.C. 4830, and B.C. 3981, respectively; acting under *Jewish* influence*;

* *Jerom* was reproached by *Rufinus*, and not without reason, for conceding too much to the *Jewish* notions, and to his Hebrew preceptor, *Bar Anina*, whom *Rufinus* styles *Barabbas*, in derision.

Rufinus Hieronymo.

Proposito CHRISTO simul et *Barabba*, ego CHRISTUM elegi: tu cum illis clamas qui dicunt, ‘*Non hunc sed Barabbam.*’—Nolo ‘*sapientiam*’ quam *Petrus* et *Paulus* non docuit; nolo ‘*veritatem*’ quam *Apostoli* non probaverunt. *Apostatæ* quidem et *Judæi* [nempe *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, et *Synnachus*] interpretati sunt ea, quorum lectione *Judæi* maxime utuntur.—Illi te in hæc mala præcipitant; illi pessimis suis artibus tibi nimium placent. Tom. 4, p. 424—450.

and whose authority is more than compensated by that of the learned chronologers, *Theophilus* and *Eusebius*; who expressly applied themselves to the study, which the others only noticed casually or incidentally. We may, therefore, without hesitation, adopt the conclusion of *Eusebius*.

“Wherefore it is *with reason* that in our chronology we follow the version of the Septuagint; which was made, as it appears, from an *ancient* and *uncorrupted* Hebrew copy.” *Synzell. Chronograph.* p. 88, 89.

ART. III. REJECTION OF THE SECOND CAINAN.

THE *Septuagint* version, however, is not to be followed implicitly: it requires correction in some parts; and principally in the case of the Second *Cainan*, interpolated between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, to whom a generation of 130 years is assigned.

1. Its high antiquity indeed, previous to the Christian Era, cannot be denied: for it is taken into account by *Demetrius*, a heathen chronologer, who wrote in the reign of *Ptolomy Philopator*, about B.C. 220. He reckoned 3624 years from the Creation to the descent of *Jacob's* family to Egypt; but this is the exact amount of the Septuagint computation, including *Cainan's* generation: For from *Adam* to the birth of *Abraham*, is 3334

And *Jerom* himself confesses, that he gave up the important text of “THE SON [OF GOD,] Psalm ii. 12. which he had justly called a most signal prophecy concerning CHRIST; נשקן בר, “*Adorate filium*,” for the rendering of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, “*Adorate pure* *,” not to give room to Jewish calumny and superciliousness, boasting of their superior knowledge of the Scriptures. “Ne qua nobis ab *Hebræis* calumnia fieret; solent enim ridere de nobis, et attollere supercilium et inflatis buccis ructare *Scientiam Scripturarum*.”

From the days of *Ignatius* indeed, who died A.D. 116, the constant objection of the *Jews* was, “If I find it not in the *primitive Scriptures*, I credit not what is said in the *Gospel*.”

Hence it was not uncommon for the *Christian Churches* to send deputies, as it were, to the *Jews*, praying and beseeching that “*they would grant them a share of their Hebrew verity*.” As the same *Rufinus* relates, who is surely an excellent counter-authority to *Jerom*.

* The *Jews*, instead of בר, *Bar*, “a Son,” read בר, *Bor*, “purity,” altering the vowel points.

years, to which add 75 years, his age on going to *Canaan*, and 215 more from thence to the descent into *Egypt*, and the sum is exactly 3624 years. And this is further confirmed by his reckoning 1360, (or rather 1362 years, including the two years from the flood to the birth of *Arphaxad*) from the flood to the descent of Jacob's family into *Egypt*: for if from the whole amount, from the Creation to that time, 3624 years, as stated above, we deduct 2262 years from *Adam* to the flood, the remainder is 1362 years.

2. And what strengthens this authority, is, that the *Second Cainan* is inserted in *Luke's* genealogy of CHRIST, iii. 36; the genuineness of which is confirmed by all the ancient versions without exception, and by all the ancient MSS. except *Beza's* or the *Cambridge MS.*

Still, however, the arguments for its exclusion seem greatly to outweigh those for its retention.

1. The *Masorete* and *Samaritan* Hebrew texts, and all the ancient *Versions* and *Targums*, without exception, omit *Cainan* and his generation of 130 years, in Gen. xi. 12.

2. The *Septuagint* version is not consistent with itself; for in the repetition of the genealogies, 1 Chron. i. 24. it omits *Cainan* there, following the Hebrew and all the ancient versions; *Αρφαξαδ, Σαλα, Εβερ, &c.* *Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, &c.* "The projector forgetting himself," as acutely observed by the learned *John Gregory*, of Oxford, in his *Disproof of the Second Cainan*, A.D. 1663.

3. Those great luminaries of the *Jewish Church*, *Philo* and *Josephus*, both rejected it; for *Philo*, in his allegorical way, reckoned two *decads* and a *septenary* of generations from *Adam* to *Moses*; namely, ten generations from *Adam* to the flood, including *Noah*; ten generations from the flood to *Abraham**, including *Shem* and *Abraham*; and seven from *Abraham* to *Moses*, including both. But in the second *decad*, *Cainan* is

* *Berosus*, the *Chaldean* historian, about B.C. 284, indirectly noticed *Abraham*, though without naming him, as "living in the *tenth* generation after the deluge; and celebrates him for his eminent piety and skill in astronomy."

And *Eupolemus*, about B.C. 174, confirms the testimony of *Berosus*, and expressly names *Abraham*, as living in the *tenth* generation after the deluge. These two ancient heathen writers, of whom *Berosus* was earlier than *Demetrius* and the *Septuagint* version are powerful authorities for the rejection of *Cainan*; who, if inserted, would place *Abraham* in the *eleventh* generation from *Shem* inclusively.

evidently omitted. And *Josephus* omits *Cainan* in his list of the postdiluvian patriarchs.

4. *Josephus* obliquely commends *Demetrius*, among those other ancient chronologers, *Philo Senior* and *Eupolemus*, who “did not err much from the truth.” *Contr. Apion.* 1. §. 23*.

5. *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, who wrote about A.D. 168, omits *Cainan* in his list of postdiluvian patriarchs: and his testimony is the more valuable, because it differs from the *Septuagint*; and was taken, as it seems, directly from the *Hebrew*: *Αρφαξάδ ετεκνωσε Σαλα*, &c.; but in the *Septuagint* the verb is different, *εγεννησε*.

6. The very learned *Origen*, who reckoned the date of the Creation B.C. 4830, lower than *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, necessarily omitted his generation. According to *Procopius*, *Origen* marked him with an obelisk in his copy of the *Septuagint*, to mark his rejection.

7. *Eusebius* reckoned 942 years from the flood to *Abraham*, and therefore evidently omitted *Cainan*: and he was followed by *Epiphanius* and *Jerom*, both adopting the corrected *Hexaplar* copy, published by *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*.

From this combination of counter-evidence, it appears that we are fully warranted to conclude, that “the second *Cainan* was not originally in the *Hebrew* text, and in the *Septuagint* version derived from it †.” And since water cannot rise to a level higher than the spring from which it issues, so neither can the authority of the *New Testament* for its retention, rise above that of the *Old Testament*, from which it is professedly copied, for its exclusion.

8. And the learned *Gregory* has ingeniously accounted for the original interpolation of *Cainan*, even so early as the time of

* This appears actually to be the case with *Demetrius*. His date of 3624 years from the creation to the descent of *Jacob's* family to *Egypt*, exceeds our corrected date 5411—1863 = 3548 years, only 76 years; and his date of 1360 years from the flood to the descent of *Jacob's* family, exceeds the corrected date 3155—1863 = 1272 years, only 88 years. And deducting these two errors in excess, of 76 and 88 years, from *Cainan's* generation of 130 years, which he inserted; they are changed into errors in defect, of only 54 and 42 years. *Demetrius*, therefore, is a valuable voucher for our system.

† It is strange how *Jackson*, to whose industry and extensive researches we owe most of these counter-testimonies, should be so blind to their evidence, and so obstinately attached to his hypothesis, as to conclude: “From what has been said, it appears very evident that the second *Cainan* was originally in the *Hebrew* text, and in the *Septuagint* version derived from it.” Vol. I. p. 79.

Demetrius, and shortly after the *Septuagint* version was composed.

According to the foregoing most ancient tradition of the six millenary ages of the world, they were to be equally divided in the days of *Peleg*, whose name signified “division;” and accordingly, the first 3000 years were supposed to end with the 130th year of *Peleg’s* life, or end of his generation, when he begat *Reu*.

The distinctest enumeration of the period is given by *Theophilus*, of *Antioch*, thus :

	Y.		Y.
<i>Adam</i>	330	<i>Arphaxad</i>	135
<i>Seth</i>	205	<i>Salah</i>	130
<i>Enos</i> ..	190	<i>Eber</i>	134
<i>Cainan</i>	170	<i>Peleg</i>	130
<i>Malaleel</i>	165		—
<i>Jared</i>	162		529
<i>Enoch</i>	165		2362
<i>Methuselah</i>	187		—
<i>Lamech</i>	188		2891
<i>Noah</i>	500		
<i>Shem</i>	100		
	—		
Deluge	2362		

The amount of the whole is 2891 years, wanting 110 years to complete the 3000 years. First, therefore, the *Hellenists*, to make it look more unlike a cheat, cut off 20 years from *Methuselah’s* sum, which reduced it to 167 years, (as is still found in some copies of the *Septuagint*;) and consequently, the whole amount, to 2871 years current, or 2870 years complete. Then they inserted a new *Cainan*, assigning him 130 years; which, added to the former, precisely made up the 3000 years required.

This solution is preferable to that of *Suidas*, voce *Φαλεκ*; who reckons 2242 years from the Creation to the Deluge; and 758 years more from thence to *Phaleg* or *Peleg*, to make up the 3000 years; because *Peleg’s* number 758, will not agree to any system of Chronology. Whereas the other only requires the addition of another century to Adam’s generation, according to the *Septuagint*, to make it 330 years with *Theophilus*, which is not incredible.

9. *Gregory* also ingeniously proves, that the second *Cainan* was an imaginary person.

“ I find,” says he, “ in a MS. Chronicle in the *Bodleian* library, that after the flood, *Cainan*, the son of *Arphaxad*, wrote astronomy, having found the doctrine of the stars, written by *Seth* and his sons on tables of stone.” But none of all this is due to *Cainan*, the son of *Arphaxad*, but to *Cainan*, the son of *Enos*: as I shall make it appear by as sound a tradition as these, written back to *Aristotle* out of *India* by *Alexander* the Great.

“ When I came,” saith the king, “ into the land of *Phar-saiacon*, &c. the natives said unto me, Lo, here in this isle, is the sepulchre of an ancient king, whose name was *Cainan*, the son of *Enos*, who reigned over the whole world before the flood. He was a wise man, and endued with all kinds of knowledge, and had power given him against the spirits, devils, and destroying angels. This man foresaw by his wisdom, that the blessed God would bring a flood upon the earth; the prophecy whereof he wrote in tables of stone, which we have, and the writing is *Hebrew*,” &c.

“ This,” as *Gregory* quaintly observes, “ is the right owner of those parts and inventions. That other *Cainan* was a man of the *Chiliasts*’ making; one with whom things stood all otherwise than with *Melchizedek*.”

“ This man had neither *beginning of days*, nor *end of life*, but in the *genealogies* *.”

After this, not a shadow of doubt can, I think, remain of the propriety of expunging the *second Cainan* from the sacred text; more especially as the years attached to his generation are variously stated in different MSS. of *Holmes’s Collation* of the Text of the Septuagint.



ART. IV. RESTORATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF JOSEPHUS.

THERE is no ancient writer almost, except perhaps *Herodotus*, whose character has been so variously represented, as *Josephus*, the great Jewish Historian and Chronologer. By some he is praised for his veracity, by others censured for his fictions. Among the early Christians, his chronology was in the highest repute; and *Theophilus*, of *Antioch*, seems to have made it the

* *Αγενεαλογητος, μητε αρχην ημερων, μητε ζωης τελος εχων.* Heb vii. 3.

basis of his own. But when the shorter Hebrew chronology gained ground, his system, founded on the longer computation, declined in estimation, and fell into disrepute. Very few of the modern Chronologers, *Scaliger* * excepted, do full justice to his merits: he is sometimes followed where he is wrong, and blamed where he is right. Thus *Marsham* hastily adopts his idle conjecture, that the *Sesostris* of *Herodotus* was the *Sesac* of SCRIPTURE, which afterwards ruined the chronology of *Newton*; while he misrepresents *Josephus* as confounding the ancient Arabian *Shepherds*, who conquered Egypt, with the enslaved *Israelites*, long after; than which nothing was further from his intention.—“Hinc itaque facessat illud *Josephi somnium!*”—“the dream” was all his own. P. 102, 103.

Much, however, of the censure that he has undeservedly incurred, is owing to the carelessness and fraud of his early editors. His dates especially, have been miserably mangled and perverted, frequently by accident and frequently by design. Thus, when the present text represents the period from the Creation to the Deluge, 2656 years, although the amount of the intervening generations, from *Adam* to *Noah*, is only 2256 years; this may be reckoned an error of inadvertence. Ant. 1, 3, 3. p. 11. *Hudson's* Edit. But when it is said that “*Abraham* was born in the 292d year after the Deluge;” this is a palpable forgery, designed to wrest *Josephus* into an agreement with the short *Jewish* computation; whereas the actual amount of the generations specified immediately after, from *Abraham* up to *Shem*, is 993 years. Ant. 1, 6, 5. p. 20.

Hence the younger *Spanheim*, in his *Chronologia Sacra*, has devoted an entire chapter to the errors, anachronisms, and inconsistencies of *Josephus*; most of which he acknowledges are derived “from the mistakes of transcribers, or the favourite hypotheses of interpreters;” and concludes with representing “the recovery of his genuine computation as a matter of great difficulty and hazard †.”

* “Diligentissimus και φιλαληθεστατος omnium Scriptorum *Josephus*.—De *Josepho* nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus *Judaicis*, sed etiam in *externis*, tutius illi credi quam omnibus *Græcis* et *Latinis*.” Proleg. p. 16, 17.

† “Viderint instauratores antiquitatis temporum qui *Josephi* calculos suis adaptant! Unum excipi potest, corruptissimos esse *Josephi* codices et oppidò discrepantes, seu in periochis singulis, seu in epilogismis annorum, vitio amanuensium:—ut de *germanâ Historici supputatione statuere sit res alea plena. Unde tot pugnantes conjecturæ et emendationes.*” Pars II. cap. 3. p. 151—156.

Nothing, therefore, can be more discordant than the dates of the *Creation*, deducible from his present numbers: from one passage there results B.C. 4099, Ant. 10, 8, 5; from another, B.C. 4129; Ant. 8, 3, 1. It is reckoned, B.C. 4698, by the *Universal History*, pref. p. xlvi. folio; B.C. 5481, is collected from *Jackson*, Vol. i. p. 123; B.C. 5555, by *Playfair*; and the times of the history, prefixed to each of the 20 books of his *Antiquities*, by some early editor, amount to 5803 years, from the Creation to the 13th year of *Nero*, A.D. 52, when the *Jewish war* broke out: which deducted from the former amount, gives the date of the Creation, B.C. 5751: the extremes differing from each other no less than 1752 years. From such discordances, *Ludolf* calls *Josephus*, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum Fabulator sæpius quam Historicus*. *Hardouin* boldly pronounces, that *Josephus* was not the author of the works imputed to him, but some Monkish impostors of the thirteenth century; and a German critic, *Emericus Bigotius*, was persuaded that *Josephus* published two different editions of his *Antiquities* *.

However difficult and hazardous may be the attempt to recover the genuine chronology of *Josephus*, yet it should not be deemed desperate nor impracticable. Much may be done by a careful discrimination and a judicious selection of the genuine dates and numbers which still fortunately subsist in the work, though comparatively few, from the many spurious that disgrace and embarrass it. I shall therefore endeavour, by the help of some genuine dates and numbers, first to trace a correct outline of the Chronology of *Josephus*, and afterwards to confirm it by a detail of the particulars that fill it up, and by their conformity to the general outline.

I. The master-key to his system is found in the noble preface to his *Antiquities*, § 3, p. 3.

“There are ten thousand things noticed throughout the SACRED SCRIPTURES, inasmuch as they contain the history of *five thousand* years. Manifold, indeed, are the unexpected turns of fortune, many the issues of war, the gallant exploits of generals, and the revolutions of states. On the whole, whoso-

* *Universi quos inspexi Codices MSS. ita differunt ab impressis, ut conferri plane non possint. Jam pridem credidi, atque etiam nunc mihi persuadeo, Josephum duplici vice Antiquitates suas vulgasse. See Fabricius de Josepho et ejus Scriptis, prefixed to Hudson's excellent edition.*

ever desires to peruse it, may learn chiefly from this history, that with those who follow God's will, and dare not transgress his excellent laws, all things succeed beyond expectation, and to such is proposed the reward of happiness from God. But so far as they deviate from careful attention thereto, they fall into difficulties, which though in themselves surmountable, become insurmountable; and whatsoever they are eager to do, as good, is turned into incurable calamities."

The SACRED SCRIPTURES here meant are the *canonical* books of the Old Testament, as appears from another parallel passage at the end of his works, where the same number is repeated. Contr. *Apion*. lib. i. § 1. There he declares, that "his *Antiquities*, translated out of the JEWISH SACRED BOOKS into the *Greek* language, contained the history of *five thousand* years." And shortly after, § 8:—"There are not among *us* myriads of discordant and contradictory books, but only *two and twenty* books, containing the history of all time, which are justly believed *divine*;" namely, "*five* books of *Moses*, which contain *the law*, and the history of events from the creation of man till his death, during a period little short of *three thousand** years; and from the death of *Moses*, to the reign of *Artaxerxes* [*Longimanus*] who succeeded *Xerxes*, king of *Persia*, the *prophets* after *Moses* compiled the history of their times in *thirteen* books; the other *four* contain hymns to God, and moral precepts." But $5 + 13 + 4 = 22$.

And he clearly distinguishes these *canonical* books from the *apocryphal*, written from the time of *Artaxerxes* to his own times, "which are not counted worthy of the like estimation as the preceding, because there was not then an exact succession of *prophets*."

Hence it is evident, that this period of 5000 years included the history from the Creation of man given by *Moses*, in the book of *Genesis*, to *Malachi*, the last of the prophets, inclusively.

The authenticity of this period of 5000 years is unquestionable from its repetition; and it has providentially escaped the depredations of his editors, because it was only mentioned thus

* It ought to be 4000 years: for *Josephus* reckoned from the Creation to the Deluge 2256 years; from thence to the birth of *Abraham* 993 years; and from thence to the death of *Moses* 545 years: the sum total of which, 3794 years, falls short by 206 years of 4000. Besides, the present reading is irreconcilable with his correct period of 5000 years.

incidentally, and not applied formally as a *chronological* character.

In order to develop this period, we must first lay down certain *cardinal* dates, which form "the hinges," as it were, upon which the whole system of *Josephus* turns; and these are—

1. The birth of *Abraham*.
2. The foundation of *Salem*.
3. The foundation of *Solomon's* temple.

1. The date of *Abraham's* birth is no where explicitly stated by *Josephus*, but it may be collected from the following genuine periods still subsisting in his works:—

	Ant.	Y.	B.C.
Birth of <i>Abraham</i>	1, 7, 1. p. 21	.... 75	.. 2153
His call to <i>Canaan</i>	— 2, 17, 7. p. 88	.... 430	.. 2078
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i>	— 10, 8, 5. p. 449	.... 1062	.. 1648
			<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
Destruction of <i>Solomon's</i> temple			1567 586

Ascending, therefore, *analytically*, from the known and correct date of the destruction of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 586, we arrive at the date of *Abraham's* birth, B.C. 2153.

2. The foundation of *Salem* by *Melchizedec* is expressly stated to have been 2177 years before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, A.D. 70. *Bell. Jud.* 6, 10, 1. p. 1292. Therefore deducting the date of the latter, we get the date of the former, B.C. 2107, or 46 years after *Abraham's* birth.

From these first two dates, combined with the other known periods, from the *Creation* to the *Deluge*, and from thence to *Abraham*, by pursuing the former *analytical* process, we arrive at the date of the *Creation*, according to *Josephus*.

	Y.	B.C.
The <i>Creation</i>	2256	.... 5402
The <i>Deluge</i>	993	.... 3146
Birth of <i>Abraham</i>	46	.... 2153
Foundation of <i>Salem</i>	2107	.... 2107
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
5402		

Hence it appears, that the whole period from the *Creation* to the vulgar Christian Era was 5402 years, from which subtracting the time of *Malachi*, or end of the Canon of the Old Testament, B.C. 423, we get the remainder 4979 years, which only

falls short by 21 years of the period of 5000 years in round numbers, which *Josephus* stated as including the whole of sacred history.

We have assumed the time of *Malachi*, B.C. 423, because that was the end of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when *Nehemiah*, the contemporary of *Malachi*, completed his reform of the Jewish polity, both in Church and State, after the return from the *Babylonish* Captivity. But we are warranted to assume a lower time for *Malachi*, from the latitude in the opinions of chronologers: *Prideaux* dating it, B.C. 429; *Usher*, B.C. 415; and *Lloyd*, B.C. 397. If then we choose an intermediate time, B.C. 402, and subtract it, as before, we shall get the exact number 5000 years. But the former is more conformable to the time assigned to *Malachi* by *Josephus*, and certainly he did not mean to be precise as to the very sum.

3. The date of the foundation of *Solomon's* temple is next to be determined.

From the Exode to this foundation two different periods are assigned, or may be collected from the present text of *Josephus*: first, it is expressly reckoned 592 years, Ant. 8, 3, 1. p. 341; and the same may be collected from a set of dates, Ant. 10, 8, 5. p. 449. It is therefore adopted by *Spanheim* and *Jackson*. But it is also expressly reckoned 612 years elsewhere, Ant. 20, 9, 1. p. 899, and p. 1363; and the same may be collected from another set of dates, Ant. 9, 14, 1. p. 428. And this longer period was adopted by *Theophilus* in his Chronology: both however are spurious.

The genuine period may be collected from the foregoing, of 1062 years from the Exode to the destruction of *Solomon's* temple, by the help of another genuine period of 477 years from the capture of *Jebus* by *David*, to the same term. *Bell. Jud.* 6, 10, p. 1292. For, from 1062 years, subduct 477, the remainder, 585 years, will give the time from the Exode to the capture of *Jebus*, 2 Sam. v. 6. To these 585 years add 36 more, (namely 33, for the remainder of *David's* reign after the capture, and the three first years of *Solomon's*) and the sum 621 years will give the correct period from the Exode to the foundation of the temple, in the fourth year of *Solomon's* reign. 1 Kings vi. 1. The number in the Hebrew text, 480 years, is also spurious, as was proved in the review of the *Jewish* chronology.

4. From the determination of this genuine period of 621 years,

and its subtraction from the entire period of 1062 years, we get 441 years; the correct period from the foundation to the destruction of the temple, and consequently that of the reigns of the kings of *Judah*.

II. I shall next proceed to verify this general outline of the system of *Josephus*, by shewing the correspondence of the several parts thereof in detail.

The detail of the *first two periods*, including the generations before and after the deluge, having been given before in the general tables, it is superfluous to repeat it here.

The *third period* is as follows:—

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Abraham's Birth</i>	75	2153
——— he goes to <i>Canaan</i>	215	2078
<i>Jacob's Family go to Egypt</i>	215	1863
<hr/>		
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i>	505	1648

See Ant. 2, 15, 2. p. 88. Following *Demetrius*, he has here made an important division of the 430 years noticed in Scripture, (Exod. xii. 41; Gal. iii. 17.) into two equal parts of 215 years each.

The *fourth period* (given incorrectly by *Jackson*, Vol. i. p. 145.) is as follows:—

	Y.	B.C.		Y.	B.C.
Exode, <i>Moses</i>	40	1648	Brought forward.....	385	
<i>Joshua</i>	25	1608	V. Servit. <i>Ammon</i>	18	1263
Interregnum	18	1583	<i>Jephtah</i>	6	1245
I. Servit. <i>Mesopot.</i>	8	1565	<i>Ibzan</i>	7	1239
<i>Othniel</i>	40	1557	<i>Elon</i> }	10	1232
II. Servit. <i>Moab</i>	18	1517	<i>Abdon</i> }		
<i>Ehud</i>	80	1499	VI. Servit. <i>Philistin.</i> }	40	1222
<i>Shamgar</i>	1	1419	<i>Sampson</i> , last 20 years }		
III. Servit. <i>Canaan</i>	20	1418	<i>Eli</i>	40	1182
<i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i>	40	1398	VII. Servit. <i>Philistin.</i> ..	20	1142
IV. Servit. <i>Midian</i>	7	1358	<i>Samuel</i>	12	1122
<i>Gideon</i>	40	1351	<i>Saul</i> and <i>Samuel</i> 18 } ..	40	1110
<i>Abimelech</i>	3	1311	<i>Saul</i> 22 }		
[<i>Tola</i> 23] ..	23	1308	<i>David</i>	40	1070
<i>Jair</i>	22	1285	<i>Solomon</i>	3	1030
<hr/>			<hr/>		
	385		Temple founded.....	621	1027

The only alteration here made in the present text of *Josephus*, is the insertion of *Tola*, and his administration of 23 years,

respondences in the reigns of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 2; and xv. 1; and is also necessary to fill up the outline of his period. It also furnishes an additional instance of his great skill in adjusting this period of his chronology; the greatest proof of which is furnished by another genuine date of 240 years, critically expressing that most perplexed and complicated period of the reigns of the kings of *Israel*, exclusive of two interregnums of 22 years and 10 years, amounting in the whole to 272 years current, or 271 years complete, as will be proved in the course of the ensuing rectification of *Sacred Chronology*. His detail of the reigns of the kings of *Israel*, in the present text, does not in its amount correspond with this curious and admirable date, which is found detached. Ant. 9, 14, 1.

Thus does the critical conformity of these several periods, composing his whole system, with the details of the particulars included therein, furnish *demonstrative* evidence, as it seems, of the accuracy of this rectification, from the agreement of the whole with the parts throughout, and evince the necessity of these few and slight emendations of his text, without altering a single date in the general outline, and only one (*Solomon's* spurious excrescence of 40 years) in the detail.

III. It only remains to rectify a slight error in the general outline of his system, which occurs in his second period, from the deluge to *Abraham*, amounting only to 993 years, which is 9 years deficient from the correcter length of it, 1002 years.

If we look back to his list of Patriarchal genealogies, we shall find that the present text of *Josephus* assigns 120 years to *Nahor's* generation; but he probably wrote 129, for 29 was the curtailed *Hebrew* generation, to which he rightly added a century, according to his system, where the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* only added 50 in theirs. Since then the digit was 9, in all the rest there was a sufficient precedent for its retention by *Josephus*, whereas there was none for altering it into 0. *Jackson* also corrects it to 129. And that he originally wrote 129 is proved also from its being necessary to complete the correct period 1002, to which it appears he was no stranger, from his remarkable deviation from Scripture in the interval of 12 years, which he substitutes instead of 2 years, from the deluge to the birth of *Arphaxad*. For as *Josephus* adopted the vulgar error, that *Abraham* was *Terah's* eldest son, there was a deficiency of 60 years in *Terah's* generation, (which ought to have been 130

instead of 70 years;) and these 60 years, *Josephus* most ingeniously supplied, by adding 50 years to the correct length of *Nahor's* generation, 79 years, and 10 years more to the first interval of 2 years; which *Jackson* unskillfully supposed to be a mistake of his text, and altered to 2, and thereby made his period only 992 years. Vol. I. Table, p. 66.

	<i>Joseph.</i>	<i>Correct.</i>
Deluge, <i>Shem</i>	12	2
<i>Arphaxad</i>	135	135
<i>Salah</i>	130	130
<i>Eber</i>	134	134
<i>Phaleg</i>	130	130
<i>Ragau</i>	130	132
<i>Serug</i>	132	130
<i>Nahor</i>	129	79
<i>Terah</i>	70	130
<i>Abraham</i>	1002	1002

This is a curious and remarkable instance, that a Chronologer may be perfectly correct in his outline, and yet incorrect in the detail, or distribution of the parts. Numerous instances might be adduced of this, drawn from the received systems of Chronology.

This rectification of the outline of *Josephus* raises his date of the Creation 5402 years before the Vulgar Era, to 5411.

This same rectified date, B.C. 5411, is verified also by its conformity with the rectified date furnished by *Theophilus*, who, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 62, reckoned 5197 years from the Creation to the Era of the *Seleucidæ*, B.C. 312, which, added thereto, gives the date of the Creation, B.C. 5509. But this number requires a double correction: for, 1. *Theophilus* reckoned *Adam's* generation to *Seth*, 330 years, (p. 92) or a century too long; which being deducted, reduces it to B.C. 5409: And, 2. He omitted the *two* years from the deluge to the birth of *Arphaxad*; (p. 92,) which being added, we have the same rectified date, B.C. 5411, as before.

Thus have I endeavoured, and I trust not unsuccessfully, to vindicate the character of this illustrious Historian, profound Antiquary, and consummate Chronologer, *Josephus*, and to retrieve the integrity of his admirable system, by shewing its consistency throughout, both in the whole, and in the parts; thereby

furnishing a solid foundation for a durable system of Ancient Chronology, sacred and profane, built upon the rectified Era of the Creation, B.C. 5411, now first deduced from the writings of two great luminaries of the *Jewish* and *Christian* Churches, JOSEPHUS and THEOPHILUS.

It is rather a curious circumstance, that by a compensation of errors, taking B.C. 5300, the mean, between the extreme opinions of *Alphonsus*, B.C. 6984, and Rabbi *Lipman*, B.C. 3616, in the first list of this Introduction, it differs not much from the corrected Era, B.C. 5411, which, though its critical accuracy, from the nature of the subject, and the omission of the odd months, weeks, and days, of the years of the generations and reigns by which it was computed (according to the remark of *Theophilus*) cannot be strictly demonstrated, yet that it approximates nearer to THE TRUTH than any *Epoch of the Creation* hitherto proposed, may be asserted with confidence.

III. ELEMENTS
OF
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

*The Earth is THE LORD's, and the fullness thereof,
The World, and they that dwell therein :
For HE hath founded it upon the seas,
And established it upon the floods.*

Psalm xxiv.

III. ELEMENTS

OF

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

IN every *Historical* transaction, the circumstances of *Time* and *Place* are essentially combined, and cannot be separated in fact, however distinct in theory. To determine the former, is the proper business of *Chronology*; to determine the latter, of *Geography*; and these joint handmaids to History are both indispensably requisite to its scientific study. Having, therefore, already given the Elements of *Technical* and *Historical Chronology*, I now proceed to give a sketch of the Elements of *Ancient Geography*, so far as connected therewith.

The necessity for this arises from the imperfection and the incorrectness of the elementary treatises in use. Of these, the best, perhaps, is *Well's Historical Geography of the OLD TESTAMENT*, in three volumes, octavo*. This work contains a great deal of excellent matter, well arranged, and many curious observations of modern travellers, respecting the ancient and modern state of the Holy Land, and of the other countries recorded in SCRIPTURE. But since his time, many mistakes have been corrected, and much new and important information conveyed by subsequent travellers, *Bruce*, *Niebuhr*, &c. and by later geographers, especially Major *Rennel*, in his valuable work on the *Geography of Herodotus*. Much also still remains to be

* This useful work has been reprinted at the *Clarendon* press, Oxford, 1801, in two volumes, octavo, with improved maps.

gleaned from former travellers, *Chardin, Sandys, Maundrel, Thevenot, Shaw, Poccoke, &c.* more carefully examined; and not a little from the vast fund of miscellaneous information scattered through the *Asiatic Researches*, and other periodical publications, and the works of the learned in general; *Bryant* on the Plagues of Egypt; Bishop *Clayton's* Delineation of the Route of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness of *Arabia Petraea*, &c.; Mr. *Howard's* Thoughts on the Structure of the Earth, &c. From all which, the present Elementary Treatise has been compiled, with as much attention as possible to compression of matter and clearness of arrangement.

As *Ancient Geography* forms also one of the principal fastnesses of Infidelity at the present day, the objections of infidels, and the doubts of sceptics, respecting some very important points, are fully canvassed; and more *philosophical*, perhaps, as well as more *Scriptural*, solutions here proposed, of difficulties affecting the *Mosaical* account of the *Creation*, the garden of *Eden*, the *Deluge*, the *varieties of Mankind*, the passage of the *Red Sea*, the stations of the *Israelites* in the wilderness, the topography of *Jerusalem*, and its environs, &c. than have hitherto appeared.



CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth?

Declare, if thou hast understanding.

Who laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest?

Or who stretched the line upon it?

Whereupon were its foundations fastened?

Or who laid the corner-stone thereof?

When the Morning Stars sang together,

And all the sons of God shouted for joy.—JOB.

THE *Mosaical* account of the Creation of the World is distinguished for its simplicity and perspicuity above all the cosmogonies of the *Romans, Greeks, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Chinese*, which still, however, tend to confirm and verify it in the leading circumstances.

The venerable author relates the creation of all visible matter, and formation of “the heavens and the earth, and all the host of them,”—the earth, sun, moon, and stars,—in the order in

which they were severally produced by Divine agency; but he does not attempt to inform us of the mode of operation by which the whole was accomplished. He states the simple facts, either as truths immediately revealed by God, or handed down by authentic tradition: which tradition must have been ultimately derived from Divine revelation, communicated either to our first parents, *Adam* and *Eve*, or to their pious descendants, *Enoch*, *Noah*, &c. For it is absolutely impossible, that human sagacity could have developed mysteries beyond the reach of mortal ken:

For man to tell *how* human life began,
Is hard, for who himself beginning knew?—*Milton*.

And man's utter ignorance of the original process of creation, is finely expressed in the foregoing passage of the early patriarch *Job*, who probably flourished in the seventh generation after the deluge, many centuries before the birth of *Moses*, but who speaks of the divine agency as a well-known fact, universally acknowledged at that time.

To instruct or reform mankind, when, in process of time, they had mistaken, or were prone to mistake, *the creature* for THE CREATOR, the venerable author, in the first instance, informs them, that "In the beginning, GOD created *the heavens and the earth*." Gen. i. 1.

Here, the sacred historian, in opposition to false and atheistical philosophy, teaches the true origin of things. He declares, that the world was not eternal, but had a *beginning*; that it was *created*, or its primitive elements produced, out of nothing; contrary to the maxim, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, which cannot controul OMNIPOTENCE, to whom the creation of passive senseless matter, and of active intelligent spirit, are both equally easy; and that it was not, as idly and absurdly asserted, made by *chance*, or a fortuitous concourse of atoms, or elementary pre-existent particles, but created by GOD, or THE LORD OF GODS, Gen. ii. 4; "who created all things by JESUS CHRIST," Ephes. iii. 9; "the Original WORD," or "ORACLE OF GOD," "by whom all things were made, and without whom was not any thing made that hath been." John i. 1, 2; Rev. xix. 13.

This appears to be the proper sense of *creating*, as distinguished from the subsequent acts of *forming* and *making*, which are also noticed, Gen. i. 7—31; ii. 3—7. They are all united

in that sublime passage of *Isaiah*, where God, speaking of the *regenerate* in the latter days, “who should be called by his name,” declares, “For my glory, I have *created* him, I have *formed* him, yea, I have *made* him.” *Isaiah* xliii. 7. And we are taught, that there was no such thing as eternal and self-existent matter; for “by faith we understand, that (τους αιωνας) *the worlds* were framed by THE WORD OF GOD, to the end that (τα βλεπομενα) the things which are seen [or the visible creation] might not [seem] to have been (εκ φαινομενων) of apparent [materials.]” *Heb.* xi. 3.

“*The heavens and the earth*,” whose elements were then created, seem primarily to denote this globe, and its atmosphere; for the *expanse*, or “*firmament*,” is expressly called “*heaven*,” or rather “*the heavens*,” *Gen.* i. 8; and evidently denotes *the sky*. Verses 14 and 20.

“And the *earth*,” at its first creation, “was without form,” and waste; or, as *Ovid* not improperly expresses it—*rudis indigestaque moles*—“and darkness was upon the face of the *abyss*,” or *chaos**, as it was called, in the Greek *Cosmogonies*. *Gen.* i. 2.

The formation of the earth is next described: “And THE SPIRIT OF GOD moved upon the face of the waters.” Verse 2.

The Spirit of God, in this place, cannot denote, with the Arabic version, “the winds of God;” or with *Dr. Geddes*, and others, “a mighty wind blowing upon the face of the waters;” for neither *air* nor *wind* were yet in existence. It must, therefore, denote THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The kind of motion, implied in the original, elsewhere denotes the *fluttering* of an eagle over its nestlings, (*Deut.* xxxii. 11.) or a gentle tremulous motion. Hence seems to have arisen that fiction of heathen mythology, that the world was produced from an *egg* by incubation. *Milton* has finely paraphrased the passage, taking also the descent of THE HOLY SPIRIT on Jesus at his baptism into consideration. *Luke* iii. 22.

* *Ovid* describes *Chaos* in the following beautiful lines:—

Me *Chaos* antiqui (nam res sum prisca) vocabant.

Aspice quam longi temporis acta canam.

Lucidus hic *Aer*, et quæ tria corpora restant,

Ignis, *Aquæ*, *Tellus*, unus acervus erant.

Quicquid ubique vides, *cælum*, *mare*, *nubila*, *tellus*,

Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.

Fast. Lib. I. Sect. 4.

————— “ THOU, from the first,
Wast present ; and with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding o'er the vast abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant.”

By his impulsive energy, various motions were now probably impressed on inert matter. 1. Motion of *rotation* around the earth's axis in 24 hours, at which time began the vicissitude of day and night. And perhaps, 2. Motion of *revolution* in its annual orbit, by a *projectile* force impressed. 3. The particles of matter were now probably indued with the active principles of *cohesion*, *attraction*, *gravitation*, and *repulsion*, whence arose precipitation of the denser substances towards the centre, and elevation of the rarer towards the surface of the globe, which consequently became covered with “ *waters*,” or a fluid mass, which the heathen cosmogonists called Μωτ, and Ιλυς, “ *mud*.”

From this mass, the several elements of *Light*, *Air*, *Water*, and *Earth*, were extricated in succession by the divine command, issued to THE SPIRIT OF GOD, to whom the preceding operation was ascribed ; and perhaps to the attendant *angels*, or “ ministering spirits,” who might also have been engaged in the process of creation ; called by *Job* “ the morning stars,” and “ the sons of God,” who “ sang together, and shouted for joy,” when the world was finished. *Job* xxxviii. 7. The former, and perhaps both, seem to be included in the plural expression afterwards, “ Let us make man in our image,” &c. *Gen.* i. 26. Compare *Gen.* iii. 22 ; xi. 7. And the joint ministry of angels is especially recorded at the visitation of *Sodom*, *Gen.* xviii. 1—22 ; xix. 1—24 ; at the delivery of the Law on *Sinai*, *Deut.* xxxiii. 2 ; and at the nativity of CHRIST, *Luke* ii. 13—15.

The first, *Light*, or elementary *fire*, such as is produced by *electricity*, and is a component principle of all bodies, was next called forth by the Divine Oracle*—“ *Let there be light* ;” and this concluded the work of “ the first day ;” which was equal in length to the *evening* and *morning*, or to an entire rotation of the earth in 24 hours ; for the sun had not yet appeared to discriminate them. Verses 4, 5.

* By THE WORD OF THE LORD were the heavens made ;
And all their host by the breath of his mouth.
He gathered the waters of the sea together as a heap ;
He laid up the deep in storehouses.—
He spake, and it was done ;
He commanded, and it stood fast.

Psalm xxxiii. 6—9.

The second day was employed in the production of the second element, *Air*, in obedience also to the divine oracle, or command. Of this was formed the *atmosphere*, to be a receptacle for the clouds or watery vapours, now rarified by heat, for now “a *mist* began to arise from the earth.” Gen. ii. 6. This atmosphere, in the original, is called “*the expanse*,” by the Septuagint, *στρεβωμα*, or “*firmament*,” by the Vulgate and our translation, as supporting the clouds. Thus were “the waters divided from the waters,” or the terrestrial separated from the atmospheric waters. Verses 6—8.

The third day was employed, first in the separation of the two remaining elements of *Water* and *Earth*. After the separation of the atmospheric waters, diminishing the mass of the terrestrial, the latter, which still covered the whole surface of the globe, and still “stood above the primitive mountains,” now retired beneath the surface also, into “*the fountains of the great abyss*,” or spacious caverns in the bowels of the earth, the divine “*storehouses*” prepared for their reception, until they were called forth again at the deluge. Gen. vii. 11. At length, the superficial waters subsided, or sunk to their proper level, and “the waters under the firmament,” or the superficial waters, “were gathered together into one place;” the ocean and its “seas;” “and the dry land appeared,” or the earth, its continents, and islands, emerged. Verses 9, 10.

The remainder of this day was employed in furnishing the land, now become dry, with *grass*, *herbs*, *vegetables*, and *fruit-trees*, for the use of the animal creation. Verses 11—13.

The fourth day was employed in making two great luminaries, the *sun* and *moon*, and the *stars* also, to “rule the day, and rule the night,” and to be for “*signs* and for *seasons*, and for *days*, and for *years*.” Vers. 14—18.

This passage strikes at the root of the earliest species of idolatry, the *Zabian*, or adoration of the heavenly host, into which the *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, &c. soon fell, by shewing, that these glorious luminaries themselves were the workmanship of God, and the instruments of his providential government.

Though the sun, moon, and stars, were “*made*” on the fourth day, it is not said that they were then “*created*.” They might have been created along with the heavens and the earth in the beginning, and by similar processes in them also, made fit for their respective uses; their atmospheres becoming luminous by

the separation of their elements, as that of the earth was not sufficiently depurated and transparent, until the fourth day, to receive their light, or to enable them "to give light upon the earth." Indeed, it is highly probable, that "the sun, moon, and stars," or planets and comets, which compose our immediate system, were all created and made at the same time with our "heavens and earth." This may reasonably be inferred from the admirable correspondence and symmetry of the parts with the whole, in the densities and distances of the several planets from the sun, and from each other, and in the nice adjustment of their projectile forces or velocities, and of their directions, with their perpetual attractions towards the sun and each other, in proportion to their masses, and in the inverse duplicate ratio of their distances, bending their several courses into elliptical orbits round the sun, placed in their common focus. To this we may add, the comparative smallness of the Earth, in respect of the Sun, and the superior planets, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; whence the earth may rather be considered as an appendage to them, than they to the earth; and the sun, the common centre of attraction, the prime work of creation.

Whether "the host" of the fixed stars were all "created and made" at the same time with our system, may reasonably be doubted. For though all these had a *beginning*, unquestionably, it is no where explicitly stated in Scripture that they had *the same beginning*; and the first philosophy, in the days of *Job*, plainly intimates, that "*the morning stars*" (by a beautiful figure representing the angels of light) were prior to that creation which they celebrated with hymns of joy. Modern telescopic discoveries, as they have augmented the number of stars that are invisible to the naked eye, immensely, leading us to conclude that there are infinite numbers far beyond our ken, utterly undiscoverable; so they demonstrate the immense distances even of the largest and nearest; and lead us also to conclude, that these can be no other than *suns*, shining with native light, and, from analogy, attended with suitable trains of planets, furnished like ours, with inhabitants adapted to each, compared with which our whole system shrinks into insignificance. Is it then to be imagined for a moment, that the whole "spangled heavens, a shining frame," were called into existence merely "to give light upon the earth," which would be absolutely invisible from the nearest? or that the universe, which is found to be in-

finite or boundless, was not created until so lately as seven or eight thousand years ago?

On the contrary, the most accurate catalogues of the fixed stars, that have been made from the days of *Hipparchus* to *Herschel*, evince, that old stars frequently disappear, and new stars appear in the heavens. And if, as revelation assures us, this earth, which had a beginning, will also have an end, and as it was formerly destroyed by water, so it shall be finally consumed by fire; we may safely conclude, that the amazing process of creating and annihilating worlds has been carrying on, and will continue, through all eternity, according to the will of the SUPREME CREATOR AND GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, who “*neither slumbers nor sleeps,*” and whose ETERNAL SON hath declared, “*My Father worketh hitherto, and I work!*”

The process of inanimate creation having been completed in the first four days, and the earth fitted for the reception and nourishment of animals, the fifth day commences with the production of *fishes* and *birds* in succession, beginning with the lower classes in the scale of intelligence, and gradually rising to the highest. Vers. 20—23.

Here it is remarkable, that the term “*created,*” which had been discontinued from the first verse, is now resumed, and, with strict propriety, applied to the production of *life*, or the living principle, in animals, which is evidently distinct from, and higher than, inanimate matter, and must therefore be attached to the organized bodies of animals by the *power* of GOD. Hence is refuted the senseless and “*crazy wisdom*” of the *Epicureans*, and other ancient *Materialists*, idly supposing that animals were hatched in the slime of the earth by the heat of the sun*.

It is also remarkable, that the divine *blessing* was solemnly pronounced on these animal tribes, and extended, we may presume, to the higher, commanding them to “*be fruitful and multiply.*” Thus intimating, that the propagation of animals was not owing to any inherent principles of generation in their natures, but that “*children and the fruit of the womb are a heritage and gift that cometh of THE LORD.*” To impregnate

* *Cum proreperunt primis Animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus [hominum], &c.—HOR. Sat. 1, 3, 98.*

Even the *Athenians* boasted that they were *Αυτοχθονες*, “*sprung from the soil itself.*”

the fœtus, or embryo animal, “*a quickening spirit*” is indispensably necessary.

The sixth day was employed in creating the various classes of land animals; *cattle* of the tame kinds, *beasts* of the wild, and all the *reptile* tribes that creep along the ground; and, last of all, the highest and noblest, *Man*. Vers. 26—30.

The creation of man is described with peculiar solemnity; 1. “He was made in the *image* and *likeness* of GOD;” invested with *reason* and *speech**; indued with the *knowledge* of his CREATOR, and made an *heir of immortality*, not like “the beasts that perish.” 2. He was invested with *dominion* † over all the animal tribes, the vegetables, and the earth itself. 3. Whereas all other animals were created “after their kinds,” the sex of the human species is particularised: “*Male* and *female*

* The ancient and modern professors of *Atheistical* philosophy, *Lucretius*, *Horace*, *Rousseau*, *Herder*, *Monboddo*, &c. represent the faculty of articulate speech, or language, as the mere *instinctive* expression of the wants and desires of a herd of associated savages,—*mutum et turpe pecus*—gradually invented for mutual convenience of communication, and established by mutual consent.

“At varios linguæ sonitus *Natura* subegit
Mittere, et *Utilitas* expressit nomina rerum.”—LUCRET. 5, 1027.

But our great Lexicographer justly remarks, that “*Language* must have come by INSPIRATION: a thousand, nay a million of *children*, could not invent a language; while the organs are pliable there is not understanding enough to form a language; and *by the time* that there is understanding enough, the organs are grown stiff. We know that *after a certain age*, we cannot learn a language.” *Boswell’s* Life of *Johnson*.

This is confirmed by experience: *Alexander Selkirk*, when cast away on the desert island of *Juan Fernandez*, almost lost the use of his native tongue, after some years residence. The young savage, called *Peter*, caught in the woods of *Hanover*, several years ago, though soon tamed, and reconciled to society, never could be taught to speak.

And lately, the young savage of *Aveyron*, in *France*, though put under the care of the celebrated *Sicard*, master of the deaf and dumb school, has never yet been observed to utter an articulate sound, not even to express his most urgent wants. After spending a month in the hospital of *St. Afrique*, he did not advance one step towards civilization, and is still as far removed from the manners and habits of social life, as when he was first discovered in the woods. Nothing can console him for the loss of his liberty, and original mode of living, and he is always anxious to run away. He was about twelve years of age when taken.

How piously and correctly has *Ovid* expressed the truth:—

Quod loquor et spiro, cœlumque et lumina solis,
Aspicio.—Possumne ingratus et immemor esse!—
[DEUS] ipse dedit.

It is remarkable, that *Adam* was indued with the faculty of speech in his *solitary* state, and gave *names* to the *animal* tribes before the formation of *Eve*. Gen. ii.

† Finxit in effigiem moderantùm cuncta DEORUM.—*Ovid*.

created He them." And this, by a distinct formation of the woman out of the man. The separate process of both is described in the second chapter, not to interrupt the general account of the creation in the first.

The seventh day, on which God *rested*, or ceased from all his work, which he *created* and *made*, was *blessed*, as a gracious *sabbath*, or day of rest, repose and relaxation from labour to mankind, and the cattle employed in their service. It was also "*sanctified*," or consecrated, by the divine command, to the higher duties of religious worship and instruction.

PARADISE.

The situation of *Paradise*, "the garden" of *Eden*, or "delight," in which our first parents, *Adam* and *Eve*, were placed by their Creator, to keep it in order, is perhaps one of the most disputed points of Ancient Geography. It has been sought for in every quarter of the globe. Widely different indeed, are the sites assigned to it by ancient and modern Geographers: *Armenia*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Ethiopia*, *Tartary*, *Hindustan*, *Ceylon*, and *China*; originating from the conciseness of the Mosaical Account. Gen. ii. 8—15.

"And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in *Eden*.—And a river issued from *Eden* to water the garden. And from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is *Pison*; that is it which compasseth the whole land of *Havilah*, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is (*bdolah*) bdellium, and (*Shoham*) the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is *Gihon*; the same is it which compasseth the whole land of (*Cush*) *Ethiopia*. And the name of the third river is *Hiddekel*; that is it which goeth before* (*Assur*) *Assyria*. And the fourth river is (*the Phrat*) *Euphrates*."

This account obviously intimates that the garden was watered by a river that ran into it from the adjacent country of *Eden*; and there probably formed a reservoir or lake: from which issued in different channels and directions, the heads, begin-

* This is the judicious rendering of the Septuagint Version, *κατεναντι Ασσυριων*, followed by the Latin Vulgate, *Contra Assyriam*, and by the Syriac; though *קדמת*, *Kedemath*, in general signifies "eastward."

nings*, or sources of four rivers. Of these rivers the last is simply mentioned, *the Phrat*, as being the well known river *Euphrates*, encompassing *Mesopotamia*; the *Hiddekel*, *Dig-lath*, or *Tigris*, is ascertained by its bounding *Assyria* on the western side; but the two other rivers have never yet been determined, from the uncertainty of the countries, *Havilah* and *Cush*, and of the productions, *Bdolah*, and *Shoham*; which are differently interpreted according to the different countries to which they are supposed to belong: the former being variously rendered *bdellium*, (a bitter gum,) the *carbuncle*, *loadstone*, *oleaster*, *crystal* or *pearl*; the latter, the *beryl*, and the *emerald*, with perhaps as little propriety as the *onyx stone*, which is condemned by Bochart.

The Jewish Historian *Josephus*, blending oriental fables with Scripture, placed the land of *Havilah* in *India*, and *Ethiopia* in *Africa*; and thence supposed that the river *Pison* divided the *Ganges*, and the *Gihon* the *Nile*. Still admitting that the *Dig-lath* denoted the *Tigris*; and the *Phorath* the *Euphrates*. Ant. 1, 1, 3.

In order to account for the appearances of the *Pison* and of the *Gihon*, at such immense distances from their sources, some of the early Christian fathers, *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, *Theodoret*, *Philostorgius*, and *Severianus*, and Rabbi *Moses bar Cephas*, imagined that they ran in subterraneous channels; and the latter river, even under the bed of the Ocean, before their emergence, as the *Ganges* and the *Nile*! *Hudson's* note on *Josephus*, *ibid*.

Mr. *Wilford* transfers *Eden* and all the Rivers to *India*, following the tradition of the *Hindus*, and supposes the river *Pison* to be the *Neilab*, *Sindus*, or *little Indus*; the *Gihon*, the *Haomund*; the *Hiddekel*, the *Bahlac*, and the *Perath* the *Cunduz*. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. VI. But this hypothesis is utterly inconsistent with the courses of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whose "heads" or sources are known to lie in *Armenia*. The third and prevailing hypothesis, invented by *Calvin*, and adopted by *Morinus*, *Bochart*, *Huetius*, *Wells*, *Shuckford*, &c. and also in the first edition of this work, is, that the Garden of *Eden* was placed upon the confluence of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, in a common channel, two days journey above *Bassorah*, and extending as far as their separation again, about five leagues

* τας αρχας, the Septuagint rendering.

below it. Consequently the four rivers of Paradise described by *Moses*, were two, above the junction, namely the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and two below the separation, the *Pison* and *Gihon*. And to accommodate this hypothesis to the *Mosaic* account, the land of *Eden* is found in *Thelassar*, Isa. xxxvii. 12, near the Persian Gulph, and the embouchure of these rivers, corresponding to the *Adin* and *Talatha* of *Ptolomy*, and the ancient Geographers. *Havilah* compassed by the *Pison*, is supposed to denote the eastern part of *Arabia Petræa*, as contrasted with *Shur*, the western, at the head of the red sea, or isthmus of *Suez*, from 1 Sam. xv. 7; and *Cush*, encompassed by the *Gihon*, the Asiatic *Ethiopia*, called *Susiana* by the Greeks, and *Chusistan*, “the land of *Cush*,” by modern Geographers. See *Wells's Sacred Geography*, Vol. I. Chap. 1.

But this hypothesis appears to be untenable in every point.

1. The land of *Eden*, whence issued the river that watered the *Garden*, must have been in the neighbourhood of the *heads*, or springs of the principal rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and not near their *endings*, at the sea. And *Eden* is a general term, signifying “delightful,” or “pleasant,” and was applied to other countries also; to a place in the land of *Syria*, Amos i. 5; to a town in *Cilicia*, and to a port in *Arabia felix*, as being situate in a delightful country, &c.

2. The two upper Rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, cannot, with any shadow of propriety, be said to have had their “*heads*,” or their “*beginnings*,” at their junction, when they ended as distinct rivers; nor were the lower, *Pison* and *Gihon*, any other than merely the continuation of the former, after their separation.

3. The *Pison* was said to “encompass,” or skirt for a considerable length, the land of *Havilah*, and the *Gihon*, the land of *Cush*; but their course, after their separation below *Bassorah*, is not above eighteen leagues distant from the place where these two branches fall into the sea; according to *Therivot* and *Texeira*. *Univers. Hist.* Vol. I. Chap. 1. They can be said, therefore, only to wash a *corner* of these countries, not to encompass them.

4. The junction of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, above *Bassorah*, at present, did not take place till after the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 330—before which the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* ran in separate channels, from their sources to the sea. This appears from the testimony of *Herodotus*, and the voyage of *Nearchus*.

See *Rennel's Geography of Herodotus*, p. 201. The hypothesis, therefore, built upon their ancient junction, falls to the ground.

5. The land of *Havilah*, watered by the *Pison*, could not possibly be the eastern part of *Arabia*, as collected from 1 Sam. xv. 7; because the *Havilah* where *Saul* smote the Amalekites unto *Shur*, was evidently the land of *Amalek*, bordering upon Judea, and also upon the western part of *Arabia Petraea*, near the wilderness of *Sin*, Exod. xvii. 8. And, consequently, about a *thousand* miles distant from the *Euphrates*, according to the judicious remark of *Faber*, *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, I. p. 303.

6. If the confluent waters of the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, ran through the *middle* of the Garden, according to this hypothesis, how could *Adam* have free access to all parts of the Garden? as plainly intimated, Gen. ii. 16. And if to avoid this objection, the garden be placed with *Shuckford*, on the *Eastern* bank, it contradicts Scripture.

Rejecting the foregoing hypothesis, it remains, therefore, that we look for the land and Garden of *Eden*, somewhere near the springs of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and for the springs of the *Pison* and *Gihon* somewhere in their neighbourhood, with the judicious *Reland*, *Faber*, &c.

“The *Armenian* mountains rise very suddenly from the *north*, and from the elevated level, the highest of western *Asia*, whence the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Cyrus*, spring at no great distance from the *Euxine* sea.”—The “*Euphrates* and *Tigris* spring from opposite sides of Mount *Taurus* in *Armenia*; the former, from its upper level, northward; the latter, from its southern declivity: and certain of the sources of the two rivers are only separated by the summits of *Taurus*. And yet, notwithstanding this vicinity, the sources of the *Tigris*, by being in a southern exposure, where the snow melts much earlier than at the back of the mountain, and in a more elevated situation, occasion the periodical swelling of this river to happen *many weeks earlier* than those of the *Euphrates*. Of the two, the *Tigris* seems to be the largest body of water.” *Rennel, Geography of Herodotus*, pp. 177, 201, 282.

This is beautifully illustrated by the son of *Sirach*, who seems to have been well acquainted with the situation of the four rivers of Paradise.

“God filleth all things with his wisdom, as *Pison* and as *Tigris* in the time of the *new fruits*. He maketh the under-

standing abound, like *Euphrates* and like *Jordan* in the time of *harvest*. He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as *Gihon* in the time of *vintage*." *Ecclus.* xxiv. 25, 26.

The *Pison* has been supposed to be the *Phasis*, from the resemblance of the names. But the true *Phasis* rises in the northern range of *Caucasus*, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, at too great a distance from the heads of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. For this, *Faber* substitutes the *Absarus* of *Pliny*, or *Batoum* of modern geographers, which rises in *Armenia*, and runs into the *Euxine* sea. *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, I. p. 303. But its course, by his map of *Eden*, appears too short to encompass the whole land of *Havilah*, supposing, with him, *Havilah* to denote *Colchis*, which was famed, in ancient times, for the abundance and excellence of its gold; as *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Eustathius*, and *Pliny* all attest.

The *Araxes* seems to have a better claim, which rising in *Armenia*, runs by a more circuitous course into the *Caspian* sea, skirting the countries of *Colchis* and *Georgia*, which lie between the two seas, and might both have constituted the land of *Havilah*.

The *Gihon* has also been supposed to be the ancient *Gyndes*, from the resemblance of the names. This river, the modern *Diala*, lies eastward of the *Tigris*, and, according to *Herodotus*, rises in the mountains of *Matiene*, bordering on *Armenia*, and runs through the country of the *Darneans*, in its way to join the *Tigris*. B. I. §. 189. The country which it waters is supposed to be *Chusistan*, by *Faber*. I. p. 306. But Major *Rennel* suspects that the *Gyndes*, divided into three hundred and sixty channels by *Cyrus*, was rather the river *Mendeli*, which descends from the quarter of Mount *Zagros*, and passes by the country of *Derne*, probably the *Darnea*, of *Herodotus*. *D'Anville* supposes the river *Dainawar* to be meant, whose waters descend to *Susiana*. *Rennel*, &c. p. 202.

But notwithstanding the uncertainty attached to the rivers *Pison* and *Gihon* at present, which is not likely to be removed, the hypothesis which places the Garden of Eden near the springs of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, in the elevated region of *Armenia*, is infinitely preferable to the rest. And it is supported by the high geographical authority of our sublime and deep-learned poet, *Milton*, in his *Paradise Lost*. When *Satan*, escaping from

Pandemonium, applied to the archangel *Uriel*, stationed in the sun, to inform him of the way to the newly-created Earth, and to the abode of man, *Uriel* shewed him the globe of the earth, and pointed to the spot where Paradise lay; in consequence of which, *Satan*, following the course of the ecliptic, lights on “*Niphates’* snowy top,” “the *Assyrian Mount.*” B. III. 654—742; IV. 126. and thence, proceeds to *Paradise*, which is described as a *hilly* region,—“with cedars crowned, above all hills,” IV. 131—172; V. 260, 261; XI. 377, 378. “The *Assyrian Garden,*”—“wide remote from Mount *Amara*, in *Abysinia*, under the *Ethiop* line, by *Nilus’* head; supposed by some to be true Paradise.” *Milton* here rejecting the hypothesis of *Josephus*. IV. 280—285. And he further describes the rise and course of the river which watered the Garden, issuing from the country of *Eden*.

“Southward, through *Eden*, went a river large,
Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill,
Passed underneath, *ingulphed*; for God had thrown
That mountain, as his garden mound, high raised
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous earth, with kindly thirst updrawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Watered the Garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appears;
And now divided into four main streams
Runs diverse, wand’ring many a famous realm
And country, whereof here needs no account.”—IV. 223—235.

And that by “the river large” he meant the *Tigris*, appears from the parallel passage; when he describes *Satan* as getting admission into the Garden, through the subterranean course, which lay remotest from the *Cherubic* watch at the entrance.

“———— There was a place,
Now not, (though sin, not time, first wrought the change)
Where *Tigris* at the foot of Paradise,
Into a gulph shot underground, till part
Rose up a fountain, by the tree of life.
In with the river sank, and with it rose
Satan, involved in rising mist; then sought
Where to lie hid:”————

IX. 69—72.

Milton has here adopted, and applied to his own purpose, with admirable learning and ingenuity, *Pliny’s* account of the *Tigris*. B. VI. 27. *Pliny* represents the *Tigris* as rising in the region of *Armenia Major*, from a spring in a remarkable

plain, called *Elongosine*. It runs through the lake *Arethusa*, and meeting with Mount *Taurus*, buries itself underground, and rises again on the other side of the mountain," which *Strabo* mistook for its first rise. Lib. XI. p. 363.

And if we attend to the accounts of modern travellers, there is no country that more strongly resembles the terrestrial paradise than the delightful region of *Armenia* and *Georgia*. It is thus described in the memoir of a map of the countries between the *Black Sea* and the *Caspian*. P. 46.

"The whole country is so extremely beautiful, that *fanciful* travellers have imagined that they found here the situation of the original garden of *Eden*. The hills are covered with forests of oak, ash, beech, chesnuts, walnuts, and elms, encircled with vines, growing perfectly wild, but producing vast quantities of grapes. From these is annually made as much wine as is necessary for the yearly consumption; the remainder are left to rot upon the vines. Cotton grows spontaneously, as well as the finest European fruit-trees. Rice, wheat, millet, hemp, and flax, are raised on the plains, almost without culture. The valleys afford the finest pasturage in the world; the rivers are full of fish; the mountains abound in minerals: and the climate is delicious; so that Nature appears to have lavished on this favoured country, every production that can contribute to the happiness of its inhabitants."

These travellers may be deemed "*fanciful*," rather for not adducing arguments in support of their opinion, than for their opinion itself, as justly observed by *Faber*, Vol. I. p. 300.

See also *Tournefort's* similar description of the country of the *Three Churches*, at the foot of Mount *Ararat*, in the following article of the *Residence of Noah's Family*.

THE UNIVERSAL DELUGE.

When the universal degeneracy and corruption of the primitive world had come to its height, in the tenth generation from *Adam*, so that only "*Noah* walked with God, and was found perfect in his generation," God destroyed them all by the waters of a deluge, except *Noah* and his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons, *Japhet*, *Shem*, and *Ham*, with their wives, eight persons in all; who were miraculously preserved in an ark built according to the divine command and model.

1. "The wood," of which the ark was built, was called "*go-*

phar," probably *cypress*; for the radical part of the Greek *κυπαρισσος*, namely, *kupar*, by an easy interchange of kindred letters, may be derived from the Hebrew.

2. The dimensions of the ark were 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in height, and it consisted of three stories or floors. Reckoning the cubit at 18 inches, it will be found that it must have been of the burden of 42,413 tons. A first rate man of war is between 2200 and 2300 tons; and consequently, the ark had the capacity or stowage of 18 of such ships, the largest in present use, and might carry 20,000 men, with provisions for six months, besides the weight of 1800 cannons, and of all military stores. It was then by much the largest ship ever built. Can we doubt of its being sufficient to contain eight persons, and about 200 or 250 pair of four-footed animals? a number to which, according to Mr. *Buffon*, all the various distinct species may be reduced, together with all the subsistence necessary for a twelvemonth?

3. The time employed in building the ark was 120 years; as collected from Gen. vi. 3; 1 Pet. iii. 20. And when it was finished, *Noah* and his family, and all the animals to be preserved, assembled in pairs, male and female, by the divine command, and in the course of a week entered into the ark. And when they were all entered, "THE LORD shut him in," or effectually closed the outside of the ark*.

And now the deluge began, for "in the same day were all the fountains of the great abyss broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." The same Almighty power which originally drew off the redundancy of the waters, which covered the earth's surface, into the atmosphere, and into the subterraneous caverns, until they subsided to their proper level, now discharged them again upon the earth, until it was entirely covered with the waters of the deluge.

The continuance of the rain was "forty days and nights," or forty entire days, until the atmosphere was drained of its waters; but the eruption of the subterraneous waters lasted for 150 days, until "the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high hills, that were under the whole heavens, were covered; fifteen cubits upwards [above the highest] did the waters pre-

* This might have been necessary, not only to resist the fury of the waves, but also of the men, perhaps, who might endeavour to force a passage into the ark on the rising of the waters.

vail, and the *mountains* were covered. Gen. vii. 5—24. Words cannot more forcibly express the universality of the deluge.

From the *Mosaic* account it is evident, that there were *high hills* and *mountains* in existence before the deluge, otherwise they could not be covered thereby. And indeed the sources of *ivers*, which existed before the deluge, must have lain in such. How unscripturally, then, and how unphilosophically, do our modern geologists reason, *De Luc*, *Wallerius*, who allot not more than 50 toises, or fathoms, to the highest Antediluvian hills; or *Whitehurst*, who reduces them to as many feet! according to *Howard*, in *Thoughts on the structure of the Globe*, 1797, p. 529. This is a valuable work, well calculated, in general, to expose the reveries of modern Materialists on the subject, *Buffon*, *Bailly*, *Hutton*, &c.

De Luc, *Wallerius*, *Whitehurst*, and *Howard* himself, all suppose, that before the deluge, the earth's axis was perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and that its present obliquity took place at the deluge, which occasioned an alteration of the earth's centre of gravity. *Thoughts*, &c. p. 524, 540.

But this notion is not warranted either by Scripture or Philosophy; for,

1. At the creation, the two great lights, the sun and moon, were ordained among other uses, to be for *signs* and for *seasons*, and for *days* and for *years*. Gen. i. 14. But *seasons* and *years* are produced by this obliquity, as acknowledged by these geologists themselves; and could not have existed on the former supposition; as is known to the meanest astronomer. If then *seasons* and *years* existed before the deluge, so must the obliquity. But that they did, is evident from the history. The duration of time from the creation to the deluge, is measured by the *years* of the generations of the patriarchs from *Adam* to *Noah*. Chap. v. The year, therefore, was an established measure of time, during that period, consisting of 360 days, or 12 months of 30 days; as appears from the rising of the waters of the deluge for 150 days, or five months, and from *Noah's* stay in the ark for a year and ten days, from the 17th of the second month till the 27th of the same.

And when God promised *Noah*, that “while the earth remained, *seed-time* and *harvest* [or *Spring* and *Autumn*] *cold* and *heat*, or *Winter* and *Summer*, and *day* and *night*, should not cease, Gen. viii. 22. plainly signifying, that the world should

go on after the deluge as it had done before, and that the same vicissitude of *seasons* should still prevail, as of *day* and *night*; How was it possible to represent, that “ God found it necessary to *forewarn Noah*, that he must expect successive changes of seasons, and vicissitudes of heat and cold, such as he had *never yet* experienced!” *Howard*, p. 526.

2. The supposition of an alteration of the earth's centre of gravity, produced by the deluge, is gratuitous and unfounded. However considerable in themselves may be the subterraneous caverns that form the *storehouses* of the redundant waters of the globe, which principally contributed to cover the earth, and its highest mountains, yet they bear but a trifling proportion indeed to the whole mass of the earth. From calculations made at *Schhallion*, in *North Wales*, some years ago, by those eminent astronomers and mathematicians, *Doctors Maskelyne, Hutton, &c.* it was found, that the earth, upon an average, through its whole sphere, has twice the density of granite, or about five times that of water. Therefore it cannot be a *hollow shell*, as some have formerly supposed: nor can its internal parts be occupied either by *central* fire or water. The solid parts must greatly exceed the fluid; and the probability is, that the substances composing them grow denser, or more ponderous, the deeper they lie, or the nearer they approach to the centre. *Paley's Natural Theology*, p. 400.

To promote the recess of the waters, the Divine Power caused a “ *wind*,” to excite evaporation, and to repel the waters, in a contrary direction to that in which they rose. The direction of this wind was from the *North*, according to primitive tradition, preserved by *Ovid*:—

Nubila disjecit, nimisque *Aquilone* remotis,
Et cælo terras ostendit, et æthera terris.—*Metam.* I.

Hence we might reasonably conclude, that the main current of the waters of the deluge came from the south.

And this conclusion is strongly supported by the present appearances of the great continents of the terraqueous globe; which are such as might naturally have arisen from tremendous disruptions of “ the fountains of the great abyss,” principally in the higher *southern* regions; the waters issuing northwards with inconceivable fury at first, but growing less violent toward the end of their progress.

Thus, if we inspect the map of the world, the deep indentations of the southern coasts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, and the bold projecting capes of the peninsula of *Hindustan*, of *Good Hope*, and of *Horn*, with the disruptions of *Ceylon*, *Madagascar*, and of *Terra del fuego*, from the continents; the chaotic appearances of the ghauts of *Hindustan*, of the mountains of *Abyssinia* and *Caffraria*, and of those in the neighbourhood of the streights of *Magellan*, which are described by the most intelligent travellers; as if they had been torn up by the roots, turned topsy turvy, or piled upon each other in wild confusion; whereas the mountains of *Northern Asia*, *Europe*, and *North America* assume tamer aspects, and more regular forms; we have no longer room to doubt of the northerly progress of the cataracts of the deluge from high southern regions.

There are also traces of prodigious disruptions of the earth in high northern regions, as if on purpose to absorb the redundant waters from the south. In some parts, whole countries have been uplifted on one side, and half buried on the other, in vast gulphs which opened to receive them. Thus, the coasts of *Norway* are the most abrupt, and the highest known, on the ocean, rising from the level of the sea, to the height of from 300 to 900 toises or fathoms. From these, the general face of the country slopes till it meets the *Baltic*, under whose bason part of its former surface lies deep buried. In the shock of the sudden fall of such extensive tracts into the subterraneous vaults, vast fissures were opened into its uplifted parts, forming at present the most frequent, the deepest, and the narrowest creeks yet known in any part of the world. *Howard*, p. 540*.

* In addition to this curious remark from *Howard*, the annals of *Norway* furnish an instance of a most remarkable subsidence and absorption of ground:—

“In the night of February 5, 1703, the superb family seat of *Borge*, near *Frederickstadt*, in *Norway*, was suddenly immersed into a deep abyss of a hundred fathom deep, together with every thing in it; the gap being instantly filled up by a piece of water, betwixt three or four hundred ells long, and of half the breadth. The house was doubly walled, but of these walls, as well as of several high towers, not the least trace was to be seen.—With it perished fourteen souls, and two hundred head of cattle. The Lord and Lady *Wærnschiold*, two children, and the steward, had the good fortune providentially to save themselves. The lady, being then near her time, was attended by a midwife, who in great consternation came to tell them that the house and ground began to give way; upon which they immediately crossed the water to a seat of her lord's brother, where the lady was the very next day delivered.—*King's Morsels of Criticism*, Vol. III. p. 306.

And hence, perhaps, we may account for the remarkable redundancy of land towards the north, and of sea towards the south pole, from the uplifting of the land in the former case, and its subsiding in the latter.

The universality and northerly course, in general, of the deluge, appear to be fully established by well-attested accounts of the fossil remains of foreign animals and vegetables, found all over the globe, in places and at elevations where they could not have been naturally produced.

1. At *Port Julian*, on the eastern coast of South America, in 49 deg. south lat. Sir *John Narborough*, in 1670, found on the tops of the hills, and in the ground, very large oyster-shells, six or seven inches broad, and yet not one oyster was to be found in the harbour. They lay in veins in the earth, and in the firm rocks, and on the sides of the hills in the country. *Voyage to the Streights of Magellan*, p. 46.

2. On the *Andes*, near the western coast of South America, *Ulloa* found *bivalve shells* at the elevation of 13,869 English feet; and in the same rocks containing these, *petrified wood*, which must have been drifted thither at the same time the shells were deposited. See *Ulloa's Memoires*, &c. Acad. Paris, 1771, cited by the *Monthly Review*, May 1803, p. 73.

3. The *Alps* and *Pyrenean* mountains in Europe abound with *fossil shells*, at considerable elevations.

4. In the *Tauric* mountains of the *Crimea* are found petrifications of *foreign shells*, not to be met with in the adjacent seas. Mrs. *Guthrie's Travels*, cited by the *Monthly Review*, November, 1803, p. 230.

5. At the mountain of *St. Peter's*, near *Maestricht*, in Germany, among other fossil remains, have been found the head of a *crocodile*; large jaw-bones and vertebræ, a thigh bone and shoulder blade of some large species of animal; *tortoise shells*; fragments of branched horns resembling those of the elk; the teeth of various species of *sharks*, and of some unknown fishes; *sea shells* of various kinds; *silicious wood*, perforated by worms, *madrepores*, and *fungites*.

Of these shells, the *Ostrea Jacobea*, whose upper valves are frequently found in the environs of *Maestricht*, and in such beautiful preservation, now haunt the Mediterranean sea; the delicate and fragile *pecten pleuronectes*, of *Lamark*, (erroneously denominated *ostrea pleuronectes* by *Linné*) now inhabits

the seas of *China* and *Japan*; and the *Echinophora digitata*, of *Rumphius*, has its abode in the *Indian* ocean. The greatest number of species, however, which are described and figured in *St. Fond's* Natural History of *St. Peter's*, are unknown. In fact, it rarely happens that beds of fossil shells contain many of the kind actually existing in the neighbourhood.

6. The same observations may be applied to the petrified skeletons of the *elephant*, *rhinoceros*, *hippopotamus*, &c. which abound in the steppes, or table lands of *Tartary* and *Siberia*. Most of the fossil *crocodiles* which have been discovered in the different parts of *Europe*, are referred by *St. Fond* to the *Gavial*, or *Asiatic* species. *Monthly Review*, September, 1803, p. 461.

7. In a gravel-pit in the parish of *Newton St. Loe*, three miles from *Bath*, in the valley adjoining the Bristol road, were found, in 1801, several fossil remains of foreign animals, now in the possession of *Jacob Wilkinson*, Esq. Among them is a great tusk, probably of a *mammoth*, which is seven feet long, and measures, at the butt, thirteen inches round; a large shoulder-blade, probably belonging to the same animal; and the petrified jaws of an *alligator*, in which the teeth are perfect, and locked in each other.

In a limestone quarry belonging to *Thomas Leir*, Esq. of *Weston*, near *Bath*, in 1807, there were found, in quarrying for stones, two *peach-stones*, in perfect preservation, and in their natural state, imbedded in a layer of soft blue clay, at the depth of twelve feet, under a solid mass of limestone. These peach-stones must have been deposited there before the growth of the limestone by which they were covered, and this to a considerable extent all around; many ages before the importation of peach trees into *England*.

8. In the year 1775, the *Russian* government sent a surveyor, *Chvoïnoff*, to explore the shores of the *Icy sea*, who found, near the promontory of *Svatoi noss*, an island about 150 versts long, and 80 broad in the widest part, which was "formed," to use his own expressions, "of the bones of that extraordinary animal the *mammoth*, mixed with the heads and horns of the *buffalo*, or something like it, and some horns of the *rhinoceros*."

9. Also during the expedition for exploring the north and east coasts of *Russia*, in 1785—1794, on the high sandy shores of the river *Kovima*, which runs into the *Icy sea*, in lat. 69 deg. 16 min. were found in great abundance the tusks of the *mam-*

mouth. The largest of these, which *Sauer*, secretary to the expedition, measured, was eight feet seven inches (French) long, and at the thickest part, twenty-two inches from the root, was seventeen inches round, and weighed 115 pounds Avoirdupois. *Monthly Review*, May 1803, p. 7.

10. *M. Pallas*, who had formerly espoused the opinion of *Buffon*, that *Siberia* was once the abode of *elephants*, was convinced, by later observations, that such, whose remains are there found in considerable numbers, must either have fled to these high grounds to avoid an increasing deluge, or that their carcases had been wafted thither by its waters. In his observations on the formation of mountains, this author says, that the relics of those large animals, inhabitants of *Hindustan*, the *elephant*, *rhinoceros*, and monstrous *buffaloes* are to be found in great quantities near the course of rivers, and chiefly wherever there is any considerable opening in the chain of *Oural* mountains, which bound *Siberia* on the south. They are deposited at no great depth, under beds of sand or slime, accompanied with various *sea-shells*, *bones of fish*, and *wood* covered with *ochre*; an evident proof that they were transported thither by water, [and that they did not travel thither by land.] A *rhinoceros*, still covered with its skin entire, found in the frozen soil of the borders of the *Vilouï*, "is a convincing proof," says he, "that it must have been the most rapid inundation, which could have hurried this carcase to these frozen countries, before corruption had time to destroy its tenderest parts." He adds, that according to the report of hunters, "*elephants*, and other monstrous animals, are found yet, covered with their skins, at the foot of the mountains which occupy the space between the rivers *Indighirka* and *Kolyma*." *Howard*, p. 471.

11. "A complete *mammoth* has lately been found in a state of perfect preservation on the borders of the frozen ocean. It was discovered by *Schoumakoff*, a *Tungoose* chief, in the autumn of 1799, in the midst of a rock of ice; but it was not till the fifth year after finding it that the ice had melted sufficiently to disengage the *mammoth*, when it fell over on its side on a bank of sand. *Schoumakoff* then cut off the tusks, which he bartered for goods with a Russian merchant to the value of 50 roubles (11l. 6d.) He then left the carcase to be devoured by bears and wolves; previously to which, he had a rude drawing made of it, which represents it with pointed ears, very small eyes, horse's

hoofs, and a bristly mane extending along the whole of its back."

"In 1806, Mr. *Michael Adams*, of *Petersburgh*, hearing of the circumstance, repaired to the spot, where having arrived, he found the skeleton entire, one of the fore feet excepted, though nearly stripped of its flesh. The *vertebræ*, from the head to the *os coccygis*, one of the *shoulder blades*, the *pelvis*, and the remaining three extremities, were still held firmly together by the ligature of the joints, and by strips of skin and flesh. The head was covered with a dry skin. One of the ears, well preserved, was covered with a tuft of bristles. These parts could not avoid receiving some injury during their removal to *Petersburgh*, a distance of 6875 miles; the eyes, however, are preserved, and the pupil of the left eye is still distinguishable. The tip of the under lip was eaten away, and the upper being destroyed, the teeth were exposed. The brain, which was still within the cranium, appeared dry. The parts least damaged were one of the fore feet, and one of the hind: these were still covered with skin, and had the sole attached to them. According to the *Tungoose* chief, the animal was so corpulent and well fed, that its body hung down below the knee joints. It was a male, but had neither tail nor trunk. From the structure of the *os coccygis*, however, Mr. *Adams* is persuaded that it had a short thick tail. *Schoumakoff* always persisted in asserting that he never saw any appearance of a proboscis; and it does not appear probable that his rude draughtsman would have omitted such a striking feature, if there had been one. The skin (three-fourths of which is in the possession of Mr. *Adams*) was of a deep grey colour, and covered with reddish hair, and black bristles. More than 40lbs. weight of them, that had been trodden into the ground by the bears, were collected, and many of them were two feet four inches long. The head weighs 460lbs.; the two horns, each of which is nine feet and a half long, weigh 400lbs.; and the entire animal measured ten feet and a half high, by sixteen and a half long. The tusks are curved in the direction opposite to those of the elephant, bending towards the body of the animal. Mr. *Adams* adds, that he found a great quantity of *amber* on the shores."

This curious and circumstantial account, which has all the marks of veracity, is transcribed from a foreign journal by the *Christian Observer*, March, 1808, p. 198.

12. In the heart of *North America*, also, some years ago, in a salt marsh near the river *Ohio*, were dug up several skeletons of animals of enormous size. One tooth, belonging to a large row, weighed upwards of eleven pounds. A thigh bone of a quadruped was found in the same place, which was more than four feet in length. *Buffon*, Nat. Hist. Tom. IX. These, corresponding to the preceding account, seemed to have belonged to the *mammoth*, of which the species probably was extinct after the deluge.

13. In the year 1783, a huge skeleton, probably of this kind, was discovered in a marl-pit, under a peat moss, surrounded by a stratum of sea-shells, and other marine productions, on the lands of Doctor *Percy*, Bishop of *Dromore*, in *Ireland*. The horns were seven feet and one inch long; the length of the skull one foot eleven inches; the breadth of the forehead above the eyes, eleven inches. All the bones were of a gigantic size, not in the least petrified, but as fresh as if the animal had only died a week before. *Miln's Physico-Theological Lectures*, p. 299.

These instances seem fully sufficient to establish the universality of the deluge, and its general progress northwards from the southern polar regions.

At what season of the year the deluge began, has been much disputed, whether in Spring, or in Autumn. The same arguments adduced in the *Chronological Apparatus*, to prove that the world was created in Spring, concur to intimate, that the "*second month*," when the deluge began, was reckoned by the sacred year, which began about the vernal equinox. And in addition to them, the history of the deluge itself seems to furnish internal evidence in favour of this opinion: for near the end of his confinement, the dove, sent forth by *Noah* out of the ark, brought him back, in her mouth, "an *olive-leaf* plucked off;" (we may presume, with the ancient versions) from a *green* branch, which could only correspond to the season of *Spring*. And a great naturalist, *Woodward*, declares: "Among all the remains of the antediluvian world, I have found such a uniformity, and general consent, that I was able to discover what time of the year it was that the deluge began. The whole tenor of these bodies, thus preserved, clearly pointing forth the month of *May*. Nor have I ever met with so much as one single *plant*, or *body*, among all those vast multitudes which I have carefully viewed, that is peculiar to any other season of the year, or any

thing that falls out earlier or later; or any of them short, or further advanced in growth, seed, or the like, than they now usually are in that month." *Miln.* p. 321. These arguments seem to be decisive.

By a special providence, the ark, upborne by the flood, which continued to encrease for 150 days, then rested upon the neighbouring "mountains of *Ararat*." And immediately the waters began to abate from thenceforward, till the surface of the earth was dry, and fit for the residence of *Noah's* family. The ark probably was flat-bottomed, that it might the more easily take the ground; and if, when loaded with all its freight, it sunk to half its depth, 15 cubits, it would just touch the summit of *Ararat*, at the same elevation of water above it, which is remarkably recorded in Scripture to be the height to which it rose above the highest hills, "fifteen cubits" for the highest, "and upwards" for the lower.

Thus, under the guidance and protection of the Almighty, the ark was no longer tost to and fro by every wind, and buffeted by the most tremendous and frightful billows that ever raged, but rested on the ground steady and immoveable for the remainder of the deluge, and for ever after.

The fall of the deluge was more gradual than its rise. Though the waters sunk below the level of the high table land of *Armenia*, in the course of seven months and ten days more that *Noah* remained in the ark, yet it was probably a length of time before the waters all retired again into "*the fountains of the great abyss*," their former reservoirs, so as to leave the continents dry, as at the creation, the weight of the incumbent waters lessening as they sunk.

Thus did GOD, who "*founded the world upon the seas*," at the creation, "*establish it upon the floods*," at the deluge.

ARARAT, IN ARMENIA.

The determination of the site of this famous mountain is of considerable importance in *Sacred Geography*. The prevailing tradition in the east is, that it lies in the *greater Armenia*, near the borders of the ancient *Media*, from which it is separated by the rapid river *Araxes*, winding round its base on the north and east, until it falls into the *Caspian* sea.

Mount *Ararat*, according to Major *Rennel's* excellent map of

the ancient Persian empire, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 229, lies in 39° 30' north lat. and 44° 30' east long. nearly in the middle of the vast ridge of *Taurus*, that "stony girdle encompassing the earth," as aptly described by the *Arabian* geographers, which runs eastwards from *Cilicia* through the whole extent of *Asia*, for *Ararat* lies nearly midway between the southern extremities of the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas.

This relative position is confirmed by SCRIPTURE. The prophet *Jeremiah* (li. 27.) represents as contiguous to each other, "the kingdoms of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*." But *Ararat* is rendered *Armenia* by the Syriac and Vulgate versions of Gen. viii. 4. and by the Septuagint, Arabic versions, and Chaldee paraphrase of *Isaiah* xxxvii. 38. followed in the latter passage by our English Bible. *Minni* denotes the lesser *Armenia* westwards of the former; and *Ashkenaz*, the ancient *Phrygia*, thence called *Ascania*, bordering on the *Black* sea; which was afterwards metamorphosed by the Greeks into Αἴθριος, "the inhospitable sea," and by a more flattering appellation again into Ευξείνιος, "hospitable;" whence the present *Euxine*, according to *Bochart's* ingenious conjecture, Vol. I. p. 173, 174.

This great mountain, called by the *Armenians*, at present, *Macis*, or "the Mother of the World*," and by the *Turks*, *Agri-dah*, or "the Great Mountain," is counted the highest in all *Armenia*, and probably in the world, if we consider its central position nearly between the great oceans, the *Atlantic* and *Eastern*, in the midst of the united continents of *Europe* and *Asia*. *Herodotus* reckoned the northern branch of "*Caucasus*," running between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, "the greatest and highest of all mountains." B. i. § 203. But *Ararat* probably is higher; for whereas the snow remains on the other mountains of *Armenia*, which furnish the springs of the *Euphrates*, *Araxes*, and *Tigris*, but ten months of the year; on this, or rather the highest of its two tops, the western, the snow is permanent, and the summit covered with eternal snows, continually increasing from the time of the deluge; as we learn from *Tournefort's* entertaining and instructive *Voyage to the Levant*, Vol. III. p. 104, 195.

And, indeed, its greater elevation is confirmed by Scripture: for from the day when the waters began to decrease, as soon as

* *William de Rubruquois*, who travelled in 1253, mentions a town called *Cemainim*, or "the Eight," and they called the mountain near it, *Masis*, or "the Mother of the World." *Howard*, p. 121.

the ark grounded on the summit, “on the seventeenth day of the seventh month,” until “the tops of the neighbouring mountains were seen on the first day of the tenth month,” was an interval of 73 days, or ten weeks and three days; consequently, its superiority of elevation must have been considerable, to require so long a time for the sinking of the waters to their level. This superiority may justly be estimated by the distance from the top of the mountain to the limit of permanent snow, which, according to *Tournefort*, reaches half way down. The snowy region, according to his account, is absolutely inaccessible, by reason of its steepness. Few travellers, whose curiosity may lead them to explore it, can reach even to the limit of the permanent snow, on account of the great labour and difficulty of the ascent through sliding sands, which are daily increasing, and furnish the most barren and frightful desert imaginable, and from the danger of being devoured by tygers, which infest its lower region.

So great is the veneration of the *Armenians* for this mountain, that as soon as they can see it, (and it is so lofty that it can be seen at the distance of ten days journey) they kiss the earth, and repeat certain prayers, making the sign of the cross. They verily believe that the ark rested on its summit. The old patriarch of *Armenia*, who resided at *Erivan*, about two days’ journey from the mountain, northward, when applied to for guides thither by *Tournefort* and his company, told them, that “God had never yet favoured any one with a sight of the ark, except only one saint of their order, who, after fifty years spent in fasting and prayer, was miraculously carried thither, but was so seized by the excessive cold that he died at his return.” Vol. III. p. 183. Thus was it wisely ordained by Providence, that the ark should at length become inaccessible, and buried under perpetual snows, that it might not become an object of idolatrous veneration!

This mountain stands by itself, in the form of a sugar-loaf, in the midst of one of the greatest plains to be seen, stretching northward and westward, principally, as far as *Erzerum*, which is nine days’ journey from thence, and is seated between two beautiful streams that form the heads of the *Euphrates*, and which spring from mountains to the north and east, little inferior in height to the *Alps*. P. 94, 101.

The great elevation of the level of *Armenia* is proved from

its extraordinary coldness. "At *Erzerum*," says *Tournefort*, "on the 14th of June, we were much surprised to find our hands so numbed at day-break that we could not write. This continued till after sun-rise, though the nights were pretty gentle, and the heats even troublesome, from ten in the morning unto four in the afternoon." P. 94. "There fell some snow about *Erzerum* in the night between the 2d and 3d of July." P. 120. And on the 14th of August, the third day after their visit to the mountain, during their stay at the *Three Churches*, there fell so much snow upon *Ararat*, that its smaller top, which before was clear, was all white with it. "We gave God thanks," said these pious travellers, "that we were safe returned, for we might have been lost there, or died with hunger upon the mountain." P. 208.

From the circumstance of the *olive-leaf*, brought back by the dove, on "the *evening*" of the same day that she had been let out the second time, *Tournefort* has raised a difficulty: "I do not see," says he, "where the dove, which went out of the ark, could find an olive-branch, if the ark be supposed to have rested upon Mount *Ararat*, or any of the mountains of *Armenia*; for this sort of tree is not found hereabouts, where the species must be lost, and yet olives are known to be a sort of tree that never die." P. 173. But whatever modern travellers may find, *Assyria*, which bounded *Armenia* on the south, was anciently famous for *olives*. 2 Kings xviii. 32. And *Strabo* says expressly, that olives grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia*. Lib. II. p. 800. And from either of those places, the dove, which is a bird of strong wing and rapid flight, might have returned in the evening of the same day. This objection, therefore, only tends to confirm the *Mosaical* account.

An additional argument for the descent of *Noah's* family from the top of *Ararat*, in *Spring*, may be drawn from the clouds, with which it is constantly capped during the *winter* half of the year; and from the greater facility of procuring provisions for all the tenants of the Ark, on their descent into the plain, during the *summer* half-year.

RESIDENCE OF NOAH'S FAMILY.

When *Noah* and his family quitted the Ark, they descended, as it were, from the clouds, to inhabit the rich and fertile plains that lay at the foot of the mountain; which are thus described by *Tournefort*.

“The country is admirably fine, and I do not know of any that can give us a better idea of *Paradise*. It is full of rivulets, which render it extremely fruitful: and I question whether there be any other country in the world, where one may gather so many commodities all at one time. Besides great quantities of all sorts of *grain*, there are fields of prodigious extent covered with *tobacco*. The rest of the country abounds with *rice*, *cotton*, *flax*, *melons*, *pastiches*, *orchards*, and fine *vineyards*. The people at *Erivan* are simple enough to believe that the vines are of the same sort which *Noah* planted. Gen. ix. 20. Be that as it may, they yield a very good wine.—The wine there is admirable; but the culture of vines is very difficult, by reason of the cold and frosts: which oblige the dressers, not only to cover, but to bury them under ground, at the beginning of winter, where they are kept till the spring.” P. 172.

But in *Noah's* time, and for several centuries afterwards, *Armenia* was probably warmer than at present. For though the waters had sunk below the level of this high table land, in the course of seven months from their decrease, yet it was probably a considerable length of time, several centuries perhaps, before they were reduced to their proper level. And, therefore, if we consider the larger surface of the seas, and smaller elevation of the land above the level of the seas at that time, on both accounts, the temperature should then be milder.

PARTIAL DELUGES.

That such happened in different places after the general deluge, at intervals, may be collected, both from local evidences, and from ancient records.

1. From the present aspect of the country itself, there is the greatest reason to think, that the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, the *Caspian*, and the lake of *Aral*, stretching along the northern skirts of *Taurus*, formerly covered a much greater extent of ground than at present, and were even united in one great inland sea: and that, in process of time, the mounds, which confined it on the south, being either gradually sapped and undermined by the pressure of the accumulated waters, or suddenly rent asunder by earthquakes or volcanos, or by the combination of both, gave way, or were broken down, whereby vast bodies of water were suddenly discharged into the *Mediterranean Sea*, inundating its

borders, till then separated from the *Atlantic* Ocean; and deserting great tracts of land behind it; and so forming three separate lakes, of their present dimensions. In confirmation of this, not only on their immediate borders, but to very great distances northwards, up the courses of the *Don*, the *Wolga*, and the *Jaick*, these three seas are surrounded by flat, sandy deserts, destitute of fresh water, but interspersed with innumerable small lakes, whose waters are salt or bitter. The plains of *Cuban* stretching between the Black and Caspian Seas, and those that lie between the latter and the lake of *Aral*, and far eastward of this last, bear still more evident marks of having been once covered by waters. All these deserts are strewed with *shells* belonging to fish, of similar kinds with those yet found in the Caspian. And it is said, that the ancient extent of this former interior sea may be traced over the whole desert of *Astracan*, and beyond the *Jaick*, by the symptoms of coast, with which the elevated plains of *Russia* border this desert, and by the fossil productions covering its whole surface. The same appearances have been found on the plains of the *Borysthenes*. Other travellers have remarked the traces of sea in the plains of *Asia Minor*, and of *Persia*, and above the *Danube*, very far above the actual limits of the Caspian and the Black Sea. But the whole range of its southern great mountainous barrier is so strong by nature, that it could not be broken through any where, except where the present streights of the *Bosphorus* are situated.

By the irruption of such a vast body of waters from the Northern Seas, the countries contiguous to the *Mediterranean*, must have been deluged, and many islands formed, which before were connected lands; and numbers of the inhabitants have been drowned on the maritime coasts of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, surrounding this sea. And from this circumstance, probably, the southern parts of Europe received in Scripture the denomination of “*the isles of the nations*,” in the earliest times. Gen. x. 5.

That the level of the Mediterranean Sea indeed in ancient times was considerably higher than at present, has been confirmed of late years by means of the works carried on for the improvement of the fortifications of *Gibraltar*. In excavating, or boring the ground, petrified human bones have been found in very great numbers, either incased in the rocks, or heaped together in subterraneous caverns. Their petrification proves them

to be of very ancient date, before they and the surrounding stone became so hardened by the joint operation of salt water and air. They are probably the remains of the islands and submerged lands of the Archipelago, and of the various coasts of the Mediterranean, swept away by the sudden irruption of the Black Sea, and conveyed thither by a strong current driving impetuously against the barrier which separated the Mediterranean from the Atlantic Ocean: until this mound, at length, undermined, or perforated, by the accumulated weight of this new torrent, still depositing these floating bodies in its recesses, was burst open, and gave a vent for the redundant waters into the Atlantic Ocean through the Straits, into the Ocean; until the interior waters sunk to the same level as the exterior.

2. And this perfectly corresponds with ancient and general tradition. *Diodorus Siculus* asserts, that the *Euxine* Sea was formerly a great lake, whose waters, increasing by length of time, at last broke down the mounds which restrained them, and forced themselves a passage in the first instance near the *Cyanean* islands; and, finally, through the *Hellespont*. *Strabo* also cites the authority of *Strato*, who maintained that the Euxine had formerly no opening near *Byzantium*; but that the great rivers which run into it, at last forced an opening, and flowed from thence into the *Propontis*, and next opened themselves a passage through the *Hellespont*. He further states, that the same event took place in the *Mediterranean*, which opened itself a passage, near the columns of Hercules, into the Atlantic; and that, in consequence of this discharge, great tracts of land, which had before been covered with water, now first emerged. And according to *Plato*, the island *Atalantis* was overwhelmed by an inundation; but it lay beyond the streights of Gibraltar, in the ocean.

The rupture of the streights of the *Baltic* was probably effected by a similar cause. The bason of that sea might have retained some of the redundant waters of the deluge, after the rest were withdrawn into the subterraneous caverns; or it might have been filled by the waters of all the surrounding rivers of the higher lands of *Germany*, *Poland*, *Russia*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, which are as numerous and copious as those that flow into the *Black* Sea; and these accumulated waters at length forced themselves a passage into the ocean. And to confirm this, the old *Swedish* historians report, that formerly their whole

country, except the mountains, which then composed a group of islands, was covered with water. And *Linnaeus* and *Celsius*, in the *Amœnitates et Acta Academiæ Sueciæ*, observe, that the sea-ports of East and West *Bothnia*, and of the Eastern side of *Gothland*, are every year decreasing in depth; and that the inhabitants of West *Bothnia* have observed, by marks upon rocks, that the sea decreases every ten years about five inches. This, no doubt, is effected by the gradual deepening of the Streights, which carry off the Baltic waters into the North Sea.

There is indeed reason to think, that this Sea, formerly, approached the Black Sea; for *Diodorus* relates, that the Argonauts sailed from the *Euxine*, up the *Tanais*; and that, after a short passage by land, they found rivers which carried them into the *North Sea*, and thence into the Ocean; from whence they returned through the straits of *Hercules* to *Telamon*. The story, no doubt, is improbable; but it shews that there existed a tradition, that the *Euxine* Sea was once not very distant from the Baltic. And indeed the ancient name of *Pontus*, or “the Great Sea,” given to the *Euxine*, in times preceding the Argonautic expedition, denotes that it was then of much greater extent than at present.

To successive disruptions of the barriers of the *Euxine* Sea, at the *Bosphorus*, may naturally be ascribed the early deluges of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*, so celebrated in Grecian History; the latter of which is confounded by *Ovid* with the general deluge.

His description of *Deucalion*, Mount *Parnassus*, and the renewal of the human race, by casting stones over the shoulders of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, which became men and women, is evidently taken and caricatured from the *Mosaical* account.

The flood of *Ogyges*, which inundated *Bœotia* and *Attica*, the ravages of which those countries did not recover for 200 years, happened, according to the ancient Greek historians, *Hellanicus*, *Castor*, &c. 1020 years before the first Olympiad, B.C. 776, or B.C. 1796. It preceded *Deucalion's* deluge 248 years, according to *Cedrenus*, from an ancient computation, which therefore happened B.C. 1518, or in the second year of *Deucalion's* reign, according to the preceding rectification of the *Parian Chronicle*; and is reckoned the most important and destructive that ever happened, by the Grecian writers. It is possible that the first rupture of the *Bosphorus*, might have preceded the flood of *Ogyges*; but it is highly probable, that it was finally

completed by the flood of *Deucalion* * ; and that not long after the latter, the straits of *Gibraltar* were burst open, to give an outlet to the surcharged waters of the *Mediterranean* : and to the gradual deepening of the Straits, we may attribute the recess of the waters from the Eastern shores of the *Mediterranean* ; which were formerly covered to a greater extent.

It has been supposed by *Buffon* and others, that the disruptions of the barriers of the *Mediterranean* and *Baltic*, proceeded from without, from the fury of the ocean bursting in. This certainly might have contributed to weaken them on the outside ; but the effect seems most naturally to have been produced from the inside. To invalidate the argument, in the case of the *Mediterranean*, and to set aside the accumulation of its waters from the interior seas and rivers, it has been contended, 1. That evaporation on the surface of the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the heat of the sun, draws off the surplus waters ; and that this is proved, 2. By the constant in-draught of the waters of the ocean setting into the mouth of the Straights.

But to this it is answered by *Howard*, 1. That the rains which fall in great torrents, restore much of the waters evaporated by heat ; and that no evaporation takes place in the *Baltic*, on account of the coldness of the climate : and 2. That there is an under current, in the gut of *Gibraltar*, constantly setting outwards from the *Mediterranean*, which may discharge a greater body of water than is admitted by the upper : and 3. That from a Chart published in *Germany* during the last siege of *Gibraltar*, of the tides and currents in the Straights, it appears, that whilst a strong upper current drives from the ocean into the *Mediterranean*, along the coasts of *Africa* ; a contrary upper current sets into the ocean from that sea, tuning round *Europa* point

* The flood of *Deucalion* may rather perhaps have originated from a disruption and discharge of waters in *Thessaly* itself, described by *Herodotus*, B. 7, 129.

“ *Thessa*'y is said to have been anciently a lake, surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains ; to the East, by *Pelion* and *Ossa*, whose bases meet each other ; to the North, by *Olympus* ; to the West, by *Pindus* ; and to the South, by *Othrys*. The intermediate space is *Thessaly*, a hollow country, watered by a great many rivers, the principal of which are *Peneus*, *Apidanus*, *Orochonus*, *Enipeus*, and *Pamisus*. These rivers, collected in the plain, cross a very narrow valley [*Tempe*] at the outlets of the mountains, and discharge themselves into the sea by one common channel, which assumes the name of *Peneus*, absorbing the rest. It is said that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, these five rivers, and the lake *Bæbeis* also, had not distinct names as at present ; but that their body of water being as great, and flowing incessantly, made the whole of *Thessaly* a sea.”

into the bay of *Gibraltar*, and sweeping round that bay, takes its course along the coasts of *Andalusia* *. According to that Chart, the whole Streights may be divided into five bands, in all which the tides are different : in the mid-channel, the tide coincides with the ocean ; in the two bands on each side, the hours of flow and ebb are different from that of the ocean, and different from each other ; in the two bands following the two coasts, the hours of tide are the same, though different from all the others. 4. The same counter-currents prevail also in the Streights of *Constantinople* : over against that city, the most rapid of its superior currents drives into the *Black Sea* along the *Asiatic Coast*, yet no one doubts that the *Black Sea* pours a considerable surplus of water into the *Mediterranean* ; and that the general current of the latter sets from East to West, is ascertained beyond a doubt, by the usually longer navigation *up* than *down* the *Mediterranean*, according to the nautical phrase, founded on experience. See *Howard's* fourth letter, with its notes and illustrations ; from which this article is principally extracted.

THE TERRAQUEOUS GLOBE.

The last century has been more productive of Geographical discoveries than any, or almost all that preceded it. The fictions of speculative Geographers for ages past, have been imaginary *Continents* in the Southern hemisphere, and imaginary *seas* in the Northern. The true proportion of land to water on the earth's surface, was never ascertained till the voyages of discovery made by that celebrated British Navigator, Captain *Cook*, under the auspices of his present Majesty, *George III.* in three successive voyages round the world. The result of which, as being of considerable importance in itself, and throwing great light on the process of the original colonization of the earth by the families of *Noah's* sons, is thus expressed by himself :

“ I have now made the circuit of the *Southern Ocean* in a high latitude ; and traversed it in such a manner, as to leave not the least room for there being a *Continent*, unless near the *South Pole*, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the *Tropical Sea*, I had not only settled the situation of some old

* This outer current flows with such impetuosity, that ships to enter the Streights are forced first to gain Cape *Spartel* on the African side, to effect their purpose ; especially if they aim to enter the bay of *Gibraltar*.

discoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little to be done, even in that part. Thus I flatter myself, that the intention of the voyage has in every respect been fully answered. The Southern Hemisphere has been fully explored, and a final end put to the searching after a Southern Continent, which has at times engrossed the attention of the maritime powers for near two centuries past, and been a favourite theory amongst the Geographers of all ages." *Cook's Second Voyage*, Vol. II. p. 239.

If in his two first Voyages Captain *Cook* annihilated imaginary southern lands, he has made amends for the havoc in his third and last voyage, by annihilating imaginary northern seas, and filling up the vast space which had been allotted to them, with the solid contents of his new discoveries of *American* land, farther West and North than had been hitherto traced.

The two continents of *Asia* and *America*, so widely separated from each other by the vast Pacific or Eastern ocean, at their Southern extremities, are now found to approach each other towards the Northern, within *thirteen* leagues, instead of *eight hundred*, as supposed by the author of *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*. And in this narrow streight there are several intervening islands, as *Behring's*, &c.

Among other good purposes, therefore, these voyages have rendered essential services to Religion, by robbing *Infidelity* of a favourite objection to the *Mosaical* account of the peopling of the earth. *North America* might have been easily furnished with inhabitants from the opposite coasts of *Asia*; and *South America*, by means of the great chain of newly discovered tropical isles, scattered between the two great Continents, and successively colonized from *Asia*; and also, on its Eastern side, by vessels driven by storms, or trade winds and currents, from the shores of *Europe* and *Africa*; and indeed the similarity of languages, religion, manners, and customs, in several leading points, furnishes decisive evidence of the descent of all mankind from the same parent stock.

The seas, both of the North and South, grow shallower, the nearer they approach to the Pole. Captain *Cook*, in his repeated voyages round the *Antarctic circle*, constantly found innumerable isles and fields of ice obstructing his course in lat. 61 and 62, South. Having, however, penetrated as far, in some parts, as lat. 72, he there found a firm and fixed continent of ice, on

which he descried vast accumulated mountains. From repeated and judicious observations, he pronounces this to be owing, not to the proximity of lands; the islands which he called *Sandwich*, in lat. 59, being the last which he descried towards that Pole; but to the shallowness of that sea: the accumulating snows and ice sinking there to the very bottom, become immovably fixed thereto. In the *Northern hemisphere*, it was not the proximity of land which stopped his progress, for he passed *Behring's Straits*: but though the lands diverging from thence open a more extensive widening sea, he was again stopped by an icy continent, in lat. 70, North, because he perceived the sea was there so shallow, as to suffer the ice to be rooted to its bottom. On the opposite western side of the hemisphere, it is well known, that the sea, though sometimes covered with floating ice, is passable, in the proper season, and even becomes less obstructed, as far as lat. 88, to which, by various accounts, it appears that some ships have penetrated. This probably is owing to the greater depth of the ocean about *Spitzbergen*, and northwards, for a considerable extent.

This curious discovery puts an end likewise to the doubts that have been raised about the difficulty of maintaining the equilibrium of the earth, from the greater redundancy of land in the Northern, than in the Southern hemisphere. We know the fact, that the equilibrium is maintained; whence we may safely conclude, either that the shallowness of the Polar seas leaves the earth of the same density at each pole, or rather, perhaps, that all these inequalities on the surface of the land and water, are light and insignificant, compared with the great solid mass of the earth itself, nearly 8000 miles in diameter.

*Opinionum commenta delet dies,
Naturæ judicia confirmat.*

“ The fictions of *hypothesis*, lapse of time effaces,
But confirms the decisions of *Nature* !”
—And the dictates of *Revelation*.

NOAH AND HIS SONS.

Noah survived the deluge 350 years, and *Shem* 500 years. This is decisive evidence against the hypothesis, that the diminution in the standard of human life after the deluge, was owing to the unwholesomeness of the atmosphere, occasioned by the

stagnant waters after the deluge ; for the longevity of Noah exceeded that of any of his ancestors, except *Methuselah* ; of whose age of 965 years, *Noah's* wanted only 15 years ; and *Shem* survived his father 150 years, and probably his brothers lived as long. The regular reduction of nearly 200 years each, for three sets of generations, from *Shem*, 600 years, to *Terah*, 205, marks design ; and the successive reductions, down to *David*, when the standard was lowered to 70 years, at a time when, according to the hypothesis, the stagnant waters of the deluge must have long since been dried up every where, and, of course, the earth rendered more wholesome, shows, that the diminution must be resolved into the sole will and pleasure of our Creator.

During the lives of *Noah* and his sons, their families occupied *Armenia*, and probably extended themselves into the adjacent pleasant and fertile regions of *Georgia*, *Assyria*, and *Media*.

It was probably near the close of his life, that *Noah* delivered that famous prophecy respecting the fortunes of the three great families that peopled the whole earth, so wonderfully descriptive of their distinctive characters at the present day, and so minutely fulfilled in their respective settlements. As a *Geographical* prophecy, therefore, it requires to be noticed in this place.

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

The immediate occasion of this prophecy is stated to be the intoxication of *Noah* ; in consequence of which he lay exposed in his tent. And *Ham*, the father of *Canaan*, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And *Shem* and *Japheth* dutifully covered him with a garment, going backwards that they might not see his nakedness. And when *Noah* awoke from his wine, and knew what his *youngest son* had done unto him, he said,

- I. "Cursed be *Canaan* :
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
- II. Blessed be THE LORD, THE GOD of *Shem*,
And *Canaan* shall be his servant.
- III. GOD shall enlarge *Japheth*,
He shall even dwell in the tents of *Shem* ;
And *Canaan* shall be his servant."—Gen. ix. 20—27.

It has been generally supposed that the *youngest son*, here meant, is *Ham* ; the same who saw and told his father's un-

seemly situation to his brothers. And hence the reading of the Arabic version, "*Ham, the father of Canaan*," in the three branches of the prophecy, instead of "*Canaan*" singly, as the subject of the curse throughout, upon him and upon his posterity in general, extending even to the youngest, *Canaan*; has, either virtually or expressly, been adopted by the current of Commentators, ancient and modern; and was thence inadvertently introduced into the text itself, in the first edition of this work.

Josephus thus explains the transaction: While *Noah* lay in an unseemly posture, *the youngest of his sons*, seeing it, shewed it to his brothers, mocking: but they covered their father. And when *Noah* knew, he blessed his other sons; he did not curse *Ham* himself, *on account of his kindred to him*; but he cursed his descendants: and *the rest escaping the curse*, God inflicted it on the children of *Canaan*." Antiq. I. 6, 3.

Abulfaragi, also: "*Noah* cursed *Canaan* the son of *Ham*, although the offence was his father's, not his own, because he knew by revelation, what he would afterwards perpetrate, in making musical instruments, in fornication and other base practices, which the sons of *Cain* applied themselves to teach." Dynast. p. 11.

And even the most learned expositors have implicitly adopted the appropriation of the Curse of servitude to *Ham* and his posterity. *Bochart* styles *Ham* accursed; and represents *Noah* as foretelling that *his children should be slaves*; while *Mede*, not content with calling upon us to tremble at the horrible curse of impious *Ham*; and with intimating that he was destined to be a servant of servants to all his brethren, roundly asserts, that *there hath never yet been a son of Ham that hath shaken a sceptre over the head of Japheth; that Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either*." *Mede's Works*, Disc. 49 and 50, pp. 271, 283.

The integrity, however, of the received text of the prophecy, limiting the curse to "*Canaan*" singly, is fully supported by the concurrence of the *Masorete* and *Samaritan* Hebrew texts, with all the other ancient versions, except the *Arabic*; and is acknowledged, we see, by *Josephus* and *Abulfaragi*, who evidently confine the curse to *Canaan*; though they inconsistently consider *Ham* as the offender, and are not a little embarrassed, to exempt him, and the rest of his children, from the operation

of the curse; an exemption, indeed, attested by sacred and profane History: for *Ham* himself had his full share of earthly blessings, his son *Misr* colonized *Egypt*, thence styled “the land of *Ham*,” Ps. cv. 23, which soon became one of the earliest, most civilised and flourishing kingdoms of Antiquity, and was established before *Abraham’s* days, Gen. xii. 14—20; and in the glorious reign of *Sesostris*, extended its conquests both in Asia and Europe into the territories of *Shem* and *Japheth*; while *Ham’s* posterity in the line of *Cush*, not only founded the first *Assyrian* Empire under *Nimrod*, but also the *Persian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman* Empires; in direct contradiction to the unguarded assertion of *Mede*.

How then is the propriety of the curse, exclusively to *Canaan*, to be vindicated? evidently by considering him as the only guilty person. And this may be done by adopting the very ingenious conjecture of *Faber*, that the “youngest son,” who offended, was not *Ham*, but *Canaan*; not the son, but the grandson of *Noah*. For the original, “his little son,” according to the latitude of the Hebrew idiom, may denote a grandson; by the same analogy, that *Nimrod*, usually considered the youngest son of *Cush*, Gen. x. 8, was, most probably, his great grandson; as being the contemporary of *Peleg*, the great grandson of *Shem*, “in whose days the earth was divided,” Gen. x. 25; compare Gen. x. 10, and xi. 9.

And this interpretation is supported by ancient Jewish tradition, *Beresith Rabba*, § 37, recorded also by *Theodoret*, in Gen. quest. 57, that “*Canaan* first saw his grandsire’s nakedness, and shewed it to his father, in mockery of the old man.” The tradition indeed, adds, that *Ham* joined in the mockery; but for this addition there seems to be no sufficient ground: *Canaan* might have invited his father to come and see a ludicrous spectacle, without precisely communicating what it was; and *Ham* might have been thus led, innocently and inadvertently, to see* his father’s exposure; not joining, however, in *Canaan’s* mockery, he might have withdrawn in disgust, from the degrading spectacle, and with concern communicated it to *Shem* and *Japheth*

* The original verb, נָתַן, rendered “he saw,” in the active conjugation Kal, occurs in the same defective form in Hiphil, “he made to see,” or “shewed,” 2 Kings xi. 4, and is in the same form in the passive Hophal, “was made to see,” or “was shewn,” as acutely remarked by *Faber*.

without; and they, being thus made acquainted with their father's exposure, piously contrived to cover, without beholding it themselves. In this transaction *Ham* took no active part; *Noah*, therefore, passed him over in silence, without either a blessing or a curse; as he had done nothing to incur a curse, nor any thing to merit a special blessing; he only pronounced a curse upon the guilty and depraved *Canaan*, that he should be a "*servant of servants* to his brethren" in general, to the other descendants of *Ham*, as well as to the descendants of *Shem* and *Japheth*; while he predicted appropriate blessings to their descendants, spiritual and temporal.

Hence we may see a reason, why *Ham*, at the beginning of the narrative, is described as *the father of Canaan*, rather than as the father of *Cush*, *Misr*, or *Phut*. It was evidently designed to draw attention to *Canaan*, though the youngest of his sons, on account of the curse of servitude denounced against him at the end; and, therefore, as pre-eminent in disgrace, on account of the enormity of his guilt.

Let us now proceed to the completion of the prophecy in its several parts.

I. The curse denounced against *Canaan's* posterity, to be "*servant of servants*," the lowest of servants, even slaves, to their brethren in general, did not affect *individuals*, nor even *nations*, so long as they continued righteous. In *Abraham's* days, *Melchisedek*, whose name was expressive of his character, signifying "king of righteousness," was a worthy and revered "*Priest of THE MOST HIGH GOD*." And *Abimelech*, whose name denotes "parental king," pleaded the "integrity of his heart," and "the righteousness of his nation," before God: and his plea was accepted. Yet they both appear to have been *Canaanites*. See Gen. xiv. 18—20; xv. 16; xx. 4—9. At the same time, the impieties and abominations of their neighbours, in the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, &c. drew down the signal vengeance of heaven in their overthrow.

In the fourth generation afterwards, when the "*iniquity of the Canaanites* was come to the full," or a general corruption had taken place; when in the energetic imagery of Scripture, "*the land itself vomited forth its inhabitants*," on account of their frightful impieties and abominations, as detailed, Levit. xviii. 25—28, containing the fullest justification of the infliction

of the *national* curse ; *Canaan* was in part exterminated, and in part reduced to servitude, by the *Israelites* of the House of *Shem*, under the conduct of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *David*. Afterwards he fell under the yoke of *Ham* and *Shem*, when he bowed the neck beneath the *Medo-Persian* Sceptre ; he fell under the yoke of *Ham* and *Japheth* together, when his land became a province of the *Macedo-Grecian* and *Roman* Empires ; and he was subjected to *Japheth*, *Ham*, and *Shem*, conjointly, when he finally yielded to the *Tartaric* Ottomans ; under whose iron sceptre, he still languishes, enslaved.

II. *Shem*, signifying “ name,” or “ renown,” though he attained not to great temporal power, being usually under the influence of *Japheth*, received the promise of a spiritual blessing, which raised him high in dignity above either of his brothers. He was chosen to be the ancestor of the blessed “ seed of the woman,” “ the Man CHRIST JESUS,” in preference to his elder brother *Japheth*. To this glorious privilege, *Noah*, to whom it was probably revealed, might have alluded, in that devout ejaculation ;—“ Blessed be THE LORD, THE GOD of *Shem* ;”—who was destined to be “ the glory of his people *Israel* ;” in after ages, while the rest of the *Pagan* world “ lay in darkness and in the shadow of death.”

III. *Japheth* signifies “ enlargement.” And how wonderfully did Providence *enlarge* the boundaries of *Japheth* ! His posterity diverged eastwards and westwards ; from the original settlement in *Armenia*, through the whole extent of *Asia*, north of the great range of *Taurus*, distinguished by the general names of *Tartary* and *Siberia*, as far as the Eastern Ocean ; and in process of time, by an easy passage across *Behring’s* streights, the entire continent of *America* ; and they spread in the opposite direction, throughout the whole of *Europe*, to the *Atlantic* Ocean : thus literally encompassing the earth, within the precincts of the northern temperate zone. While the enterprising and warlike genius of this hardy *hunter*-race, frequently led them to encroach on the settlements, and to dwell in “ the tents of *Shem*,” whose *pastoral* occupations rendered them more inactive, peaceable, and unwarlike : as when the *Scythians* invaded *Media*, and overran western *Asia* southwards, as far as *Egypt*, in the days of *Cyaxares* ; and when the *Greeks*, and afterwards the *Romans*, subdued the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and

Persians in the East, and the *Syrians* and *Jews* in the South ; as foretold by the *Assyrian* prophet, *Balaam* :

“ And *ships* shall come from the coast of *Chittim*,
And shall afflict the *Assyrians*, and afflict the *Hebrews*,
But he [the invader] shall perish himself at last.”—Numb. xxiv. 24.

And by *Moses* :

“ And the Lord shall bring thee [the *Jews*] into *Egypt* [or bondage] again with *ships*,” &c.—Deut. xxviii. 68.

And by *Daniel* :

“ For the ships of *Chittim* shall come against him” [*Antiochus*, king of *Syria*.]—Dan. xi. 30.

In these passages *Chittim* denotes the southern coasts of *Europe*, bordering on the *Mediterranean* Sea, called the “*Isles of the Gentiles*.” Gen. x. 5. And in later times, the *Tartars* in the East have repeatedly invaded and subdued the *Hindus* and *Chinese* ; while the warlike and enterprising genius of the *British* isles have spread their colonies, their arms, their arts, and their language, and in some measure, their religion, from the rising to the setting sun. And now, “Blessed be THE LORD !” He who was “the GOD of *Shem*,” in former times, is now become more especially the GOD of *Japheth* !—Now *Europe*, that most highly and gratuitously favoured quarter of the Globe, though the smallest, is blessed with the marvellous light of the Gospel ; while *Asia* has sunk, in turn, into the darkness of Idolatry and superstition : the lamps of the *Asiatic* Churches which formerly shone so brightly, are now well nigh extinguished ! How long this inestimable blessing may be preserved to *Europe* is matter of awful and anxious concern : the apostacy of too many of the *European* Churches from the genuine faith of Christ, and the lukewarmness of the rest, threaten the extinction of their lamps also, and that ominous retaliation denounced against the invader, that “He shall perish at last !”

The mention of *Canaan*, the youngest son of *Ham*, proves that this signal prophecy was uttered long after the deluge, and probably near the end of *Noah's* days. It evidently alludes to the divine Decree for the orderly division of the Earth among the three primitive families of his sons ; where it notices the “tents of *Shem*,” and the “enlargement of *Japheth*.” This de-

cree was probably promulgated by the venerable Patriarch, about the same time. *Eusebius*, and others of the fathers, on the authority of ancient tradition, assign it to the nine hundred and thirtieth year of *Noah's* life, or about twenty years before his death ; that is, in the three hundred and thirtieth year after the deluge, or B.C. 2825. *Euseb. Chron.* p. 10. *Syncell. Chronog.* p. 89. *Epiphan. Oper.* I. p. 703.

DIVISION OF THE EARTH.

The prevailing tradition of such a Decree for this three-fold division of the earth, is intimated both in the Old and New Testament. *Moses* refers to it, as handed down to the *Israelites*, "from the days of old, and the years of many generations; as they might learn from their *fathers* and their elders," and further, as conveying a special grant of the land of *Palestine*, to be the lot of the twelve tribes of *Israel*.

"When THE MOST HIGH divided to the Nations their settlements,
When He separated the Sons of *Adam*,
He assigned the boundaries of the peoples [of *Israel*]
According to the number of the sons of *Israel* :
For the portion of the Lord is his people,
Jacob the lot of his inheritance."—*Deut.* xxxii. 7—9.

And this furnishes an additional proof of the justice of the expulsion of the *Canaanites*, as usurpers, by the *Israelites*, the rightful possessors of the land of *Palestine*, under *Moses*, *Joshua*, and their successors, when the original grant was renewed to *Abraham*. *Gen.* xv. 13—21.

And the knowledge of this Divine decree will satisfactorily account for the panic terror, with which the devoted nations of *Canaan* were struck, at the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, by the *Israelites*, and approach to their confines; so finely described by *Moses* :

"The nations shall hear [this] and tremble,
Sorrow shall seize the inhabitants of *Palestine*.
Then shall the Dukes of *Edom* be amazed,
Dismay shall possess the princes of *Moab*,
The inhabitants of *Canaan* shall melt away :
Fear and terror shall fall upon them,
By the greatness of thine arm they shall be petrified,
Till thy people pass over [*Jordan*] O LORD,
Till the people pass over, whom Thou hast redeemed !" — *Exod.* xv. 14—16.

St. *Paul* also addressing the *Athenians*, refers to the Divine decree, as a well known tradition in the heathen world.

“God made of *one blood* every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth ; having appointed the predetermined *seasons* and *boundaries* of their dwellings. Acts xvii. 26.

Here he represents mankind as all of *one blood*, race, or stock, “the sons of *Adam*” and of *Noah* in succession ; and the *seasons* and the *boundaries* of their respective settlements, as previously regulated by the divine decree. And this was conformable to their own Geographical Allegory : that *Chronus*, the god of time, or *Saturn*, divided the universe among his three sons ; allotting the heaven to *Jupiter* ; the sea to *Neptune*, and hell to *Pluto*. But *Chronus* represented *Noah*, who divided the world among his three sons, allotting the upper regions of the North to *Japheth*, the maritime or middle region to *Shem*, and the lower regions of the South to *Ham*.

According to the *Armenian* tradition recorded by *Abulfaragi*, *Noah* distributed the habitable earth from north to south between his sons, and gave to *Ham* the region of the blacks ; to *Shem* the region of the *tawny* (fuscorum) ; and to *Japheth*, the region of the *ruddy* (rubrorum). P. 9. And he dates the actual division of the earth, in the 140th year of *Peleg*, B.C. 2614 ; or 541 years after the deluge, and 191 years after the death of *Noah*, in the following order :

“To the sons of *Shem* was allotted the middle of the Earth, namely, *Palestine*, *Syria*, *Assyria*, *Samaria*, (*Singar* or *Shinar*,) *Babel* (or *Babylonia*), *Persia*, and *Hegiaz* (*Arabia*.)

“To the sons of *Ham*, *Teiman* (or *Idumea*, Jer. xlix. 7.) *Africa*, *Nigritia*, *Egypt*, *Nubia*, *Ethiopia*, *Scindia*, and *India*, (or *India*, west and east of the river *Indus*.)

“To the sons of *Japheth* also, *Garbia* (the *north*), *Spain*, *France*, the countries of the *Greeks*, *Slavonians*, *Bulgarians*, *Turks*, and *Armenians*.” Annals. p. 11.

In this curious and valuable Geographical Chart, *Armenia*, the cradle of the human race, was allotted to *Japheth*, by right of primogeniture ; and *Samaria* and *Babel* to the sons of *Shem* ; the usurpation of these regions therefore by *Nimrod*, and of *Palestine* by *Canaan*, was in violation of the divine Decree.

Though the migration of the primitive families began at this time, B.C. 2614, or about 541 years after the deluge, it was a length of time before they all reached their respective destina-

tions. The “*seasons*” as well as the “*boundaries*” of their respective settlements were equally the appointment of GOD. The nearer countries to the original settlement being planted first, and the remoter in succession. These primitive settlements seem to have scattered and detached from each other, according to local convenience. Even so late as the tenth generation after the flood, in *Abraham’s* days, there were considerable tracts of land in *Palestine* unappropriated, on which he and his nephew *Lot* freely pastured their cattle, without hindrance or molestation. That country was not fully peopled till the fourth generation after, at the exode of the Israelites from *Egypt*. And *Herodotus* represents *Scythia* as an uninhabited desert, until *Targitorus* planted the first colony there, about a thousand years, at most, before *Darius Hystaspes* invaded *Scythia*, or about B.C. 1508.

The orderly settlements of the three primitive families are recorded in that most venerable and valuable Geographical Chart,

THE TENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS,

in which, it is curious to observe how long the names of the first settlers have been preserved among their descendants, even down to the present day.

I. *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*, Gen. x. 21, and his family, are first noticed. Gen. x. 2—5.

The name of the patriarch himself, was preserved among his Grecian descendants, in the proverb του Ιαπετου πρεσβυτερος, “Older than *Japetus*,” denoting the remotest antiquity. The radical part of the word Ιαπετ, evidently expressing *Japhet*.

1. *Gomer*, his eldest son, was the father of the *Gomerians*. These, spreading from the regions north of *Armenia* and *Bactriana*, Ezek. xxxviii. 6, extended themselves westward over nearly the whole continent of Europe; still retaining their paternal denomination, with some slight variation, as *Cimmerians*, in *Asia*; *Cimbri* and *Umbri*, in *Gaul* and *Italy*; and *Cymri*, *Cambri*, and *Cumbri*, in *Wales* and *Cumberland*, at the present day. They are also identified by ancient authors, with the *Galatæ* of *Asia Minor*, the *Gaels*, *Gauls*, and *Celtæ*, of *Europe*, who likewise spread from the *Euxine* Sea to the Western Ocean; and from the *Baltic* to *Italy* southwards, and first planted the *British Isles*. *Josephus* remarks, that the *Galatæ* were called

Γομαρῆσις, "*Gomariani*," from their ancestor *Gomar*. Ant. I. 6, 1. See the numerous authorities adduced in support of the identity of the *Gomerians* and *Celts*, by that learned and ingenious antiquary, *Faber*, in his *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, Vol. III. B. 6. chap. 3. p. 447.

Of *Gomer's* sons, *Ashkenaz* appears to have settled on the coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, which from him seems to have received its primary denomination of Ἀξενος, *Axenus*, nearly resembling *Ashkenaz*; but forgetting its etymology in process of time, the Greeks considered it as a compound term in their own language, Α-ξενος, signifying "*inhospitable*;" and thence, metamorphosed it into Ευ-ξενος, *Eu-xenus*, "*very hospitable*." His precise settlement is represented in Scripture as contiguous to *Armenia*, westward: for "the kingdoms of *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*," are noticed together. Jer. li. 27.

Riphat, the second son of *Gomer*, seems to have given name to the *Riphean* mountains of the north of *Asia*, and

Togarmah, the third son, may be traced in the *Trocmi*, of *Strabo*, the *Trogmi*, of *Cicero*, and *Trogmades*, of the Council of *Chalcedon*, inhabiting the confines of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*.

2. *Magog*, *Tubal*, and *Mesech*, sons of *Japhet*, are noticed together by *Ezekiel*, as settled in the north, xxxviii. 2, 14, 15. And as the ancestors of the numerous *Sclavonic* and *Tartar* tribes; the first may be traced in the *Mongogians*, *Monguls*, and *Moguls*; the second in *Tobolski*, of *Siberia*; and the third, *Mesech* or *Mosoch*, in the *Moschici*, *Moscow*, and *Muscovites*.

3. *Madai* was the father of the *Medes*, who are repeatedly so denominated in Scripture. 2 Kings xvii. 6; Isa. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11; Dan. v. 28, &c.

4. From *Javan* was descended the *Javanians*, or Ιαονες of the Greeks, and the *Yavanas* of the Hindus. *Greece* itself is called *Javan* by *Daniel*, xi. 2; and the people Ιαονες by *Homer*, *Iliad*. XIII. 685.

These aboriginal Ιαονες of Greece, are not to be confounded, as is usually the case, with the later Ιωνες, who invaded and subdued the *Javani* territories, and were of a different stock. The accurate *Pausanias* states, that the name of Ιωνες, was comparatively modern, while that of Ιαονες is acknowledged to have been the primitive title of the barbarians who were subdued by the Ιωνες. Achaic. p. 396, 397. *Strabo* remarks, that *Attica* was formerly called both *Ionia* and *Ias*, or *Ian*. Geogr. Lib. IX.

p. 302. While *Herodotus* asserts, that “the *Athenians* were not willing to be called *Ιωνες* :” and he derives the name from *Ιων*, the son of *Xuth*, B. VIII. 44, descended from *Deucalion*, or *Noah*. And this *Ion*, is said by *Eusebius*, Chron. p. 13, 14, to have been the ringleader in the building of the tower of *Babel*, and the first introducer of Idol worship, and Sabianism, or adoration of the sun, moon, and stars. This would identify *Ion* with *Nimrod*. And the *Ionians* appear to have been composed of the later colonists, the *Palli*, *Pelasgi*, or roving tribes from Asia, Phenicia, and Egypt, who, according to *Herodotus*, first corrupted the simplicity of the primitive religion of Greece. B. II. §. 51, 52. and who, by the Hindus, were called *Yonigas*, or worshippers of the *Yoni*, or *dove*. This critical distinction between the *Iaones* and the *Iones*, the *Yavanas* and the *Yonigas*, we owe to the sagacity of *Faber*. Vol. III. p. 449.

Of *Javan's* sons, *Elishah* and *Dodon*, may be recognized in *Elis* and *Dodona*, the oldest settlements of Greece; *Kittim*, in the *Citium* of Macedonia, and *Chittim*, or maritime coasts of Greece and Italy, Numb. xxiv. 24; and *Tarshish*, in the *Tarsus* of Cilicia, and *Tartessus* of Spain.

II. *Ham* and his family are next noticed. Gen. x. 6—20.

The name of the patriarch is recorded in the title frequently given to *Egypt*, “the land of *Ham*.” Ps. cv. 23, &c.

1. Of his sons, the first and most celebrated appears to have been *Cush*, who gave name to “the land of *Cush*,” both in *Asia* and *Africa*: the former still called *Chusistan*, by the Arabian geographers, and *Susiana* by the Greeks, and *Cusha dwipa* within, by the Hindus. The other, called *Cusha dwipa* without. And the enterprizing *Cushim* or *Cuthim*, of Scripture, in Asia and Europe, assumed the title of *Getae*, *Guiths*, and *Goths*; and of *Scuths*, *Scuits*, and *Scots*; and of *Sacas*, *Sacasen*, and *Saxons*.

The original family settlement of *Abraham* was “*Ur* of the *Chasdim*,” or Chaldees, Gen. xi. 28, who are repeatedly mentioned in Scripture; Isa. xiii. 9; Dan. ix. 1; &c. According to *Faber's* ingenious remark, it may more properly be pronounced *Chus-dim*, signifying “God-like *Cushites*.” Vol. III. p. 435. It is highly improbable that they were so named from *Chesed*, *Abraham's* nephew, Gen. xxii. 22, who was a mere boy, if born at all, when *Abraham* left *Ur*, and was an obscure individual, never noticed afterwards.

Of *Cush's* sons, *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Sablacha*, and *Raamah*; and the sons of *Raamah*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan*, seem to have settled in *Idumæa* and *Arabia*, from the similar names of places there: and of his descendants, *Nimrod*, the mighty hunter, first founded the kingdom of *Babylon*, and afterwards of *Assyria*, invading the settlements of the *Shemites*, contrary to the divine decree. His posterity were probably distinguished by the title of *Chusdim*. Isa. xxiii. 13.

2. The second son of *Ham* was *Misr*, or *Mizraim*. He settled in *Egypt*, whence the Egyptians were universally styled in Scripture, *Mizraim*, or *Mizraites*, in the plural form. But the country is denominated in the east, to this day, "the land of *Misr*;" which, therefore, seems to have been the name of the patriarch himself.

The children of *Misr*, like their father, are denominated in Scripture by the plural number. Of these, the *Ludim* and *Lehabim* were probably the Copto-Libyans; Ezek. xxx. 5: the *Naphtuhim* occupied the sea-coast, which by the Egyptians was called *Nephtus*; whence, probably, originated the name of the maritime god *Neptune*. Plut. de Isid. The *Pathrusim* occupied a part of lower Egypt, called from them *Pathros*. Is. xi. 11. The *Capthorim* and the *Casluhim*, (whose descendants were the *Philistim* of *Palestine*) occupied the district which lies between the delta of the Nile and the southern extremity of *Palestine*. Deut. ii. 23. Amos ix. 7.

3. *Phut* is merely noticed, without any mention of his family. But the tribes of *Phut* and *Lud* are mentioned together, with *Cush*, or *Ethiopia*; Jer. xlvi. 9. Ezek. xxx. 5. And *Jerome* notices a district in *Libya*, called *Regio Phutensis*, or "the land of *Phut*."

4. *Canaan* has been noticed already; and the original extent of the land of *Canaan* is carefully marked by *Moses*. Its western border, along the *Mediterranean* Sea, extended from *Sidon*, southwards, to *Gaza*; its southern border from thence, eastwards, to *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, *Admah* and *Zeboim*, the cities of the plain, afterwards covered by the Dead Sea, or Asphaltite Lake; its eastern border extending from thence, northwards, to *Laish*, *Dan*, or the springs of the *Jordan*; and its northern border, from thence to *Sidon*, westward. Of *Canaan's* sons, *Sidon*, the eldest, occupied the north-west corner, and built the town of that name, so early celebrated for her luxury and com-

merce in Scripture ; Judg. xviii. 7 ; 1 Kings v. 6 : and by *Homer*, who calls the *Sidonians*, πολυδαίδαλοι, “skilled in many arts.” *Iliad*. XXIII. 743 ; *Odys*. XV. 114, &c. And *Tyre*, so flourishing afterwards, though boasting of her own antiquity, *Isa*. xxiii. 7, is styled “a daughter of *Sidon*,” or a colony from thence ; *Isa*. v. 12.

Heth, his second son, and the *Hittites*, his descendants, appear to have settled in the south, near *Hebron*, *Gen*. xxiii. 3—7 ; and next to them, at *Jerusalem*, the *Jebusites*, or descendants of *Jebus*, both remaining in their original settlements till *David*’s days ; 2 *Sam*. xi. 3 ; v. 6—9. Beyond the *Jebusites*, were settled the *Emorites*, or *Amorites*, *Numb*. xiii. 29, who extended themselves beyond *Jordan*, and were the most powerful of the *Canaanite* tribes, *Gen*. xv. 16 ; *Numb*. xxi. 21 ; until they were destroyed by *Moses* and *Joshua*, with the rest of the devoted nations of *Canaan*’s family.

III. *Shem* and his family are noticed last ; *Gen*. x. 21—30. His posterity were confined to *Middle Asia*.

1. His son *Elam* appears to have been settled in *Elymais*, or *Southern Persia*, contiguous to the maritime tract of *Chusistan*. *Dan*. viii. 2.

2. His son *Ashur*, planted the land thence called *Assyria* ; which soon became a province of the *Cushite*, or *Cuthic* empire, founded by *Nimrod*.

3. *Arphaxad*, through his grandson *Eber*, branched out into the two houses of *Peleg* and *Joktan*.

Peleg probably remained in *Chaldea*, or southern *Babylonia*, at the time of the dispersion ; for there we find his grandson, *Terah*, and his family, settled, at “*Ur of the Chaldees*,” *Gen*. xi. 31.

Of the numerous children of *Joktan*, it is said by *Moses*, that “their dwelling was from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of the east.” *Faber* is inclined to believe that they were the ancestors of the great body of the *Hindus*, who still retain a lively tradition of the patriarch *Shem*, *Shama*, or *Sharma* ; and that the land of *Ophir*, abounding in gold, so called from one of the sons of *Joktan*, lay beyond the *Indus* eastward.

4. *Lud* was probably the father of the *Ludim* or *Lydians*, of *Asia Minor* : for this people had a tradition that they were descended from *Lud* or *Lydus*, according to *Josephus*, *Ant*. i. 6, 4.

5. The children of *Aram* planted the fertile country north of

Babylonia, called *Aram Naharaim*, “*Aram* between the two rivers,” the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, thence called by the Greeks, *Mesopotamia*, Gen. xxiv. 10. and *Padan Aram*, the level country of *Aram*, Gen. xxv. 20. This country of *Aram* is frequently rendered *Syria* in Scripture; Judges x. 6; Hosea xii. 12, &c.; which is not to be confounded with *Palestine Syria*; into which they afterwards spread themselves, still retaining their original name, of Ἀραμοί, or *Arameans*, noticed by *Homer*, Il. ii. 783.

THE CONFUSION OF TONGUES AT BABEL.

This miraculous event, though recorded after the *Division of the Earth* among the families of *Noah's* sons, must have happened *before* it in the order of time: and it must have been *universal*, or equally affected them all; for the settlements of each of the three primitive families are said to have been, “after their *tongues*, in their lands or countries, in their nations.” Gen. x. 5, 20, 31. And the account given of it, in the eleventh chapter, corresponds therewith. “And the *whole earth* was of one *lip* [or *language*,] and of *one speech*, [or *dialect*]. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the *east*, that they found a plain in the land of *Shinar*, and they dwelt there. And they said, Come, let us build us a *city*, and a *tower*, whose top may reach into heaven; and let us make us a *name*, [or a sign] lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth. And the Lord came down to see the city which the *children of men* builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one lip, [or language], and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do. Come, let us go down, and there confound their lip [or language] that they may not understand each other's lip, [or language]. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the whole earth. And they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called *Babel*, because the Lord did there *confound* the lip [or language] of all the earth.” Gen. xi. 1—9.

From this concise account we may collect, that when the families of *Noah's* sons had sufficiently increased in population, and the lower grounds were sufficiently dried, so as to require, or encourage emigration, they took their journey in one community, while they all spake the same language, and the same speech, tongue, or dialect, from the original settlement, in the

mountainous region of *Armenia*, to the fertile plain of *Shinar* in *Mesopotamia*. Here they settled themselves, with a firm determination not to separate from each other, in obedience to the divine decree; but to found a single universal empire. For that purpose, they proceeded to build a city, and a lofty tower. But God miraculously confounded their language, so that they were no longer intelligible to each other: and from *Babel* they were scattered over the face of the earth.

Respecting the particular route by which they arrived at the plain of *Shinar*, Scripture is silent: but the Chaldean historian, *Berosus*, informs us, that “they proceeded *circuitously* to *Babylonia* *.” And Mr. Penn †, guided only by a geographical view of the country, happily conjectures, that they followed the course of the great river *Euphrates*; which rising in the mountains of *Armenia*, flows at first in a westerly direction; then it turns to the south, and at length, bending eastward, it reaches *Babylon* from the north-west. Its progress, therefore, is *circuitous*; and as the approach to *Shinar* would be most easily and naturally effected by following its winding course; so, in that case, the route of the emigrants would minutely correspond with *Berosus* and with Scripture, which represent them as travelling from the original settlement, *eastward* of the springs of the *Euphrates*; whose circuitous course, according to the ingenious remark of *Faber*, is described in the Sanscrit word *Uratta*, pronounced *Urat*, and signifying “a circle;” so nearly analogous to the Hebrew name of the river, *Phrat*. Origin of Idolatry, Vol. III. pp. 374—376.

The lofty tower which they built of bricks, burned and baked in the sun, and cemented with bitumen, was a pyramidal temple, of a quadrangular base, nearly of the same size of the great pyramid of Egypt, but somewhat loftier. The Tower of *Belus*, at *Babylon*, was probably the original Tower of *Babel*, built by *Nimrod*, and afterwards repaired by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and again ruined by *Xerxes*. See the following article of *Babylon*.

The prime author of this rebellion against the divine decree, and grand corrupter of the pure patriarchal religion, by *Sabaism* and *Demonolatry*, was the Cushite *Nimrod*, “the Rebel,” as the

* Περιξ πορευθηναι εις Βαβυλωνιαν. Euseb. Chron. p. 8. Περιξ· κυκλω. Hesych.

† Remarks on the Eastern Origination of Mankind, by Granville Penn, Esq. Oriental Collect. Vol. II. Numb. 1 and 2.

name implies, who was afterwards deified himself, under the title of *Belus*, and supposed to be translated to the constellation *Orion*, in the heavens. See his history, Vol. II. of this work. And from the central region of *Babel*, this grand apostacy from the primitive faith seems to have been transplanted into the four quarters of the world; as proved from the remarkable fact of the general resemblance of the Pagan Mythology, in these its two leading outlines, in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America; and from the conformity between the leading doctrines of the primitive Pagan priesthood, the *Magi* in Chaldea, the *Brahmins* in the East, and the *Druids* in the West, as circumstantially proved by *Faber*, in his elaborate work.

That great linguist, Sir *William Jones*, in the *Asiatic Researches*, has discovered traces of three primeval languages, corresponding to the three grand aboriginal races, which he calls the *Arabic*, the *Sanscrit*, and the *Slavonic*, into which all others resolve themselves.

1. From the *Arabic* or *Chaldee*, spring the dialects used by the *Assyrians*, *Arabs*, and *Jews* *.

2. From the *Sanscrit*, which is radically different from the Arabic, spring the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Celtic* dialects, though blended with another idiom, the *Persian*, the *Armenian*, and the old *Egyptian* or *Ethiopic* †.

3. From the *Slavonic* or *Tartarian*, which again is radically different both from the Arabic and Sanscrit, spring (so far as Sir *William* can venture to pronounce upon so difficult a point) the various dialects of northern Asia, and north-eastern Europe ‡.

VARIETIES OF MANKIND.

The derivation of the human species, all from one stock, *Noah*, the second father of mankind, has proved a great stumbling-block to minute philosophers. "Though we cannot doubt the authority of *Moses*," says Lord *Kaims*, "yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every one of the forementioned facts;" namely, the varieties of the human species in different countries, as to *colour*, *size*, *shape*, *disposition*, &c. *Sketches of the History of Man*, Vol. I. p. 36.

* *Asiat. Research.* Vol. II. p. 5. Vol. III. p. 419.

† *Asiat. Research.* Vol. I. p. 422. Vol. III. 15, 418, 419.

‡ *Asiat. Research.* Vol. II. p. 23, 29, 40. Vol. III. p. 419.

However inadequate we may be fully to unfold the mysteries of Nature, and the ways of Providence, yet much of these alleged varieties may be satisfactorily accounted for, from the influence of *climate*, local circumstances of *air, water, food, customs, &c.* which may, in process of time, make a material change in the constitutions and complexions of the inhabitants. If *dogs*, taken to the frigid zone, grow shaggy; and if *sheep*, transported to the torrid zone, exchange their wool for hair; why may not the human species gradually partake of the influence of climate?

1. Man was formed to reside in all climates.

“The human animal is the only one which is *naked*, and the only one which can *clothe* itself. This is one of the properties which renders him an animal of all climates and of all seasons. He can adapt the warmth or lightness of his covering to the temperature of his habitation. Had he been born with a fleece upon his back, although he might have been comforted by its warmth in high latitudes, it would have oppressed him by its weight and heat, as the species spread towards the Equator.” This is the simple, but profound remark of *Paley, Natural Theology*, p. 231.

2. “Man, though *white* in Europe, *black* in Africa, *yellow* in Asia, and *red* in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the heat is excessive, as in *Guinea* and *Senegal*, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in *Abyssinia*, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in *Barbary* and in *Arabia*, they are brown; and where mild, as in *Europe* and in *Lesser Asia*, they are fair.” *Buffon*, Tom. VI.—This concession from a great Naturalist and Sceptic, is important.

3. *Shaw*, in his travels through *Barbary*, found a tribe in the mountains of *Auress*, south of *Algiers*, who appeared to be a different race from the *Moors*: far from swarthy, their complexion is fair and ruddy, and their hair a deep yellow, instead of being dark, as among the neighbouring *Moors*. He conjectures, that they are a remnant of the *Vandals*; the tribe perhaps mentioned by *Procopius*, in his first book of the Vandalic War. And they probably retained their complexion, from their high, mountainous situation; as the natives of *Armenia*, in Western Asia, and *Cashmire*, in Eastern, are fair; owing to the great elevation of the soil in both places, and the temperature of the climate occasioned thereby.

4. On the other hand, a colony of *Jews*, settled at *Cochin*, upon the *Malabar* coast, from a very remote epoch, of which they have lost the memory; though originally a fair people in *Palestine*; and from their customs, preserving themselves unmixed, are grown as black as the other *Malabarians*, who are hardly a shade lighter than the negroes of *Guinea*; as we learn from *Hamilton*. And at *Ceylon*, the *Portuguese*, who settled there only a few centuries ago, are degenerated, and grown blacker than the original natives. They are in number about 5000, still speak Portuguese, wear the European dress, and profess the Romish religion. According to *Cordiner*, in his late *Description of Ceylon*, cited, *Antijacobin Review*, April, 1808, p. 345. *Moore* also, in his Account of the River *Gambia*, remarks, that the Portuguese, who settled near the *Mundingoes* about three centuries ago, differ so little from them, as to be called *Negros*. This they resent.

The late discoveries in the Tropical Isles of the great Pacific Ocean, seem to decide the question respecting the cause of the difference between the long-haired Asiatic Indians, and the woolly-headed African Negroes; whom *Herodotus* long ago described in his curious catalogue of the nations composing the immense army of *Xerxes*, under the names of "the Eastern and Western *Ethiopians*." B. 7.

Among the isles of the *New Hebrides*, Eastward of *New Holland*, the natives of *New Caledonia*, 21. deg. South lat. are of a swarthy colour, their hair crisped, but not very woolly, their faces round, with thick lips, and wide mouths. The natives of *Tanna*, 19 deg. S. L. are almost of the same swarthy colour: their hair and beards were black and crisp in general, and in some, woolly. The natives of *Millicollo*, 17 deg. S. L. border the nearest upon the tribe of monkeys. The hair of most of them is frizzled and woolly, their complexion sooty, their features hard, the cheek-bones and face, broad. The natives of *Egmont* Island, 10½ deg. S. L. are black, and woolly headed. Captain *Carteret* found a young man, near the neighbouring isle of *Trevanion*, "with a woolly head, like that of the Negroes, and a small beard; but he was well featured, and not so black as the natives of *Guinea*: he was of the common stature, and like all the rest of the people we had seen upon this Island, quite naked." *Carteret's Voyage*, p. 580.

The situation of these Isles, in East longit. 165 degrees, and

130 degrees distant from the coast of *Guinea*, or *Negroland*, in the direct line, and more than half the globe, along the coasts of Africa and Asia, furnishes the most decisive evidence that they never had, nor could have, any connexion with those countries, the inhabitants of which they yet so strongly resemble in their peculiar features. They were unquestionably colonized from Asia, by the *Malayans*, those *Phœnicians* of the Oriental world; whose language is found to prevail through all the various clusters of the Tropical Isles, from *Madagascar* westwards, near the African Coast, to the remotest of Captain *Cook's* discoveries, the *Marquesas* and *Easter Island*, towards South America; throughout a tract of near 200 degrees of longitude! A wider field than the *Latin*, or any other tongue, has ever boasted of. See the masterly Introduction to *Cook's* last Voyage, p. lxxii.

Still, however, there are anomalies, or exceptions, to these general conclusions of the influence of *climate* and *customs*, that must be ascribed to other, and perhaps undiscovered causes, which baffle the pride of human sagacity to develope; and which, after all, must be resolved into the will and pleasure of the CREATOR, and deposited among "the unsearchable riches" of his wisdom and providence, in the *variety*, no less than in the *regularity*, of his works.

1. Such, for instance, is the uncommon fairness of the inhabitants of *Guayaquil*, in *Peru*, only two degrees removed from the line. Though the heat here is equal to that of *Panama*, or *Carthagera*, yet the climate distinguishes itself in the colour of the human species. And if a certain author has styled it, "*the Equinoctial Low Countries*," in allusion to the resemblance it bears to the *Netherlands* of Europe, it may with equal propriety bear that appellation from this singularity: namely, that all the *natives*, except those born from a mixture of blood, are fresh coloured, and so finely featured, as to be justly styled the handsomest both in the province of *Quito*, and even in all *Peru*.

Two things are here the more remarkable, as being contrary to common observation; one, that notwithstanding the heat of the climate, its *natives* are not tawny; the other, that though the *Spaniards* have not naturally so fair a complexion as the Northern nations, their children born here of *Spanish* women are very fair. To attribute it to the *effluvia* exhaling from the contiguous river, appears to me little satisfactory; other cities have the same advantageous situation, without producing any

improvement in the complexion of the inhabitants; whereas here, *fair* persons are the most common; and the *children* have universally *light hair* and *eye-brows*, and very *beautiful faces*. This phenomenon has not hitherto been sufficiently explained:” according to that intelligent and scientific traveller, *Ulloa*, Vol. I. p. 141.

2. Another as remarkable anomaly prevails at the other extremity of *South America*, on the Eastern coast of *Patagonia*, bordering on the entrance into the Straights of *Magellan*. Commodore *Byron*, and Captains *Carteret* and *Wallis*, in two successive voyages, found a description of Natives, to the amount of 500, the first time, in 1764; and some hundreds, the second, in 1766; among whom they appeared as “pigmies among giants.” *Wallis*, who measured the tallest of the *Patagonians*, found one of them “six feet seven inches high; several more were six feet five, and six feet six inches; but the stature of the greater part of them was from five feet ten to six feet. They are well made, robust, and bony; but their hands and feet are remarkably small. Their complexion is a dark copper colour, like that of the *Indians* in North America: their hair is strait, and nearly as harsh as hog’s bristles: it is tied back with a cotton string. Several, both men and women, were on horseback. Their horses appeared to be well made, and nimble, and were about 14 hands high. The women rode astride, and both men and women without stirrups; yet they galloped fearlessly over the spit upon which we landed, the stones of which were large, loose, and slippery.” Cook’s first Voyage, Vol. I. p. 26—32; 375—380. Descriptions, so circumstantial, and so well attested, place beyond the reach of doubt or cavil the existence of this populous race of giants, in 52 degrees of South latitude, and in a cold climate; which is thus described by Captain *Wallis*:

“Thus we quitted a dreary and inhospitable region, where we were in almost perpetual danger of shipwreck, for near four months, having entered the Strait of *Magellan* on the 17th of December, 1766, and quitted it on the 11th of April, 1767; a region where, in the *midst of summer* *, the weather was cold,

* Commodore *Byron* advanced into the Straights of *Magellan*, as far as Cape *Forward*, the Southern extremity of the Continent, in lat. 54. There, on December 24, 1764, about their Summer solstice, he found the weather cold, and the air keen; and walking across the Cape, the hills, as far as he could see, were of an immense height, very craggy, and covered with snow, quite from the summit to the base. Vol. I. p. 36—39.

gloomy, and tempestuous, where several of the summits of the mountains were covered with snow, and others rose towering above the clouds in vast crags, piled upon each other, exhibiting more the appearance of chaos than of nature; and where, for the most part, the vallies were without herbage, and the hills without wood." P. 383—409.

How different are these *Patagonians* from the stunted *Laplanders* of *Europe*, and the *Esquimaux* of *North America*, in similar climates; contradicting the general theory of the decrease of the human stature as we approach the frigid zones.

If the following observation of *Bruce* be well founded, the predominance of *white*, as the original complexion, over the *black*, seems to be ascertained.

"The royal family in *Abyssinia* were originally *negroes*, and remain so still, when their mothers have been black like themselves: but where the king has happened to marry an *Arab* woman, as he often does, the black colour of the father cedes to the white of the mother, and the child is white. The last *Baady* (or king) who was slain at *Teawa*, was a perfect negro; and by a slave from his own country, he had the late king, *Nasser*, who, like his father, was a perfect black: by an Arab, of the tribe of *Daveina*, he had *Ismain*, the present king, who is white. And so it has invariably happened in the royal family, as well as in private ones. But what is still more extraordinary, though equally true, an *Arab*, who is white, marrying a black woman slave, has infallibly white children. I will not say that this is so universal as that an example of the contrary may not be found; but *all the instances I happened to see, confirmed this.*" *Bruce*, Travels, Vol. V. p. 223.

In Captain *Cook's* first voyage, during his stay at *Success Bay*, lat. 54, 45', on the Eastern coast of *Terra del Fuego*, in the Streights of *Le Maire*, a party, consisting of Mr. *Banks*, Doctor *Solander*, and ten more, went to visit a mountain, at some distance, in search of plants, on January 16, 1769; but were surprised there by a sudden snow-storm, attended with piercing cold; in which they were all nearly lost: two of their party were frozen to death, and the rest, with great difficulty, found their way back to the ship next day.

Such a phænomenon, about their midsummer, is unknown in the Northern hemisphere, at the corresponding season, even in the higher latitudes of *Norway* and *Lapland*. And yet, notwithstanding, Captain *Cook*, describing the natives of *Terra del Fuego*, says, "The men are large and clumsily built, their stature is from five feet eight to five feet ten. The women indeed are much smaller, few of them being more than five feet. We saw no appearance of their having any food but *shell-fish*. These are gathered by the women, at low water." Vol. II. p. 46—56.

An ingenious, but fanciful writer, the late Mr. *King*, in his *Morsels of Criticism*, Vol. III. 87, 93, &c. revived the long-exploded scheme of *Peyrerius*, adopted by *Blunt*, in his *Oracles of Reason*; namely, that of the *Præ-Adamites*, or an inferior race, or caste, created before *Adam* and *Eve*; with whom *Cain* intermarried, and produced a black progeny; some of whom, surviving the deluge, propagated the species afterwards! But nothing can be more express than the Scripture-account of the total and absolute destruction of “*all mankind*,” and “*every*” man, by the deluge, except *Noah’s* family. Gen. vii. 21—23. And, indeed, to suppose that “*some persons might escape on floating trees or timber, or on the summits of mountains, (from which the water soon flowed off) or by other extraordinary means—as men sometimes escape and are preserved, from a wreck at sea,*”—evinces the height of credulity, and would be a miracle greater than the deluge itself.

THE PRIMITIVE LANGUAGE.

Which was the primitive language? and wherein did the confusion of tongues consist? These are curious and interesting questions, more easy to propose than to resolve. None, therefore, have been more warmly disputed by antiquarian philologists; and the *Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Chaldee, Phœnician, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Greek, Sanscrit, and Chinese*, have each had their respective advocates for the palm of priority and precedence.

Of these various claimants, the language spoken by the inhabitants of the first districts occupied by *Noah’s* family, after the flood, seem to have the fairest pretensions to originality, or rather of affinity to the primitive language, supposing all to be altered, more or less, by lapse of time and change of place.

————— *Mortalia facta peribunt,*
Nedum sermonum stet honos, et gratia vivax.—HOR.

The great affinity that still reigns, at the present day, among the kindred dialects of the east, and the remoter of the west, lead us to suspect, that the confusion of tongues consisted rather in diversity of pronunciation of the same words, than in the introduction of new words expressing the same ideas.

If these assumptions be valid, the *Hebrew* and the *Syriac*

have the fairest pretensions to originality ; and they accordingly have been patronized by the most skilful orientalists, and a decided preference given to them above the rest.

That this preference is well founded, may perhaps be most simply and satisfactorily proved from their respective alphabets ; for the *names* and the *numeral* values of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* letters, which agree together, are almost generally adopted in the rest, however unlike the letters themselves may be in their respective shapes.

Thus, the names of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* letters, *Aleph*, *Beth*, &c. have been adopted, with some slight variations, by the *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Copts*, *Ethiopians*, *Greeks*, &c. But whatever dislocations may have arisen in the order of the letters of each respective alphabet, yet it is truly remarkable, that, for the most part, in the kindred dialects they still retain the same *numeral* powers as in the primitive alphabets.

From inspection of the several alphabets, it appears, that only the two first letters of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* alphabets, *Aleph* and *Beth*, retain their primitive order in the other dialects, and also their numeral powers. Thus, the third Arabic letter *Ta*, retains both the name *Thau*, and the numeral value 400, of the last letter of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* alphabets ; the fifth Arabic letter, *Jim*, corresponding to the third *Hebrew* *Gimel*, retains its proper value, 3 ; the sixth *Hha*, corresponding to the eighth *Hebrew* *Hheth*, retains its proper value, 8 ; while the twenty-eighth and last Arabic letter *Ya* or *Ia*, corresponding to the tenth *Hebrew* letter, *Iod*, still retains its proper value, 10.

This furnishes demonstrative evidence of the dislocation of the present *Arabic* alphabet * ; and, consequently, that it must have deviated from the primitive alphabet, as well in the order and power, as in the form of its several letters. The same argument will apply to the other alphabets, which are still more modern than the *Arabic*, the *Ethiopic*, the *Sanscrit*, &c.

To this we may add, that the superior simplicity of the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* letters, which originally had each only one form, decides their superior antiquity also above the *Arabic*, the *Ethiopic*, the *Sanscrit*, &c. alphabets, in which each letter has a distinct form, at the beginning, middle, and end of words,

* The *Arabic* alphabet was originally the same as the *Syriac* ; a change was made in the order of the alphabet, and character of the letters, about the age of *Mahomet*.

to the great embarrassment of learners, and sometimes even of adepts.

The *Hebrew* language also furnishes internal evidence of its priority before the other dialects, and of their descent from it.

1. In the original nomenclature, *Adam* called his wife אשה (*Aishah*) "Woman," because she was taken out of איש (*Aish*) "Man." Gen. ii. 23. Here the derivation is obvious in the *Hebrew* language, but the resemblance is lost in the ancient versions. Though the derivation of אַתְּתָא, in *Chaldee*, or אִיתְתָּא, in *Syriac*, (*Aitta*) "Woman," from the *Hebrew*, *Aishah*, (by the usual and frequent interchange of the letter ש *Shin*, and ת *Thau*, both in the eastern and western dialects) is obvious, yet the primitive *Hebrew* root, איש, *Aish*, "Man," is not now found in these dialects, but has grown obsolete; and in its stead, the *Chaldee* has substituted בעל (*Baal*) "Master," the *Syriac*, גְּבֻרָא (*Gebura*) "the strong."

2. From the primitive name of GOD in *Hebrew*, אֵל (*ÆL*) signifying "power," was obviously derived אֱלֹהִים (*ÆLOH*) in *Hebrew*, signifying "potentate;" ALAH, in *Syriac*; AL-ALAH (or, by contraction of the article *Al*, "the," prefixed) ALLAH, in *Arabic*; ULLAH, in *Ethiopic*; ALOH, in the *South Sea Isles*, where Captain *Cook* found ALO ALO, the name of the Supreme God, in *Hapae*, one of the *Friendly Isles*, similar to the *Hebrew*, אֵל אֱלֹהִים, "God of gods."

3. The *Hebrew* שק (*Sak*) "a bag," pervades most of the eastern and western languages, precisely in the same sound and sense. The *Hebrew* מַת (*Math*) "dead," runs through all the *Oriental* dialects*; and *Mat*, or *Matte*, is found in the vocabularies of the *South Sea Isles* exactly in the same sense. The same may be observed of many other words.

4. The primitive proper names of *Rivers*, *Mountains*, *Cities*, *Persons*, &c. throughout the east, are all deducible from the *Hebrew*.

5. When *Abraham*, "the *Hebrew*," travelled through *Palestine* and *Egypt*, he appeared to be easily understood in all these countries, without the aid of an interpreter, and freely conversed with *Melchizedek*, *Abimelech*, *Pharaoh*, &c.

6. When *Laban* called the pillar, erected in memory of his

* Hence the *Arabic* phrase in the game of chess, *Cheik Mat*, "the king is dead." It is also the name of a place near *Arbela*, in *Assyria* Proper.

convention with *Jacob*, in Syriac, יגַר סַחְדוּתָא, *Jegar Sahadutha*, which *Jacob* called גַּל עֵד, *Gal-eed*, in Hebrew, Gen. xxxi. 47. they are synonymous phrases, as “*the mount of testimony*,” and “*the heap of witness*,” in English.

The formation of the nearer dialects of the east, and remoter of the west, from the primitive language, by change of vowels, and interchange of consonants of the same or kindred organs of speech, may be aptly illustrated by a few instances, ancient and modern.

1. The primitive name of Lower Egypt was אֵי כַפְתוֹר, *Ai Caphtor**, or “the covered land,” Jer. xlvii. 4; because, according to *Herodotus*, “the *Delta* was originally a marsh covered with water, and so was all the Lower Egypt, as far as Mount *Masius*, and the *Sirbonic* lake.” Hence, by elision, came *Ai-capht*, or *Ai-copht*; and by transmutation, *Aigupt*; whence our English word *Egypt*, retaining only the two last original letters. In *Sanscrit*, it is called *Gupta-sthan*, “the covered land;” and *Cardama-sthan*, “the mud-land.” *Wilford* on *Egypt* and the *Nile*. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. III. p. 335.

2. From the Greek *Ἐπισκοπος*, by elision, came *Piscop*, and thence the English *Bishop*; or *Episk*, whence the French *Evêque*.

3. From the Latin, *Dies*, came the adjective *Diurnus*, from thence the Italian, *Giorno*; whence the French, *Jour*, “day;” not retaining a single letter of the original word.

ALPHABETICAL AND HIEROGLYPHICAL WRITING.

An hypothesis seems to be pretty generally prevalent among antiquaries, that *hieroglyphical* was earlier, and that it gave rise to the invention of *alphabetical* writing, by contraction of the hieroglyphic symbols into alphabetical letters.

In favour of this hypothesis, it has been asserted, that the letters of the primitive alphabet were originally intended for symbols of the things whose names they bear; as *Aleph*, “an ox,” *Beth*, “a house,” *Gimel*, “a camel,” *Daleth*, “a door,” &c. but in process of time were curtailed and reduced to simpler forms.

* The Egyptian word *Caphtor*, is evidently derived from the Hebrew, כַּפַּר, *Caphar*, “to cover,” which is the root of the English word, also.

1. This however may be doubted: for as the learned orientalist *Schultens* remarks, “the names given to the primitive letters were rather designed as *artificial helps of the memory*, to excite the attention of learners,” by means of the alliteration; as our spelling-books for children contain cuts or figures, in which A is connected in the same compartment with an *Ass*, B with a *Bear*, C with a *Cat*, D with a *Dog*, &c. without the remotest likeness between the letters and the objects themselves, intended to be conveyed or understood.

2. The original structure of *hieroglyphical* symbols, and of *alphabetical* letters, seems to be totally and radically different, and incapable of transmutation into each other. *Hieroglyphics* are imperfect outlines of the figures or objects themselves intended to be represented, which, in process of time, were transferred from sensible objects to intellectual, by a *metaphorical* language; whereas, *letters* are arbitrary *marks* of a few simple elementary *sounds* of the easiest and readiest pronunciation, to which they bear no manner of resemblance; and the progress of writing, like that of oral language, is from *monosyllables* to *dissyllables*; from thence to *trisyllables*; and so on to *polysyllables*: thus, by their various combinations, forming all that endless variety of oral or of written words, which serve to communicate ideas or notions. If the origin of *language*, or articulate speech, was divine, how much more the invention of *writing*, of alphabetical letters, and written words!

“ Those wondrous symbols that can still retain
The phantom forms that pass along the brain;
O'er unsubstantial thought hold strong controul,
And fix the essence of the immortal soul!”

M'CREERY'S Press.

Which, by the magic spells of a few cabalistical characters, grouped together in various clusters, can fix and embody, as it were, fleeting sounds and perishable ideas, with which they have no natural union or connection whatsoever, and embalm or preserve them to ages yet unborn!

3. Notwithstanding this, the author of the account of the late *Embassy to China*, Sir *George Staunton*, endeavours to uphold the fashionable hypothesis, from the introduction of an alphabetical mode of writing in *China*, by the British factors at *Canton*, for convenience of communication with the *Chinese* merchants, founded on their hieroglyphical writing.

“On account,” says he, “of the vast concourse of persons using the *English* language, who resort to *Canton*, a vocabulary of English words has been published in *Chinese* characters merely expressive of sound, [or of the English pronunciation] for the use of the native merchants concerned in the trade. To each character is annexed a mark, to denote that it is not intended to denote the [*Chinese*] idea, but merely the *foreign* sound attached to it. The habit of applying the sound instead of the meaning of hieroglyphics, [may have] led to the application of them likewise as sounds, to assist the memory in the pronunciation of other hieroglyphics *in the same language*, but not in common use; and this repeated application of them, for the same purpose, may be at length supposed to have *effaced their original use*.”

“Thus the passage from *hieroglyphic alphabetic* writing may naturally be traced, without the necessity of having recourse to *Divine instruction*, as some learned men have conjectured, on the ground that the art of writing by an alphabet is *too refined and artificial for untutored reason*.”

“It is indeed,” concludes he, “equally natural to suppose, that no such art *could* have preceded the establishment of *hieroglyphic*, or that a mixture of other nations *superinduced* the invention of *alphabetic* language.”

The drift of this hypothesis, so freely and openly avowed by its patron,—to exclude the necessity of *Divine instruction*,—would lead us to distrust his reasons, were they even more specious: but they are evidently insufficient: for, 1. It will appear, from the whole tenor of ancient history, both sacred and profane, that the art of alphabetical writing not only *could*, but actually *did*, precede the establishment of hieroglyphic; and 2. That the invention of alphabetic language was not *superinduced* by a mixture of other nations, nor *could* it be so superinduced.

1. “The *book of the genealogy*” of the antediluvian patriarchs from *Adam* to *Noah*, is evidently represented as a *written* record, Gen. v. 1. And indeed how could it possibly record their *names*, and their *generations*, *residues of life*, and total *ages*, without written *words*? How could *oral* tradition hand down, through two and twenty centuries to the deluge, unimpaired, thirty large and unconnected numbers, rising from a hundred to near a thousand years?

2. Some Jewish and Oriental traditions ascribe the invention of

writing to *Seth*, the son of *Adam*; others to *Enoch*, the seventh from *Adam*; whether well founded, or not, it proves the prevailing opinion, that letters were of antediluvian date.

3. And Western tradition affirms the same. *Pliny* says, *Literas semper arbitrator Assyrias fuisse*. "I am of opinion that letters were always found among the *Assyrians*." The term *semper*, "always," is emphatic, and marks from the beginning of the world. Nat. Hist. 7, 56.

4. *Cicero* confirms the opinion of *Pliny*, and assigns an additional reason for it; namely, that the *Assyrians* were much addicted to astronomy, and therefore required the art of writing to record their observations*.

5. The first numeral characters in use were the letters of the primitive alphabet; their introduction, therefore, as letters, must have been prior to their designation of numbers.

On the other hand,

6. *Gaspar Samedo* expressly asserts, from the *Chinese* annals, that *hieroglyphic* symbols were first introduced into *China* only 3700 years before he wrote, in A.D. 1640; or about B.C. 2060, which was upwards of a thousand years after the deluge.

7. *Tacitus* attributes the invention of *hieroglyphics* to the *Egyptians*:—*Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant*. Annal. 11, 14. And the learned *Needham* has endeavoured to trace a resemblance between the *Egyptian* and *Chinese* hieroglyphics. And indeed it is recorded by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that the great pyramids near *Memphis* abounded both with *hieroglyphics*, and also *written* inscriptions, recording the number of workmen employed, their expences, &c.

8. By a fortunate discovery, a stone has been recently brought from *Egypt* to *England*, on which is a triple inscription in hieroglyphic symbols, in alphabetical *Egyptian* letters, and lastly, an explanation of both in *Greek*, which may furnish a clue to decypher the rest.

From these observations, we may fairly collect, that the *hieroglyphic* symbols formed the *sacred character* of the *Egyptian* priests, who thereby veiled their discoveries from the vulgar and uninitiated; and consequently, that they were in reality long

* Principio *Assyrii* (ut ab *ultimis* auctoritatem referam) propter planiciem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolabant, cum cælum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observarunt: quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur, *memoriæ* prodiderunt. *De Divinat.* 1, 1.

posterior to the use of alphabetical writing, which was often subjoined by way of explanation, and probably not earlier than B.C. 2095, in *Egypt*, and B.C. 2060, in *China*.

The second presumptive argument, "that a mixture of other nations *superinduced* the invention of alphabetical language," is equally contradicted by experience.

1. Ever since the first introduction of hieroglyphics into *China*, the labours of their literati have been spent in classing and contracting their symbols, and extending their system; and the curious and scientific nature of their classification into genera and species, by characteristic marks*, is much commended by Sir *George Staunton*. The whole number amounts to about 80,000 distinct symbols. Few of their scholars, however, know more than twenty or thirty thousand, and the generality are satisfied with about ten thousand.

In consequence also of "the insensible deviation of these characters from their primitive shapes," in the lapse of ages, some of their most ancient books, as the *Shuking*, are now almost obsolete, and unintelligible to their most skilful and sagacious grammarians. See *Sablier's Essai sur les Langues*, 1778, Paris.

And yet so wedded are the Chinese literati to their own awk-

* The following extract from an ancient Chinese writer, *Li yang ping*, given by Sir *William Jones*, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 195, is curious, and throws light on the nature and construction of *Chinese* hieroglyphics:—

"The ancient characters used in *China* were the outlines of visible objects, terrestrial and celestial; but as things merely intellectual could not be expressed by these figures, the grammarians contrived to represent the various operations of the mind by *metaphors*, drawn from the productions of nature. Thus the idea of *roughness* and of *rotundity*, of *motion* and *rest*, were conveyed to the eye by signs representing a *mountain*, the *sky*, a *river*, and the *earth*; the figures of the *sun* and *moon*, and the *stars*, differently combined, stood for *smoothness* and *splendour*, for any thing *artfully wrought*, or *woven with delicate workmanship*. *Extension*, *growth*, *increase*, and many other qualities, were painted in characters taken from the *clouds*, from the *firmament*, and from the *vegetable* part of the creation; the different ways of moving, *agility* and *slowness*, were expressed by various *insects*, *birds*, *fish*, and *quadrupeds*. In this manner, *passions* and *sentiments* were expressed by the pencil, and ideas, not subject to any sense, were exhibited to the sight; until, by degrees, new combinations were invented, new expressions added, the characters deviated insensibly from their primitive shape, and the *Chinese* language became not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the highest degree."

How it was possible for a language to be "clear," precise, or distinct, where literal and figurative meanings of the symbols, applied with great variety and latitude, were so apt to be confounded and mistaken for each other, is difficult to conceive. See a *Chinese* Ode in the original, *Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 273, and its literal translation and paraphrase, p. 199.

ward and embarrassing symbols, which can only be decyphered, not read; exhibiting a string of disjointed *metaphors*, without connecting *verbs* or *particles*, piled on each other like a wall of loose stones, without mortar or cement, that they still obstinately reject the inestimable advantages of alphabetical writing, which they might easily have learned from the *European* missionaries resident among them for some centuries past. The mercantile expedient for conveying English words by means of Chinese sounds expressed in their hieroglyphics, upon which Sir *George Staunton* builds so much, is foreign to the purpose, for it is neither pure hieroglyphic, nor alphabetical writing, but a mongrel species between both, and never can lead to the invention of the latter, from which it is so radically and essentially different. And it is strange, how this writer could be so blinded, by his sceptical prejudices against the *Mosaic* history, as to imagine that it could ever lead thereto; especially among such a people as the *Chinese*, the jealous policy of whose government prevents their intermixture with Europeans in general; and the pride of whose Mandarins, through an affectation of concealing their knowledge, probably occasioned at first their neglect of alphabetical writing, which they might have once known, but gradually lost, and their preference of the more mysterious and recondite mode of hieroglyphical.

The learned *Brotier* profoundly observes, "Writing diverged from *Assyria* to all those nations, who either through *rusticity* did not neglect, or through *vanity* did not despise, this excellent invention. Two nations, the *Egyptians* and *Chinese*, between whom *Assyria* lay, and who were both exceedingly alike in vices and virtues, seem to have laboured under this sort of pride. But their pride turned to the punishment of both: the stupendous monuments of the *Egyptians* are become unknown and obsolete; the *Chinese*, always children, grow old together in decyphering their characters." *Brotier's Tacitus*, Vol. II. p. 341, Note.

EGYPT.

This country seems to have attained an earlier and a higher degree of civilization and refinement than any other in the world. Even in *Abraham's* days, we find it the seat of a royal government, and a princely court, abounding with provisions, while the neighbouring countries, and even the fertile regions of

Palestine, were exposed to frequent famines. Gen. xii. 10. In his grandson *Jacob's* time, there was a settled caravan trade carried on through *Palestine*, from *Arabia* and the east, for spicery, balm, and myrrh, and probably also for slaves. Gen. xxxvii. 25. Its superior fertility, indeed, was occasioned by the annual inundation of the Nile, and the irrigation of their lands. Deut. xi. 10.

The length of Egypt was very disproportionate to its breadth: its extent, from the mouths of the Nile to *Syene*, the border of *Nubia*, under the tropic of Cancer, was about 500 miles; but it was little wider than the valley through which the Nile ran in *Upper Egypt*, until it reached the *Lower Egypt*, at some distance above the head or vertex of the *Delta*, where the valley expanded itself. The Upper Egypt, or *Thebaid*, seems to be called *PATHROS* in Scripture, as distinguished from the Lower, properly called *CAPHTOR*, or Egypt. Compare Isa. xi. 11. with Ezek. xxix. 14; and Jer. xlv. 1. with Ezek. xxx. 14—16. Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4.

THE LAND OF GOSHEN.

This was the most fertile pasture-ground in the whole of Lower Egypt: thence called *Goshen*, from *Gush*, in Arabic, signifying “a heart,” or whatsoever is choice or precious. There was also a *Goshen* in the territory of the tribe of *Judah*, so called for the same reason. Josh. x. 41. Hence *Joseph* recommended it to his family as “the *best* of the land,” Gen. xlvii. 11. and “the *fat* of the land,” Gen. xlv. 18.

The land of *Goshen* lay along the most easterly branch of the Nile, and on the east side of it; for it is evident, that at the time of the Exode, the *Israelites* did not cross the Nile. In ancient times, the *fertile* land was considerably more extensive, both in length and breadth, than at present, in consequence of the general failure of the eastern branches of the *Nile*; the main body of the river verging more and more to the west continually, and deepening the channels on that side. *Rennel's Herod.* p. 537.

ZOAN, OR TANIS.

This appears to have been an ancient city. To raise the antiquity of *Kiriath-Arba*, or *Hebron*, the chief residence of *Abraham* and his family, it is said to have been built “seven years before *Zoan*.” Numb. xiii. 22. It was one of the royal cities, for

the plagues of Egypt were inflicted "in the field of *Zoan*." Psalm lxxviii. 12. And it continued perhaps to be a seat of government even in *Isaiah's* time. "Surely the princes of *Zoan* are fools; the counsel of the wise counsellors of *Pharaoh* is become brutish." Isa. xix. 11. צֹאן , *Tsoan*, is constantly rendered by the Septuagint, *Tanin*, or *Tanis*; according to the same analogy that *Tsur* was called Τύρος , or *Tyre*, by the Greeks. But *Tanis* was situated near the mouth of the second branch of the Nile, next the *Pelusiac*, thence called the *Tanitic*.

ON, OR HELIOPOLIS.

The father-in-law of *Joseph* was high-priest of *On*, Gen. xli. 45; there rendered, *Heliopolis*, by the Septuagint version, and noticed also by *Herodotus*; who says, that "the *Heliopolitans* were reckoned the wisest of the Egyptians." This was the city of *Moses*, according to *Berosus*; and well accounts for his scriptural character, that "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Acts vii. 22. *Heliopolis* was the Greek translation of *Beth-shemesh*, "the house, or city of the Sun," as it was called by *Jeremiah*, "*Bethshemesh*, in the land of Egypt" (xliii. 13.), to distinguish it from another *Beth-shemesh*, in the land of *Canaan*. It was nicknamed *Beth Aven*, "the house of vanity," or idolatry, by the Jews, Ezek. xxx. 17. from *Bethel*, where *Jeroboam* erected one of the golden calves; thence called *Beth-aven*, Hos. x. 5. *Aun*, or *On*, and *Aven*, being only different pronunciations of the same Hebrew word, און , according as *Vau*, the middle letter, was sounded as a vowel, O or U, or as a consonant V. This city was probably near the royal city *Zoan*, and only fifteen stadia from the sea, according to *Herodotus*.

RAMESES.

Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, was informed by the Egyptian Jews, that this was the same as *Heliopolis*; but *Niebuhr* thinks that *Rameses* lay to the north-west of it, where there is a heap of ruins, about four leagues from *Kahira*, or *Cairo*, in the way to *Suez*, called *Tel el Jhüd*, or *Tourbet el Jhüd*. *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 351. *Rameses* was in the land of *Goshen*, called also "the land of *Rameses*." Gen. xlvii. 11.

SIN, OR PELUSIUM.

Sin, in Arabic, signifies "mud," and was therefore the same

as *Pelusium*, from *πηλος*, “mud.” *Ezekiel* styles *Sin*, “the strength of Egypt,” (xxx. 15.) and *Suidas*, “the key of Egypt,” or its strong barrier on the side of *Syria* and *Arabia*. Near it, southwards, was

PIBESETH, OR BUBASTUS.

Mentioned in the neighbourhood of *On*, or *Aven*, by *Ezekiel* (xxx. 17.) which was the *Bubastus* of the Greeks; whence the eastern branch of the Nile was indiscriminately called the *Bubastic*, or the *Pelusiæc*.

TAHAHPANES, TAHPANES, OR HANES,

Was the same as *Daphnæ Pelusiæcæ*, noticed by *Herodotus*. Here the prophet *Jeremiah* resided in his exile, (xliii. 8.) *Isaiah* abridged it to *Hanes*, (xxx. 4.)

MIGDOL.

This word signifies “a tower,” and was a frontier town of Lower Egypt, towards the Red Sea, between which and that sea the *Israelites* encamped, *Exod.* xiv. 1. It is there rendered by the Septuagint *Magdolos*: and there also *Herodotus* represents *Nekus*, or *Pharaoh Necho*, as gaining a great victory over the *Jews*, when *Josiah* was killed; mistaking *Magdolos* for *Megiddo*. *Jeremiah* represents it as belonging to *Egypt* Proper, (xlvi. 14.) and in the neighbourhood of *Tahpanes*, or *Daphnæ*. The itinerary of *Antoninus* reckons it a little to the south of the *Delta*, about twelve miles from *Pelusium*.

NOPH, MENOPH, OR MEMPHIS.

This great city lay somewhat above the vertex of the *Delta*, or parting of the channels of the Nile, upon quitting Upper Egypt. It is called by the Arabs at the present day, *Menoph*, whence *Memphis*, which is the Septuagint rendering of *Noph*, in *Jer.* xlvi. 14. and elsewhere.

The founder of *Memphis*, according to *Herodotus*, was *Menes*, the first king of Egypt, who turned the channel of the river, and built the city in the ancient bed, where the streight between the *Arabian* and *Libyan* mountains is narrowest. *B. ii.* It was probably, therefore, the most ancient city of Lower Egypt, and older than *Zoan*, or *Tanis*; which probably was not recovered from the sea till a good while after. *Herodotus* thought that the

valley above *Memphis*, where it widens, was once a bay of the sea, but was gradually raised by the alluvions of the *Nile*; which also, in his opinion, formed the *Delta*. And this tends strongly to confirm the opinion, that the *Mediterranean* was once much higher than at present, and that it was lowered by the disruption of the streights of *Gibraltar*.

The learned Doctor *Shaw*, in his Geographical Observations on *Egypt*, p. 341, combats the opinion of *Bochart*, that *Zoan* was the residence of *Pharaoh*, during the plagues of *Egypt*, from the local circumstance of "a strong west wind blowing the locusts into the *Red Sea*;" (Exod. x. 19.) which, says he, agrees better to the site of *Memphis*, which lay westward of the *Red Sea*; whereas a westerly wind from *Zoan* would blow them into the *Mediterranean*, or else into the land of the *Philistines*. But the original, *Ruah Yam*, is "a sea wind," or a wind blowing from the *Mediterranean*, and was therefore rather a northerly wind, which would answer much better to *Zoan*, near the sea, than to *Memphis*, inland; and was also better adapted to drive the locusts along the *Red Sea* rather lengthwise than across it, and so more completely immerse them therein.

But why might not both have been royal cities, even allowing *Memphis* to have been the capital? *Pharaoh* had cattle in the land of *Goshen*, (Gen. xlvii. 6.) which was in the neighbourhood of *Zoan*; and "the princes of *Zoan*," and "the princes of *Noph*," are both classed together as "fools" or idolaters. Isa. xix. 13. *Zoan* perhaps might have been a pleasanter winter residence when the river was low, which was the season in which the plagues were inflicted.

Memphis stood on the west side of the river, and opposite to *Old Cairo*. *New Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo*, lies near the Old, to the south, at the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, in a worse situation, being farther from the river, and exposed to more sultry heat. *Cairo* is a corruption of *Kahira*, signifying in Arabic, "the city," by way of eminence.

NO, NO-AMMON, DIOSPOLIS, OR THEBES.

This was the capital city of Upper *Egypt*, and was probably the most ancient of all, built by the first settlers, *Misraim* and his family; whence *Egypt*, in general, is styled the land of *Misraim*," in the original Scripture, though usually rendered, "the land of *Egypt*."

Its Egyptian name was *No*, (Ezek. xxx. 14.) to which was added *Amon*, or *Amoun*, a title of *Jove* among the Egyptians, according to *Herodotus*. Whence אֱמוֹן מִנָּה should not be rendered, “the multitude of *No*,” (Jer. xlvi. 25.) but “*Amon* [the god] of *No* ;” and which, accordingly, is rendered *Diospolis*, “the city of *Jove*,” by the Septuagint version of Ezek. xxx. 15. It is reversed, מִנָּה אֱמוֹן [“the god] of *No*, *Amon*, (Nahum iii. 8.) and then variously rendered by the Septuagint, “the portion of *Ammon*.”

It has been mistakenly supposed that this term denoted *Ham*, the youngest son of *Noah*, and the father of *Misraim*. Its real signification is “*Truth*,” or “*Veracity*,” whence THE LORD is styled אֱלֹהֵי אֱמוּנָה, *Æl Amunah*, “God of Truth.” Deut. xxxii. 4. According to *Plato*, “the secret and invisible creative power supreme, among the Egyptians, was called *Ammon* ;” and *Plutarch* agrees, that it signified “*hidden*.” See *Cudworth’s Intellectual System*, p. 339. And this also was an epithet of the true God : “Why askest thou my name, seeing it is *secret* ?” Judg. xiii. 18. And this perfectly accords with the famous inscription on the temple of *Neith*, or “*Wisdom*,” at *Sais*, in the Lower Egypt, recorded by *Plutarch*. See *Cudworth*, p. 341.

Εγώ εἰμι Πάν το γεγονός και ον και εσομενον
Και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν.

“I am all that hath been, and is, and will be ;
And my veil no mortal yet uncovered.”

Hence perhaps the meaning of the ancient aphorism may best be explained, “*Truth* lies *hid* in a well ;” as primarily relating to the incomprehensible nature of the Supreme Being, “THE ONLY TRUE GOD,” (John xvii. 3.) whom the *Egyptians* styled Σκοτος αγνωστον, “*darkness unknowable*,” and the *Athenians*, a *Saite* colony, Αγνωστος Θεος, “THE UNKNOWABLE GOD.” Acts xvii. 23. Its other Grecian name, *Thebes*, was probably derived from תְּבֵה, *Thebeh*, “an ark,” like *Noah’s* (Gen. vi. 14.) the memory of which would naturally be preserved by the first settlers after the deluge, in all parts of the earth ; and accordingly we find *Thebets* (תְּבֵת) in *Canaan*, called *Thebez*, (Judg. ix. 50.) *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and *Thibet* in Eastern *Asia*, all from the same root. And *Bruce* observes, that “the figure of the temples in *Thebes* do not seem to be far removed from the idea given us of the ark.” Vol. II. p. 31. There he found the ruins

of four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither so entire nor so magnificent as those of *Dendera*, covered with hieroglyphics. Vol. I. p. 124.

SYENE.

This was the most southern city of the *Thebais*, bordering on *Nubia*. The prophet *Ezekiel* describes the whole extent of Egypt from north to south, "from *Migdol* to *Syene*, even to the borders of *Cush*." Ezek. xxix. 10; xxx. 6. Our English Bible incorrectly renders *Migdol*, "tower," instead of the town near the Red Sea, noticed before, and also by Jer. xlv. 1; xlv. 14. The affix ה, in סונה, is local "to *Syene*."

CUSH, or ETHIOPIA,

Usually rendered *Ethiopia* in our English Bible, has a very extensive signification. It comprehends all the southern and eastern borders of Egypt. In the foregoing passage of *Ezekiel*, it plainly denotes African *Ethiopia*, or *Nubia* and *Abyssinia*; and in many other passages: Isa. xviii. 1; xx. 3; Ezek. xxx. 5, &c. But in others it must signify Asiatic *Ethiopia*, or *Arabia*, as in the description of the garden of *Eden*, Gen. ii. 13. The wife of *Moses* was contemptuously styled a "*Cushite*," or *Ethiopian* of *Arabia*. Numb. xii. 1. And where, "*Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya*," are recited in order, the second must denote *Arabia*. Ezek. xxxviii. 5.

Herodotus, in his curious catalogue of the various nations composing the army of *Xerxes*, distinguishes the long-haired Eastern or Asiatic *Ethiopians* from the woolly-headed Western or African; B. vii. Both being descendants of *Cush*, a roving and enterprising race, who gradually extended their settlements from *Chusistan*, "the land of *Cush*," or *Susiana*, on the coasts of the *Persian* gulph, through *Arabia*, to the *Red Sea*; and thence crossed over to *Africa*, and occupied its eastern coast, and gradually penetrated into the interior of *Abyssinia*.

THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

These stupendous monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient tyranny, appear to be of the remotest antiquity. *Herodotus*, who visited Egypt about B.C. 448, and *Diodorus* afterwards, about B.C. 60, found various and contradictory reports in circulation

respecting their age. The *Egyptian* priests, wishing perhaps to conceal the early disgrace and slavery of their nation, ascribed the building of the two great pyramids of *Memphis*, or *Geeza*, to their native kings, *Cheops* and *Cephrenes*; of whom, the former began to reign about B.C. 1082, according to the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian Chronology*. But the people told a different story: "The *Egyptians*," says *Herodotus*, "have so great an aversion to the memory of their founders, that no one will repeat their names; but they attribute their pyramids to one *Philition*, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in these parts." *Diodorus* too observes: "Concerning the builders of these pyramids there is no agreement of opinion, neither among the inhabitants nor historians; for some say, that they were built by the foregoing kings a *thousand* years ago, [B.C. 1060.] others, about *three thousand four hundred* years, [B.C. 3460.]"

Truth lies nearly between: for, according to *Manetho*, compared with the *Hindu* records, the first pyramid was built about B.C. 2095, by *Apachnes*, the third king of that *Shepherd* dynasty, who invaded and conquered Egypt from Arabia, in the reign of *Timaus*, or *Thamuz*, who were called *Yksos*, or "*Shepherd kings*," by the *Egyptians*, and *Pali*, or *Palli*, "*Shepherds*," in the Sanscrit language, by the *Hindus*; whence probably was derived the *Philition*, of *Herodotus*, signifying not a proper name, but an appellation, "Shepherd." See the *Egyptian Chronology*. The *Arabs* call them *Dsjebel Faroûn*, or "*Pharaoh's mountains*."

The labour of constructing these factitious mountains was immense. "The founder of the great pyramid," says *Herodotus*, from the priests themselves, "shut up all the temples, and interdicted the public sacrifices." He could not therefore be a native prince, of the same religion with the *Egyptians*. "He oppressed the *Egyptians* with hard labour;" probably from the barbarous policy of breaking their spirits, and diminishing their numbers. "He appointed some to receive the stones that were dug out of the quarries in the Arabian mountains, in order to be transported in vessels across the river, when brought down to the Nile; and ordered others to convey them from thence to the mount called *Libycus*, [upon which the pyramids were built.] About a hundred thousand men were employed in this laborious work; ten thousand every three months; [and consequently the whole number in 30 months, or *two years and half*.] And

ten years were spent in building a bridge, [or causeway, across the ancient bed of the Nile] which I think to be a work little less considerable than the pyramid; for that bridge [or causeway] is five stadia in length, sixty feet in breadth, and its greatest elevation forty-eight feet; all built of polished stone, and carved with figures of various animals. The pyramids and subterraneous vaults within the hill, on which the pyramids stand, were the labour of *twenty* years." Consequently the whole time, according to this account of *Herodotus*, was *thirty-two* years and *half*.

The first and largest pyramid, according to *Diodorus*, employed three hundred and sixty thousand men for twenty years; and *Pliny* relates the same, and that the three pyramids were built in the space of *seventy-eight* years and *four* months, which is scarcely credible.

"On the first pyramid," says *Herodotus*, "an inscription is seen, declaring in *Egyptian* characters, how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlick, for the workmen; which the interpreter, as well as I remember, told me amounted to no less than the sum of sixteen hundred talents of silver." Here is the testimony of an eye-witness to the engravings and inscriptions on the causeway, and on the pyramid, though since defaced by time. The characters on the pyramid, to express the vegetables and money, could not, surely, be any other than literal or alphabetical.

The base of the great pyramid, according to *Herodotus*, was 800 Grecian, or about 700 English feet long, and the height equal thereto. This measurement of the base agrees with those of the most skilful and intelligent modern travellers, but not the height, which is under 500. *Herodotus*, therefore, reckoned by the sloping side, representing each side as an equilateral triangle.

This pyramid ends at the top in a platform about twelve or sixteen feet square, which, viewed from the bottom, is diminished nearly to a point. A strong man cannot throw a stone from the top, so as to fall beyond the bottom. And it covers, by calculation, at least an area of eleven English acres!

The great Pyramid seems to have been originally cased with polished marble. After mentioning the enormous stones employed in the work, and the mode of raising them from the lower steps, or ranges, to the higher; *Herodotus* adds, that first, the highest range was *finished off*, (*εκποιεῖν*) then the rest, in succession; and lastly, the lowest. *Savary*, and others, have

found remains of mortar, and splinters of white marble, on several of the steps. And *Niebuhr*, who denies that they were cased, yet acknowledges, that near the third Pyramid he found a multitude of stones of granite; "which," says he, "might lead us to conjecture, that formerly it had been cased in part with this stone, as the ancient historians have remarked." The *Hindu* records represent them as three mountains of *Gold, Silver, and Gems*; or as cased with yellow, white, and spotted marbles, respectively. See *Wilford's Essay on Egypt and the Nile, Asiat. Research.* Vol. III. p. 228.

The entrance of the great Pyramid, leads by some steep and difficult passages to an apartment which is thirty-two feet long, sixteen feet wide, and nineteen feet high. The roof is flat, consisting of nine stones only; whereof seven in the middle are each four feet wide, and sixteen feet long; all laid athwart over the breadth of the chamber, with their ends resting upon the walls on each side.

At the end of this chamber stands an empty tomb all of one stone, three feet and an inch wide, and seven feet two inches long. The stone, says *Le Brun*, is above five inches thick, extraordinarily hard, and like *porphyry*: it is well polished, and so very beautiful, says *Thevenot*, that it is very neat when polished, which makes many break off pieces of it to make seals of. There is no cover to the tomb. The inhabitants of the country say, that the king, who ordered that Pyramid to be built, was never buried there. This tomb, if intended for one, must have been set in the chamber before it was roofed, as the passages thereto are too narrow to admit it through.

In the year 1763, Mr. *Davison*, then consul at *Algiers*, accompanied Mr. *Wortley Montague* into *Egypt*, and spent eighteen months at *Cairo*; during which, he made frequent visits to the pyramids; and was so fortunate as to discover a second chamber in the great pyramid, directly over that which contains the tomb; which had escaped the notice of former travellers, even of *Maillet*, who had been above forty times in the pyramids; and also of later travellers. *Niebuhr* could not find it, though told of it by Mr. *Maynard*, who accompanied Mr. *Davison*. He, therefore, considered its existence as problematical. *Niebuhr*, *Voyage en Arabie*, Tom. I. p. 161. But it was lately discovered by an enterprising traveller, M. *Caviglia*, the master of a mercantile vessel in the Mediterranean trade, who visited the pyramid

in January, 1817 ; and found this upper chamber five feet longer than the lower, but of the same breadth ; its sides and roof coated with red granite of the finest polish, and the floor uneven, composed of the same blocks of granite which formed the roof of the room below.

The supposed well in this pyramid, which was imagined to communicate with a canal from the Nile, was descended first by *Davison*, and afterwards by *Caviglia*. It consisted of three separate shafts ; the first, of 22 feet depth, and at the distance of about 8 feet laterally from its bottom, a second shaft of 34 feet depth ; and, beside this, a third shaft of 99 feet, which, added together, made the whole depth 155 feet. But this was dry at the bottom ; where it was found, by the latter, to communicate, by a horizontal passage, with the principal entrance or main passage of the pyramid, which he succeeded in clearing of stones and rubbish, (apparently placed there to obstruct it) ; and after he had opened this continuation of the main passage, sloping downwards in the same inclined angle, to the distance of 200 feet from its commencement, he found a door way which opened upon the bottom of the well. The new passage, however, did not terminate there, but continuing to the distance of 23 feet beyond it, in the same angle of inclination, it became narrower, and took a horizontal direction for about 28 feet farther, where it opened into a spacious chamber, immediately under the central point of the pyramid. This new chamber is 66 feet long, by 27 broad, with a flat roof ; and when first discovered, was nearly filled with loose stones and rubbish, which, with considerable labour, M. *Caviglia* removed. The platform of the floor, dug out of the rock, is irregular, nearly one half of the length from the entrance on the eastern end being level, and about 15 feet from the ceiling, while in the middle it descends five feet lower ; in which part there is a hollow space, bearing all the appearance of the commencement of a well or shaft. From hence it rises to the western end, so that, at this extremity, there is scarcely room between the floor and the ceiling to stand upright ; the whole chamber having the appearance of an unfinished excavation. Some *Roman* characters, rudely formed, had been marked with the flame of a candle on the rock, part of which having mouldered away, rendered the words illegible. No trace of a sarcophagus appeared in this third, and deeply

excavated chamber, which might, perhaps, have been used for the performance of more solemn and secret mysteries.

Mr. *Salt*, the British consul-general at *Cairo*, who had the merit of promoting the discoveries of *M. Caviglia*, and also of *M. Belzoni*, and of communicating them to the public, through the medium of the *Quarterly Review*, attributes the spoliation of the sarcophagus in the first chamber, of its contents, to *Al Mamoun*, the son of Caliph *Haroun al Raschid*, prompted by the treasure-searching spirit of that age, about A.D. 813.

The circumstance of not finding any bones in the sarcophagus of the pyramid of *Cheops*, combined with the supposed communication of the well with the waters of the Nile, led the traveller, *Shaw*, to conclude rather hastily, that the pyramids were never intended for sepulchral monuments, according to the representations of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo*; and the ingenious but fanciful *Bryant*, thence imagined that they were designed for water-temples, consecrated to the divinity of the Nile; and the sarcophagus, no other than a cistern or water-trough, for holding the sacred elements drawn up from the river. And this hypothesis was adopted in the first edition of this work. But the supposed well has no communication with the river, and does not descend within thirty feet of its level: and the discovery of bones in the sarcophagus of the principal chamber of the second pyramid, supposed to be built by *Cephrenes*, and lately opened, has decided the truth of the ancient tradition.

This second pyramid was opened by the sagacity and persevering industry of an Italian traveller, *M. Belzoni*, at his own cost principally, March 2d, 1818, and a curious account of his process, furnished by Mr. *Salt*, is communicated in the *Quarterly Review*. Exactly under the top of the pyramid, and in the centre of its base, he discovered the great chamber, 46 feet 3 inches long, 16 feet 3 inches wide, and 23 feet 6 inches high, for the most part cut out of the rock, except that part of the roof towards the western end. In the midst, he observed a sarcophagus of granite, partly buried in the ground, to the level of the floor, 8 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep inside, surrounded by large blocks of granite, being placed apparently to guard it from being taken away, which could not be effected without great labour. The lid of it had been opened: he found in it only a few bones of a skeleton, which he supposed

to be human, and, in all probability, those of *Cephrenes*, the reported builder of this pyramid. On the wall of the western side of this chamber, is an *Arabic* inscription, testifying that 'this pyramid was opened by the Masters *Mahomet El Agar* and *Otman*, and that it was inspected in the presence of the Sultan *Ali Mahomet I.* Ugloch *.' Part of the floor of this chamber had been removed in different places, evidently in search of treasure, by some of those who had found their way into it.

In this pyramid a second chamber has also been discovered, lower than the first, and nearer the entrance, which is 32 feet long, 9 feet 9 inches wide, 8 and 6 feet high.

Shortly after the opening of the pyramid, Major *Fitz-Clarence*, in his journey over-land from *India*, arrived at *Cairo*, and visited the central chamber, and brought away a few fragments of the bones in the sarcophagus; one of which proved to be the lower extremity of the thigh bone, where it comes in contact with the knee joint. This singular relic he presented to the Prince Regent on his return home, and the Prince submitted it to the inspection of that eminent surgeon, Sir *Everard Home*. Sir *Everard*, not entertaining a doubt of its belonging to a human skeleton, took it to the Musæum of the College of Surgeons, that by adjusting it with the same part of different sized skeletons, he might be enabled to form some estimate of the comparative size of the ancient *Egyptians* and modern *Europeans*. On a closer and more laborious inspection, however, the fragment was found to agree with none of them: and it finally appeared, that instead of forming any part of the thigh-bone of a human body, it actually made part of that of a *cow*.

And to corroborate this evidence, M. *Belzoni* discovered a grand catacomb at *Thebes*, in *Upper Egypt*, called *Biban el Moluk*, "the tombs," or, rather, "gates of the kings," which extended 309 feet from the entrance in front to the innermost chamber, the whole cut out of the living rock; the sides of which were as white as snow, covered with paintings of well shaped figures in *al fresco*, as fresh as if they had been just laid on, and with hieroglyphics quite perfect. In one of its numerous chambers, he found a sarcophagus of alabaster, exquisitely beautiful, 9 feet 5 inches long, by 3 feet 9 inches wide, and 2 feet 1 inch deep, carved within and without with hieroglyphics and figures

* A Tartaric title, as *Uleg Bey*.

in intaglio, nearly in a perfect state; sounding like a bell, and as transparent as glass. From the extraordinary magnificence of this tomb, M. *Belzoni* conceives that it must be the depository of the remains of *Apis*: in which idea he is the more confirmed by having found the carcass of a *bull*, embalmed with *asphaltum*, in the innermost chamber.

This decides the point, that the pyramids of *Egypt*, and the subterraneous caverns of *Thebes*, were alike designed as sepulchral monuments of their *bestial gods*, and probably of their kings and priests also. The celebrated *Labyrinth*, near the lake *Mæris*, which *Herodotus* admired still more than the pyramids, in its fifteen hundred subterraneous chambers, which he was not permitted to enter, according to the information of the priests, contained the bodies of the kings who built the *Labyrinth*, and also of the *Holy Crocodiles*. B. II. §. 148.

The second pyramid of *Cephrenes*, is the only one which retains a part of its outside casing, from the top, about a third part of its distance downwards; what remains entire, is of a white calcareous stone, which has been usually called marble, but is, in fact, a fine close-grained lime-stone, susceptible of a high polish.

The remains of the covering of the third pyramid of *Mycerinus*, are still scattered about its base, and particularly near the angle; they are of red granite.

Behind this stands a fourth pyramid, a hundred feet lower than the third. These four great pyramids are surrounded by an immense number of smaller pyramids and tumuli, like the graves in a church-yard round the church, extending on the north and on the south, along the western bank of the Nile, as far as the eye can reach.

Several of these edifices were cleared of the sand and rubbish with which they were choaked, by M. *Caviglia*, and found to consist of different numbers of apartments, variously disposed, but similarly decorated with bas-reliefs and paintings, according, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them. One in particular, from the delicacy of its colours, its general pleasing effect, and superior style of execution, was deemed deserving of the closest attention. In all the mausoleums which they opened, were found fragments of bitumen, great quantities of mummy cloth, and of human bones, which seemed to remove all doubt of their having served the purpose of entombing the dead.

It deserves to be noticed, that in some one apartment or another of all these monumental edifices, was a deep shaft or well, from the bottom of which a narrow passage conducted to a subterranean chamber. One of these shafts cleared out by M. *Caviglia*, was 60 feet deep, and in the chamber a little to the south of the lower extremity, was standing, without a lid, a plain but highly finished sarcophagus, of the same dimensions nearly as that in the pyramid of *Cheops*, but of a superior polish. This discovery supplies a strong argument in favour of the pyramids being tombs for the *kings* who constructed them, and also for their animal gods, the *Apis*, &c.

Many of these sepulchral edifices seem to have been constructed of the dilapidated casing of the great pyramids; for their walls consist of the same sort of stone, and many of the fragments are covered with hieroglyphics, particularly the parts round the door-ways. One of these stones, bearing an inscription of hieroglyphics and figures, was observed to be built into the walls upside down: a curious circumstance, which proves beyond a doubt, that it had constituted part of some other edifice previously to being placed in its present position.

There are no traces of *hieroglyphics* at present discoverable upon any of the pyramids. But that they formerly abounded with such, may be inferred from the reports of the ancient Historians, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*, &c. At a later period, *Abdollatiph*, an Arabian physician, who visited Egypt in A.D. 1190, found abundance. "On the stones of the two greater pyramids," says he, "are ancient hieroglyphic inscriptions, but unknown: nor is there any person in the cities of Egypt, who can assert that they are now to be understood. The inscriptions are very numerous; so that if such as are found on these two pyramids alone were to be copied, they would fill *ten thousand* volumes."

These new and curious discoveries, satisfactorily account for the extraordinary dilapidation and spoliation of the original coating of the great pyramids, since the time of *Herodotus*, and still later, of *Abdollatiph*. The casing was torn down, and applied to the construction of the small pyramids, or oblong sepulchral edifices of later ages.

It is probable, however, that the *tumuli*, or little mounds, which also abound in this vast cemetery, are nothing more than

similar buildings of higher antiquity, mouldered away to their present shape; or that they were constructed, originally, of more perishable materials, like the brick pyramid of DASHOUR, which has every appearance of soon changing its form into that of the rude tumulus. *Herodotus*, our surest guide, when he speaks from his own information, reports the following remarkable inscription thereon: "Do not compare *me* with the pyramids of *stone*; for I excel them as much as Jupiter excels the other gods: for those who built me thrust poles into a lake, and collecting the mud which adhered to them, they made bricks of it, and thus they constructed me."

This pyramid is generally allowed to have been built by *Asychis*, or *Bocchoris*, whose reign began, B.C. 815, according to the ensuing rectification of Egyptian Chronology.

The recent discoveries of *Davison*, *Belzoni*, and *Caviglia*, are circumstantially detailed in the *Quarterly Review*, September, 1818, in the Article of *Light's Travels and Addendum*; and January, 1819, under the Article of *Antiquities of Egypt*.

That the Pyramids were originally cased with marble, or granite, is proved by the testimony of *Abdollatiph*: who has also demonstrated the stupendous labour and skill employed in the construction of these factitious mountains; by a mad and fruitless project for pulling them down, attempted by *Malec al Azir Othman*, son and successor of the famous Sultan, *Saladin Joseph ebn Job*, the real builder of *Joseph's* famous well at *Cairo*, vulgarly attributed to the patriarch and prime minister of Egypt.

This young prince, at the persuasion of some foolish favourites, wished to immortalize himself by pulling down the Pyramids. And accordingly began with the smallest, built of *red* granite. Having collected a great number of engineers, masons, and labourers, he ordered them to demolish that Pyramid, and commissioned the grandees of the kingdom to superintend the execution of it. They immediately pitched their tents upon the spot, collected artists and workmen from all parts, and maintained them at an enormous expence. Here they continued for *eight* months, with horses and men: pulling down, in the course of an entire day, with the utmost labour and difficulty, one or two stones at the utmost. The labourers above forced out every stone with wedges, levers, and iron crows; while those below

pulled it down with cables and ropes. When it fell, so violent was its fall, that the sound was heard at a surprising distance, the mountain trembled and the earth shook; and the stone buried itself in the sand; whence they extracted it at length, with additional labour and fatigue. Then they broke it in pieces with wedges, and conveyed the fragments in carriages to the further end of the mountain, at no great distance. Having thus spent much time to little purpose, their resources failed, their difficulties increased, and at last they were obliged to desist, filled with dejection, confusion, and despair. All they effected was to deface the Pyramid, and betray the weakness and impotence of the attempt. Should any one view the stones that are taken down, he would imagine that the whole Pyramid had been destroyed, so great is the mass; but if he should then view the Pyramid itself, he would scarcely believe that it had been at all injured; for only a small part of one of its sides is demolished. Perceiving the prodigious toil it cost them to pull down every single stone, I asked the superintendant of the masons, says *Abdollariph*, *Whether, if they were offered a thousand pieces of gold to replace any stone in its proper and original position, they would be able to do it?* He answered, swearing by the living God, that *though they should be offered double that sum, the thing would be impossible.*" This happened in the year of the *Hegira* 593, [A.D. 1197.] See *Abdollariph's* History of Egypt, translated by Professor *White*, of *Oxford*, in Latin; or the *Monthly Review*, April, 1802, p. 344.

THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA BY THE ISRAELITES.

The precise place of this passage, when the Israelites were thrust out of Egypt in haste by the *Egyptians*, after the last tremendous plague of the destruction of the first-born, has been much contested by Geographers and Travellers. Some place it near *Suez*, at the head of the Gulph: others, with more probability, about ten hours journey lower down, at *Clyasma*, or the valley of *Bedeä*. See *Niebuhr's* and *Bryant's* Maps of the *Red Sea*.

The day before the passage, by the Divine command, "the Israelites encamped beside *Pi-ha-hiroth*, between *Migdol* and

the Sea, over against *Baal-zephon*." Exod. xiv. 2; Numb. xxxiii. 7.

Pi-ha-hiroth signifies "the mouth of the ridge," or chain of mountains, which line the western coast of the Red Sea, called *Attaka* ("Deliverance;") in which was a gap, which formed the extremity of the valley of *Bedea*, ending at the sea eastward, and running westwards to some distance, towards *Cairo*; *Migdol*, signifying "a tower," probably lay in that direction; and *Baal-zephon*, signifying "the Northern *Baal*," was probably a temple on an opposite promontory, built on the eastern coast of the Red Sea.

And the modern names of places in the vicinity tend to confirm these expositions of the ancient.

Besides *Attaka*, on the eastern coast opposite, is a head-land, called *Ras Musa*, or "the Cape of *Moses*;" somewhat lower, *Hamam Faraun*, "*Pharaoh's* springs;" below *Girondel*, a reach of the Gulph, called *Birket Faraun*; and the general name of the Gulph is *Bahr al Kolsun*, "the Bay of Submersion." These names indicate that the passage was considerably below *Suez*, according to the tradition of the natives.

The depth and breadth of the Gulph, from *Suez* downwards, is thus described:—"I have not found," says *Niebuhr*, "in this sea, from *Suez* southwards, any bank or isthmus under water. When we departed from *Suez*, we sailed as far as *Girondel*, without fear of encountering any such. We had in the first place, (the road of *Suez*) four fathom and half; at three German leagues from *Suez*, and in the middle of the Gulph, four fathoms; and about *Girondel*, near the shore, even to ten fathoms." *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 355. *Bruce* also, describing the place of passage, opposite *Ras Musa*, or a little below it, says, "there is here about fourteen fathom of water in the channel, and about nine in the sides, and good anchorage every where. The farthest side (the Eastern) is a low sandy coast, and a very easy landing place." *Travels, &c.* Vol. I. p. 244. *Shaw* reckons the breadth of the Gulph, at this place, about 10 miles; *Niebuhr*, three leagues and more; *Bruce*, something less than four leagues: we may therefore estimate it about 12 miles, from their joint reports. But this space the host of the Israelites could easily have passed in the course of a night; from the evening to the ensuing "morning watch," or dawn of day, according to the *Mosaical* account. And surely the depth of the sea was no impediment,

when the LORD “divided it by a *strong east wind*, which blew across the sea *all that night*, and made [the bottom of] the sea dry land; and the children of *Israel* went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a *wall* unto them, on their right hand and on their left.” Exod. xiv. 21—27.

In the queries of *Michaelis*, sent to *Niebuhr*, when in Egypt, it was proposed to him to enquire upon the spot, “Whether there were not some *ridges of rocks* where the water was shallow, so that an army at particular times may pass over? Secondly, Whether the *Etesian* winds, which blow strongly all Summer from the north-west, could not blow so violently against the Sea as to keep it back on a heap; so that the Israelites might have passed without a miracle.” And a copy of these queries was left also for *Bruce*, to join his enquiries likewise. His observations on which, are excellent.

“I must confess, however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us by Scripture to be a *miraculous* one; and if so, we have nothing to do with *natural* causes. If we do not believe *Moses*, we need not believe the transaction at all, seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God, that He *made* the sea, we must believe he could *divide* it when He sees proper reason; and of that He must be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the *Red Sea*, than to divide the river *Jordan*.

“If the *Etesian* wind, blowing from the north-west in Summer, could keep up the sea as a wall on the right, or to the south, of fifty feet high; still the difficulty would remain of building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles which hindered that wall to escape at the sides? This is as great a miracle as that of *Moses*. If the *Etesian* winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since, from the same causes. Yet *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. III. p. 122, says, The *Troglodytes*, the indigenious inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest ages, that *once this division of the sea did happen there; and that, after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again came*

back, and covered it with great fury *. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind : we cannot think this Hea-then is writing in favour of Revelation : he knew not *Moses*, nor says a word about *Pharaoh* and his host ; but records the miracle of the division of the sea in words nearly as strong as those of *Moses*, from the mouths of unbiassed, undesigning pagans.

“ Were all these difficulties surmounted, what could we do with the *pillar of fire* ? The answer is, We should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all ? We have no authority for the one, but what is for the other : it is altogether contrary to the ordinary nature of things ; and if not a *miracle*, it must be a *fable*.” P. 244—246.

Still, such sceptical queries have their use ; they lead to a stricter investigation of facts, and thereby tend strongly to confirm the veracity of the history they meant to impeach. Thus it appears, from the accurate observations of *Niebuhr* and *Bruce*, that there is no *ledge of rocks* running across the Gulph any where, to afford a shallow passage. And the second query, about the *Etesian*, or northerly wind, is refuted by the express mention of a strong *easterly* wind blowing across, and scooping out a dry passage ; not that it was necessary for OMNIPOTENCE to employ it there as an instrument, any more than at *Jordan* : but it seems to be introduced in the Sacred History by way of anticipation, to exclude the natural agency that might in after times be employed for solving the miracle ; and it is remarkable that the *monsoon* in the Red Sea blows the summer half of the year from the north ; the winter half, from the south : neither of which could produce the miracle in question.

Wishing to diminish, though not to deny, the miracle, *Niebuhr* adopts the opinion of those who contend for a higher passage near *Suez*. “ For,” says he, “ *the miracle would be less* if they crossed the sea there, than near *Bedeá*. But whosoever should suppose that the multitude of the Israelites could be able to cross it here without a *prodigy* would deceive himself : for even in our days, no caravan passes that way to go from *Cairo* to Mount *Sinai*, although it would shorten the journey consider-

* *Diodorus* attributes this to an “ *extraordinary high tide*.” The fact, however, that “ *the ground was bare to the very bottom of the Gulph*,” is admitted by this curious tradition.

ably. The passage would have been *naturally* more difficult for the Israelites some thousands of years back, when the Gulph was probably larger, deeper, and more extended towards the north: for in all appearance the water has retired, and the ground near this end has been raised by the sands of the neighbouring desert." P. 354.

But it sufficiently appears, even from *Niebuhr's* own statement, that the passage of the Israelites could not have taken place near *Suez*: for 1. He evidently confounded the town of *Kolsum*, the ruins of which he places near *Suez*, and where he supposed the passage to be made, with the bay of *Kolsum*, which began about 45 miles lower down; as *Bryant* has satisfactorily proved, from the astronomical observations of *Ptolomy* and *Ulug Beigh*, made at *Heroum*, the ancient head of the Gulph. See his *Plagues of Egypt*, p. 371, 372.

2. Instead of crossing the Sea at or near *Ethan*, their second station, the *Israelites* "turned" southwards, along the western shore; and their third station at *Pihahiroth*, or *Bedea*, was at least a full day's journey below *Ethan*; as *Bryant* has satisfactorily proved from Scripture. Exod. xiv. 2. And it was this unexpected change in the direction of their march, and the apparently disadvantageous situation in which they were then placed, "entangled in the land, and shut in by the wilderness," with a deep sea in front, the mountains of *Attaka* on the sides, and the enemy in their rear, that tempted the *Egyptians* to pursue them through the valley of *Bedea*, by the direct route from *Cairo*; who "overtook them encamping by the sea, beside *Pihahiroth*, opposite to *Baalzephon*." Exod. xiv. 2—9.

Niebuhr wonders how the *Israelites* could suffer themselves to be brought into such a disadvantageous situation, or be led blindfold by *Moses* to their apparent destruction. "One need only travel with a caravan," says he, "which meets with the least obstacle, viz. a small torrent, to be convinced that the Orientals do not let themselves be led, like fools, by their *Caravan Baschi*," or leader of the caravan. P. 350.

But the *Israelites* went out of Egypt with "a high hand," though led by *Moses*, yet under the visible guidance and protection of "THE LORD GOD of the Hebrews," "who went before them by day in a *pillar of a cloud*, and by night in a *pillar of fire*." And who, for their encouragement, to enter the passage of the Sea miraculously prepared for them, removed the *cloud*

which went before the camp of Israel hitherto, and placed it behind them. "And it came between the camp of the *Egyptians* and the camp of *Israel*: and it was a cloud and darkness to the one, but gave light by night to the other: so that the one came not near the other *all the night*." Exod. xiv. 8—20.

Niebuhr wonders also, how *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* could be led to follow the *Israelites*.

"*Pharaoh* must have wanted *prudence*, if, after having seen so many prodigies in *Egypt*, he had entered into a sea of more than three leagues wide: all the *Egyptians* too must have been *bereft of understanding*, in wishing to pursue the *Israelites* into such a sea. Doubtless they knew their own country well enough to distinguish the bottom of a large sea, which bounds *Egypt* on that side, from a desert." P. 352.

But *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* probably did not know their situation. The cloud which separated them from the *Israelites*, increased the darkness of the night: and they probably did not enter into the sea till about *midnight*, by which time the van of the *Israelites* might have reached the Eastern shore. Meanwhile the bed of the sea, now beaten by the feet of the immense multitude of men and cattle that had gone before, might not have been easily distinguishable from the desert. If we ask, why did the *Egyptians* venture to pursue the *Israelites* by night? why did they not wait till day-light, when they could see whither they were going? *Niebuhr* himself has unwittingly answered the question: *Pharaoh* wanted "*prudence*," indeed, and the *Egyptians* were "*bereft of understanding*."—And this is the Scriptural solution: "For **GOD** *hardened* the heart of *Pharaoh* to follow after them, that He might be honoured upon *Pharaoh* and all his host; and that, by their miraculous destruction, the *Egyptians* might know that He was **THE LORD**" [SUPREME.] Exod. xiv. 4—18.

The *Egyptians* did not find out their mistake till the *morning appeared*, or till day-break; when the rear of the *Israelites* had gained the shore, and the *Egyptians* had reached the middle of the sea, and their whole host had entered into it: then indeed they attempted to fly back; but in vain; for "their chariot wheels were broken off, so that they drave them heavily, and their host was troubled" by **THE LORD**, who *looked*, or frowned, upon them through the cloudy pillar of fire, and overwhelmed all their host in the midst of the sea; when the sea

suddenly returned to his strength at the signal of *Moses* stretching forth his hand over it. Exod. xiv. 24—28.

The particulars of this transaction demonstrate, that neither the host of the *Israelites*, nor the host of *Pharaoh*, could possibly have passed at the head of the Gulph near *Suez*; where the sea was only “*half a league*” broad, according to *Niebuhr*’s own supposition, and consequently too narrow to contain the whole host of *Pharaoh* at once; whose 600 chariots alone, exclusive of his cavalry and infantry, must have occupied more ground.

Manetho, and the *Egyptian* writers, have passed over in silence this tremendous visitation of their nation. An ancient writer, however, *Artapanus*, who wrote a history of the Jews, about B.C. 130, has preserved the following curious *Egyptian* traditions :

“The *Memphites* relate, that *Moses*, being well acquainted with the country, watched the influx of the tide, and made the multitude pass through the dry [bed of the] sea. But the *Helio-politans* relate, that the king, with a great army, accompanied by the *sacred animals*, pursued after the *Jews*, who had carried off with them the substance of the *Egyptians*. And that *Moses*, having been directed by a Divine voice to strike the sea with his rod, when he heard it, touched the water with his rod; and so the fluid divided, and the host passed over through a dry way. But when the *Egyptians* entered along with them, and pursued them, it is said, that *fire flashed against them in front*, and the sea, returning back, overwhelmed the passage. Thus the *Egyptians* perished, both by the fire, and by the reflux of the tide.” *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9, cap. 27, p. 436.*

The latter account is extremely curious: it not only confirms SCRIPTURE, but it notices three additional circumstances: 1. That for their protection against THE GOD OF ISRAEL, the *Egyptians* brought with them the *sacred animals*; and by this means “GOD executed judgment upon all the [bestial] gods of *Egypt*,” as foretold, Exod. xii. 12, who perished with their infatuated votaries; completing the destruction of both, which began with “smiting the *first-born* both of man and beast.” 2. That the recovery of “the *jewels* of silver and *jewels* of gold, and raiment,” which they *asked* and obtained of the *Egyptians*,” according to the Divine command, Exod. xii. 35, 36, was a

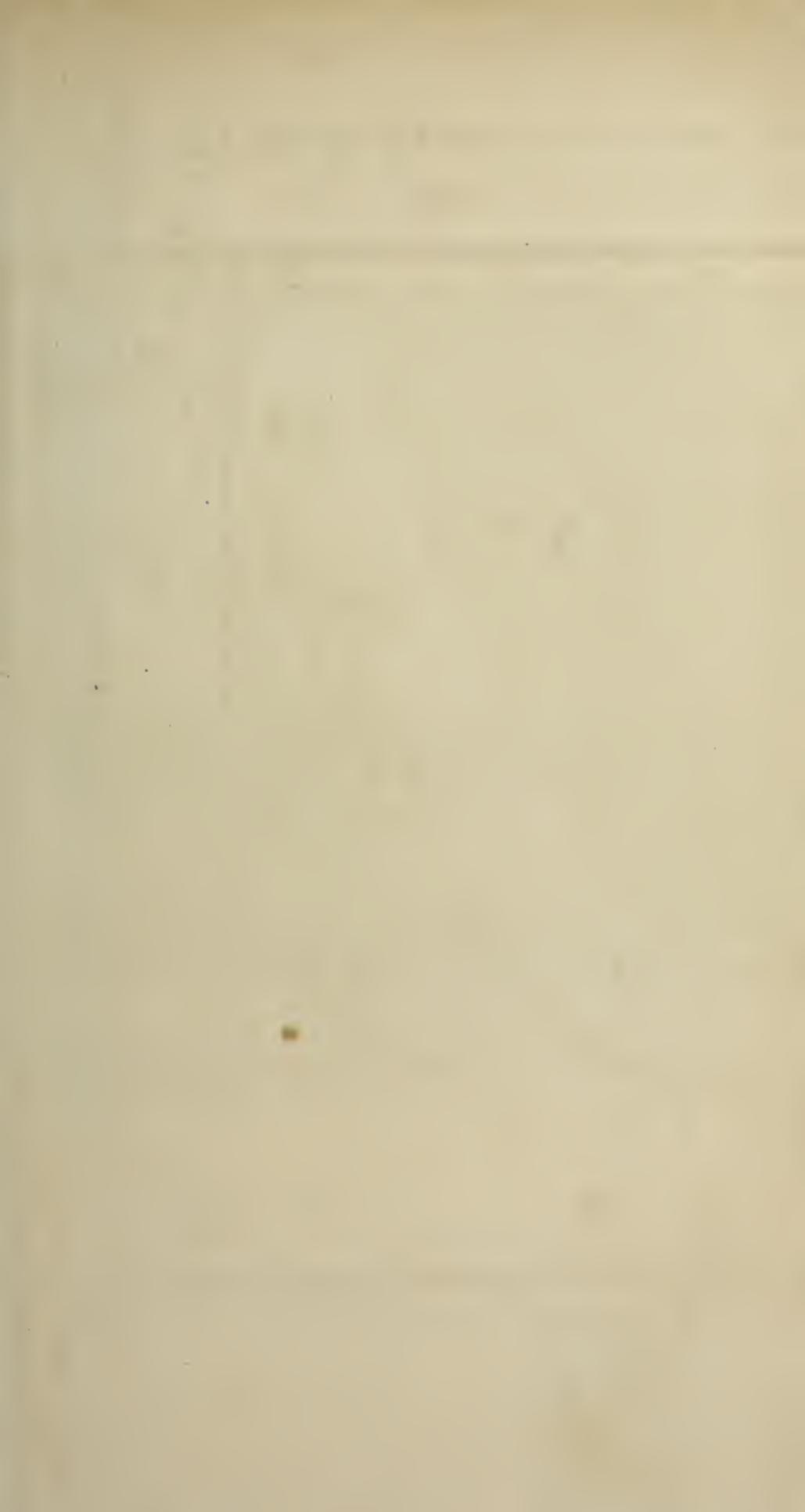
leading motive with the *Egyptians* to pursue them ; as the bringing back the *Israelites* to slavery had been with “ *Pharaoh* and his servants,” or officers. And 3. That the destruction of the *Egyptians* was partly occasioned by *lightning* and *thunderbolts*, from the presence of the Lord : exactly corresponding to the Psalmist’s sublime description :

“ The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee : they were afraid ; the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water, the air thundered, thine arrows also went abroad :— Yea he sent out his arrows, and scattered them ; he shot forth *lightnings, hail-stones, and coals of fire*—and discomfited them. Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils.” Psalm lxxvii. 16, 17 ; xviii. 13—15.

The *Red Sea* derived its name from *Edom*, signifying “ red,” a title of *Esau*, to whom the bordering country of *Edom*, or *Idumæa*, belonged. Gen. xxv. 30 ; xxxvi. 31—40. It was also called *Yam Suph*, “ the weedy sea,” in several passages, Numb. xxxiii. 10 ; Psalm cvi. 9, &c. which are improperly rendered “ the Red Sea.” Some learned authors have supposed that it was so named from the quantity of weeds in it. “ But in contradiction to this,” says *Bruce*, “ I must confess, that I never in my life, (and I have seen the whole extent of it) saw a weed of any sort in it. And indeed, upon the slightest consideration, it will appear to any one, that a narrow Gulph, under the immediate influence of monsoons, blowing from contrary points six months each year, would have too much agitation to produce such vegetables, seldom found but in stagnant water, and seldom, if ever, found in salt ones. My opinion then is, that it is from the large trees, or plants, of *white coral*, perfectly in imitation of plants on land, that the sea has taken its name. I saw one of these, which, from a root nearly central, threw out ramifications in a nearly central form, measuring twenty-six feet diameter every way.” P. 247.

This seems to be the most probable solution that has been hitherto proposed of the name.

The *tides* in this sea are but moderate. At *Suez* the difference between high and low water did not exceed from three to four feet ; according to *Niebuhr’s* observations on the tides in that Gulph, during the years 1762 and 1763. *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 363.



STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERTS OF ARABIA PETRÆA

From BISHOP CLAYTON'S Map.



Engraved by J. Ewe

STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE WILDERNESS.

The journey of the *Israelites*, for forty years, from their departure out of Egypt, till their arrival in the promised land of *Canaan*, is the most extraordinary ever recorded in history. Every stage of it almost is marked by a succession of miracles the most signal and astonishing. And for the instruction and admonition of posterity, *Moses* was directed to form a journal of their several stations and encampments; the principal of which are set down, Numb. xxxiii. 1—49; and the rest are here supplied from the tenor of the history, in the last four books of *Moses*; together with the leading occurrences, arranged in chronological order.

In tracing their intricate route through “the great and terrible, the waste and howling wilderness” of *Arabia Petræa*; I have principally followed the ingenious delineation of Bishop *Clayton*, in his *Chronology of the Bible*, 1747; and adopted the numeral references of his map; the general plan of which is taken from *Shaw, Poccoke, Reland, &c.* It is more correct in its outline than any I have seen; though it is not professed by the author to be critically accurate as to the situation of every place. The line of larger dots represents the route of the *Assyrian Confederates*, until they were defeated by *Abraham*. Gen. xiv.

TABLE OF STATIONS, &c.

Y. M. D.					
(1648.)	}	1 <i>Rameses</i> , near <i>Cairo</i> ...	Exo. xii.	37. Nu. xxxiii.	3.
1. 1. 15.		2 <i>Succoth</i>	— xii.	37. — xxxiii.	3.
		3 <i>Etham</i> , or <i>Adsjerud</i>	— xiii.	20. — xxxiii.	5.
		4 <i>Pihahiroth</i> , or Valley of <i>Bedeä</i>	} — xiv.	1. — xxxiii.	7.
		5 <i>Shur</i> ;— <i>Ain Musa</i>		} — xv.	22. — xxxiii.	8.
		6 Desart of <i>Shur</i> , or <i>Etham</i>	} — xv.		23. — xxxiii.	8.
		7 <i>Marah</i> ,—“bitter” wa- ters healed		} — xv.	27. — xxxiii.	9.
		8 <i>Elim</i> ,—Valley of <i>Coron- del</i>	} — xv.		— xxxiii.	10.
		9 Encampment by the <i>Red Sea</i>		} — xvi.	1. — xxxiii.
1. 2. 15.		10 Desart of <i>Sin</i> , Valley of <i>Baharim</i>	— xvi.		13.
		<i>Manna</i> , for 40 years ...	— xvi.		

Y. M. D.

		<i>Quails, for a day</i>	Exo. xvi.	35.	
		<i>Sabbath renewed, or re-</i>	} — xvi.	23.	
		<i>vived</i>			
	11	<i>Dopkah</i>			Nu. xxxiii. 12.
	12	<i>Aluth</i>			— xxxiii. 13.
	13	<i>Rephidim</i>	— xvii.	1.	— xxxiii. 14.
		<i>Water, from the rock</i> }	} — xvii.	6.	
		<i>Massah</i>			
		<i>Amalekites defeated</i> ..	— xvii.	13.	
		<i>Jethro's visit</i>	— xviii.	5.	
		<i>Judges appointed</i>	— xviii.	25.	
1.	3. 15.	14 <i>Mount Sinai, or Horeb</i> .	— xix.	1.	— xxxiii. 15.
		<i>The Decalogue given</i> . . .	— xx.	1.	
	14	<i>The Covenant made</i>	— xxiv.	7.	
		<i>The Golden Calf</i>	} — xxxii.	6.	
					Neh. ix.
1.	6.	<i>The Covenant renewed</i> ..	Exo. xxxiv,	27.	
		<i>The first Muster, or Num-</i>	} — xxxviii.	26.	
		<i>bering</i>			
(1647)	} 2. 1. 1.	<i>The Tabernacle erected</i> . .	— xl.	17.	
		<i>Aaron consecrated, and</i>	} Lev. viii.	6.	
		<i>his Sons</i>			
2.	1. 8.	<i>Sacrifices of Atonement</i> .	— ix.	1.	
2.	1. 14.	<i>The second Passover</i> . . .	Nu. ix.	5.	
2.	2. 1.	<i>The second Muster</i>	— i.	3.	
		<i>Nadab and Abihu de-</i>	} — iii.	4.	
		<i>stroyed</i>			Lev. x.	1.
2.	2. 20.	15 <i>Desart of Paran</i>	Nu. x.	12.	
		16 <i>Taberah</i>	— x.	33.	
		<i>Murmuring of the People</i>	— xi.	3.	
		17 <i>Kibroth Hataavah, or To-</i>	} — xi.	34.	} — xxxiii. 16.
		<i>phel</i> . . . . .				Deu. i.	1.
		<i>Quails, for a month</i> . . .			
		<i>Plague of the People</i> ..			
		<i>Council of LXX. ap-</i>	} — Nu. xi.	35.	} — xxxiii. 17.
		<i>pointed</i> . . . . .				De. i.	1.
		18 <i>Hazeroth</i>	Nu. xii.	10.	
		<i>Miriam's Leprosy</i>			
2.	5.	19 <i>Kadesh Barnea, in Rith-</i>	} — xii.	16.	} — xxxiii. 18.
		<i>mah, or "the Desart"</i>				— xxxii.	8.
		<i>of Sin, or Paran</i>			
		<i>Twelve Spies sent</i>	— xiii.	2.	
2.	7. 6.	<i>Their Return</i>	— xiii.	26.	
		<i>The People rebel</i>	— xiv.	2.	
		<i>Sentenced to wander 40</i>	} — xiv.	33.	} — xxxii. 13.
		<i>Years</i> . . . . .				— xxxii.	13.

Y. M. D.

	Ten of the Spies destroyed	Nu. xiv.	37.	
	The People defeated by the <i>Amalekites</i> }	— xiv.	45.	
	Rebellion of <i>Corah</i> , &c.	— xvi.	1.	
	Budding of <i>Aaron's Rod</i>	— xvii.	10.	
20	<i>Rimmon Perez</i>			Nu. xxxiii. 19.
21	<i>Libnah</i> , or <i>Leban</i>	Deu. i.	1.	— xxxiii. 20.
22	<i>Rissah</i>			— xxxiii. 21.
23	<i>Khelathah</i>			— xxxiii. 22.
24	Mount <i>Shaphar</i>			— xxxiii. 23.
25	<i>Haradath</i> , or			— xxxiii. 24.
	<i>Hazar Addar</i> , or <i>Adar</i>	{ Nu. xxxiv. 4. Josh. xv. 3.		
26	<i>Makeloth</i>			— xxxiii. 25.
27	<i>Tahath</i>			— xxxiii. 25.
28	<i>Tarah</i>			— xxxiii. 27.
29	<i>Mitcah</i>			— xxxiii. 28.
30	<i>Hashmonah</i> , or			— xxxiii. 29.
	<i>Azmon</i> , or <i>Selmonah</i>	{ Nu. xxxiv. 4. Jos. xv. 4.		
31	<i>Beroth</i>	Deu. x.	6.	
32	<i>Moseroth</i> , or <i>Mosera</i>			— xxxiii. 30.
33	<i>Benejaakan</i> , or <i>Banea</i>			— xxxiii. 31.
34	<i>Horhagidgad</i> , or			— xxxiii. 32.
	<i>Gudgodah</i>	— x.	7.	
35	<i>Jotbathah</i> , or			— xxxiii. 33.
	<i>Etebatha</i> , or <i>Elath</i>	{ — ii. 8. 1 K. ix. 26.		
36	<i>Ebrona</i>			— xxxiii. 34.
37	<i>Ezion Geber</i> , or			— xxxiii. 35.
	<i>Dizahab</i>	Deu. i.	1.	
(1609) 40. 1.	{ 38 <i>Kadesh Barnea</i> again, after 38 years }	— ii.	14.	xxxiii. 36.
	<i>Miriam's Death</i>	Nu. xx.	1.	
	Water from the rock <i>Me- ribah Kadesh</i> , (Deut. xxxii. 51.) }	— xx.	13.	
	<i>Moses and Aaron</i> offend }	— xx. 12. — xxvii. 14.		
39	Mount <i>Hor</i> , or <i>Seir</i> , on the edge of <i>Edom</i> }	— xx.	22.	— xxxiii. 37.
40. 5.	<i>Aaron's Death</i>	— xx.	23.	— xxxiii. 38.
	King <i>Arad</i> attacks the <i>Israelites</i> }	— xxi.	1.	
40.	<i>Kibroth Hataavah</i> , or <i>To- phel</i> , again }	Deu. i.	1.	
	41 <i>Zalmonah</i> , or <i>Hashmonah</i> , again }			— xxxiii. 41.

Y. M. D.

	The People bitten by } fiery Serpents }		
	The <i>Brazen Serpent</i> erected	Nu. xxi.	8.
42	<i>Punon</i>		Nu. xxxiii. 42.
43	<i>Oboth</i>	— xxi.	10. — xxxiii. 43.
44	<i>Jim</i> , or <i>Jie Abarim</i> , in the } border of <i>Moab</i> }		— xxxiii. 44.
45	The valley and brook { <i>Zered</i> }	— xxi.	12.
		Deu. ii.	13.
46	<i>Arnon</i>	Nu. xxi.	12.
47	<i>Beer</i> , or <i>Beer Elim</i> }	— xxi.	16
		Isa. xv.	8.
48	<i>Jahaz</i>	Nu. xxi.	23.
49	<i>Heshbon</i>	— xxi.	24.
	<i>Sihon</i> defeated		
50	<i>Jaazer</i>	— xxi.	32.
51	<i>Edrei</i>	— xxi.	33.
	<i>Og</i> defeated		
52	<i>Dibon Gad</i>		— xxxiii. 45.
53	<i>Almon Diblathaim</i>	Ezk. vi.	14. — xxxiii. 46.
54	<i>Mattanah</i>	Nu. xxi.	18.
55	<i>Nahaliel</i>	— xxi.	19.
56	<i>Bamoth</i>	— xxi.	19.
57	<i>Pisgah</i>	— xxi.	20.
58	<i>Abarim</i>		— xxxiii. 47.
59	<i>Shittim</i> , or <i>Abel Shittim</i> , { in the plains of <i>Moab</i> } Idolatry of <i>Baal Peor</i> ..	— xxv. 1. } Jos. iii. 1. }	— xxxiii. 48.
	<i>Midianites</i> punished	— xxv.	17.
	The third <i>Muster</i>	— xxvi.	2.
40. 11. 1.	Last Exhortations of } <i>Moses</i> }	Deu. i.	2.
40. 12. 1.	<i>Joshua</i> appointed his { Successor }	Nu. xxvii. 18. } Deu. xxxiv. 9.	
	Death of <i>Moses</i>	— xxxiv.	5.
	A Month's Mourning ..	— xxxiv.	8.
41. 1. 1.	<i>Joshua</i> sends two Spies	Jos. ii.	1.
41. 1. 10.	60 Passage of the river } <i>Jordan</i> }	— iv.	29.

The chief difficulty in constructing this most ancient, curious, and valuable *Itinerary*, arose 1. From the difference of the names given to the same place; and 2. From the sameness of the names of widely different places.

I. The great sandy desart of *Shur*, which divides *Egypt* from *Palestine*, stretching from the *Mediterranean* to the head of the

Red Sea, at both sides of the latter assumes the name of *Etham*. Thus the third station of the Israelites is called “*Etham*, on the edge of the wilderness,” Exod. xiii. 20. And after passing the Red Sea, they entered “the wilderness of *Shur*,” Exod. xv. 22. But near their landing-place on the eastern coast, *Niebuhr* marks a mountain to the north-east, called *Etti*, evidently from *Etham*. See his Map, Tab. XXIII. *Description de l’Arabie*, p. 352.

This mountain forms the southern termination of the great ridge of mountains, now called *Jebel Te*, which runs in a north-easterly direction, stretching along the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, or *Asphaltic Lake*, towards the head of the *Elanitic*, or eastern gulph of the Red Sea; forming the western boundary of *Arabia Petrea*, and called in Scripture indiscriminately Mount *Hor*, and Mount *Seir*, because it was conquered from the original inhabitants, the *Horites*, Gen. xiv. 6; by *Esau* and his family, Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21; whose eldest son was *Seir*, Deut. ii. 22.

The southern district of *Arabia Petrea* was called in general, “the wilderness of *Zin*,” which name is still given by the inhabitants of *Tor* to the desert in their neighbourhood. The northern and western districts were also called *Paran* and *Kadesh*. Thus the disastrous station of *Kadesh*, named *Barnea*, “son of wandering,” (No. 19.) to which the Israelites returned again, (No. 38.) after thirty-eight years, is said to be in the wilderness of *Zin*, Numb. xiii. 21; and again, on their return, Numb. xx. 1; Deut. xxxii. 51; but in the wilderness of *Paran*, Numb. xii. 16. While in the Itinerary, it is simply called *Rithmah*, signifying “the wilderness,” from *Rethem*, which, according to *Castellus*, signifies *locus desolatorius, desertum*; and properly denotes a plant which flourishes in sandy deserts, called “*Juniper*,” Job xxx. 3, 4; 1 Kings xix. 4, 5; whence it is transferred to signify a desert, like our English word *Heath*, from the plant of that name. This very ingenious conjecture of Bishop *Clayton*, which furnished a clue to the construction of his map, p. 383, is confirmed by the preceding station of *Hazereth*, (No. 18.) which is placed also immediately before *Kadesh-Barnea*, Numb. xii. 16; xiii. 3—26.

2. On the other hand, *Wells*, *Shaw*, the *Universal History*, &c. have greatly perplexed and obscured the geography of this Itinerary, by supposing that the latter *Kadesh* (No. 38.) was distinct from the former (No. 19.) They place the latter on the

western side of Mount *Hor*, towards the land of *Canaan*, confounding it with that *Kadesh*, in the land of the *Philistines*, where *Abraham* sojourned, Gen. xvi. 14; xx. 1. But it evidently lay on the east side of Mount *Hor*; for why should *Moses* send messengers from *Kadesh* to the king of *Edom*, requesting permission to pass through his territories, in the way to *Canaan*, if they were already at the verge of *Palestine*? Numb. xx. 14. Whereas the application was necessary, if his territories lay between. The true situation of *Kadesh* is ascertained beyond a doubt, from its lying between Mount *Hor* and *Eziongeber*, on the *Elanitic* Gulph. Numb. xxxiii. 35—37. And by rectifying this material error, Bishop *Clayton* has restored the true geography of the route.

After leaving *Kadesh Barnea* the first time, where “they abode *many days*,” or years, by the divine appointment, Deut. i. 46. they were ordered “to turn away from the promised land, and take their journey through the wilderness towards the way of the *Red Sea*,” in a south-westerly direction, Deut. ii. 1. And after passing through ten stations, they arrived at *Hashmonah*, (No. 30.) which was the utmost limit of their wanderings in that direction, because *Azmon* (which was evidently the same place) lay at the angle of the southern boundary of the promised land, where it fetched a compass, and ran in a north-westerly direction toward the river of Egypt, and the Great Sea, or *Mediterranean*. Numb. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4. This station, therefore, lay between the western termination of Mount *Hor*, and the head of the Red Sea, near the borders of the desert of *Shur*, or *Etham*.

To this same station, of *Hashmonah*, or *Azmon*, the *Israelites* returned again, after “they had compassed Mount *Seir* many days,” Deut. ii. 1. towards the end of their wanderings for 38 years, but it was now called by a different name in the Itinerary, *Salmonah*, (No. 41.) Its identity, however, is fortunately ascertained by the venerable Septuagint version, which renders *Azmon*, Josh. xv. 4. by the same word, *Σελμωνα*, as here in the Itinerary, Numb. xxxiii. 41. And the change of name is easily accounted for: the original, *צלמנה*, *Tsalmonah*, being evidently derived from *צלם*, *Tsalam*, “an image,” in allusion to the *brazen serpent* erected there by *Moses*.

The fixing these two most important stations of *Kadesh*, or *Rithmah*, and *Hashmonah*, *Azmon*, or *Salmonah*, which we owe

to the ingenuity of the Bishop of *Clogher*, furnishes a satisfactory clue to develop and delineate the mazy labyrinth of the circuitous wanderings of the Israelites for the last thirty-eight years, through the interior of *Arabia Petrea*. For, when they first arrived at *Kadesh*, (No. 19.) they turned westwards towards *Azmon*; then they turned northwards, and again eastwards, till they reached *Elath*, (No. 35.) and *Eziongeber**, (No. 37.) and thence turned southwards and westwards till they reached *Kadesh* again, (No. 38.) thence they proceeded to *Azmon*, now *Salmonah*, again; whence they took their final departure, steering north-east, by the direct course, towards the lands of *Edom* and *Moab*.

The remarkable station, *Kibroth Hataavah*, (No. 40.) signifying "the graves of lust," because there they buried the people that lusted, or longed for flesh to eat, and who were smitten with a plague, while they were satisfying their appetites with the quails, Numb. xi. 4—34. seems also to be denoted by the station *Tophel*, Deut. i. 1. For this word was used by *Job*, in the country of *Arabia*, to denote *insipid* bread made without salt, and compared to the white of an egg for tastelessness, *Job* vi. 6. and thence perhaps was used by the *Israelites* to denote the *manna*, that "light bread which they loathed," and "whose taste resembled that of *fresh oil*." Numb. xi. 8.

By a fortunate discovery, the exact site of *Kibroth Hataavah* seems to be exactly ascertained by *Niebuhr*. In his way from *Suez* to Mount *Sinai*, he was brought by his guides to a lofty and steep mountain in the district of *Beni Legat*, about nineteen German miles from *Suez*, and eleven from the convent of *St. Catherine's*, at Mount *Sinai*. After an hour and half spent in climbing to the summit, he was greatly surprised to see there a superb *Egyptian* cemetery, as he reckoned it, in which were a number of stones of a fine and hard grit (*grais*) from five to seven feet long, and a foot and half, or two feet broad, loaded with hieroglyphics, as beautiful as those of *Egypt*. Some of these stones were standing upright, others overturned or broken. The inscriptions on three of these stones are copied in Plates XLV. and XLVI. of his *Voyage en Arabie*, Tom. I. p. 190. con-

* *Eziongeber*, at the head of the *Elanitic*, or Eastern Gulph of the Red Sea, is now called by the Arabs, *Meenah et Dsahab*, "the port of gold," from *Solomon's* traffic. 1 Kings ix. 26. It was therefore the *Dizahab* of Deut. i. 1.

sisting of birds, serpents, fishes, hares, and *tots*, or human figures, sitting on their hams, some with human, others with dogs' heads. But he observes, as remarkable, that though the figures of *hares* were numerous, which abound in these deserts, there were none to be found of *oxen*, so often found on the obelisks of Egypt.

Besides these, there was an oblong rectangular edifice, about fifty geometrical paces long, and about ten broad, whose walls were standing, containing in its area several of these stones, covered with hieroglyphics. In this edifice were also found busts in the Egyptian style, and architectural ornaments, like those which *Norden* copied in Upper Egypt. At the larger end was a small chamber, the roof of which was still subsisting, supported by a square pillar; and this pillar, as well as the walls around, were covered with hieroglyphics. *Niebuhr* has also given an engraving of the ground-plan of this edifice, which is divided by a cross wall into two equal parts, Plate XLIV. p. 169.

He asks, "Whether these might not be the *graves of lust*, noticed Numb. xi. 34. or else Mount *Hor*, [where *Aaron* was buried.] Numb. xxxiii. 38. But (says he) whether this be a cemetery of the *Israelites*, or of the ancient inhabitants of the country, it fails not to furnish an ample field of speculation for the learned." Tom. I. p. 189—191.

There are no traces in ancient history of any city, formerly subsisting in this part of the desert, which, though not destitute of inhabitants, never could be populous from its barren and sequestered situation. It could not be the tomb of *Aaron*, which was at Mount *Hor*, at a considerable distance: it was therefore most probably at or near *Kibroth Hataavah*, erected by the *Israelites* during their long stay in the neighbourhood of *Kadesh Barnea*, from which it was removed only two stages.

The inscriptions also on these tomb-stones are strikingly *Egyptian*, like them, engraved on hard granite, and abounding in Egyptian *tots*, among the hieroglyphic symbols. The remarkable omission of the *ox*, however, so frequent in *Egypt*, intimates, that they were not the work of *Egyptians*, properly speaking, but rather of the *Israelites*; still smarting with the recollection of the severe chastisement they had received not long before for their idolatry of the *golden calf* at *Sinai*, and not daring to introduce that ominous symbol among the other Egyptian hieroglyphics. These, therefore, might have been the

tomb-stones of the princes of the congregation who perished there. Ps. lxxviii. 31.

The smaller *birds* in the engravings correctly represent the *quails*, which satisfied their longing for flesh meat. The quail of the desert, according to *Hasselquist*, very much resembles the red partridge, but is not larger than the turtle-dove. The Arabs bring many thousands of them to sell at *Jerusalem* about Whitsuntide. *Moses* represents the quails as brought by "a wind from the sea," Numb. xi. 31. which the Psalmist calls "a south-east wind," Psalm lxxviii. 28. The southerly monsoon begins to blow in Egypt about *April*, and brings with it many of the birds of passage, as turtles, quails, &c. flying northwards to more temperate climes, in order to avoid the sultry heats. *Josephus* states, that quails breed in greater numbers than any other birds about the Arabian gulf; and that this extraordinary flight, through fatigue, flew so near the ground, as to be within reach of the Israelites, "two cubits from the face of the earth," or within a yard of the ground, Numb. xi. 31. so that they could easily knock them down, as the *Arabs* do at present, with sticks.

This extraordinary flight of quails spent *two days and a night* in passing, during which the Israelites might have procured a sufficient supply to last them for a whole month, by spreading them "all round about the camp," to dry in the sun, according to the Arab usage. The same hot wind which brought the quails, by its continuance, probably produced sickness and mortality in the camp of the Israelites, as it does at present in *Egypt*, according to *Maillet*.

The quails, therefore, were not *locusts*, as imagined by *Ludolfus*, in his *Ethiopian History*, and adopted by Bishops *Patrick*, *Clayton*, and others; a notion utterly incompatible with the Psalmist's representation of the miracle: "HE rained *flesh* upon them as dust, and *feathered fowls* as the sand of the sea." Ps. lxxviii. 27.

The larger birds in the engravings might also denote the *eagle*, which haunts the deserts of *Arabia*. And from the parent eagle training his young brood to fly, which *Moses* might often have witnessed, was borrowed that inimitable imagery of the *Israelites*, "whom GOD bore on *eagles'* wings, and brought unto himself." Exod. xix. 4.

" HE found him (*Israel*) in a desert land,
And in a waste howling wilderness ;

HE led him about, He instructed him,
 He kept him as the apple of his eye.
 As the *eagle* stirreth up his nestlings,
 Hovereth about his brood,
 Spreadeth abroad his wings,
 Taketh them up,
 Carrieth them upon his shoulder :
 [So] THE LORD alone did lead him ;
 And with HIM was no *strange God*."—Deut. xxxii. 10—12.

Indeed, the minute coincidence of this cemetery, in every respect, with the occurrence at *Kibroth Hataavah*, raises the conjecture almost to a certainty, that this could be no other than that remarkable station, which was no more than three stages from Mount *Sinai*, (No. 14.)

The circumstance which led to this happy discovery of *Niebuhr*, and which serves also to establish the foregoing conjecture, was his curiosity to visit *Jebel al Mokatteb*, "the written mountains," which lay in that neighbourhood, which had been seen and described by the *Prefetto* of Egypt, sent thither by the *Congregation de propagandâ fide* at Rome.

In his journal, published by Bishop *Clayton*, the *Prefetto* observes :—"After passing the mountains of *Faran* [or *Paran*] we came to a large plain surrounded by high hills. These hills are called *Gebel el Mokatab*, which we passed by for an hour together, and found engraved with *ancient unknown characters*, cut into the hard marble rock, and so high, as to be in many places at twelve or fourteen feet above the ground, carved with the greatest care, in a place where there is neither water nor provisions to be procured."

These inscriptions, so carefully engraved, and at such a height, are quite distinct from the trivial memorandums of modern passengers, frequently found in the neighbourhood. They also might have been hieroglyphics of the same nature as those at the cemetery. *Niebuhr*, in his map, places *El Mokatab* next to the Mountain of the Cemetery, westwards, or nearer than it to *Suez*.

The remarkable station of *Rephidim*, in that neighbourhood, (No. 13.) which lay westwards of Mount *Sinai*, (No. 14.) still preserves that wonderful relic of antiquity, the rock of *Massah*, "temptation," and *Meribah*, "chiding," because there "the children of *Israel* tempted the LORD, and chided with *Moses*." Exod. xvii. 2 ; 1 Cor. x. 9. It is thus described by *Pococke* :—

“ This rock is on the foot of Mount *Serich*, and is a red granite stone, fifteen feet long, ten wide, and about twelve high. On both sides of it, towards the south end, and at the top of the stone, for about the breadth of eight inches, it is discoloured, as if by the running of water ; and all down this part, on both sides, and at top, are a sort of openings, or mouths, some of which resemble the lion’s mouth, that is sometimes cut in stone spouts, but appears not to be the work of a tool. There are about twelve on each side, and within every one is a horizontal crack, and in some also a crack down perpendicularly. There is also a crack from one of the mouths next the hill, that extends two or three feet to the north, and all round the south end. The Arabs call this the stone of *Moses*.” *Pococke’s Travels*, p. 148.

Shaw also gives this further description : “ It lies tottering, as it were, and loose, in the middle of the valley ; and seems formerly to have belonged to Mount *Sinai*, which hangs in a variety of precipices all over this plain.”—“ The *Arabs*,” says he, “ who were our guard, were ready to stone me, for attempting to break off a corner of it.”—This enhances the miracle : since the water must have been supplied from the rock itself, and not from the ground, which is detached from it : when “ GOD did cleave the rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink, as out of the great abyss.” Psalm lxxviii. 15.

The famous mountain adjoining is called indiscriminately in Scripture *Horeb* and *Sinai*. The former seems to be the general name of the whole mountain, signifying “ a desert ;” the latter appropriated to its highest summit. Thus the rock at *Rephidim* is called “ the rock in *Horeb*,” Exod. xvii. 6. and “ the law was given in *Horeb*,” Deut. v. 2. but “ from Mount *Sinai*,” Exod. xix. 18—23. *Sinai* is derived from *Sene*, “ a bush,” Exod. iii. 2. or a *bramble* bush.

“ *Sinai*,” says *Sandys*, “ has three tops of a marvellous height ; that on the west side, where God appeared to *Moses* in a bush, fruitful in pasturage ; far lower than the middlemost, and shadowed when the sun riseth thereon ; which is that whereon God gave the law to *Moses*, and which is now called the Mount of *Moses* ; at the foot of which stands the monastery called *St. Catherine’s*, from which there were steps formerly up to the very top of the mountain, and were computed 14,000 in number. At present some of them are broken, but those that remain are well made, and easy to go up and down. There are, in several places

of the ascent, good cisterns, and especially near the top, a fair and good one. The third or most easterly summit, is called by the religious in those parts, Mount *Catherine*; on the top of which there is a dome, under which they say was interred the body of this saint, brought thither by angels after she was beheaded at *Alexandria*." One may judge of the height of St. *Catherine's* Mount, which certainly is not so high as that of *Moses* by a third part, from this circumstance, that *Thevenot* found much snow on both, when he was there, which was in *February*. The monastery of St. *Catherine* is from *Cairo* some eight days' journey over the desarts, according to *Sandys*, p. 96. See *Wells*, Vol. II. p. 105; and *Niebuhr* has given a drawing of the convent of St. *Catherine*, and of the rugged precipices of *Sinai* behind it. Plate XLVII. Tom. I. p. 197.

In one of the roads from the convent of *Sinai* to *Suez*, there is exactly such another stone as the rock of *Massah*, with the same sort of openings all down, and the signs where the water ran. "I was desirous to pass by it on my return (says *Pococke*), but unfortunately was led another way. I asked the Arabs about it, who told me that it was likewise called the stone of *Moses*."—"The way to it is by the valley of *Sheik Salem*, being about sixteen miles from the convent, to the north-west," p. 147. Afterwards, he says, that *Kadesh* was about eight hours north or north-west of Mount *Sinai*, p. 157. The reason, says he, why I am so particular, is because it is said, that this must be the rock *Meribah Kadesh*, Deut. xxxii. 51. which *Moses* smote twice, and the waters came out abundantly, after they had returned into these parts, from *Eziongeber*.

This rock of *Meribah Kadesh*, therefore, furnishes an additional land-mark for determining the important station of *Kadesh Barnea* with geographical accuracy.

When thirty-eight years were expired from the time of the rebellion at *Kadesh Barnea*, or thirty-nine and a half from the *Exode*, the LORD said unto *Moses*, "Ye have compassed this mountain (*Hor* or *Seir*) long enough; turn you northward." Deut. ii. 2, 3.

From inspection of the map, it appears that the Israelites were at this time encamped at *Zalmonah*, (No. 41.) their farthest station in the south-west direction; where the murmurers were destroyed by fiery flying serpents, and the faithful saved or cured by looking at the *brazen serpent*, that wondrous emblem of

CHRIST crucified, to which our Lord himself alludes:—"As *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must THE SON OF MAN be lifted up:"—"And I, if I be lifted up, *will draw all men unto me,*" John iii. 14 ; xii. 32 ; so finely foretold by *Isaiah*, "Lift up a standard to the nations ! Lo, the Lord hath proclaimed to the end of the earth, Say ye to the daughter of *Sion*, Lo, thy Saviour cometh !" Isa. lxii. 10.

In marching northwards, they were ordered not to molest the kindred nations of the *Edomites* and *Moabites*, through whose territories they were obliged to pass. Deut. ii. 4—9. At first, indeed, the *Edomites* refused them a passage, and actually came out to oppose them by force, whereupon "*Israel* turned away from them." Numb. xx. 14—21. The *Moabites* also probably refused them at this time, for both refusals are noticed together, Judg. xi. 17. Afterwards, however, the Lord interposed, and made them afraid of the *Israelites*, for the *Edomites* did not obstruct their passage through the several stations of *Punon* (No. 42.) and *Oboth*, (No. 43.) by the way of the plains of *Eloth* and *Eziongeber**, or by the way of the Red Sea, not far from the head of the *Elanitic* gulph. Numb. xxi. 4—10 ; Deut. ii. 29.

At the next station, *Jim*, or *Jie Abarim*, (No. 44.) they reached the borders of *Moab*, and next passed the valley and brook *Zered*, (No. 45.) and went quietly on through *Ar*, in the territory of *Moab*, and pitched over against the children of *Ammon*, on the other side of *Arnon*, (No. 46.) Numb. xxi. 12—15 ; Deut. ii. 13—19. "The other side of *Arnon*," was the south side of the river *Arnon*, which they did not pass over till after the prohibition not to molest the *Ammonites*, Deut. ii. 19—24. *Moses*, therefore, wrote the book of *Numbers* on the north side of the river, after the conquest of *Sihon*, king of the *Amorites*, who had refused them a peaceable passage through his territories, Deut. ii. 26—34. as judiciously observed by *Clayton*, p. 422.

Their next station was *Beer*, (No. 47.) or *Beer Elim*, "the well of the princes," as it is called by *Isaiah*, xv. 8 ; because there God supplied them with water. "Then *Israel* sang this song : Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it : The princes digged the well, the nobles digged it with their staves, by [the direction of] the lawgiver," (*Moses*.) Numb. xxi. 16—18.

At the next station, *Jahaz*, (No. 48.) they overthrew *Sihon*,

* *Eziongeber* was two days' journey from Mount *Sinai*, according to *Shaw* ; but three days' journey, according to *Pococke*.

and all his people, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and took all his cities from *Aroer*, which is by the brink of the river *Arnon* (southwards) and *Heshbon*, his capital city, in the valley between *Arnon* and *Jabbok*, even unto *Gilead* (northwards). Numb. xxi. 23—32; Deut. ii. 32—36.

It was now indeed that "God began to put the dread and fear of the *Israelites*" upon all the neighbouring nations, Deut. ii. 25. and that he hardened the spirit of *Sihon*, and made his heart obstinate to refuse them a passage. For this whole territory of his was an usurpation, he having subdued the *Moabites*, the original possessors, and seized all their lands and cities, *Heshbon*, *Ar*, *Dibon*, from *Arnon* even to *Medeba*, as recorded in a proverb, or popular song. Numb. xxi. 26—30; Deut. ii. 30, 31.

Then the *Israelites* turned away from the *Ammonites*, eastwards, to attack *Og*, the king of *Bashan*, who had joined *Sihon* against them, Deut. xxix. 7. and defeated him and all his people at *Edrei*, (No. 51.) "And they took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the *Amorites* (*Sihon* and *Og*), all their land on this (the eastern) side of *Jordan*, from the river *Arnon* (southwards) unto Mount *Hermon*" (northwards), Deut. iii. 8. which was bounded eastwards by the wilderness of *Kedemoth* (signifying "eastern"), that great wilderness which reached to the river *Euphrates*, Deut. ii. 26; Judg. xi. 22. and westwards, by the land of the *Ammonites*, and the remnant of the land of the *Moabites*; from which it was separated by a great chain of mountains, which formed, "a strong border," or barrier, which *Sihon* could not force, Numb. xxi. 24. This mountainous border, therefore, separated these eastern *Amorites* from the western, beyond *Jordan*, and also from the plains of *Moab*, on the coasts of *Jordan*, which belonged to the *Moabites*, *Midianites*, and *Ammonites* conjointly; according to the judicious interpretation of this detached part of their journey, which is not noticed in the Itinerary by *Clayton*. P. 425—429.

These conquered lands, and "cities of the plain," being fit for pasturage, were allotted, at their own request, to the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh*, which abounded in cattle, on the condition of their assisting the other tribes in the conquest of the promised land, westwards of the *Jordan*. Numb. xxxii. 1—42; Deut. iii. 8—20.

Hence the fifty-second station is called in the Itinerary,

Dibon Gad, as belonging to that tribe, in order to distinguish it from another *Dibon*, belonging to the *Reubenites*, Josh. xiii. 7.

Dibon Gad was on the northern border of the territories of *Sihon*, Numb. xxi. 30. thence they turned back again to *Almon Diblathaim*, (No. 53.) or *Diblath*, on the edge of the wilderness of *Kedemoth*, Ezek. vi. 14. from thence they proceeded southwards to *Mattanah*, (No. 54.) from thence westwards to *Nahaleel*, (No. 55.) from thence, in the same direction, to *Bamoth*, (No. 56.) in the valley belonging to *Moab*, into which they entered peaceably, and proceeded northwards again to the top of *Pisgah*, (No. 57.) which looked towards the wilderness, eastwards. N. B. These last three stations lay in the mountains of *Abarim*, before *Nebo*, Numb. xxxiii. 47. From thence they crossed the mountains, westward, and pitched in the plains of *Moab*, on this side *Jordan* (or the eastern), opposite to *Jericho*, and abode in *Shittim*, or, as it was afterwards called, *Abel Shittim*, or "the mourning of *Shittim*," from the slaughter of the *Israelites* there for their whoredoms and idolatry with the daughters of *Moab* and *Midian*, in the matter of *Baal Peor*; which was the same as *Chemosh*, the obscene divinity of the *Moabites*, the *Lingam* of the *Hindus*, the *Phallus* of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, and the *Priapus* of the *Romans*; representing the generative powers of nature residing principally in *Baal*, the Sun.

To punish the *Moabites* and *Midianites* for seducing the *Israelites*, a severe retaliation was inflicted: a party of twelve thousand men was sent under the conduct of the zealous *Phineas*, who slew all their males of the age of puberty, and all their women that were not virgins, burnt their cities, and spoiled their goods, Numb. xxxi. 6—18. And now their lands also were distributed among the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, Josh. xiii. 32. which, before their transgressions, had been reserved; and a law was made, that no *Moabite* or *Ammonite* should be admitted into the magistracy, or the freedom of the congregation of *Israel*, until the tenth generation. Deut. xxiii. 10.

PASSAGE OF THE RIVER JORDAN BY THE ISRAELITES.

This miraculous passage was performed on the tenth day of the first month, wanting only five days to complete forty years from the day the Israelites left Egypt, on the fifteenth day of the first month. Numb. xxxiii. 3; Josh. iv. 19.

The circumstances attending it were as follows :—

The Ark of the Covenant, by the Divine direction, was borne by the priests before the body of the people on their march, about 2000 cubits, or 1000 yards. As soon as the feet of the priests had touched the brim of the waters of the river, which then was swollen, and overflowed its banks, about “*barley harvest*,” or about the vernal equinox, from the melting of the snows on *Hermon*, *Antilibanus*, and the mountains of Syria; immediately the waters recoiled upwards, stood on heaps, and went backwards a considerable way, while the lower waters pursued their course to the *Dead Sea*, leaving the channel dry.

Then the priests, bearing the Ark, entered the bed of the river, and stood still when they had reached the middle, while the congregation hastily passed over below them, at the same distance of 2000 cubits; and as soon as the people had all passed over, then the priests proceeded also with the Ark to the further bank. And immediately, when the soles of their feet touched the dry land, the suspended waters of the river above returned to their place, and overflowed the banks as usual. Josh. iii. 6—17.

The passage of this deep and rapid, though not wide river, at the most unfavourable season, was more manifestly miraculous, if possible, than that of the *Red Sea*; because here was no natural agency whatsoever employed; no mighty wind to sweep a passage, as in the former case; no reflux of the tide, on which minute philosophers might fasten to depreciate the miracle. It seems, therefore, to have been providentially designed to silence cavils respecting the former; and it was done in the noon-day, in the face of the sun, and in the presence, we may be sure, of the neighbouring inhabitants; and struck terror into the kings of the *Amorites* and *Canaanites*, westwards of the river, “*whose hearts melted, neither was there any spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.*” Josh. v. 1.

To record this memorable event to the latest posterity, *Joshua* was commanded to erect two monuments of twelve stones each, taken out of the bed of the river; the one upon the bank, the other in the middle of the channel, where the priests had rested with the Ark. And the ford, or place of passage, was called *Beth Abara*, "the house of the passage," until our Saviour's time." Josh. iv. 8, 9; John i. 18.

BOUNDARIES OF THE PROMISED LAND.

By the *Abrahamic* covenant, the original grant of this land to the *Israelites* was "from the river of *Egypt* (southwards) to the great river, the river *Euphrates*," (northwards.) Gen. xv. 18.

"The river of *Egypt*," which is here contrasted with the river *Euphrates*, must also be "a great river," and a marked boundary, about which there could be no dispute; and this was no other than the river *Nile*, whose eastern or *Pelusiatic* branch was reckoned the boundary of *Egypt*, towards the great desert of *Shur*, which lies between *Egypt* and *Palestine*, and which is about ninety miles in breadth; and this is confirmed by a comparison of parallel passages:

From the entering in of *Hamath* [in *Syria*, northwards] unto the river of *Egypt*, [southwards] 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Chron. vii. 8. evidently corresponds to, "From *Sihor* of *Egypt*, to the entering in of *Hamath*," 1 Chron. xiii. 5. Therefore, "*Sihor*," and "the river of *Egypt*," are the same. But it appears from another passage, that *Sihor* was the *Nile*: "And now what hast thou to do in the way of *Egypt*, to drink the waters of *Sihor*? or, what hast thou to do in the way of *Assyria*, to drink the waters of the river?" (*Euphrates*.) Jer. ii. 18. Here *Sihor*, or the *Nile*, is plainly contrasted, in situation, with the *Euphrates*, which was unquestionably the river of *Assyria*, as in the original *Abrahamic* covenant.

The Hebrew name, *Sihor*, signifies "black;" and it is an apt epithet of the *Nile*, bringing down with its flood from *Abyssinia*, a rich, black, loamy sand, which fertilizes the Lower Egypt, as accurately described by *Virgil*:—

Et viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fecundat arenâ.

Georg. IV. 291.

From *Sihor*, or *Sihr*, was derived the Ethiopian name of the river *Siris*; and this was translated into various languages. *Dio-*

dorus remarks, that the *Egyptian* name of the river was *Okeames*, from *Okema*, or *Okem*, signifying “black;” whence also it was styled by the *Greeks*, *Melas* and *Melo*, and by the *Hindus*, “*Cali* :” all of the same import.

From a solitary passage in the Septuagint version, rendering “the stream, or the river of *Egypt*,” Isa. xxvii. 12. by “*Rhincorura*,” a city of *Palestine Syria*, built on the borders of the desert which separates that country from *Egypt*, it has been supposed to denote a stream or torrent near that city, by *Augustine*, and by some respectable modern geographers, *Wells*, *Cellarius*, *Bochart*, &c. But none of the old geographers, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, &c. notice any such stream or torrent there; and even admitting that there was, it would not deserve to be contrasted with the *Euphrates*.

II. The boundaries of the Promised Land are thus accurately described by *Moses* before the entrance of the *Israelites* into it, Numb. xxxiv. “When ye come into the land of *Canaan*, (this is the land that shall fall unto you for an *inheritance*, even the land of *Canaan*, with the coasts thereof :) Your *south quarter* shall be from the wilderness of *Zin*, along by the coast of *Edom*,” or *Idumæa*. This was its general description. The boundary itself is next traced: “And your south border shall be the utmost coast of the *Salt Sea* eastward;” or as explained by *Joshua’s* description afterwards, (xv. 2—4.) “the south border of the tribe of *Judah* began from the bay of the *Salt Sea* that looketh southward;” or by combining both, from the south-east corner of the *Salt Sea*, or *Asphaltite* lake. “From thence, your border shall turn southwards to the ascent of *Acrabbim*,” or the mountains of *Accaba*, (signifying “ascent” in Arabic) which run towards the head of the *Elanitic*, or Eastern gulf of the Red Sea; passing (we may presume, with *Clayton*) through the sea-ports of *Elath* and *Eziongeber*, on the Red Sea, which belonged to *Solomon*, 1 Kings ix. 26. though they are not noticed in this place.

“Thence it shall pass on to [the wilderness of] of *Zin*,” on the east side of Mount *Hor*, including that whole mountainous region within the boundary; “and the going forth thereof shall be to *Kadesh Barnea* southwards; and it shall go on to *Hazar Addar**, and pass on to *Azmon*.”

* *Joshua* (xv. 3.) interposes two additional stations, *Hezron* and *Kirkaa*, before and after *Adar*, or *Hazer Adar*, which are not noticed by *Moses*.

“And the border shall fetch a compass,” or form an angle, “from *Azmon*,” or turn westwards “towards the river of *Egypt*,” or *Pelusiac* branch of the Nile; “and its outgoings shall be at the sea,” the *Mediterranean*.

This termination of the southern border westwards, is exactly conformable to the accounts of *Herodotus* and *Pliny*: the former represents Mount *Casius* lying between *Pelusium* and the *Sirbonic* lake, as the boundary between *Egypt* and *Palestine Syria*, (3, 5.) the latter reckoned the *Sirbonic* lake itself as the boundary, (Nat. Hist. 5, 13.)

“And as for the western border, ye shall have the Great Sea for a border. This shall be your west border.” The Great Sea is the *Mediterranean*, as contrasted with the smaller seas or lakes, the *Red Sea*, the *Salt Sea*, and the sea of *Tiberias*, or *Galilee*.

And this shall be your north border: from the Great Sea you shall point out *Hor ha-hor*, (not “Mount *Hor*,” as unskilfully rendered in our English Bible, confounding it with that on the southern border, but) “the mountain of the mountain *,” or, “the double mountain,” or Mount *Lebanon*, which formed the northern frontier of *Palestine*, dividing it from *Syria*; consisting of two great parallel ranges, called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, (derived from *Leban*, “white,” because their summits are usually covered with snow) and running eastwards from the neighbourhood of *Sidon* to that of *Damascus*.

“From *Hor ha-hor* ye shall point your border to the entrance of *Hamath* ;” which *Joshua*, speaking of the yet unconquered land, describes, “All *Lebanon*, towards the sun-rising, from (the valley of) *Baal Gad*, under Mount *Hermon*, unto the entrance of *Hamath*,” Josh. xiii. 5. This demonstrates, that *Hor ha-hor* corresponded to all *Lebanon*, including Mount *Hermon*, as judiciously remarked by *Wells*, Vol. II. p. 271. who observes, that it is not decided which of the two ridges, the northern or the southern, was properly *Libanus*; the natives at present call the southern so, but the Septuagint and *Ptolomy* called it *Antilibanus*.

“From *Hamath* it shall go on to *Zedad*, and from thence to *Ziphron*, and the goings out of it shall be at *Hazar Enan*,

* The Septuagint Version has judiciously rendered it, *παρα το ορος το ορος*, “the mountain beside the mountain.”

(near *Damascus*, Ezek. xlviii. 1.) This shall be your north border."

And ye shall point out your east border from *Hazar Enan* to *Shephan*, and the coast shall go down to *Riblah*, on the east side of *Ain* ("the fountain" or springs of the river *Jordan*) and the border shall descend, and shall reach unto the [east] side of the sea of *Chinnereth*, (or sea of *Galilee*, or lake of *Tiberias*, thence probably called *Gennesareth* in our Saviour's time.) "And the border shall go down to *Jordan* on the east side, and the goings out of it shall be at the *Salt Sea*." There it met the southern border, at the south-east corner of that sea, or the *Asphaltite* lake.

"This shall be your land with the coasts thereof round about" in circuit.

Such was the admirable geographical chart of the Land of Promise, dictated to *Moses* by the GOD OF ISRAEL, and described with all the accuracy of an eye-witness.

In his first expedition, *Joshua* subdued all the southern department of the Promised Land, and in his second the northern, having spent five years in both, Josh. xi. 18. What *Joshua* left unfinished of the conquest of the whole, was afterwards completed by *David* and *Solomon*. In the reign of the latter was realized the *Abrahamic* covenant in its full extent.

"And *Solomon* reigned over all the kingdoms from the river (*Euphrates*) unto the land of the *Philistines*, and the border of *Egypt*:—for he had dominion over all the region on this side of the river (*Euphrates*) from *Tipsah* (or *Thapsacus*, situated thereon) even to *Azzah* (or "*Gaza* with her towns and villages, unto the river of *Egypt*," southward, "and the Great Sea," westward, Josh. xv. 47.) even over all the kings on this side the river (*Euphrates*.) 1 Kings iv. 21—24.

THE DEVOTED NATIONS OF CANAAN.

Four hundred years before the event, the fate of these nations was revealed to *Abraham*. The long-suffering of God waited so long, "till their iniquities should come to the full." Gen. xv. 16. It was for the wickedness of these nations they were expelled; and the *Israelites* were put in possession of their land, not for their own righteousness or merits, for they were a *stiff-necked*

people, but to perform the covenant which GOD made with their fathers, *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*. Deut. ix. 4—6.

These nations had repeated warnings from God, to repent and reform their evil ways, in an awful succession of judgments, signs, and wonders, inflicted on the neighbouring nations for their wickedness. First, in the signal destruction of the cities of the plain, *Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim*, by the immediate vengeance of Heaven, destroyed by fire and brimstone, or lightning, and overwhelmed by the *Salt Sea*: Secondly, in the plagues of Egypt, and destruction of the Egyptians in the *Red Sea*, forty years before, for abominations resembling their own, Levit. xviii. 3. Thirdly, in the recent destruction of their neighbours, the Eastern *Amorites*, and the miraculous passage of the river *Jordan*. All these terrified, but did not reform them.

“I know,” said *Rahab*, the harlot, to the spies, “that the LORD hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that the inhabitants of the land faint because of you,” Josh. ii. 9. The *Gibeonites*, in excuse for deceiving the *Israelites* into a league, pleaded, “It was certainly told thy servants, that THE LORD THY GOD commanded *Moses* to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you: therefore we were sore afraid of our lives because of you, and have done this thing,” Josh. ix. 24. Here was no charge of cruelty or injustice brought forward by these sinners themselves, who are such objects of commiseration to modern philanthropists!

In *Abraham's* days, the land was occupied by ten nations: the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, and the *Kadmonites*, eastwards of *Jordan*; and westwards, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaims*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Girgashites*, and the *Jebusites*, Gen. xv. 18—21.

These latter, in the days of *Moses*, were called, the *Hittites*, the *Girgashites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hivites*, and the *Jebusites*, Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10; xxiv. 11; the *Hivites* being substituted for the *Rephaims*.

These seven nations were thus distributed:—

“The *Hittites*,” or sons of *Heth*, “the *Perizzites*, the *Jebusites*, and the *Amorites*, dwelt in the mountains,” or in the hill country of *Judea*, southwards; “the *Canaanites*” dwelt in the midland, “by the sea,” westwards, and “by the coast of *Jordan*,” eastwards; and “the *Girgashites*,” or *Gergesenes*, along the

eastern side of the sea of *Galilee*; and “the *Hivites*” in Mount *Lebanon*, under *Hermon*, in the land of *Mispeh*, or *Gilead*, northwards. Compare Numb. xiii. 29; Josh. xi. 3; Judg. iii. 3; and Matt. viii. 28.

The *Canaanites*, as distinguished by the family name from the other tribes, called after the sons of *Canaan*, probably were a mixture of the descendants of the other sons of *Canaan*, who were driven out of their original settlements by the *Philistines*, who occupied *Gaza*, which belonged to them, Gen. x. 15—20. and forced to settle farther backwards, towards the coasts of *Jordan*, according to the conjecture of *Wells*, Vol. II. p. 256—267.

Of all these nations, the *Amorites* grew the most powerful, so as to extend their conquests, beyond the river *Jordan*, over the *Kadmonites*, or “Easterns.” Hence they are sometimes put for the whole: “The iniquity of the *Amorites* is not yet full, Gen. xv. 16. “The gods of the *Amorites*, in whose land ye dwell,” Josh. xxiv. 15. “The *Gibeonites* were of the remnant of the *Amorites*,” 2 Sam. xxi. 2.

The departments of *Canaan*, lying nearer to *Egypt*, were more corrupt than the northern, and of course received severer chastisement. For “*Joshua* smote all the country of the *hills*, and of the *south*, and of the *vale*, and of the *springs*, and all their kings. He left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded. So *Joshua* smote them from *Kadesh Barnea*, (eastwards) even unto *Gaza*, (westwards) and all the country of *Goshen*, (southwards) even unto *Gibeon*, (northwards.”) Josh. x. 40, 41.

The Divine command, indeed, was most express: “Of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, *thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them.*” Deut. xx. 16, 17.

Still, however, the command was not absolute; it admitted of exceptions; it was to be literally inflicted only on those who opposed the *Israelites*.

Thus, 1. Amidst the general slaughter of the inhabitants of *Jericho*, *Rahab*, the harlot, and all her family, were spared; and she was even married to one of the princes, the prince of *Judah* (*Salmon*) the progenitor of CHRIST, Matt. i. 5. though intermarriages with the devoted nations were most expressly prohibited, in order to prevent seduction to idolatry. Deut. vii. 3, 4.

2. The *Gibeonites*, after the destruction of *Jericho* and *Ai*, in

their neighbourhood, would not oppose the Israelites, but made a fraudulent league with them, under pretext that they came from a distant country, lying beyond the devoted pale, and yet, notwithstanding the fraud, the princes of the congregation adhered to the treaty, and *let them live, lest wrath should be upon them* if they violated it; but they degraded them to a state of slavery.

3. The “cities which *stood still in their strength*,” or did not attack the Israelites, “*Israel burned none of them*,” Josh. xi. 13. Hence, the strong fort of *Jebus*, at *Jerusalem*, was maintained by the *Jebusites*, the original proprietors, and was not reduced until *David's* reign, 2 Sam. v. 5—9. and the remnant who escaped the slaughter in battle entered into *fenced cities*. Josh. x. 20.

4. How soon the conquered countries recruited their strength, is evident from the several servitudes of the Israelites to the *Moabites*, *Canaanites*, and *Midianites*. *Jabin*, king of *Canaan*, only fifty-six years after *Joshua's* death, had no less than 900 chariots of iron, and mightily oppressed the children of *Israel* for twenty years. Judg. iv. 2, 3.

5. The *Philistines*, on the sea-coast southwards, were not subdued till *David's* days; and the *Sidonians* and *Tyrians*, northwards, never were subdued at all.

6. The case of the reprobate *Canaanites*, whose hearts GOD is said to have hardened to fight against the Israelites, that He might destroy them utterly, and *that they might have no favour*, Josh. xi. 20. plainly intimates, that they might have had *favour*, had they repented, and submitted.

7. But when the reprobates were destroyed, the survivors might, and probably did, in many instances, repent and reject their idolatries, and turn to the LORD GOD OF ISRAEL. And this seems to be implied in the remark, that “*none moved his tongue against the children of Israel*,” Josh. x. 20. But if so, every principle of religion and sound policy forbad their extermination, when they might become proselytes to the true religion, and faithful subjects. *Uriah*, the *Hittite*, was as brave and loyal an officer as any in *David's* army; and *Araunah*, the *Jebusite*, as religious as *David* himself, when he surrendered, as “a king,” or as proprietor, his threshing-floor on Mount *Moriah*, to build thereon an altar of sacrifice, on the future site of the temple. 2 Sam. xxiv. 23.

Hence we do not find any censure passed on *Solomon*, when “ he levied a tribute of bond service upon all the people that were left of the *Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites*—their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were *not able* utterly to destroy,” 1 Kings ix. 20, 21. as specified of the *Jews, Benjamites, Manassites, Ephraimites, Zebulonites, Asherites, Naphthalites, and Danites*, Judg. i. 19—34.

There is no foundation, therefore, for the charges of extreme cruelty and injustice, brought idly and blasphemously against the God of Israel, and his chosen people, as if the case of the devoted nations of *Canaan* was irreconcilable with the Divine Attributes, and with the rights of nations, by *Deists, Infidels, and false Philanthropists*. If blame is to attach any where, it is to the *Israelites*; when able, they were *not willing* to inflict the Divine sentence on the justly-devoted nations, who “ served *Baalim* and *Ashteroth*,” or the sun, moon, and stars; who made their children pass through the fire, or burnt them alive as sacrifices to *Moloch*; who worshipped obscene idols, as *Baal-peor, Chemosh, &c.* who practised the most execrable vices and impurities, not fit to be named, of which a frightful catalogue is exhibited, Levit. xviii. and elsewhere; and whose abominations were so enormous, that the land itself, in the energetic language of Scripture, vomited forth her inhabitants! And from this criminal neglect and false compassion, “ these nations were left to be *pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides*,” so as by tempting the *Israelites* to follow their abominations, to transfer that vengeance to themselves which was intended for the others. Numb. xxxiii. 53—56.

OTHER NATIONS OF CANAAN.

Besides these devoted nations, there were others settled in the land at the arrival of the *Israelites*. In addition to the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, the descendants of the incestuous sons of *Lot*, Gen. xix. 37, 38. and the *Midianites*, descended from *Midian*, a son of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, Gen. xxv. 4. who lived together on the east side of *Jordan*; the *Edomites*, or descendants of *Esau*, settled southwards of the former in Mount *Hor, or Seir*; the *Amalekites* settled in the south coast, westwards of *Jordan*, descended from *Amalek*, grandson of *Esau*, Gen. xxxvi. 12. who

soon became “*the first*,” or most powerful, “*of these nations*,” Numb. xxiv. 20. and first opposed the *Israelites* after the Exode, but were defeated and doomed to destruction, Exod. xvii. 8—16. which was begun by *Saul*, and finished by *David*; the *Kenites*, a small mountainous tribe, their neighbours, who were at peace with the *Israelites*, and seem to have been a branch of the *Midianites*, for the father-in-law of *Moses* was a *Kenite*, Judg. i. 16. and also a *Midianite*, Numb. x. 29. they were, therefore, spared in the destruction of the *Amalekites*, 1 Sam. xv. 6; the *Kenizzites*, another small neighbouring tribe, descended probably from *Kenaz*, a grandson of *Esau*, Gen. xxxvi. 11; and the *Avims*, or *Avites*, on the south-west coast, in *Abraham's* days, of whom was *Abimelech*, king of *Gerar*, who were afterwards subdued by the *Philistines*, “or Shepherds,” expelled from *Caphtor*, or the Lower Egypt, from the land of *Goshen*, in *Jacob's* days. The *Philistines* became a powerful nation, and the most formidable opponents of the *Israelites*, and rescued from them *Gaza*, *Ashkelon*, and *Ekron*, which had been allotted to, and taken by the tribe of *Judah*, after *Joshua's* death. They had constant wars with the *Israelites*, and were not subdued till *David's* days. Compare Deut. ii. 23; Josh. xiii. 3; Gen. xxvi. 1; Judg. i. 18, &c.

On the north-west coast was *Great Zidon*, as it is styled, Josh. xi. 8. founded by the eldest son of *Canaan*, Gen. x. 15. whom the *Asherites* could not expel nor reduce, Judg. i. 31. And “*the strong city of Tyre*,” a colony from *Zidon*, which they were also not able to reduce, Josh. xix. 29. not even in *David's* days, 2 Sam. xxiv. 7. These entered into treaties with the *Israelites*, and greatly corrupted them by their idolatries and abominations. *Ahab*, king of *Israel*, married *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Ethbaal*, king of the *Zidonians*, who introduced the worship of *Baal*, or the Sun, 1 Kings xvi. 31. And even *Solomon* introduced the worship of *Ashtoreth* or the Moon, the goddess of the *Zidonians*, 1 Kings xi. 5.

DIVISION OF THE PROMISED LAND.

The whole land appears to have been called *Palestine* in the days of *Moses*, Exod. xv. 14. probably from *Palisthan*, signifying “Shepherd land,” in the *Sanscrit* language, which is a dialect of the ancient Syriac. By *Herodotus* it was called *Palestine*

Syria, to distinguish it from *Cæle-Syria*, northward of Mount *Libanus*.

It was styled, in general, "*the pleasant land*," Ps. cvi. 24; Dan. viii. 9. and is described by *Moses*, as "a good land, a land of hills and valleys, a land of brooks and waters, and depths, (or lakes) springing out of valleys and hills; a land flowing with milk and honey; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates, and oil olives; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." Deut. viii. 7—9; xi. 9—11. And *Rabshakeh*, the *Assyrian*, describes it as like his own, "a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards," Isa. xxxvi. 17. It must, indeed, have been a wonderfully rich and fertile land to produce its immense population, both before and after the conquest of the *Israelites*.

Before the death of *Moses*, the region eastward of *Jordan* was assigned to the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Half-Manasseh*, in order, proceeding from south to north.

After the conquests of *Joshua*, the region westward of the river *Jordan*, and its lakes, was allotted to the tribes of *Simeon*, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, in order, from south to north, of which *Judah's* portion was the most considerable.

The northern region, midland, was allotted to the tribes of *Ephraim*, the other half of *Manasseh*, *Issachar*, and *Naphthali*; of which the lot of the sons of *Joseph*, especially *Ephraim*, was the richest and most considerable, reaching from *Jordan*, eastwards, to the *Mediterranean* Sea, westwards.

The remainder of the maritime coast, westwards, was allotted to *Dan*, *Zebulon*, and *Asher*; from the *Philistine* border, southwards, to *Zidon*, northwards; for *Zebulon* was foretold to be a maritime tribe by *Jacob*, Gen. xlix. 13. "*Zebulon* shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven for ships, and his border shall be unto *Zidon*." And *Dan* and *Asher* are declared to be so by *Deborah*, Judg. v. 17. "*Dan* remained in ships, *Asher* continued on the sea shore, and abode in his breaches."

Of the southern tribes, the most powerful was *Judah*; of the northern, *Ephraim*; whence originated a jealousy and rivalry between the two, which broke out early, and laid the foundation of that fatal schism which took place on the death of *Solomon*, by the revolt of the ten tribes, brought about by *Jeroboam*, the *Ephraimite*, who revived the Egyptian idolatry of the *golden calf*, and stationed one at each end of the new kingdom, at

Bethel southwards, and *Dan* northwards, formerly called *Lasha*, or *Laish*.

To the tribe of *Levi* no division of land was assigned: its place was supplied by the tribe of *Ephraim*, the younger of *Joseph's* sons, Josh. xiv. 4. But it was abundantly compensated; "for the *priesthood of THE LORD* was their inheritance;" and they were most wisely distributed throughout the rest of the tribes, to keep up the national worship, and for the education of youth; for forty-eight cities were appropriated throughout all the tribes for the residence of the three families of the sons of *Levi*, namely, *Kohath*, *Gershon*, and *Merari*.

To the *Kohathites* were allotted twenty-three cities; namely, to the sons of *Aaron*, the high-priest, descended from *Kohath*, thirteen cities out of the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Simeon*; and to the rest of that family, ten more out of the tribes of *Ephraim*, *Dan*, and *Half-Manasseh*, westwards.

To the children of *Gershon*, thirteen cities out of the tribes of *Issachar*, *Asher*, and *Naphthali*, and out of *Half-Manasseh*, eastwards.

And to the children of *Merari*, twelve cities out of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Zebulon*. In all forty-eight cities.

Of these *Levitical* cities, there were thirteen that were properly *sacerdotal*; namely, those assigned to the sons of *Aaron*, to whom the priesthood was exclusively confined, for though all were *Levites*, these only could be *priests*. And the legal economy of *High-priest*, *Priest*, and *Levite*, has been adopted in the Christian, of *Bishop*, *Priest*, and *Deacon*.

It is remarkable, that all the *sacerdotal* cities lay within the southern tribes; eight belonging to *Judah*, four to *Benjamin*, which are specified, and only one to *Simeon*. Compare the lists in Joshua, xxi. 13—19; and 1 Chron. vi. 60. That one must have been *Juttah*, which is omitted in the latter list. And this may furnish a good comparative estimate of the territory of each of these tribes.

This was wisely allotted by Providence, to guard, as it were, against the evils of the schism between the southern and northern tribes. For by this arrangement, all the sacerdotal cities, except one, lay in the faithful tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, to keep up the national worship in them, in opposition to the apostacy of the other tribes. And even that one sacerdotal city of *Simeon* might have remained under the controul of *Judah*, as

being situated on his frontier. Otherwise, the kingdom of *Judah* might have experienced a scarcity of priests, or have been burthened with the maintenance of those who fled from the kingdom of *Israel*, 2 Chron. xi. 13, 14. when the base and wicked policy of *Jeroboam* made priests of *the lowest of the people*, without learning or religion, to officiate in their room.

Out of all the *Levitical* cities, six were selected to be *cities of refuge*, that “the slayer who killed any person unawares, might flee thither for refuge from the avenger of blood,” Josh. xx. 2. Of these, three were in the eastern departments, and three in the western, placed in the most convenient stations in the middles and extremities of the united states.

In tracing the route of the *Israelites* through the desarts of *Arabia Petræa*, in their way to *Canaan*, some confusion was occasioned by the similitude of the names of different places, or by the difference of the names assigned to the same places. Several instances of the same occur in the subsequent course of their history. To instance a few:—

1. Besides Mount *Hermon*, on the northern frontier, which was a branch of Mount *Lebanon*, as we have seen, there was another, midland, which lay to the south of Mount *Tabor*, not far from *Nazareth*, Ps. lxxxix. 12. celebrated for its copious dews, Ps. cxxxiii. 3. “We were sufficiently instructed of this by experience,” says that intelligent traveller, *Maundrel*, “our tents being wet with it, as if it had rained all night.” (March 22,) p. 74.

2. From the eastern end of *Lebanon* also, branched off a southern ridge, which inclosed “the land of *Mizpeh*,” called also “the land of *Gilead*,” from the convention made there between *Jacob* and *Laban*, his father-in-law. Gen. xxxi. 48. Hence, *Ramoth Mizpeh*, Josh. xiii. 26, appears to be the same as *Ramoth Gilead*, Josh. xx. 8; which latter name at length superseded the former.

3. A considerable *Geographical* difficulty, which has greatly embarrassed commentators, may be easily removed by a slight alteration of the arrangement of the translation: thus:

“When the *Midianites* from the east had crossed the river *Jordan*, to invade the western tribes, *Gideon*, who followed them from *Gilead*, by the Divine command, dismissed the greater part of his army by proclamation: “Whosoever, from Mount *Gilead*, is fearful and afraid, let him return [home], and depart

JERUSALEM AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Mount of
Temptation

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early. So there returned [home] twenty-two thousand of the people." Judges vii. 3. The present translation is: "Who-soever is fearful or afraid, let him return and depart early from Mount *Gilead*. And there returned of the people twenty and two thousand." To solve the difficulty of departing *from* Mount *Gilead*, another mount of the same name has been introduced on the west of *Jordan*, of which there is no trace; or the word "*Gilead*" has supposed to have been a corruption of *Gilboa*; near which the armies were encamped, equally unfounded. See *Wells*, Vol. II. p. 297.

JERUSALEM.

The metropolis of the prerogative tribe of *Judah*, is frequently styled in Scripture, "*the Holy City*;" Isa. xlviii. 2; Dan. ix. 24; Neh. xi. 1; Matt. iv. 5; Rev. xi. 2; &c.: because "THE LORD chose it out of all the tribes of *Israel* to place *his name* there," his temple, and his worship; Deut. xii. 5; xiv. 23; xvi. 2; xxvi. 2; &c. And to be the centre of union in religion and government, for all the tribes of the commonwealth of *Israel*. Psalm cxxii. 3—5.

It was also held in high veneration by the Gentiles. *Herodotus*, who visited *Palestine*, calls it "the great city of *Cadytis*;" and represents it as "little inferior to *Sardis*," in his opinion. B. 2 and 3. Here *Καδυστις* is evidently taken from the Syriac, קדוּתָא, *Kadutha*, signifying "the holy," from the Hebrew, קדוּשָׁה, *Kadushah*, "holy;" which is found inscribed on ancient *Jewish* shekels; ירוּשָׁלַם קדוּשָׁה, *Ierusalem Kadushah*, "*Jerusalem the Holy*." See *Polyglott Bible*; *Walton's Apparatus*; *De Siclorum Formis*, p. 38.

The original name of the city was *Salem*, signifying "peace." And "*Melchizedek*, King of *Salem*," in *Abraham's* days, was also "Priest of THE MOST HIGH GOD." Gen. xiv. 18. He was probably a *Jebusite* prince; for *Jerusalem* is called *Jebus*; 1 Chron. xi. 4. And the strong fort of *Jebus*, built on Mount *Sion*, was contiguous thereto. When *David* reduced this fort, he built "the city of *David*" around it, and downwards, as far as *Millo*, or the House of Assembly; 2 Sam. v. 6—9. And thus formed the southern quarter of the city; which became gradually united with the ancient city, in the western quarter, on the hill called *Acra*, by *Josephus*; to which the eastern quarter was

added, by the erection of the Temple on Mount *Moriah*, by *Solomon*. The northern quarter was a suburb, called *Bezetha*, by *Josephus*; on which afterwards was built *Herod's* palace, in our Saviour's time. The united city was called IERUSALEM, signifying, "they shall see peace *:" probably, from the name given by *Abraham* to Mount *Calvary*, after his intended sacrifice of his son *Isaac*; IAHOH JIREH, "THE LORD will see," or "provide:" alluding to his ambiguous answer to *Isaac*: "GOD will see (or provide) for himself—the lamb for a burnt offering, my son." At which time, probably, was revealed to him the all-sufficient sacrifice of "THE LAMB OF GOD, that taketh away the sins of the world;" nearly on the same spot, two thousand years after.

The name of the whole mountain, on the several hills and hollows of which the city stood, was called *Moriah*, or "Vision;" because it was high land, and could be seen "afar off," especially from the south. Gen. xxii. 2—4. Afterwards, the name was appropriated to that part on which the Temple was erected; where "THE LORD appeared to *David*." 2 Chron. iii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17.

This mountain is described by travellers as a rocky, limestone hill, steep of ascent on every side, except the north. It is surrounded on the other side by a group of hills, in form of an amphitheatre. Psalm cxxv. 2. On the east, by *Olivet*, or the Mount of Olives, fronting the Temple, and stretching from north to south about a mile in length. It has three tops; on the middle and highest stands the little chapel of the *Ascension*, marking the spot of our Lord's Ascension, according to *Sandys*, p. 155; which was "a Sabbath day's journey," or about a mile from the city, in the district of *Bethany*. Acts i. 12; Luke xxiv. 50.—*Maundrel* reckons the highest part of Mount *Olivet* to be the northern, about two furlongs from the chapel of the Ascension. P. 105.

* There seems to be an elegant allusion to this signification, in OUR LORD'S mourning over *Jerusalem*:

"O that thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy day [of respite,] the things that belong to thy peace! But now are they hidden from thine eyes: for the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast a trench around thee, and shall encompass thee, and hem thee in on every side, and level thee, and thy children within thee, to the ground; and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the season of thy visitation [by THE DAY SPRING from on high.] Luke xix. 41; i. 78.

Between *Olivet* and the city, lay the valley of *Kedron*, about five furlongs wide in the broadest part, according to *Josephus*. Through it ran in the "winter" season the "brook" *Kedron*, (*χειμαρρον*, John xviii. 1.) which was dry in summer. Its course was southerly, through the valley of *Jehosaphat*, anciently *Shaveh*, or "King's Dale," where *Melchizedek* entertained *Abraham*. Gen. xiv. 17. Here *Absalom* reared for himself a pillar, or obelisk, 2 Sam. xviii. 18; which *Josephus* reckoned two furlongs from the city; Ant. 7, 10, 3; and which is still shewn to travellers.

On the south side lay the mount of *Corruption*, where *Solomon*, in his declining years, built temples to *Moloch*, *Chemosh*, and *Ashtaroth*; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13: whose rites and worshippers are thus *graphically* described by the deep-learned *Milton*:

"First *Moloch*, horrid 'king,' besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears;
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that past thro' fire
To his grim idol. Him the *Ammonite*
Worship'd in *Rabba* and her watery plain,
In *Argob* and in *Basan*, to the stream
Of utmost *Arnon*. Not content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart
Of *Solomon* he led by fraud, to build
His temple right against the Temple of GOD,
On that opprobrious *Hill*; and made his grove
The pleasant valley of *Hinnon*, *Tophet* thence,
And black *Gehenna* called, the type of Hell.

"Next *Chemos*, the obscene dread of *Moab's* sons,
From *Aroer* to *Nebo*, and the wild
Of southmost *Abarim*; in *Hesebon*
And *Horonaim*, *Seon's* realm, beyond
The flowery dale of *Sibma* clad with vines,
And *Eleale* to the *Asphaltic* pool.
Peor his other name, when he enticed
Israel in *Sittim*, on their march from *Nile*,
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence, his lustful orgies he enlarged
Even to that *hill of Scandal*, by the grove
Of *Moloch* homicide; *Lust* hard by *Hate*:
Till good *Josiah* drove them thence to hell.

"With these, came they who from the bordering flood
Of old *Euphrates*, to the *brook* that parts
Egypt from *Syrian* ground, had general names
Of *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*; those male,
These feminine:—————

For those, the race of *Israel* oft forsook
 Their LIVING STRENGTH, and unfrequented left
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
 To *bestial gods* ; for which their heads as low
 Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
 Of despicable foes. With these, in troop,
 Came *Astoreth*, whom the *Phœnicians* called
Astarte, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns ;
 To whose bright image, nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs :
 In *Sion* also not unsung, where stood
 Her temple on the *Offensive Mountain*, built
 By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
 Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
 To idols foul.”

PAR. LOST, I.

This mount of *Corruption* was separated from the city by the narrow valley of *Hinnon*, or *Gehinnon* ; Josh. xviii. 16 ; Jer. xix. 2 ; where the Israelites burnt their children in the fire to *Moloch* ; Jer. vii. 31 ; xxxii. 35. Thence made the emblem of Hell, *Gehenna*, or the place of the damned ; Matt. v. 22 ; Mark ix. 48 ; Matt. xxiii. 33, &c.

Towards the west, lay Mount *Calvary*, separated from the city by the ravine, or deep ground of *Goatha* ; Jer. xxxi. 39. Afterwards called *Golgotha* ; Matt. xxvii. 33.

The southern quarter, originally “the city of *David*,” built on Mount *Sion*, *Josephus* calls the “upper city ;” and “the house of *Millo*” was probably what he calls “the upper market,” (*ἡ ἀνω αγορά.*) In process of time the upper city spread downwards into the winding hollow way, which he calls “the *cheese manufactory*,” (*τυροποιον,*) and composed “the lower city,” and the most populous part of *Jerusalem*, which formed an amphitheatre round the temple.

THE TEMPLE.

This magnificent and extensive structure occupied the northern and lower top of *Sion* ; as we learn from the Psalmist : “Beautiful in situation, the delight of the whole earth, is Mount *Sion* ; on her north side is the city of THE GREAT KING ;” Psa. xlvi. 2 : or “his dwelling place on *Sion* ;” Psa. lxxvi. 2. The grandeur indeed of the situation is remarked by travellers :

“A fitter place for an august building,” says *Maundrel*, “could not be found in the whole world than this area. It lies on the top of Mount *Moriah*, over against Mount *Olivet*, the

valley of *Jehosaphat* lying between both mountains. It is, as far as I could compute, by walking round it without, five hundred and seventy of my paces in length, and three hundred and seventy in breadth*: and one may still discern marks of the great labour that it cost to cut away the hard rock, and to level such a spacious area upon so strong a mountain. In the middle of the area stands at present a mosque of an octangular figure, [erected by the Caliph *Omar*, the next successor of *Mahomet*] 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." P. 106.

"As soon as we had entered the city again at *Sion Gate*," says *Maundrel*, "turning down on the right hand, and going about two furlongs close by the city wall, we were had into a garden lying at the foot of Mount *Moriah*, on the south side. Here we were shewn several large vaults, annexed to the mountain on this side, and running at least fifty yards under ground. They were built in two isles, arched at top with huge firm stone, and sustained with tall pillars, consisting each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter. This might possibly be some under-ground work, made to enlarge the area of the temple: for *Josephus* seems to describe some such work as this erected over the valley on this side the temple," [by *Solomon*; *Antiq. Jud.* 15, 11, 3 †.] p. 100. He also notices an enlargement of the area on the north side, by breaking down the north wall, in after times. *Bell. Jud.* 5, 5, 1.

The height of the temple wall, especially on the south side, was stupendous. In the lowest places it was three hundred cubits (or 450 feet); and in some places more. The whole circuit of the wall was crowned above by a range of *porticoes*, or *cloisters*.

The royal southern portico reached in length from the east valley to the west. *Josephus* represents it as the noblest work

* Reckoning, with *Maundrel*, ten paces equal to nine yards, the length is 513 yards, the breadth, 333; and the whole circuit 1692 yards, or near an English mile. *Josephus* reckoned it, in *Solomon's* time, a square of four stadia in circuit; *Ant.* 15, 11, 3, p. 702.

† The reference of *Maundrel*, " *Antiq. Jud. Lib.* 15, cap. ult." relates to a subterranean passage made on the north side, from the tower of *Antonia* to the eastern gate of the temple, by *Herod*, as a retreat from insurrections in the city.

under the sun. For besides the great depth of the valley, so that one could not bear to look down from the top [of the wall] into the abyss, there was a very lofty portico erected thereon; so that if one looked down from the verge of its roof, joining both heights together, he would grow giddy, the sight not reaching to such an immeasurable depth. The roof of the portico was flat, and of considerable breadth, supported by four rows of pillars. And *Josephus* elsewhere relates, that *Cumanus* stationed a *Roman* band, or cohort*, thereon, to overawe the *Jews*, at the time of the *Passover*, shortly before the commencement of the war. *Bell. Jud.* 2, 12, 1.

This description of the *Jewish* historian may throw light upon an important passage in the account of our *Lord's* temptation; which is thus translated in our *English Bible*:

"Then the devil *taketh him up* into the holy city, and setteth him on a *pinnacle* of the temple," &c. *Matt.* iv. 5.

The original, *παρλαμβανει*, may more correctly be rendered, "*taketh along with him*;" or, as in the parallel passage of *Luke*, iv. 9.; *ηγαγεν*, "*led*" *JESUS* into the holy city; and placed him, *επι το πτερυγιον του ιερου*, on "*the extremity of the wing*," or portico, of the temple; probably at the south-east corner of the roof; where the height was greatest above the valley; and tempted him "*to throw himself down*," and remain suspended in the air, by the angels of God, as a proof that he was *THE SON OF GOD*; and thereby give him, and the multitude, that "*sign from heaven*," of "*the Son of Man coming in the clouds*;" according to the signal prophecy of *Daniel*, vii. 13; which the *Jews* and their rulers so often required of *Christ*; they also "*tempting him*," like "*their father, the devil*:" who, on this occasion, probably appeared in a human form, or as "*an angel of light*." See *Matt.* xii. 38; *Mark* viii. 11; *Matt.* xvi. 1; *Luke* xi. 29; *John* vi. 30; *1 Cor.* i. 22; *John* viii. 44; *2 Cor.* xi. 14.

This was *כנף*, *Canaph*, "*the wing*" [of the temple], upon which the prophet *Daniel* foretold should stand "*the abomination of desolation*," or the *Roman* ensigns; *Dan.* ix. 27; as explained by our *LORD*; *Matt.* xxiv. 15: but unskilfully rendered, "*the overspreading of abominations, he shall make it desolate*," in the *English Bible*.

* A cohort usually consisted of 120 *Triarii*, 120 *Principes*, and 120 *Hastati*, besides *Velites*, or light infantry; about 480, or 500 men, in all. Ten cohorts made a legion.

That the *Devil* could not have led or conducted CHRIST to the top of the roof of "*the Sanctuary*," as imagined by some, is evident from the appropriation of the Greek word, *ὁ ναός*, thereto, both in the NEW TESTAMENT and in *Josephus*, as distinguished from *το ἱερόν*, "*the temple*," or sacred enclosure in general. See Matt. xxiii. 35; xxvii. 51; John ii. 19—21, &c. Into the *Sanctuary* none but *the Priests* could be admitted: and *Josephus* observes, that even "*Herod* himself, who rebuilt it, was excluded, as not being a Priest;"—and that "*the Sanctuary* was built by the Priests," (*τοῦ δε ναοῦ δια τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος*) Ant. 15, 11, 5, 6. But into the outer temple courts (*το ἱερόν*) the Laity were admitted; John ii. 14; v. 14, &c.; Matt. xxiv. 1, &c. And further, the roof of the *Sanctuary* was inaccessible even to birds, being covered with gold spikes set very thick, to prevent them from pitching upon, and polluting it; as remarked by *Josephus*; Bell. Jud. 5, 5, 6.

The inner Temple, or Sanctuary, was the most splendid and magnificent part of the whole stately pile; covered all over at top with plates of gold; and so brilliant, that when the sun at his rising shone thereon, passengers at a distance could not bear to look at it; and it seemed like a mount of snow, being excessively white below the gold, or roof. Its dimensions were but small: sixty cubits in length and height, and twenty cubits in breadth. This was divided into two parts; the outer Sanctuary, forty cubits in length, and the inner, or most holy place, of twenty cubits square, separated from the outer by a rich veil. Into the latter, none but the High Priest entered once a year, on the great day of atonement. Heb. ix. 2—7; Bell. Jud. 5, 5, 5.

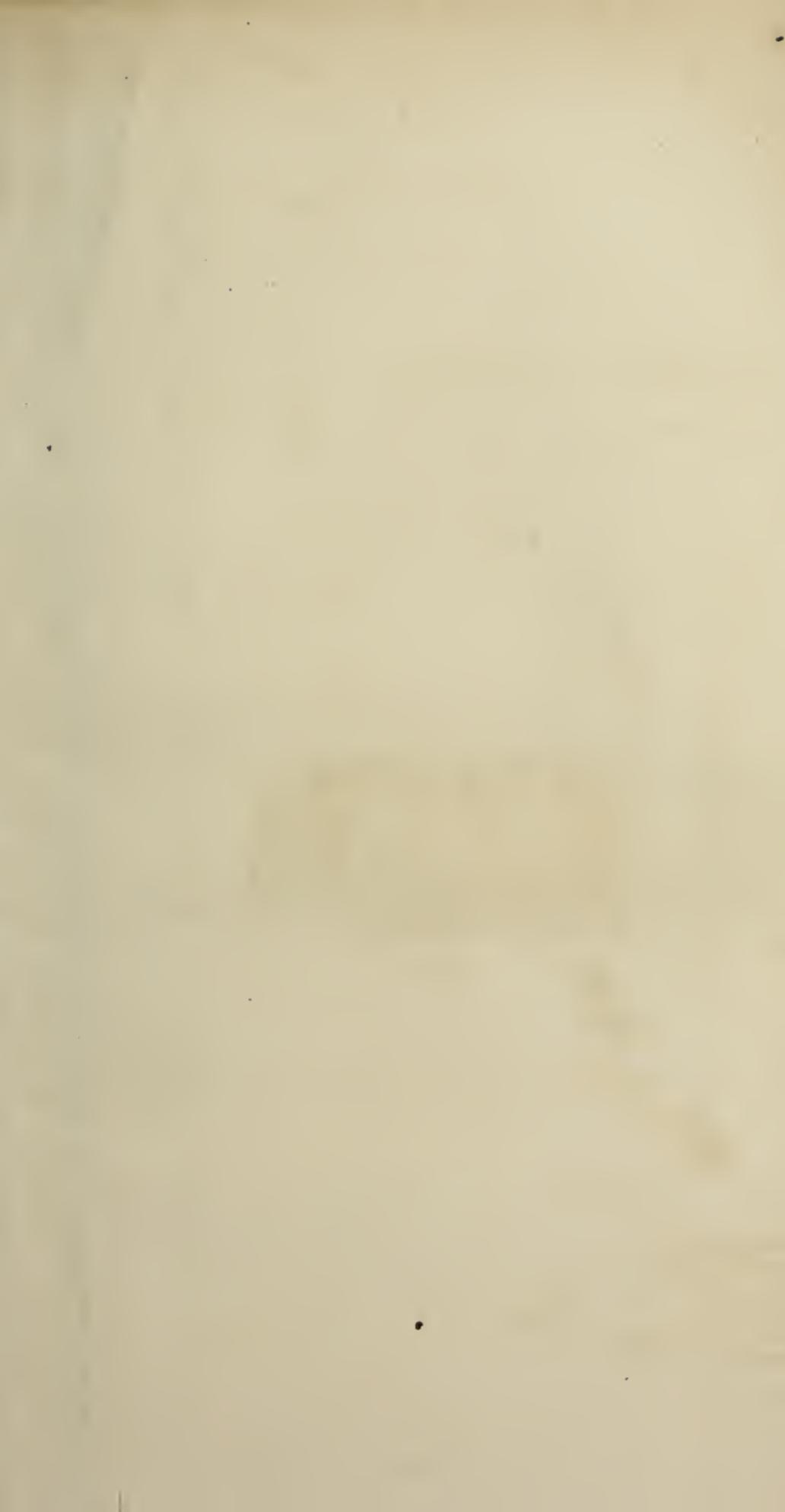
It is remarkable that the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or "*Most Holy Place*," where was supposed to be the more immediate residence of the *Shechinah*, or Divine presence, was at the west end of the Sanctuary; pointing, as it were, towards Mount *Calvary*, the future scene of our Lord's crucifixion: perhaps by a typical reference thereto, as the true place of atonement for the sins of mankind; and also to distinguish it from the *Heathen* temples in the East, whose *Adyta*, or Oracles, usually fronted the East, or rising sun, the grand object of Heathen idolatry. Our "*SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS rose with healing in his wings*," or rays, in the West.

MOUNT CALVARY.

The modern city of *Jerusalem* has in some measure shifted its site, westwards. Mount *Calvary* was shut out of the walls of the old city as an execrable and polluted place, and appropriated to the execution of malefactors; where OUR LORD suffered "without the gate," Heb. xiii. 12; but, "nigh to the city;" John xix. 20. But since it was made the altar on which was offered up the precious and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, it has recovered itself from that infamy, and has been always revered and resorted to with such devotion by all Christians, that it has attracted the city round about it, and stands now in the midst of Jerusalem; a great part of the hill of *Sion* being shut out of the walls, to make room for the admission of *Calvary*. And now, by an awful and disastrous reverse, the once holy hill of *Sion* is now become a dry and poor desert, flat and level, left by the *Turks* as a burial ground for all denominations of Christians to bury their dead! The Swedish traveller, *Hasselquist*, botanized there, and found only such plants as usually grow in waste grounds: *Allium pallens*, *veronense*, two sorts of garlick; *Betonica officinalis*, *betony* of the shops; *Biscutilla didyma*, *buckler mustard*; *Trifolium globosum*, *tomentosum*, *resupinatum*, three sorts of *trefoil*; *Ephedra distactica*, the shrubby *horsetail*.

Mount *Calvary* is eight hundred paces from the palace of *Pilate*, according to *Sandys*; and two hundred paces from the ancient Gate of Judgment, through which criminals were led to execution on *Calvary*. It stands in the west wall of the old city of *Jebus*, or *Salem*, and still resists the subversions of time, so many ages since the rest of the wall at that side has been demolished; a standing monument of our Lord's iniquitous judgment. *Nehe-miah* called it the *Valley Gate*, Neh. ii. 13. leading into the valley of *Goatha*, Jer. xxxi. 39, or *Golgotha*, "the place of a skull," where the skulls of the criminals who had been executed upon *Calvary*, and buried there, rolled, or tumbled, in process of time, into the deep ground or valley beneath. Matt. xxvii. 33, &c. And where they usually gave criminals, going to execution, a stupifying potion of "wine mingled with myrrh." But this our Lord refused to take. Mark xv. 23.

The ancient city of *Jerusalem* was completely razed to the

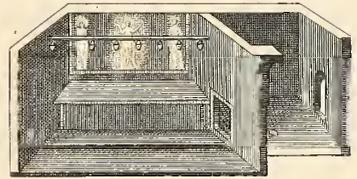


THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

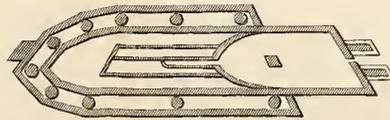
From Sandys.



Elevation.



Section.



Ground Plan.

Engraved by J. B. G. & F. Rivington, near London.

Published by C. J. G. & F. Rivington.

ground by the *Romans*, contrary to their usual policy, partly through resentment at the obstinate resistance of the *Jews*, partly through avarice, to discover the treasures of money and plate, which it was customary with them to bury. It may therefore appear a matter of surprise, how the situation of particular places could be ascertained amidst the general devastation. But, as ingeniously observed by Mr. *Townson*: “the city stood on very uneven ground, and was intersected, as well as encompassed, with *walls* of great strength and thickness; whose bases would still remain after the demolition of the city, and render the boundaries and contents of each division, or ward, more easily discoverable, than if the same calamity had befallen a city built in a plain. By such standing landmarks, the first Christians, who returned after the siege, preserved the memory of the most remarkable places, consecrated as it were by some transactions of our Saviour and his Apostles, to the present day.”

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

This magnificent structure, which covers the whole summit of *Calvary*, including under its roof both the place of crucifixion, and the holy Sepulchre, was built by the piety and munificence of the Empress *Helena*, the mother of *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperor. See *Sandy's* plates, p. 125, 126, 129.

In order to the fitting of this hill for the foundation of a church, the first founders were obliged to reduce it to a plain area; which they did by cutting down several parts of the rock, and by elevating others. But in this work care was taken that none of those parts of the hill, which were reckoned to be more immediately concerned in our blessed Lord's passion, should be altered or diminished. Thus, that very part of *Calvary* where they say Christ was fastened to, and lifted upon his cross, is left entire; being about ten or twelve yards square, and standing at this day so high above the common floor of the Church, that you have 21 steps, or stairs, to go up to its top. And the *Holy Sepulchre* itself, which was at first a cave hewn into the rock under-ground, is now, as it were, a grotto above ground.

The Church is less than one hundred paces long, and not more than sixty wide: and yet is so contrived, that it is supposed to contain under its roof twelve or thirteen sanctuaries, or places consecrated to a more than ordinary veneration, by being

reputed to have some particular actions done in them relating to the death and resurrection of Christ. As first, the place where he was derided by the soldiers; secondly, where the soldiers parted his garments; thirdly, where he was shut up, while they digged the hole to set the foot of the cross in, and made all ready for his crucifixion; fourthly, where he was nailed to the cross; fifthly, where the cross was erected; sixthly, where the soldier stood that pierced his side; seventhly, where his body was embalmed in order to his burial; eighthly, where his body was deposited in the sepulchre; ninthly, where the angels appeared to the women after his resurrection; tenthly, where Christ himself appeared to *Mary Magdalen*, &c. The places where these and many other things relating to our Blessed Lord are said to have been done, are all supposed to be contained within the narrow precincts of this church, and are all distinguished and adorned with so many several altars. *Maundrel*, p. 69.

The church is crowned with two *cupolas*; the eastern, called the temple of *Golgotha*, over the place of crucifixion; and the western, a stately *rotunda*, open at top, like the *Pantheon* at Rome; in the centre of which, and under the opening, stands the holy Sepulchre itself, having its entrance on the east side, hewn into the form of a small chapel, decorated with a small, elegant cupola, supported by polished pillars of porphyry. Within are two caves; the outer, or antichamber, about three yards square, capable of containing about a dozen persons; from thence, a narrow passage, about two feet square, leads into the inner, or tomb, where the body was laid, at the right side of the entrance, capable of containing about half a dozen persons. The inside of both is floored and lined with white marble*.

* This fabric was burnt down to the ground, in the year 1808, as we learn from the following account, in the *Christian Observer*, May 1809, p. 326.

“ On the night of the 11th of October, the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre* was discovered to be on fire; and though every effort was made by the *Christians* residing at *Jerusalem* to stop the progress of the flames, it was found impossible; and about five or six in the morning, the burning *cupola*, with all the melted and boiling lead with which it was covered, fell in, and gave the building the appearance of a great smelting house. The excessive heat which proceeded from this immense mass of liquid fire, caused not only the marble columns which supported the gallery to burst, but likewise the marble floor of the Church, together with the pilasters and images in bas relief, that decorated the chapel containing the *Holy Sepulchre*, situated in the centre of the Church. Shortly after the massive columns that supported the gallery fell down, together with the whole of the walls. Fortunately, no lives were lost; only a few persons were hurt, or scorched by the fire.

This account of the Holy Sepulchre, collected from *Sandys*, *Maundrel*, and *Hasselquist*, throws considerable light on the circumstances of the Resurrection.

1. When the body of our Lord was interred in the inner vault, or tomb, *Joseph* of Arimathea, and his attendants, rolled a great stone to its entrance; which was afterwards "sealed" by the High Priests, and secured by a Roman "watch," or guard, "set," or stationed, in the antechamber. Matt. xxvii. 60—66. N.B. The Evangelist critically distinguishes between *μνημειον* "the sepulchre," in general, and *ταφος*, "the tomb," in particular: our translation confounds both.

2. The Evangelist calls the stone, "great," and Mark, "very great," xvi. 4. And it is so described by modern travellers. According to *Maundrel*, "it was kept a long time in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; but the *Armenians*, not many years since, stole it from thence by a stratagem, and conveyed it to a small chapel belonging to them, near *Sion Gate*; where they deposited it under the altar. It is two yards and a quarter long, one yard high, and as much broad. It is plastered all over, except in five or six little places, where it is left bare, to receive the immediate kisses, and other devotions of pilgrims. P. 99. In its place a small stone is placed, to mark the spot where "the angel, who rolled away the stone" from the entrance, "sat upon it," in the antechamber, and terrified the watch, so that

"It is stated, (and the fact if true, is doubtless a very extraordinary one,) that the interior of the above chapel containing the Holy Sepulchre, and wherein service is performed, has not been in the least injured, although the same was situated immediately under the cupola, and consequently, in the middle of the flames: and that, soon after the fire had been extinguished, it was found that the silk hangings, wherewith it is decorated, and the splendid painting representing the resurrection, placed upon the Altar, had not received the least injury."

The fate of the whole of the walls, is remarkable, considering the great strength of the fabric, which *Sandys* in his time represented to be "of so strong a constitution, as rather decayed in beauty than substance." p. 132. A period, we trust, is thereby put to the disgraceful *mummeries*, *superstitions*, and *corruptions*, that have so long disgraced both the Holy Sepulchre, and the Church: Especially that *pious fraud* of kindling the *Holy fire every Easter Eve*, by a counterfeit miraculous flame, supposed to descend from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre; the process of lighting which is so well described by *Maundrel*; who adds, "'Tis the deplorable unhappiness of the *Greek* and *Armenian* priests, that having acted the cheat so long already, they are forced now to stand to it, for fear of endangering the apostacy of their people, who fix their faith upon, and make their pilgrimages chiefly upon this motive. It is the opinion of these poor people, that if they can have but the happiness to be buried in a shroud smutted with this *celestial* fire it will certainly secure them from the flames of hell!" *Maundrel*, pp. 94—97.

“ they became as dead,” or were entranced at the brightness of his presence. Matt. xxviii. 2—4.

“ Here,” says the pious and eloquent *Sandys*, “ thousands of Christians perform their vows, and offer their tears yearly, with all the expressions of sorrow, humility, affection, and penitence. It is a frozen zeal that will not be warmed with the sight thereof. And O that I could retain the effects that it wrought with an unfainting perseverance ! Who then did dictate this hymn to my REDEEMER :

“ Saviour of mankind, *Man*, IMMANUEL,
 Who, sinlesse, died for sin, who vanquisht hell ;
 The first fruits of the grave ; who life did give,
 Light to our darknesse ; in whose death we live ;
 O strengthen Thou my faith, correct my will,
 That mine may thine obey : protect me still,
 So that the latter death may not devour
 My soul, sealed with thy seal. So in the hour
 When Thou, whose body sanctified this tombe ;
 Unjustly judged, a glorious Judge shalt come
 To judge the world with justice ; by that sign
 I may be known, and entertained for thine !” P. 130.

The circuit of the ancient city was considerably larger than of the modern, from which Mount *Sion* is excluded. *Nehemiah* has traced the course of the ancient wall and gates very accurately ; chap. ii. 13—15 : and again, in his account of the repairs of the wall ; chap. iii. And *Maunderel* has given the dimensions of the modern city as follows ;

	PACES
From <i>Bethlehem</i> Gate, to the N.W. corner, (B) on the right hand . . .	400
From that corner, to <i>Damascus</i> Gate	680
From <i>Damascus</i> Gate, to <i>Herod's</i>	380
From <i>Herod's</i> Gate, to <i>Jeremiah's</i> Prison	150
From <i>Jeremiah's</i> Prison, to the N.E. corner, next the Valley of <i>Jehosaphat</i> , (A)	225
From that corner, to <i>St. Stephen's</i> Gate	385
From <i>St. Stephen's</i> Gate, to the <i>Golden</i> Gate	240
From the <i>Golden</i> Gate, to the S.E. corner of the wall (D)	380
From that corner, to the <i>Dung</i> Gate	470
From the <i>Dung</i> Gate to <i>Sion</i> Gate	605
From <i>Sion</i> Gate, to the S.W. corner of the wall (C)	215
From that corner, to <i>Bethlehem</i> Gate again	500
	4630

These 4630 paces in all, reduced to yards, in the proportion

of ten paces to nine yards, amount to 4167 yards, or near two English miles and a half. P. 110.

The annexed Map of *Jerusalem* is copied in its outline, from the Map of *Sandys*, p. 123; and accommodated to the ancient site, from careful comparison of *Sandys*, *Maundrel*, and *Josephus*, with SCRIPTURE.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP OF JERUSALEM.

- A. B. C. D. The circuit of the modern city.
 E. E. The valley of *Kedron*.
 F. F. The valley of *Jehosaphat*.
 G. G. The valley of *Hinnom*.
 H. H. H. The three summits of Mount *Olivet*.
 K. The Mount of *Corruption*.
 X. X. X. Site of the old wall.

The figures denote,

1. 1. The mosque and area of the Temple.
2. The *High Gate*, Jer. xx. 2; or *Golden*, or *Beautiful*, Gate of the Temple; Acts iii. 2.
3. The *Sheep Gate*, Neh. iii. 1; xii. 29; or *Stephen's Gate*.
4. The Pool of *Bethesda*, John v. 2.
5. *Pilate's Palace*, or Tower of *Antonia*, Matt. xxvii. 2; Acts xxi. 34.
6. *Herod's Palace*, Luke xxiii. 7.
7. The *Prætorium*, or Roman Tribunal, John xviii. 28.
8. *Pilate's Arch*.
9. Where *Simon* was pressed to bear the Cross, Matt. xxvii. 32.
10. The *Valley Gate*, Neh. ii. 13; iii. 3.
11. The Church of the *Holy Sepulchre*.
12. *Bethlehem Gate*.
13. The *Dung Gate*; Neh. iii. 13.
14. The House of *Zebedee*, or of *St. John*; John xix. 27.
15. The *Iron Gate*; Acts xii. 10.
16. The House of *Mark*; Acts xii. 12.
17. The House of *Thomas*.
18. The Palace of the High Priest; John xviii. 24.
19. *Sion Gate*, in the modern City.
20. The Palace of *Caiaphas*; John xviii. 24.
21. *David's Sepulchre*, and the *Cœnaculum*; Matt. xxvi. 18.
22. The *Water Gate*; Neh. iii. 26; xii. 37.
23. Where *Peter* wept; Matt. xxvi. 75.
24. Where *Stephen* was stoned; Acts vii. 58.
25. The *Old Gate*, Neh. xii. 39; or Gate of *Damascus*.
26. Gate of *Ephraim*, Neh. xii. 39; Mark xv. 21.
27. The *Serpent Fountain*; Neh. ii. 13.

The Dolorous Ways.

28. The Fountain and Pool of *Siloam*, John ix. 7; formerly called *Shiloah*, Isa. viii. 6; and *Gihon*, 1 Kings i. 33; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.
29. Northern Road from *Bethany*, on Palm Monday, by *Bethphage* and *Gethsemane*, Matt. xxi. 1.
30. Garden of *Gethsemane*, Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1.
31. The Tomb of *Lazarus*; John xi. 38.
32. The House of *Lazarus*; John xi. 31.
33. The Southern Road to *Bethany*, and the barren *Fig-Tree*; Mark xi. 12.

To the accuracy of *Sandys*, his judicious successor, *Maundrel*, bears the following honourable testimony :

“The descriptions and draughts of our learned, sagacious countryman, Mr. *Sandys*, respecting the remarkable places in and about *Jerusalem*, must be acknowledged so faithful and perfect, that they leave very little to be added by after comers, and nothing to be corrected.” P. 68.

The environs of *Jerusalem* are annexed, Plate III. from careful comparison of other ancient and modern authorities; and the bearings of the principal places around, in the *Holy Land*, or bordering thereon.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS.

The accuracy, however, of the foregoing account of *Jerusalem* and its *Environs*, has been lately impeached, and upon strong grounds, by that universal and intelligent traveller, Dr. *Clarke*, who visited the Holy Land in 1801; as not agreeing with his own observations on the spot, nor with the ancient history of *Jerusalem*, as recorded in *Scripture* and in *Josephus*.

In the fourth volume of his *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, fourth edition, octavo, 1817, he has given a plan and description of *Jerusalem*, as it appeared to him, differing in several respects from the foregoing.

1. He disputes the supposed site of the *Holy Sepulchre* on Mount *Calvary*, within the walls of the modern City, as not being “a grotto above ground,” from which the rock has been cut away on all sides, to a level with the floor of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, according to *Sandys*, &c. but as actually built of mason work, cased with thick slabs of that beautiful *Breccia*, vulgarly called *Verd-antique* marble. This objection is not novel; it was urged, he observes, long ago, and thus contemptuously stated by the Monk *Quaresmius*:—*Audivi non-*

nullos *nebulones, occidentales hæreticos*, detrahentes de iis quæ dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu Christi *sepulchro*; et nullius momenti ratiunculis, *negantes illud verè esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu, &c.*—[quia] *monumentum Christi erat excisum in petrâ vivâ, &c.* illud vero *ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento.* Lib. v. cap. 14.

Even *Sandys*, with all his partiality, could not avoid censuring the absurdity of thus disguising the scenes of our Saviour's life and death, "so that these *natural* forms are utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder; and too much regard hath made them less regardable." And he happily applies to this subject the similar violation of the fountain of *Egeria*,

In vallem Egeriæ descendimus, et speluncas
 Dissimiles veris. Quanto præstantius esset
 NUMEN AQUÆ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
 Herba, nec ingenium violarent marmora tophum.

Juv. Sat. iii.

We may further observe, that the cemeteries of the ancients were universally excluded from the precincts of their cities, and placed in their suburbs and gardens. Such was the tomb of *Joseph of Arimathea*, in which our Lord was interred, John xix. 41, 42. But the supposed Holy Sepulchre could not have been in the suburbs of the ancient city: it must lie within the precincts of the *lower City*, as it is called by *Josephus*, built upon Mount *Acra*, which was originally separated from the eastern, or *Temple quarter* on Mount *Moriah*, by a broad valley, which was afterwards filled up, during the reign of the *Asamoneans*, or *Maccabees*, and the top of *Acra* was then lowered below the level of the Temple. Bell. Jud. Lib. vi. 4, 1. To remove this weighty objection, *Sandys* traces a part of the old city wall (marked X. X. X. in the foregoing map) and the ancient *Valley Gate*, (10) so as to exclude the supposed *Calvary*. But this, as *Clarke* judiciously observes, "would contract the city so much on that side, as not to leave sufficient room for its population." This part of the wall, and the ancient gate, therefore, might have belonged rather to the primitive city of *Salem*, built on Mount *Acra*; which would afterwards become an inside wall of *Jerusalem*, when the city was enlarged by the addition of the Temple quarter, and of the *upper City*, or citadel of *David* on Mount *Sion*; which, according to *Josephus*, (ibid.) was opposite to

Mount *Acra*, and was much higher and steeper, and was separated from it by the valley called *τυροποιων*, *Tyropoeon*, which he says extended as far as the fountain of *Siloam*, (eastward) and that the houses on each side terminated in this valley. We have, therefore, strong grounds to suspect that the supposed mount *Calvary* is not the true; and that the pious empress *Helena*, who undertook her pilgrimage to *Jerusalem* in the *eightieth* year of her age, was imposed upon, as to the site of the Holy Sepulchre, by the fables of the monks; such as finding the place where *Adam's* head was discovered, the three crosses of Christ and his fellow-sufferers, &c.

2. The true Mount *Calvary*, *Clarke* suspects to be the southern part of Mount *Moriah*, called at present Mount *Sion*; which is indeed, excluded from the modern city, and made a burial ground. It probably was excluded from the ancient city likewise, and used for the same purpose. He represents the place of crucifixion, in his plan, as outside the present *Sion* gate. And that the supposed Mount *Sion* was a solitude in our Lord's days, we may further infer, from its summit being the traditional spot where *Peter* is said to have "*wept bitterly*" after denying Christ. Matt. xxvi. 75. The expression, *εξελθων εξω*, "*going forth outside*," strongly implies that he went out of the city.

3. The true Mount *Sion*, *Clarke* suspects to be that called by *Sandys* the Hill of *Offence*, facing Mount *Sion*, on the south, and the deep valley which he calls *Tophet*, or *Gehinnon*, to be in fact the valley of *Millo*, 2 Sam. v. 9. called *Tyropoeon* by *Josephus*, as we have seen: and this he infers, not only from its situation, so remarkably corresponding to Scripture and to *Josephus*; but also from the top of the mountain being still covered by ruined walls and the remains of sumptuous edifices, corresponding to "the bulwarks, towers, and regal buildings" of the citadel, and city of *David*; and further, from its base being perforated by numerous sepulchral caves hewn into the solid rock; upon which are Hebrew and Greek inscriptions; the former much obliterated; and among the latter he found several, deep graven in large letters on the face of the rock—**ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CIWN**. "*Of the Holy Sion*;" which seems to ascertain the fact, that this was indeed Mount *Sion* itself: and if so, the sepulchre will then appear to have been situate beneath the walls of the citadel; as was the case in many ancient cities; such as the *Grecian* sepulchres in the *Crimea*, belonging to the ancient

city of *Chersonesus*. And should this assumed position ever be confirmed, the remarkable things belonging to Mount *Sion*, such as the garden of the kings near the Pool of *Siloam*, where *Manassch* and *Asa* were buried, 2 Kings xxi. 18; 1 Kings xv. 24; 2 Chron. xvi. 14; the sepulchres of the kings of *Judah*, 2 Chron. xxi. 20; xxiv. 25; the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David, where *Hezekiah* was buried, 2 Chron. xxxii. 33, of which there are no traces in the hill now called *Sion*, will in fact be found here.

These sepulchres consist of a portico, and one or more inner chambers, hewn into the rock; and they are still situate in the midst of gardens. Among them, says *Clarke*, are we not warranted to look for the tomb of *Joseph of Arimathea*?

4. The real Mount of *Offence*, he suspects to be no other than Mount *Olivet*. This is not a novel opinion. *Brocardus* and *Adrichomius* formerly, supposed it to have been the northern top of *Olivet*; and *Maundrel* and *Pococke*, the southern top: and the deep-learned *Milton*, no mean authority, places the temple of *Moloch*, built by *Solomon*,

————— “ Right against the temple of God,
On that opprobrious hill.” ———

This Hill evidently denotes *Olivet*; for *Zechariah* describes “the mount of *Olives*,” as “before *Jerusalem*, on the east,” xiv. 3. separated from Mount *Moriah*, on which the temple stood, by the valley of *Jehosaphat*. On this mount of “*corruption*,” “before *Jerusalem*,” *Solomon* built “high places for *Chemosh* the abomination or idol of *Moab*, and for *Moloch*, the abomination of the children of *Ammon*.” 1 Kings xi. 7. And, likewise, for *Ashtoreth* the abomination of the *Sidonians*. 2 Kings xxiii. 13. probably on the summit of the three tops of *Olivet*. Of which, the middle, might have been that of *Ashtoreth*; “on the right-hand of the mount of *Corruption*,” or south of the high place of *Moloch*, seated, perhaps, on the northern summit; and that of *Chemosh* on the southern*.

That the temple of *Ashtoreth*, or *Astarte*, occupied the middle summit, is highly probable from a curious discovery of *Clarke*, who found there a pagan *Adytum*, or *Crypt*; which he thus describes.

* To this pagan *Trinity*, may there not be an allusion, in the name of a place, called *Baal Shalisha*, “the triad *Baal*,” and probably in that neighbourhood? 2 Kings iv. 42.

“We found upon the top, the remains of several works, whose history is lost. Among these were several subterraneous chambers of a different nature from any of the *cryptæ* we had before seen. One of them had the shape of a *Cone* of immense size, the vertex alone appearing level with the soil, and exhibiting, by its section at the top, a small circular aperture; the only entrance we could find to it: the sides extending below to a great depth, were lined with a hard red stucco, like the substance covering the walls of the subterraneous galleries which we found in the sandy isle of *Aboukir*, upon the coast of *Egypt*. This extraordinary piece of antiquity, which from its form, may be called a *subterraneous pyramid*, is upon the very pinnacle of the mountain. It might easily escape observation, although it be of such considerable size; and perhaps this is the reason why it has not been noticed by preceding travellers. This *crypt* has not the smallest resemblance to any place of *Christian* use or worship. Its situation upon the pinnacle of a mountain, rather denotes the work of *Pagans*, whose sacrilegious rites upon ‘*the high places*,’ are so often alluded to in Jewish History:”—And its peculiar form of the cone, was a symbol of the *Paphian Venus*, which was the same divinity as the *Phœnician Ashtoreth*.

It is remarkable, that when the good *Josiah* afterwards “brake in pieces the images or idols, and cut down the consecrated groves, he *filled their places with the bones of men*.” 2 Kings xxiii. 14. He did not destroy the places, or *temples* themselves; he only *defiled* them with the greatest of all pollutions, by rendering them charnel-houses.

The remote antiquity of this conical temple of *Ashtoreth*, may be collected from the stucco, for the walls of the *cryptæ* near the *pyramids* of *Egypt*, and the surface of the Memphian *Sphynx*, which has remained so many ages exposed to all the attacks of the weather, may be instanced as still exhibiting the same sort of cement, similarly coloured, and equally unaltered. Clarke’s Travels, Vol. IV. pp. 355—358. The worship of *Ashtoreth*, indeed, was introduced into *Syria*, even before *Abraham’s* days; for we read of *Ashtoreth Karnaim*, (“the shining cow, two horned,”) the name of a place where the *Assyrian* confederates smote the *Rephaims*, Gen. xiv. 5. *Solomon*, therefore, might have only revived the ancient pagan worship of this nocturnal Goddess, representing the Moon, and of *Chemosh* and *Moloch*,

the Sun. “*Lust hard by Hate*”—in the energetic language of *Milton*, thus distinguishing the libidinous orgies of *Chemosh* and *Ashtoreth*, from the “horrid” human sacrifices of *Moloch*.

The sepulchral caves at the base of the newly discovered *Sion* are not to be confounded with the “*Royal Caves*” noticed by *Josephus*, as situate northward of the city; which he represents as the sepulchres of *Helena*, queen of *Adiabene*. De Bell. Jud. Lib. V. Cap. 4. and are described as most magnificent, by *Maundrel*, *Pococke*, and *Clarke*.

The Greek inscriptions noticed on the former caves, may perhaps be assigned to the time of the *Maccabees*, or reigns of the *Asamonæan* princes, when the Greek language, under *Alexander’s* successors, became prevalent all over *Asia*. Some of these caves, however, are ornamented with paintings on the walls, remarkably fresh in the colour, representing the *Apostles*, the *Virgin*, &c. with circular lines as symbols of glory around their heads. These evidently were formed since the Christian era; and *Clarke* thinks, after the dispersion of the *Jews* by *Adrian*, when the *Christian Church* became established at *Jerusalem*, until the reign of *Diocletian*. pp. 345, 346.

PHœNICIA.

Phœnicia extended from the Gulph of *Issus*, where it bounded *Cilicia* on the north, along the coast southwards, to the termination of the ridges of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, near *Tyre*, where it met the border of *Palestine*. In breadth it only comprehended the narrow tract between the continuation of Mount *Libanus* and the Sea.

The principal cities of this maritime tract, were *Sidon* and *Tyre*; which rose to great power and opulence by their extensive commerce. The manufactures of *Sidon* are noticed by *Homer*: “Embroidered female dresses,” *Iliad* VI. 289. “Silver cups, curiously wrought,” *Iliad* XXIII. 743; *Odyss.* XV. 115—118; who styles the *Sidonians*, *πολυδαδαλοι*, “skilled in many arts.” And before his time, *Sidon* is styled “great,” by *Joshua*, xi. 8; xix. 28. But she was afterwards eclipsed by “her daughter,”

TYRE.

This flourishing colony, from *Sidon*, was situated about eight hours journey from thence, southwards; and in process of time became "a mart of the nations:" Isa. xxiii. 3. *Tyre* also boasted of a very early antiquity: "Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?" Isa. xxiii. 7. And the antiquity of both was recognized by *Xerxes*; when, in a general council of his chieftains, during the Grecian war, he made the King of *Sidon* sit down first, next to him the King of *Tyre*, and the rest, according to their respective ranks. *Herod.* B. 8.

The antiquity of *Tyre* has been variously estimated. *Herodotus* says, that the *Tyrians*, in his time, boasted of the antiquity of their temple and city, as founded 2300 years before, or about B.C. 2746; which is earlier than the date of the dispersion. On the other hand *Josephus* dates it too low, only 240 years before the foundation of *Solomon's Temple*, or B.C. 1267: whereas *Joshua* notices "the strong city of *Tyre*" about B.C. 1602. Probably the numeral letter denoting a thousand, was dropt from the text of *Josephus*; which, being restored, would give the date of the foundation of *Tyre*, B.C. 2267; or about 160 years before the foundation of *Salem*; which is probably correct; as the progress of colonization was later, the farther from the parent stock. *Sidon*, as the eldest of the sons of *Canaan*, probably was also the first settled in his allotted station.

Tyre was twofold, Insular and Continental. Insular *Tyre* was certainly the most ancient; for this it was which was noticed by *Joshua*: the continental city, however, as being more commodiously situated, first grew into consideration, and assumed the name of *Palatyrus*, or *Old Tyre*. Want of sufficient attention to this distinction, has embarrassed both the *Tyrian* Chronology and Geography. Insular *Tyre* was confined to a small rocky island, eight hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But *Tyre*, on the opposite coast, about half a mile from the sea, was a city of vast extent, since many centuries after its demolition by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the scattered ruins measured nineteen miles round, as we learn from *Pliny* and *Strabo*. Of these, the most curious and surprising are, the cisterns of *Roselayne*, designed to supply the city with water; of which there are three still

entire, about one or two furlongs from the sea; so well described by *Maundrel*, for their curious construction and solid masonry. "The fountains of these waters," says he, after the description, "are as unknown as the contriver of them. According to common tradition, they are filled from a subterraneous river which King *Solomon* discovered by his great sagacity; and that he caused these cisterns to be made as part of his recompence to King *Hiram*, for the materials furnished by that prince, towards building the temple at *Jerusalem*. It is certain, however, from their rising so high above the level of the ground, that they must be brought from some part of the mountains, which are about a league distant; and it is as certain that the work was well done at first, seeing it performs its office so well, at so great a distance of time; the *Turks* having broken an outlet on the west side of the cistern, through which there issues a stream like a brook, driving four corn mills between it and the sea." From these cisterns there was an aqueduct which led to the city, supported by arches, about six yards from the ground, running in a northerly direction about an hour, when it turns to the west, at a small mount, where anciently stood a *fort*, but now a mosque, which seems to ascertain the site of the old city, and thence proceeds over the isthmus that connects insular *Tyre* with the main, built by *Alexander*, when he besieged and took it.

Old *Tyre* withstood the mighty *Assyrian* power, having been besieged, in vain, by *Shalmanasar*, for five years; although he cut off their supplies of water from the cisterns; which they remedied, by digging wells within the city. It afterwards held out for thirteen years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*, and was at length taken; but not until the *Tyrians* had removed their effects to the insular town, and left nothing but the bare walls to the victor, which he demolished.

What completed the destruction of the city was, that *Alexander* afterwards made use of these materials to build a prodigious causeway, or isthmus, above half a mile long, to the insular city, which revived as the *Phoenix*, from the ashes of the old, and grew to great power and opulence as a maritime state; and which he stormed after a most obstinate siege of five months. *Pococke* observes, that "there are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct is in many parts almost buried in the sand." Vol. II. p. 81. Thus has been fulfilled the prophecy of *Ezekiel*:

“*Thou shalt be built no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again!*” xxvi. 21.

The fate of Insular *Tyre* has been no less remarkable: When *Alexander* stormed the city, he set fire to it. This circumstance was foretold: “*Tyre* did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold, as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and He will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire.” Zech. ix. 3, 4. After this terrible calamity, *Tyre* again retrieved her losses. Only eighteen years after, she had recovered such a share of her ancient commerce and opulence, as enabled her to stand a siege of fourteen months against *Antigonus*, before he could reduce the city. After this, *Tyre* fell alternately under the dominion of the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and then of the *Romans*, until it was taken by the *Saracens*, about A.D. 639, retaken by the Crusaders, A.D. 1124; and at length sacked and razed by the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt*, with *Sidon*, and other strong towns, that they might no longer harbour the Christians, A.D. 1289.

Maundrel, the most intelligent of modern travellers, who visited the Holy Land A.D. 1697, described it thus:

“This city, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises, at a distance, something very magnificent; but when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet *Ezekiel* describes, chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. On the north side, it has an old *Turkish* ungarrisoned castle; besides which, you see nothing here but a mere *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c.; there being not so much as *one entire house left!* Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly by *fishing*: who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning *Tyre*; viz. that it should be as *the top of a rock; a place for fishers to dry their nets upon.*” Ezek. xxvi. 14. And *Hasselquist*, who saw it since, in A.D. 1751, observes:

“None of those cities which were formerly famous, are so totally ruined as *Tyre*, (now called *Zur*) except *Troy*. *Zur* now scarcely can be called a miserable village, though it was formerly *Tyre*, the queen of the sea! Here are about *ten* inhabitants, *Turks* and *Christians*, who live by *fishing.*”

The *Phœnicians* in general, were the most extensive and ex-

perienced navigators of antiquity. Not confining themselves to the *Mediterranean* and *Euxine* Seas, they explored the coasts of the *Eastern* and *Atlantic* Oceans. We read of two voyages made by *Solomon's* ships, assisted by *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre's* subjects: the first from *Eziongeber*, a port on the *Idumæan* sea, to *Ophir*, whence they brought back gold, 1 Kings ix. 27, 28; 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18; and also " *Almug* trees, and precious stones," 1 Kings x. 11. The *Almug* tree is thought to be *Ebony*, or *Lignum vitæ*; and *Ophir* is judiciously conjectured by *Bruce*, to have been *Sofala* *, a district on the eastern coast of Africa, nearly opposite to the centre of the great island of *Madagascar*.

The second voyage, which employed three years, was made by their joint fleets, which sailed to *Tarshish*, or *Tartessus*, or the isle of *Cadiz*, lying between the two branches of the *Gualquiver*, on the coast of *Spain*, whence they proceeded southwards, to the coast of *Guinea*; from which they brought back " gold, ivory, apes, and peacocks;" and from *Spain*, " silver;" 1 Kings x. 22; as well explained by *Gillies*, Vol. I. p. 151—153; who also remarks, that they traded northwards, to the *Cassiterides*, or *Scilly* Islands, and the coasts of *Cornwall*, in *Great Britain*, for *tin*, which was used for hardening copper, to supply the want of *iron* or steel weapons; and even to the coasts of the *Baltic*, for the admired article of *Amber*, then deemed more precious than gold.

In *Pharaoh Necho's* time, the *Phœnician* mariners, employed on a voyage of discovery, setting out from the Red Sea, circumnavigated *Africa* in three years. *Herodot.* IV. 42.

ASSYRIA.

This country, in its most extensive signification, both in sacred and profane history, comprehended,

1. *Assyria* Proper, eastward of the *Tigris*, and south of *Taurus*. It was called in Scripture, *Kir*: " Have not I brought up the *Assyrians* from *Kir*?" Amos ix. 7. " The people of *Syria* shall go into captivity unto *Kir*." Amos i. 5. " And the king of

* From *Ophir* was derived Σωφίρα, *Sophira*, the name given by *Josephus*, Ant. 8, 6, 4: and from thence, *Sophala*, or *Sofala*, by a usual permutation of L and R. It was the country of the *Macrobian Ethiopians*, or *Abyssinians*, whom *Cambyzes* invaded unsuccessfully, coveting their gold: the abundance of which is expressed by " the gold chains of their prisoners." *Herodotus*, III. 23. See *Gillies' History of the World*, Vol. I. p. 154.

Assyria took *Damascus*, and slew their king, *Rezin*, and carried the people captive to *Kir*." 2 Kings xvi. 9. And the name is still traceable in that country; the *Kar- duchian*, or *Kur-distan*, mountains; *Kiarè*, the name of their loftiest ridge, the large town of *Ker-kook*, and several other places of less note, in their prefixes, evidently retain the original word, *Kir*, with some slight deviation. This was a rich and fertile, though mountainous region; whence it was called by the Greeks, *Adiabene*, "impassable;" finely watered by the springs of the *Tigris*, the greater and lesser *Zab*, the *Diala*, and the *Mendeli*. Its capital city was *Nineveh*, on the east side of the *Tigris*, opposite to the modern city of *Mosul*; in lat. 36, 20, according to *Niebuhr*, Tom. II. Tab. XLV.

2. *Aram*, or *Syria*, eastward of the *Euphrates*. This was divided into two districts, the northern and the southern. The upper was called in Scripture, *Aram Naharaim*, "*Aram* between the two rivers;" and by the Greeks, *Mesopotamia*, of the same import. This was the country of *Nahor*, Gen. xxiv. 10; and of *Laban*, the Syrian, Gen. xxxi. 20; and of *Balaam*, the diviner, who came from "*Aram*, out of the mountains of the east," Numb. xxiii. 7; or from *Aram Naharaim*, Deut. xxiv. 4.

The lower part of this division was called *Padan Aram*, "the champaign *Aram*," Gen. xxv. 20; in which was *Haran*, Gen. xi. 31; called *Charran*, Acts vii. 2; and the city of *Nahor*, Gen. xxiv. 10, compared with xxvii. 43; to which *Abraham's* family first emigrated from the original settlement of the family at "*Ur*, of the Chaldees," situated near "the river" *Tigris*, and probably the same place as *Pethor*, *Peth-Ur*, or *Beth-Ur*, "the house of light," the residence of *Balaam*, and "the land of the children of *Balak's* people," or of his ancestors; whence this king of *Moab* sent for the diviner to curse *Israel*. Numb. xxii. 5. *Charran* is probably still recorded in *Charrae*, in the north-west of *Mesopotamia*, a city situated on an arm of the river *Chaboras*, which runs into the *Euphrates*; and noticed by the Roman writers, on account of the signal defeat of *Crassus*, and the Romans there, by the Parthians.

The whole of this northern district extended from Mount *Masius**, to the wall of *Media* southwards, including all that fertile

* The upper region of *Mesopotamia*, between Mount *Masius* and *Taurus*, belonged to *Armenia*. Thus *Herodotus* observes, that boats descended from *Armenia*, above *Assyria*, to *Babylon*. Book I. p. 194.

tract between the two rivers, from their greatest divergence of one or two hundred miles, to their contraction, within twenty miles asunder; in the vicinity of *Bagdat*, the great modern capital, on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*, in lat. $33^{\circ} 20'$; according to *Niebuhr*, Tom. II. p. 239.

The southern district was called, "the land of *Shinaar*," Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; or *Babylon*, "the land of *Nimrod*," Micah v. 6; and *Babylonia*, by the Greek and Latin writers. It reached from the wall of *Media*, or contracted the space between the two rivers about three hundred miles down to the *Persian Gulph*; never exceeding four-score miles in breadth. The river *Euphrates* ran through the ancient capital, *Babylon*, which lay about 60 miles below *Bagdat*, in lat. $32^{\circ} 28'$. *Niebuhr*, Tom. II. p. 206, Tab. XLI.

3. *Aram*, or *Syria*, westward of the *Euphrates*. This, in Scripture, was divided into *Aram Zobah*, which reached from the *Euphrates* to the north and east of *Damascus*, 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3. And *Aram*, of *Damascus*, which lay to the south and west of the former, 2 Sam. viii. 5. These corresponded to the Upper *Syria*, north of Mount *Libanus*, including *Cœle Syria*, or the hollow valley between the two ranges of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and the lower, or *Palestine Syria*, the Promised Land, and reaching southwards to the borders of Egypt. These were the proper boundaries of *Aram*, or *Syria* in general, according to its divisions; but *Syria* and *Assyria* are frequently used indiscriminately by the classic authors.

NINEVEH.

This capital of the *Assyrian* empire could boast of the remotest antiquity. *Tacitus* styles it, "Vetustissima sedes *Assyriae*." Annal. 12, 13. And Scripture informs us, that *Nimrod*, after he had built *Babel*, in the land of *Shinaar*, invaded *Assyria*, where he built *Nineveh*, and several other cities. Gen. x. 11. Its name denotes "the habitation of *Nin*," which seems to have been the proper name of "that rebel," as *Nimrod* signifies. And it is uniformly styled by *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, *Diodorus*, *Lucian*, &c. Ἡ Νίνοϛ, "the city of *Ninus*." And the village of *Nunia*, opposite *Mosul*, in its name, and the tradition of the natives*, ascertains the site of the ancient city, which was near

* In the mosque of this village, *Nunia*, is shewn the tomb of the prophet *Jona h* which is held in great veneration by the *Jews* at this day. *Niebuhr*, Tom. II. p. 286.

“the castle of *Arbela*,” according to *Tacitus*, so celebrated for the decisive victory of *Alexander* the Great over the Persians there; the site of which is ascertained by the village of *Arbil*, about ten German miles to the east of *Nunia*, according to *Niebuhr’s* map. Tab. XLV.

Diodorus Siculus, indeed, asserts, that *Ninereh* was built on the *Euphrates*, Lib. II.; but this must be a mistake; for *Herodotus*, I. 193; *Pliny*, VI. 13; and *Ptolomy*, p. 146; all agree that it was built on the *Tigris*. Such a combination of ancient and modern authorities against his single assertion, decides the question beyond a doubt. And it is rather strange, how so accurate a geographer and historian as Doctor *Gillies*, in his late *History of the World from Alexander to Augustus*, Vol. I. p. 57. could adopt the mistake of *Diodorus*, and imagine that there were two *Ninevehs*, the one on the *Tigris*, the other on the *Euphrates*.

He also adopts the opinion, that the former *Nineveh* was founded by *Ashur*, not *Nimrod*; following the translation of our English Bible:

“Out of that land (*Shinar*) went forth *Ashur*, and builded *Ninereh*, and the city of *Rehoboth* and *Calah*, and *Resen*, between *Nineveh* and *Calah*; the same is a great city.” Gen. x. 11.

That this is incorrect, may appear from the following reasons:

1. The introduction of *Ashur*, the second son of *Shem*, into the account of the settlement of *Ham’s* family, is rather irrelevant.

2. There is no evidence that *Ashur* at any time resided in the land of *Shinar*; he probably lived always in *Assyria*, which bore his name.

3. “The land of *Ashur*” is distinguished from “the land of *Nimrod*,” or *Shinar*, in the prophecy of *Micah*, v. 6. where both are threatened “to be laid waste with the sword,” in retaliation for the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities of the *Jews*.

4. The original verb אָשׁוּר, *axivit*, “went forth,” frequently denotes hostile invasion. See instances, 2 Sam. xi. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 8; Ps. lx. 10; Isa. xlii. 13; Zech. xiv. 3. And the noun אֲשׁוּר, *Ashur*, put frequently for the land of *Assyria*, Gen. ii. 14; Numb. xxiv. 24, &c. is used elliptically for אֲשׁוּרָה, “to,” or “into *Assyria*,” both the affix, ה local, and the preposition, אֶל or ל, both signifying “to,” or “towards,” being often understood. Compare in the original, 2 Sam. x. 2. with 1 Chron. xiii. 13; and 2 Sam. x. 2. with 1 Chron. xix. 2, &c.

The passage, therefore, may more correctly be rendered, "Out of that land (*Shinar*) went forth (*Nimrod*) to (invade) *Assyria*, &c." or, "into *Assyria*," as in the margin of the English Bible; supported by the authorities of the *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jerusalem*, *Theophilus*, bishop of *Antioch*, and *Jerom*; and the most judicious moderns, *Bochart*, *Hyde*, *Marsham*, *Wells*, *Le Chais*, *Universal History*, &c.

Nineveh, at first, seems only to have been a small city, and less than *Resen*, in its neighbourhood; which is conjectured by *Bochart*, and not without reason, to have been the same as *Larissa*, which *Xenophon* describes as "the ruins of a great city, formerly inhabited by the *Medes*," *Anabas*. 3. and which the natives might have described as belonging *La Resen*, "to *Resen*."

Nineveh did not rise to greatness for many ages after, until its second founder, *Ninus* II. about B.C. 1230, enlarged and made it the greatest city in the world. According to *Diodorus*, it was of an oblong form, 150 stadia long, and 90 broad, and, consequently, 480 in circuit, or 48 miles, reckoning 10 stadia to an English mile, with Major *Rennel**. And its walls were 100 feet high, and so broad that three chariots could drive on them abreast; and on the walls were 1500 towers, each 200 feet high. We are not, however, to imagine that all this vast enclosure was built upon: it contained great parks and extensive fields, and detached houses and buildings, like *Babylon*, and other great cities of the east, even at the present day, as *Bus-sorah*, &c.

And this entirely corresponds with the representations of Scripture: In the days of the prophet *Jonah*, about B.C. 800, it is said to have been "a great city, " an exceeding great city, of three days' journey," *Jonah* i. 2; iii. 3. perhaps in circuit; for 16 miles is about an ordinary day's journey for a caravan †. The *Jews*, at present, however, understand it in length, according to *Niebuhr*, Vol. I. p. 286, which seems to agree with the prophet's "entering into the city a day's journey," *Jonah* iii. 4. if it does not rather denote his going throughout the city, which was a day's journey in length; and this corresponds with the tradition of the natives, that the city extended from *Kadikend*

* By a more accurate calculation, made by the learned and ingenious Doctor *Falconer*, of *Bath*, nine Greek stadia were equal to one English mile, and 030185 decimals over. See his curious *Tables of Ancient Measures of Length*, Tab. I.

† *Rennel's Herodot.* p. 350.

to *Jeriudsjd*, two villages on the east of the *Tigris*, about two or three German miles asunder, of which *Niebuhr* reckons fifteen to a degree.

The population of *Nineveh* also, at that time, was very great. It contained "more than six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left, besides much cattle," iv. 11. Reckoning the persons to have been infants of two years old and under, and that these were a fifth part of the whole, according to *Bochart*, the whole population would amount to 600,000 souls. The same number *Pliny* assigns for the population of *Seleucia*, on the decline of *Babylon*, VI. 26. *London* at present, which perhaps is the most populous city in the world, not excepting *Pekin*, in *China*, is not reckoned to exceed 800,000, by Major *Rennel*, *Herodot.* p. 341, 348.

The threatened "overthrow of *Nineveh* within three days," by the general repentance and humiliation of the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, was suspended for near 200 years, until "their iniquity came to the full;" and then the prophecy was literally accomplished, in the third year of the siege of the city, by the combined *Medes* and *Babylonians*; the king *Sardanapalus*, being encouraged to hold out, in consequence of an ancient prophecy*, That *Nineveh* should never be taken by assault, till the river became its enemy; when a mighty inundation of the river, swollen by continual rains, came up against a part of the city, and threw down twenty stadia of the wall in length; upon which, the king, conceiving that the oracle was accomplished, burnt himself, his concubines, eunuchs, and treasures, and the enemy entering by the breach, sacked and razed the city, about B.C. 606.

Diodorus also relates, that *Belesis*, the Governor of *Babylon*, obtained from *Arbaces*, the king of *Media*, the ashes of the palace, to erect a mount with them near the temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*; and that he forthwith prepared shipping, and, together with the ashes, carried away most of the gold and silver, of which he had private information given him by one of the eunuchs who escaped the fire. Doctor *Gillies* thinks it incredible that these could be transported from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*,

* This was the more explicit prophecy of *Nahum*, 115 years before the destruction of *Nineveh*, "With an over-running flood, HE (THE LORD) will make an utter end of the place thereof," i. 8.—"The gates of the river shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved," ii. 6.

300 miles distant; but likely enough, if *Nineveh* was only 50 miles from *Babylon*, with a large canal of communication between them, the *Nahar Malka*, or “Royal River,” p. 132. But we learn from *Niebuhr*, that the conveyance of goods from *Mosul* to *Bagdat* by the Tigris is very commodious, in the very large boats called *Kelleks*; in which, in Spring, when the river is rapid, the voyage may be made in three or four days, which would take fifteen by land, *Niebuhr*, p. 287.

The complete demolition of such immense piles as the walls and towers of *Nineveh*, may seem matter of surprise to those who do not consider the nature of the materials of which they were constructed; of bricks, dried or baked in the sun, and cemented with bitumen, which were apt to be “dissolved” by water*, or to moulder away by the injuries of the weather. Besides, in the east, the materials of ancient cities have been often employed in the building of new ones in the neighbourhood. Thus *Mosul* was built with the spoils of *Nineveh*. *Tauk Kesra*, or “the palace of *Chosroes*,” appears to have been built of bricks brought from the ruins of *Babylon*; and so was *Hellah*, as the dimensions are nearly the same, and the proportions so singular. And when such materials could conveniently be transported by inland navigations, they are to be found at very great distances from their ancient place, much farther, indeed, than are *Bagdat* and *Seleucia*, or *Ctesiphon*, from *Babylon*. *Rennel’s Herodot.* p. 377, 378.

X

BABYLON.

The city of *Babylon* was of a still earlier date than *Nineveh*. It began to be built at the same time as the tower of *Babel*, and both were left unfinished at the *confusion of tongues*. Gen. xi. 4—8.

The earliest notice of *Babylon* in profane history is, that *Belus II.* who is frequently confounded with *Belus I.* or *Nimrod*, built the tower of *Belus*, at *Babylon*, where he was buried, and had a temple dedicated to him, which the *Chaldeans*, or *Babylonian* priests, used for an observatory. And the astronomical observations which *Alexander* found at *Babylon*, and sent to

* Captain *Cunningham* remarked that at *Bussorah*, which is built of sun-dried bricks, after heavy rain, the falling of houses into the streets is no unusual sight. *Rennel’s Herodot.* p. 749.

Aristotle, are said to have been continued for 1903 years back, which would bring their commencement to B.C. 2230, the most likely date of the accession of *Belus II*.

Herodotus, who visited *Babylon*, takes no notice of its founder, or of its antiquity; he only tells us, that it was principally improved by two queens, *Semiramis* and *Nitocris*, who strengthened its fortifications, guarded it against inundations, and improved and adorned it; and that one of the gates of *Babylon* was called the gate of *Semiramis*. *Nitocris* appears to have been the queen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was regent during his distraction, and completed those great works which he began; and *Semiramis* lived only five generations, or 166 years, before *Nitocris*, and was therefore most probably the wife of *Nabonassar*, king of *Babylon*, who began to reign B.C. 747. It is not indeed likely that *Babylon* should grow great till the decline of her rival *Nineveh*.

The testimony of *Herodotus*, which is of considerable weight, refutes the fiction of *Ctesias*, followed by *Diodorus* and *Justin*, that *Semiramis*, the builder of the immense walls of *Babylon*, was the wife of *Ninus II*, the second founder of *Nineveh*. *Moses Choronenensis*, in his *Armenian History*, with more probability, relates, that “*Semiramis* built a city and palace in the most fruitful and pleasant part of *Armenia*, whither she resorted to spend the summer season, and resided the rest of the year at *Nineveh*.” She might perhaps have contributed to finish the walls of *Nineveh* after her husband’s death; for *Suidas* relates, that “*Semiramis*, the first *Assyrian* queen, walled *Nineveh* about, and called it *Babylon*, changing its name.” *Voce Σεμυραμυς*. But from what authority does not appear. The change of name is improbable.

The city of *Babylon* was originally built by *Nimrod*, along with the tower of *Babel*, on the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. Gen. x. 10; xi. 4. At first, it was probably but small; but was afterwards enlarged and improved by *Belus*, *Semiramis*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his queen, whom *Herodotus* calls *Nitocris*, until it became the wonder of the world.

According to *Herodotus*, *Babylon* was a perfect square, each side of which was 120 stadia, and of course its circuit 480 stadia, the same as that of *Nineveh*; but its area was considerably greater. The walls were 200 royal cubits high, and 50 wide. On the top were erected small watch-towers, of one story high,

leaving a space between them, through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different intervals, were a hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. The whole was surrounded by a wide and deep trench, full of water. Of the earth dug out of the trench bricks were made, which were baked in a furnace, and when laid, were cemented with hot bitumen.

This circuit of 480 stadia is reckoned "enormous and improbable," by Major *Rennel*, p. 353; and he prefers the lower reports of *Clitarchus*, who accompanied Alexander, 365 stadia; or of *Diodorus*, from *Ctesias*, 360 stadia, p. 340; supposing that the present numbers of *Herodotus* are corrupt, p. 363*. But of this there is no evidence; rather the contrary. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* both agree with *Herodotus*, reckoning the circuit 60 Roman miles, at 8 stadia to a mile. And surely *Herodotus*, who visited *Babylon* above a century before *Clitarchus*, and near three centuries before the time of *Diodorus*, and is a more credible witness than *Ctesias*, is more to be regarded; especially as he visited it earlier, and therefore in a more unimpaired state; and appears to have surveyed it with much attention.

Indeed a strong presumptive argument of the fidelity of the report of *Herodotus*, is the sameness of the dimensions of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. The distinguishing trait in *Nebuchadnezzar's* character was inordinate pride, which occasioned his humiliation. Dan. iv. 29—31. He wished to surpass *Nineveh*, the greatest city in the world; which contained $150 \times 90 = 13500$ square stadia, within its walls; but the walls of *Babylon* contained $120 \times 120 = 14400$ square stadia; or 900 more than the former. The walls too were twice as high; and if the

* The accounts of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* are easily reconcileable. The circuit of the walls of *Nineveh* and *Babylon* were originally equal; each 480 stadia: but the haughty *Nebuchadnezzar*, in all the pride of conquest, enlarged the city, by taking in the western quarter of the city, beyond the river *Euphrates*, in which he built his famous Palace and Hanging Gardens, on the western side of the river, to correspond and vie with the tower of Babel on the eastern side. And this exactly corresponds with his arrogant boast, in Scripture: at the end of a *twelvemonth* (after his significant dream of the *holy watchers*, Dan. iv. 1—28) the king walked in the palace of the kingdom of *Babylon*. He spake and said: Is not this *Babylon the Great*, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty! While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven: O King *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is spoken, thy kingdom is departed from thee, &c. Dan. iv. 29—37.

towers thereon were not as numerous, (only two hundred and fifty, according to *Diodorus*) it was only because the city was defended on the western side by deep and extensive morasses, which rendered also fewer gates and communications with the country necessary on that side. Thus, when *Alexander*, after his return from India, in order to avoid the evils foretold by the soothsayers, if he entered the city on the eastern side, wished to have entered by the west, he was compelled, by the marshes and morasses on that side, to relinquish the attempt: as we learn from *Arrian*, lib. 7. And of the principal gates of the city, we may collect from Herodotus, lib. 2; that the gate of *Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, fronted the north; the gate of *Chaldea*, the south; and the gates of *Semiramis*, *Belus*, and *Cissia*, or *Susa*, the east, proceeding from north to south*. See Rennel's Map of Babylon, p. 335.

The magnificence and splendour of Babylon, after its enlargement and improvement by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when it became one of the wonders of the world, is well expressed by his arrogant boast: "Is not this great *Babylon*, which I have built for the house [or capital] of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty." Dan. iv. 30. It contained many streets, adorned with houses, three or four stories high; and these furnished with spacious parks and gardens. Among

* *Major Rennel*, in his *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 357, has thus ingeniously determined the positions of these gates.

"When *Darius Hystaspes* besieged Babylon, (Thalia, 155 et seq.) the *Belidian* and *Cissian* gates were [betrayed and] opened to him by *Zopyrus*, and the Babylonians fled for refuge to the temple of *Belus*; as we may suppose, the nearest place of security. The *Cissian* or *Susian* gate must surely have been in the eastern front of the city, as *Susa* lay to the east: and by circumstances the *Belidian* gate was near it; as the plan was laid that Persian troops were to be stationed opposite to these gates; and it was probable that matters would be so contrived, as to facilitate, as much as possible, the junction of the two bodies of Persian troops that were first to enter the city, as a kind of forlorn hope.

"It may also be remarked, that the gates at which the feints were made, previous to the opening of the *Belidian* and *Cissian*, were those of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, and *Chaldea*. The first towards *Ninus*, or *Nineveh*, must have been, of course, to the north; and the *Chaldæan*, to the south: and perhaps that of *Semiramis*, to the north-east, between the *Belidian* and *Ninian*; as that of *Cissia*, to the south-east, between the *Belidian* and *Chaldæan*: as it is unquestionable, that the *Ninian* and *Cissian* gates, if not the *Chaldæan*, were in the eastern division of Babylon, (since the countries from which they are respectively denominated, lie to the east of the *Euphrates*) it may be collected, that the attack was confined to that division alone. (And what army could invest a fortress 34 miles in circuit?) And if this be admitted, the *Belidian* gate, and temple of *Belus*, must have stood on the east side of the *Euphrates*."

its curiosities, the most celebrated were, 1. the tower and temple of *Belus*, on the eastern side of the Euphrates, which ran through the center of the city, from north to south; 2. opposite thereto, on the western side of the river, and with a *tunnel* of communication between them, running across under the bed of the river, stood the strong and spacious palace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which formed the citadel; adjoining to this, 3. the *hanging gardens*.

1. The tower of *Belus* was of a pyramidal form, somewhat loftier, but less massy, than the pyramids of Egypt. It consisted of eight stories, of which the lowest was a stadium in breadth (or 500 feet) and it rose to the same altitude. On the summit, according to *Diodorus*, was erected a statue of *Belus*, 40 feet high: but *Herodotus*, when he visited Babylon, found no statue there. This intelligent traveller, however, was informed by the Chaldeans, that there formerly stood in the temple of *Belus* adjoining, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which was spared by *Darius Hystaspes*; but afterwards was taken away by *Xerxes*, who slew the priest that forbade him to remove it. Herod. i. §. 182. Might not this have been the identical "golden image," made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in all the pride of conquest, which he set up as an object of idolatrous worship to his subjects; recorded by the prophet *Daniel*? iii. 1. It was evidently distinct from the statue or image of *Jupiter Belus*, noticed by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; and was designed to represent *Nebuchadnezzar* himself, or the genius of his empire, according to *Jerom*, supported by *Daniel*:—"Thou art this head of gold." Dan. ii. 38. This arrogant monarch, having made not only *the head*, but *the whole image of gold*, prefiguring the stability and permanency of his empire, in opposition to the succession of the four monarchies, signified by the image, in his dream, compounded of various metals. And the height of the image, twelve cubits, mentioned by the Chaldeans, well accorded with the breadth, "six cubits," noticed in Scripture; (perhaps, with the arms extended.) For the height, "sixty cubits," being evidently disproportionate to its breadth, must have included the elevation of the pillar, or pedestal, on which it stood.

Both the tower and the temple of *Belus*, (the former of which probably stood on the site of the tower of *Babel*, Gen. xi. 4.) were enclosed within a square court of two stadia in length, having gates of brass, which were still subsisting in the time of

Herodotus. It fronted, probably, the middle eastern gate of *Belus*.

2. The royal palace and citadel, opposite, on the west side of the river, were spacious, and strongly fortified. The former was a square of five stadia in circuit. It was contiguous to the citadel, called by *Berosus*, "*Borsippon*," and by *Strabo*, "*Borsippa*," which was a square of 15 stadia. These names are evidently derived from the *Punic*, "*Byrsa*, or *Bursa*;" or from the Hebrew, "*Bosrah*;" all signifying "a fortress:" and they are still retained, with some slight variation, by the natives: for *Niebuhr* observed a ruin on the west side of the river, which his guide called *Birs*; where, according to the tradition of the country, formerly stood *Nimrod's* palace; Tom. II. p. 236. And, according to *Beauchamp*, the Arabs call a great mass of ruins on the west, *Broussa*, or *Boursa*, which is separated by the river from another, which they call *Macloube*, or "Topsy Turvy." The latter evidently denoting the immense ruins of the tower and temple of *Belus*. They are described as about sixty yards high, flat at top, of an irregular form, intersected by ravines, worn by the rains. The whole could never be suspected of having been the work of human hands, were it not for the layers of bricks, which are found therein. They are fire-baked, and cemented with *zephth*, or bitumen; between each layer are found oziars. Here are found those large and thick bricks imprinted with unknown characters: specimens of which were presented to the Abbé *Barthelemi*. How exactly does this correspond to the builders of *Babel*: "Let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." Gen. xi. 3.

These ruins are very visible a league north from *Hellah*, which is an Arab town, built on the west side of the *Euphrates*, containing about ten or twelve thousand souls. This corresponds exactly with the description of the Turkish geographer, *Ibrahim Effendi*: "*Babel* is close to *Hellah*; and on the left hand (i. e. on the west) of the road, in going from *Hellah* to *Bagdat*. The latitude of *Hellah* is about $32^{\circ}, 28'$; which gives that of the tower of *Babel*, or *Belus*, $32^{\circ}, 31'$. *Rennel* *Herodot.* p. 350.

Around this vast pile of ruins, *De la Valle* observed the foundations of buildings, at the distance of 50 or 60 paces; but beyond that, to a great distance, the whole was a clear and even

plain. These probably were the range of buildings that formed the exterior circuit of the square in which the tower and temple stood, according to *Herodotus*, confirming the accuracy of his account: while the clear and level ground outside, proves that a great part of the area within the walls of the city was originally unbuilt, consisting of large parks and fields; and it is highly probable, that not more than a third of the whole enclosure was ever built upon; according to the conjecture of Major *Rennel*; whose ingenious remarks respecting the population of *Babylon*, as probably not exceeding that of *Nineveh*, or *Seleucia*; from the local circumstances of its situation, bounded by deserts on the west, and at a considerable distance from the sea, cutting off, or limiting, its supplies of provisions; with many other curious particulars, may be found in his 14th section, on *Babylon*, p. 335—388.

3. The celebrated *hanging gardens*, also contiguous to the royal palace, were built by *Nebuchadnezzar* to gratify his wife, who was a native of *Media*, a mountainous country, with the resemblance of her own, in the level country of *Babylon*. According to *Diodorus*, they formed a square of 400 feet, (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres) supported by 20 walls, eleven feet asunder, and 50 cubits high, commanding an extensive view over the walls. Trees of various kinds were planted therein, some of considerable size; not less than eight cubits in girth, according to *Curtius*. And *Strabo* mentions a contrivance to prevent the large roots from injuring the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them. These trees, modern travellers inform us, have been perpetuated in the same place, notwithstanding the sinking of the terraces, by the mouldering of the piers that supported them. And *Niebuhr* observed there trees of a particular kind, some very ancient, which have been left untouched by the inhabitants; whereas, from the gulf of *Persia* to that neighbourhood, no other kinds are to be found than date and fruit trees.

The territory round *Hellah* at the present day, is composed chiefly of plains, whose soil is rich, and the river banks are bordered with willows. This circumstance reminds us of the pathetic mourning of the captive Jews:—

“ By the waters of *Babylon* we sat down and wept,
When we remembered thee, O *Sion*.
We hanged our harps upon the *willows*,

In the midst thereof. For there,
 They that carried us away captive required of us
 A song; and they that wasted us, required
 Mirth:—‘Sing us one of the songs of Sion.’

How shall we sing THE LORD'S Song in a strange land!—Psalm cxxxvii.

Babylon rapidly declined during the *Persian* dynasty: *Darius Hystaspes* broke down the walls, and took away the gates, which *Cyrus* had spared. *Alexander* the Great designed to rebuild the temple of *Belus*, which had gone to decay; and actually employed ten thousand labourers for two months, in removing the rubbish; but the attempt was rendered abortive, by his premature death, in the flower of his age, and pride of conquest. *Seleucus Nicator*, his successor in the kingdom of *Syria*, dismantled and spoiled *Babylon*, to build *Seleucia* in its neighbourhood, to which he transplanted the inhabitants; and in *Strabo's* time, about the Christian Era, “the greater part of *Babylon* was become a desert:” which the *Parthian* kings converted into a park, in which they took the recreation of hunting, in *Jerom's* time, A.D. 340.

Thus were gradually fulfilled the predictions of Scripture:

“*Babylon*, the beauty of kingdoms, the glory of the pride of the Chaldeans, shall become as *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, which God overthrew. It shall never be re-established, neither shall it be inhabited from generation to generation. The *Arab* shall not pitch his tent there, nor shall the shepherd make his fold there: the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and howling monsters shall fill their houses:—for her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.” Isaiah xiii. 17—23.

MEDIA.

Media Proper was bounded by *Armenia* and *Assyria* Proper, on the west; by *Persia*, on the east; by the *Caspian* provinces, on the north; and by *Susiana*, on the south. It was an elevated and mountainous country, and from its *midland* situation between the *Caspian* Sea and the *Persian* Gulph, derived its name; forming also a kind of pass between the cultivated parts of eastern and western Asia. And thus, both from its geographical position, and from the temperature, verdure, and fertility of its climate, *Media* was one of the most important and interesting regions of *Asia*.

Into this country, the ten tribes, who composed the kingdom of Israel, were transplanted, in the *Assyrian* Captivity, by *Tiglath-pileser* and *Shalmanassar*. The former prince, B.C. 740, carried away the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *half Manasseh*, on the east side of *Jordan*, “to *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river of *Gozan*.” And his successor, B.C. 719, carried away the remaining seven and half tribes, to the same places, which are said to be “cities of the *Medes*, by the river of *Gozan*.” Compare 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xvii. 6.

The ingenuity and skill of Major *Rennel* has traced these places by their present names. In the remote northern district of *Media*, towards the *Caspian* Sea, and *Ghilan*, he found a considerable river, named *Ozan*, separating *Media* Major, or *Al Jebal*, from *Media* Minor, or *Aderbigian*; but *Ozan* is evidently a variation of *Gozan*.

On a branch of this river there is found a city named *Abhar*, or *Habar*, which is reputed to be exceedingly ancient*: evidently *Habor*.

Bordering on the river itself, is a district of some extent, and of great beauty and fertility, named *Chalcal*, having in it a remarkably strong position of the same name, situated on one of the hills adjoining to the mountains, which separate it from the province of *Ghilan*. Allowing for the change of spelling and pronunciation in so many ages, this name is not far removed from *Halah*, or *Chalach*.

There is also a district named *Tarom*, or *Tarim*, bordering on the *Ozan*, and occupying the intermediate space between those of *Abhar* and *Chalcal*. This also is but little removed from *Hara*.

The geographical position of *Media* was wisely chosen for the distribution of the great body of the captives: for, 1. It was so remote, and so impeded and intersected with great mountains and numerous and deep rivers, that it would be extremely difficult for them to escape from this natural prison, and return to their own country; and 2. They would also be opposed in their passage through *Kir*, or *Assyria* Proper, not only by the native *Assyrians*, but also by their enemies, the *Syrians*, transplanted thither before them. And 3. The superior civilization of the

* Sir *John Chardin* notices *Abhar* as a small city, situated in a delightful country, well watered; where *Persic* is the first spoken in coming from the west; from thence eastward to India, all is *Persic*; to the west of it, *Turkish*.

Israelites, and their skill in agriculture, and in the arts, would tend to civilize and improve those wild and barbarous regions. And 4. They could safely be allowed more liberty, and have their minds more at ease, than if they were subject to a more rigorous confinement nearer to their native country.

A similar policy seems to have actuated the *Russian* Monarch, *Peter* the Great, in modern times. This sagacious politician transplanted the *Swedish* prisoners, taken at *Pultowa*, into the far distant region of *Siberia*, in order to civilize and improve it, by their superior knowledge and information; while the dreary and inhospitable deserts between, cut off all hope of escaping, and returning to their own country.

Major *Rennel* thinks, and with great reason, that both in the *Assyrian*, and also in the *Babylonish* captivity of the two remaining tribes, which composed the kingdom of *Judah*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the whole mass of the people was not carried away, but only the principal inhabitants, the *nobles*, *soldiers*, and *artisans*, the *merchants*, and men of *letters*, who might be dangerous if left behind, by creating disturbances; and who could be useful in their new settlements, by bringing with them their superior knowledge and skill in arts and manufactures. The *labourers*, and the *poorer* classes in general, who composed the great body of the people, must have been left behind; as the maintenance of them, through a great desert of 600 miles across, must have been impracticable, without a miraculous supply of provisions. And that some of the captives rose to high rank and estimation, even at *Nineveh*, *Babylon*, *Ecbatana*, and *Rages*, the seats of government in the *Assyrian*, *Chaldean*, and *Median* empires, is evident from the books of *Daniel* and *Tobit*. See *Rennel's Herodot.* sect. 15, for a fuller detail of the preceding remarks.

Nine years after the final destruction of the kingdom of *Israel*, the *Medians* revolted, and shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, B.C. 710. Upon this occasion, we may presume, the *Jewish* exiles contributed not a little to this revolution, by assisting the *Medes*; and thus retaliating upon their conquerors.

Dahak, or *Dejoces*, the first king of the *Medes*, after his election, built the celebrated city of

ECBATANA, NOW HAMADAN.

This lay near the north-west end of *Media*, and was remarkable for the coolness of its temperature; for which it was afterwards chosen to be the summer residence of *Cyrus*, and the succeeding kings of *Persia*. *Della Valle*, in his travels, observes, that the ink froze in the room in which he was writing; a sure proof of the great elevation of the soil, in the latitude of only 35 degrees; which is further proved from the great mountain *Elwend*, the *Orontes* of the Greeks, only a league distant, being constantly covered with snow. *Rennel's Herodot.* p. 178, 397.

RAGES, OR REY.

This was also formerly a great city in that quarter of *Media*; where many of the captive Jews resided, *Tobit* i. 14, remarkable for the defeat and death of *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes*, son of *Dejoces*, by *Nabuchodonosor*, king of *Assyria*, B.C. 641, in the plain of *Ragau*, or *Rages*. *Judith* i. 5.

PERSIA.

This country was bounded on the west by *Media* and *Susiana*; on the south, by the Persian Gulph; on the north, by the great desert that lay between it and *Parthia* Proper; and on the east, by another still greater, that lay between it and the river *Indus*. Until the time of *Cyrus*, and his succession to the *Median* empire, it was an inconsiderable country, always subject to the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, or *Medes*. Its capital city was *Persepolis*, now *Chelminar*; lat. 30 degrees. In the neighbourhood of which, to the south-east, was *Passagardæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*.

The ruins of *Persepolis* are remarkable, among other things, for the figures, or symbols, to be seen on the walls and pillars of the temple. Sir *John Chardin* observed there *Rams'* heads with horns, one higher, and the other lower, exactly corresponding to *Daniel's* vision of the *Medo-Persian* empire: the lower horn denoting the *Medes*, the higher, which came up last, the *Persians*. *Dan.* viii. 3. A winged *Lion*, with a crown on his head; alluding, perhaps, to the symbolical representation of the

Assyrian empire, by “ a lion with eagle’s wings ;” denoting their ferocious strength and cruelty, and the rapidity of their conquests. Dan. vii. 4.

ST. PAUL’S VOYAGE FROM CÆSAREA TO PUTEOLI.

The course of this voyage related, Acts xxvii. in which the Apostle was shipwrecked on the Island of *Melite*, Acts xxviii. 1. has been much mistaken by the first Geographers and Commentators ; and their maps of it erroneously constructed, in consequence of the vulgar error, that the island in question was the African *Melite*, or *Malta* ; instead of the Adriatic *Melite*, or *Meleda*. This correction of the received Geography, we owe to the sagacious *Bryant* ; and it has recently been established with much learning and ability, by a *Layman*, in a *Dissertation on this Voyage, Oxford, 1817.*—the ingenious Dr. *Falconer*, the Physician at *Bath*, who has also furnished a correcter map of the voyage. From his Dissertation chiefly, the following remarks are extracted, explanatory of the narrative.

Acts xxvii. 1, 2. *St. Paul*, with other prisoners, under the care of a Centurion of Augustus’ band, embarked at *Cæsarea*, on board a ship of *Adramyttium*, intending to coast along *Asia Minor* to that place, which lay opposite to the Isle of *Lesbos*, in the *Ægean* sea, and still retains its name *Adramyttor*.

Ver. 3. Next day they reached *Sidon*, about a degree northward of *Cæsarea*, where they remained some days ; the centurion *Julius* obligingly permitting *St. Paul* to visit his friends there.

Ver. 4. On their loosing from *Sidon*, they were compelled, by contrary winds, to relinquish their intention of coasting *Asia Minor*, and obliged to sail under *Cyprus*, (*ὑπεπλευσαμεν*) or on the south-side of the island, instead of the north-side, as they had at first proposed.

Ver. 5. Crossing the *Cilician* and *Pamphylian* sea, they arrived at *Myra*, a sea-port on the coast of *Lycia*.

Ver. 6. There they found an *Alexandrian* ship bound for Italy, laden with corn, on board which they embarked.

Ver. 7. After several days of slow sailing, they came over against *Cnidus*, a maritime city of *Caria* ; but were driven by a contrary wind, probably from a northern quarter, under *Crete*, over against its eastern cape, *Salmonè*.

Ver. 8. This they with difficulty weathered, (*μολις παραγενο-*

μειοι) and arrived at a place, on the southern side of the same Island, called *Fair havens*: there being no good ports on the northern side. Δυσλιμενος ἡ Κρητη προς βορραν. Eustath. ad Odyss. T.

Ver. 9. They did not reach *fair havens*, till the Fast was already past, and sailing already dangerous. The fast alluded to was the *Jewish* fast of expiation, which was observed on the tenth of the month *Tisri*, or the 25th of September, the day on which the Autumnal equinox was then computed to fall, after which stormy weather was usual. The repetition of ἡδη, “*already*,” intimates that a good while had elapsed after the autumnal equinox; St. Paul, therefore, advised them not to proceed

Ver. 10. On the voyage, at the risque of the cargo, and of the ship, and of their own lives also.

Vers. 11, 12. But the haven not being commodious to winter in, the pilot and the owner of the ship, and the majority of the crew, preferred the sailing from thence, and endeavouring to reach *Phenice*, a haven on the western coast of Crete, and there to winter. And the centurion followed their advice in preference to the Apostle’s.

Ver. 13. Taking the opportunity of the south wind blowing softly; they weighed anchor, (αφαντες) and coasted along *Crete*; probably about the middle of November.

Ver. 14. But not long after, a tempestuous wind, called *Euroclydon*, drove forcibly against it, (the Island) (εβαλε κατ’ αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος ο καλουμενος Ευροκλυδων). This word is compounded of Ευρος, “*the south-east wind*,” and κλυδων, “*a wave*.” And it is described by Virgil as raising innumerable waves:

Aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit *Eurus*,
Nosse quot Ionii veniant ad littora *fluctus*.

Georg. ii. 107, 108.

It seems to be the wind called “*Hellespontine*” by *Herodotus*, which shattered and dispersed the fleet of *Xerxes*, in the Persian war, B. vii. 188. now called by mariners a *Levanter*, Rennel, Herod. p. 119. and was prevalent at this season of the year, as we learn from Columella, who reckons the fifth of the Ides of November, (Nov. 9.) the beginning of winter, when the south-east wind blows; and (Nov. 11.) the seas dangerous to sail on.”

Ver. 15. And when the ship was hurried away with it,

(συναρπασθεντος) and not able to *face* the wind, (αντοφθαλμειν τω ανεμω) they let her drive.

Vers. 16, 17. And running under a little island called *Clauda*, nearly opposite to *Phenice*, they were scarcely able to come by the boat: which, taking up, or rather drawing close to the vessel, they made use of braces, *undergirding* the ship; or binding it round under the keel or bottom, with cables, to prevent the ship from splitting, and foundering, by the violence of the waves. An expedient alluded to by Horace,

————— Ac sine funibus

Vix durare carinæ

Possint imperiosius æquor.—Hor. Od. i. 14.

and practised in modern time. See *Anson's Voyage*. And now, the mariners, not knowing where they were, as neither sun nor stars had been visible for several days, ver. 20. and as these violent *Levancers* are apt to change their direction, (Shaw's Travels, p. 331.) fearing that they might be cast on the *Syrtis* [*major*,] dangerous quicksands on the coast of *Africa*, lying to the south-west of *Phenice*, in *Crete*, they lowered their sails, (χαλασαντες το σκευος) and so were driven, according to the nautical expression, under bare poles, at the mercy of the elements.

Vers. 18, 19. The tempest continuing, the next day they lightened the ship; and the third day they cast out, with their own hands, the furniture of the ship, (σκευην του πλοιου) and at length, after the tempest had affected them for several days, they lost all hopes of safety.

Vers. 21—26. In this distress, *St. Paul* blamed them for not following his advice; but encouraged them with assurance of being saved, in consequence of a divine vision; but foretold that they should be cast away upon a certain island.

Ver. 27. At length, on the *fourteenth* night after they had left *Crete*, they discovered that they were driven into the *Adriatic Sea*; perhaps from some abatement of the gloom, and some knowledge of the coast at its entrance, where it was narrowest.

The limits or boundaries of the *Adriatic Sea*, are accurately marked by the Ancient Geographers. *Strabo* says expressly, that it is bounded at its mouth by *Panormus*, and the port of *Oricum*; or by the *Japygian Promontory* of *Calabria*, and the

Ceraunian mountains of *Epirus*, which lie in about 40 degrees of north latitude, and upwards of 4 degrees to the north of *Malta*. And *Ptolomy*, so far from reckoning *Malta* to be an island of the Adriatic Sea, reckons it to be a part of Africa. And *Mela* speaks of *Corcyra* (half a degree to the south of the *Ceraunian* mountains) as being situate in the neighbourhood, [*vicina*] not *in* the Adriatic Sea.

Ver. 28. After much tossing about in this Sea, they apprehended at last that they were approaching the land, although the darkness of the night did not permit them to discover it. They, therefore, sounded repeatedly, and from the decrease of the depth, they judged that their apprehensions were well founded.

Ver. 29. Fearing, therefore, that they might fall on the rocks during the darkness of the night, when few or none could escape, they cast four anchors from the stern of the ship, and waited anxiously for the appearance of day. It is the oriental custom to cast anchors from the stern of the ship, not from the prow, as with the Romans, and with us. St. Paul's ship had two anchors on each side of the stern.

Vers. 30, 31. In this distress, the mariners anxious to save themselves, by quitting the ship, lengthened or loosened the rope at the stern that towed the boat, under colour of bringing it round to the prow of the vessel, so as to cast anchors from thence; and it was probably their attempting to do what was so unusual in the navigation of that age, that led St. Paul to suspect their real design, which he communicated to the Centurion and the soldiers, and they accordingly prevented, by cutting the towing-line of the boat, and setting her adrift.

Vers. 33—37. And while the day was approaching, St. Paul exhorted them all to partake of food; after fourteen days of abstinence, during which they had no regular meals, and were put to short allowance, on account of the long continuance of the storm, and the great number of passengers, as noticed before, verse 21. The whole number of persons on board was 276 persons. The Alexandrian corn vessels were very large. *Lucian* describes one of 180 feet in length, more than 45 feet wide, and $43\frac{1}{2}$ deep. The tonnage of such a ship, according to the usual mode of calculation, would be 1938 tons, English feet measure. The vessel in which *Josephus* was shipwrecked, on his voyage

to Rome, and in the midst of the *Adriatic* sea likewise, carried about 600 souls. Vita § 3.

Ver. 38. And when they were satiated with food, (κορεσθεντες τε τροφης) they lightened the ship by casting out the *wheat* into the sea; which they had spared before.

Vers. 39, 40. And when the day came, they saw, but knew not the land; and discovered a creek with a strand, into which they wished, if possible, to thrust the ship, thereby to facilitate their escape. In consequence of this intention, they weighed their anchors, committed the ship unto the sea, loosed the rudder bands which directed the helm, to let it play freely, hoisted their main-sail to the wind, and made toward the shore.

Ver. 41. In the attempt to run the ship aground, she fell into a place where two seas met; by which we are to understand an eddy, or surf, which beat on the stern of the vessel, while the head remained fast aground, in which situation the ship soon fell to pieces; but the nearness of the shore, and the assistance afforded by the broken pieces of the wreck, providentially brought them all safe to land.

xxviii. 1. When they had reached the shore in safety, they found that the Island on which they were cast, was named *Melita*.

That this island was *Meleda*, near the Illyrian coast, not *Malta*, on the southern coast of Sicily, may appear from the following considerations.

1. It lies confessedly in the *Adriatic* sea, but *Malta* a considerable distance from it.

2. It lies nearer the mouth of the *Adriatic* than any other island of that sea; and would, of course, be more likely to receive the wreck of any vessel driven by tempests towards that quarter. And it lies N.W. by N. of the south-west promontory of Crete; and came nearly in the direction of a storm from the south-east quarter.

3. An obscure island called *Melite*, whose inhabitants were "barbarous," was not applicable to the celebrity of *Malta* at that time, which *Cicero* represents as abounding in curiosities and riches, and possessing a remarkable manufacture of the finest linen. Orat. in Verrem, iv. § 18, 46. And *Diodorus Siculus* more fully: "Malta is furnished with many and very good harbours, and the inhabitants are very rich; for it is full

of all sorts of artificers, among whom there are excellent weavers of fine linen. Their houses are very stately and beautiful, adorned with graceful eaves, and pargetted with white plaster. The inhabitants are a colony of *Phœnicians*, who trading as merchants, as far as the western ocean, resorted to this place on account of its commodious ports and convenient situation for maritime commerce; and by the advantage of this place, the inhabitants frequently became famous both for their wealth and their merchandize." Diodor. Lib. V. c. 1.

4. The circumstance of the viper, or venomous snake, which fastened on St. *Paul's* hand, agrees with the damp and woody island of *Meleda*, affording shelter and proper nourishment for such, but not with the dry and rocky island of *Malta*, in which there are no serpents now, and none in the time of *Pliny*.

5. The disease with which the father of *Publius* was affected, (verse 8.) *Dysentery* combined with *fever*, (probably intermittent) might well suit a country woody and damp, and probably, for want of draining, exposed to the putrid effluvia of confined moisture; but was not likely to affect a dry, rocky, and remarkably healthy island like *Malta*.

Ver. 12. After a stay of three months, they departed, probably about the beginning of March, in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered also in the isle, and perhaps from similar stress of weather, and came from thence to *Syracuse*, where they spent three days, and thence proceeded to *Rhegium*, on the straits of *Messina*, and after a day's stay there, reached *Puteoli*, in two days, which was the usual port at which the corn ships from Egypt landed their cargoes. Here, also, *Josephus* and his shipwrecked companions landed, after they were taken up by a *Cyrenian* vessel, the year after St. Paul's voyage.

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compositions, [THE PROPHECIES] which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian* learning. The *antiquity* of these compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events *long subsequent* to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were *genuine predictions*, and consequently inspired." Sir *William Jones*, Eighth *Discourse*, &c.

The intimate connexion between the Old and New Testament is thus strongly marked.

"The writings of the OLD and NEW SCRIPTURES are to be considered as *one work*, written it is true, by different persons, at different times, but dictated by THE SAME SPIRIT. They relate the uniform conduct of GOD to *his people*; and the divine proceedings under the new dispensation bear a strict conformity to those under the Old: they are *parallel*, and therefore a reference is frequently made to rites and ceremonies, and circumstances and events that are exactly similar in both." Dr. *Gregory Sharpe*, *Second Argument in favour of Christianity*.

And most justly does *Chrysostom* style them, "Books that are MEDICINES OF THE SOUL, *not to read which is the cause of all evils.*"

II. But THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, notwithstanding their superlative excellence, are, in many places, *δυσνοητα*, "*hard to be understood,*" and *δυσερμηνευτα*, "*hard to be interpreted;*" which the ignorant and unstable of all ages and countries are apt "to *wrest to their own destruction,*" "*deceived themselves, and deceiving*" others, 2 Pet. iii. 16, Heb. v. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 13. "Ye do *err,*" said our

blessed Lord, “*not knowing* THE SCRIPTURES*,” Matt. xxii. 29.

That various, and even opposite *errors*, indeed, have been drawn from Holy Writ by different sects and individuals, cannot be denied, and must not be dissembled in an attempt to explain THE SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH. Whence then proceed these acknowledged *errors*? The question is interesting, and demands a serious and sufficient answer.

The real difficulties of Scripture originate from sundry causes.

1. The *ancient languages* in which they were written. The *Hebrew* of the Old Testament, and *Greek* of the New, have long, very long since, ceased to be spoken. But a living language abounds in *niceties* of construction, which expire with it, and are irretrievably lost. Like the life-blood, they cannot be transfused into another language.

2. The *oriental phraseology, imagery, manners and customs* differ widely from those of our age and country, and are apt to be misunderstood.

3. The *miscellaneous* form of the sacred books, detached from each other, without apparent connection or continuity, and seldom with any express reference to each other.

4. The *History, Laws, and Customs* of God’s chosen people the *Jews*, and of the several *heathen* or *foreign* nations with whom they were connected by alliance, or

* ————— In *Religion*,
 What *damned error*, but some sober brow
 Will bless it, and approve it with a *text*?—
 The *devil* can cite *Scripture* for his purpose.—*Shakspeare*.

by vassalage, are all blended together, and intermingled with the *prophecies* relative to both. These prophecies are often obscure and enigmatical. And this was wisely ordered, lest a clearer exposure might have proved detrimental to the *prophets* themselves, and also to the *people*, for whose information they were intended, by exposing the former to the indignation of the ruling powers, and the latter, to the vengeance of their brutal and barbarous conquerors.

5. *Times* and *seasons* are not critically marked in Scripture, by reference to any one fixed or established era, or standard of computation; but by vague and indefinite measures of time, *generations*, *reigns*, *priesthoods*, &c.

6. The Scriptures abound in *chasms* and abrupt *transitions* of the *History* and *Chronology*; to be filled up or supplied, as well as may be, by incidental references to parallel passages, or by extraneous supplements from *Jewish*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Heathen* Historians.

7. The want of a correct *standard text*. There are not any two editions almost of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Scriptures that accurately agree together, or critically correspond in all points, either by *Jewish* or *Christian* editors; and the variations create no small embarrassment to the *Translator*, the *Commentator*, the *Chronologer*, and the *Historian*, to select the best, or the most unexceptionable readings throughout.

8. The imperfections of all the *received Translations*. Our last authorized Translation, under the auspices of King *James* I. published in 1611, is unquestionably superior, in most respects, to its predecessors, at home and abroad. But it is far from being immaculate. It

is not sufficiently *close* and *uniform* in rendering the originals, and though a good *popular* Translation, in the main, of admirable plainness and simplicity of style, yet it is not calculated to convey precise and critical information, in difficult and mysterious passages, of the *prophecies* especially, and *poetical* parts of Scripture, abounding in abrupt transitions, and perplexing involutions: even in the *Gospels*, those perfect models of *historical* narration, mistranslations abound, originating from ignorance of, or inattention to the peculiar force of the Greek Article; as fully proved in Dr. *Middleton's* excellent Treatise on the *Greek Article*. And strange as such a declaration may perhaps appear to the generality of readers, and even to scholars, there is no part of the Bible, in which the author of this work has been reluctantly and unavoidably compelled to deviate more from the received Translation, than in the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*.

But, blessed be God, great as are the *difficulties* attending the study of the Scriptures, still greater are the sources of *correction* and *emendation* of the sacred text, and of judicious *exposition* of the SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

1. SCRIPTURE *is its own best interpreter*. The same incidents, the same sentiments, and the same expressions and phrases, are frequently repeated in the same, or in different books. What is obscure, and unintelligible perhaps, in one passage, is frequently cleared up satisfactorily, either by the context, or by parallel passages, in the same, or in different books. The NEW TESTAMENT especially, is the noblest comment on THE OLD, of the "*spirit*" always, of "*the letter*" often, 2 Cor. iii. 6.

2. The *poetical* and *prophetical* parts of Scripture, by a peculiar structure of *Hebrew* versification, abound in distichs, of which the following, or the alternate verse, is usually parallel to the foregoing, or an echo to its sense. This often furnishes an excellent clue to the leading sentiment, or drift of the whole passage in question*.

3. The recent collations of *Hebrew* Manuscripts, made by *Kennicott* and *De Rossi*, &c. and of *Greek*, by *Mill*, *Wetstein*, *Matthai*, and *Griesbach*, &c. and the ancient Versions, the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, the *Latin Vulgate*, the *Chaldee Targums*, or Paraphrases, the *Syriac* Version, the *Arabic*, &c. all furnish copious sources of correction and emendation of the received Texts. While the insignificance of the mass of various readings, in a multitude of places, consisting in myriads of passages, merely in the insertion or omission of a single letter, *Vau*, &c. establishes the *authenticity* of the received Text in the main. The most valuable sources indeed, are the *Ancient Versions*, framed from manuscripts of a much earlier date than any of the present; few, if any of which, can boast an antiquity higher than 1400 years back; and scarcely any of the *Hebrew* class, are free from the corrections, (not seldom the adulterations) of the *Masorete* school †.

* See Bishop *Louth's preliminary Dissertation* to his Translation of *Isaiah*, and Archbishop *Newcome's Preface* to his Translation of *Ezekiel*, for many ingenious and critical observations on the structure and beauties of the *Hebrew* Poetry.

† The *Targums*, or *Chaldee* Paraphrases, are those of 1. *Onkelos* on the Pentateuch; 2. *Jonathan*, on the Historical and Prophetical Books; 3. of *Jerusalem*, and 4. that ascribed to *Jonathan ben Uzziel*. The two first are greatly superior in value.

The principal *Rabbinical* Commentators are 1. *R. Schelomo ben Isaac*, or *Jarchi*,

4. In addition to the *Chaldee Targums*, we find that the Jewish historians and antiquaries, *Philo* and *Josephus*,

usually called *Rashi*, (a cabalistical word formed from the initials of his name, RaSHI.) His Commentary is in the highest estimation among the Jews. It has been translated into Latin by *Breithaupt*.

2. *R. David ben Joseph ben Kimchi*, usually called *Radak*. His Commentary is chiefly grammatical.

3. *R. Moses bar Nachman*, or *Nachmanides*, usually called *Ramban*. His Commentary is chiefly cabalistical.

4. *R. Levi ben Gerson*, usually called *Rabag*. His Commentaries are rather metaphysical.

5. *R. Abraham ben Meir Aben Ezra*. The most learned, perhaps, of the Rabbinical Commentators, and best expounder of the *literal* sense of Scripture, though rather obscure from his conciseness. He understood *astronomy*, and to him we owe the best exposition of the Cardinal Constellations in *Job's* days, *Aish*, *Chimah*, and *Chesil*, &c. Job ix. and xxxviii.

R. Saadias Gaon. His Commentaries are learned, and furnish copious extracts from the *Mishna*, or Traditional law, and from the *Talmud*. He flourished in the tenth age, about two centuries before the rest.

7. *R. Jacob ben Asher, ben Jechiel*. His Annotations on the Pentateuch, under the title of *Baal Turim*, are in high repute among the Jews, but are rather too subtle and cabalistical.

8. *R. Moses ben Maimon*, or *Maimonides*, usually called *Rambam*. His various writings are much celebrated among the Jews, especially his Commentary on the *Mishna*, his *Doctor Perplexorum*, and his *Thirteen Articles of Faith*, explaining six hundred and thirteen precepts of the Law.

These Commentaries, either in the whole, or in part, are given in the large *Rabbinical Hebrew Bibles*. Of these Bibles, the most correct, (according to *Masch's* improved edition of *Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 95—111,) are the following :

1. The third *Bomberg* edition, by the learned *R. Chajim*. 1547—1549.
2. The fourth *Bomberg* edition, by *R. Judas de Mutina*. 1617—1618.
3. *Buxtorf's* great Hebrew Bible. Basil. 1618. The most correct of this class.
4. The most complete Rabbinical Bible, was published by *Moses ben Simeon*, in four volumes, folio. Amsterdam. 1724—1727. Enriched with many additional Comments, and dissertations, by himself and others.

These *variorum* Bibles, however, being all without *Latin* Translations, are only useful to *Rabbinical* scholars. And the *Comments* themselves, as *Buxtorf* judiciously remarks, in the preface to his Bible, “ contain both *honey* and *gall*; and therefore are to be read, and recommended with caution; for though they may be useful to explain the *literal* and *grammatical* sense, and to exhibit the *mystical* and *allegorical* interpretations of Scripture, adopted by the later Jewish Rabbis; yet they scruple

and the *Rabbinical* comments, often furnish valuable explanations of the *language, rites, and customs*, and of the *literal and figurative* interpretation of Holy Writ.

5. The great difficulty which hitherto obstructed the composition of a correct and critical History of the Bible, originating in the imperfection of all the received Systems of *Sacred Chronology*, is now, I humbly trust, considerably lessened, if not entirely removed, by the present System, restoring the original Chronology of *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, so as to harmonize *Sacred History* with itself throughout, and also with the whole range of *Profane History*.

6. To these recorded helps we may add, the improved and still improving state of *Biblical Criticism* in general*.

not to pervert and distort the *Prophecies* concerning CHRIST. Of which, several instances are shewn, in the course of this work, and in my *Dissertations* on the *Prophetic Character* of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

Nor can any of these editions be considered as furnishing an absolutely correct *Text*: for they all servilely adhere to the boasted "*Hebrew verity*" of the *Masora*; which, at the present day, after the Collations of *Kennicott* and *De Rossi*, is not to be deemed immaculate. How greatly Buxtorf himself was prejudiced in its favour, we learn from his own declaration,

Textum Hebræum in antiquissimâ et verissimâ suâ puritate et substantiâ, in minimo etiam apice, reliquimus. Impius enim quisquis ei aliquid addiderit, vel detraxerit, aut quovis modo in eo quid mutaverit.

The Targums of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, with tolerably correct Latin translations, are given in the three first volumes of the *London Polyglott Bible*, and the Targums of *Jerusalem*, and *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, in the fourth volume. The *Mishna* is elegantly published, with a Latin translation, and Notes, by *Surenhusius*, six small vols. folio. 1689. Amsterdam.

* The following *Select Biblical Apparatus*, I can recommend from my own experience, as most useful to such "*nobler minded*" students, like the "*Bereans*" of old who may be both able and willing to "*search the Original Scriptures.*"

I. BIBLES and TESTAMENTS.

1. *The London Polyglott Bible*. 6 vols. folio. 1657. Containing the *Masorete* and *Samaritan Hebrew*, and the *Greek Texts* of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, with the

Within the two last centuries, and especially in the course of the present, the *learned languages* have been

Chaldee Targums, and the *Septuagint Greek*, the *Vulgate Latin*, the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Samaritan*, *Ethiopic* and *Persic* Versions.

This is placed at the head of the list, as unquestionably the most useful and valuable *Polyglott Bible* ever published in any age or in any country. A grand work, indeed, the glory of the *British* press.

2. *Kennicott's Hebrew Bible*, and *Collations of Hebrew Manuscripts*. 2 vols. folio, Oxford. 1776—1780.

3. *De Rossi's Supplemental Collations*. 4 vols. quarto. Parma. 1784.

These form one complete set of collations. *Kennicott* has given besides, the *various readings* furnished by the *Samaritan Hebrew Text*, in the *Chaldee* characters, and with an excellent arrangement, exhibiting those readings by the blanks on each side. The *Dissertatio Generalis*, subjoined to the second volume, is a valuable piece of sacred criticism, and satisfactorily overturns the received hypothesis of the immaculate purity of the Hebrew Text. Scarcely any two of the great number of manuscripts collated by him, exhibiting precisely the same.

In addition to many of *Kennicott's* manuscripts, and many others beside, *De Rossi* has also collated the principal readings furnished by the earlier *printed editions* of the Hebrew Bible, and by the *Fathers*. His *Prolegomena* furnish excellent rules of Philological criticism.

Of the immense mass of various readings which their collations exhibit, multitudes are *insignificant*; consisting frequently of the addition or omission of a single letter in a word, as a *Vau*, &c. but they are not therefore *useless*: all of this class contribute powerfully to establish the *authenticity* of the sacred text in general, by their concurrence; while they occasionally afford valuable *emendations* of the received text, in several important passages, supporting, by their evidence, the various readings suggested by the *ancient Versions*, derived from Manuscripts of an earlier date. *Masch*, in his improved edition of *Le Long's Bibliotheca*, has given, in his *Dissertatio Præliminaris*, some valuable rules for appreciating the merit of various readings, according to their several classes; and a useful table of such as are important, furnished by the different *Masoretic* and *Amasoretic* editions of the Hebrew Bible, either of the whole or of the parts.

4. *Houbigant's Hebrew Bible*, with a Latin Translation, written rather elegantly than closely. 4 vols. folio. Paris. 1753.

This splendid work furnishes several ingenious *conjectural corrections* of the received Text; but it has fallen considerably in public estimation since the more solid publications of *Kennicott* and *De Rossi*. Bishop *Horsley* has given some judicious cautions against *conjectural emendation*, unsupported by printed editions or Manuscripts, in the Preface to his *Hosea*, p. xxxiv—xliv.

5. *Wetstein's Greek Testament*. Two vols. folio. Amsterdam. 1751. Second edition.

This invaluable book, which no sacred critic should be without, besides an en-

more skilfully studied, and considerable accessions have been made to the general fund of *Sacred Literature*, in all

largement of the preceding collations of *Mill* and *Kuster*, &c. contains a mine of philological learning, illustrative of the Text, in the Notes, which furnish a copious collection of *parallel passages* from *Jewish*, *Greek*, and *Latin* authors. His own opinions and inferences, however, are sometimes tinged with *Socinianism*, and therefore to be received with caution. Sometimes, indeed, his candour rises nobly superior to his prejudices, and leads him to adduce powerful counter evidence. Witness his important note in support of the Divinity of *JESUS CHRIST*; from which a selection is given, p. 191, note, of volume III.

6. *Griesbach's Greek Testament*. 2 vols. large 8vo. Amsterdam. 1796—1806. Second edition.

This contains an enlargement of the Collations of *Wetstein*. He also had a *Socinian* bias, and therefore his emendations of the received Text are sometimes questionable. Witness his alterations of Luke ii. 33, and of 1 Tim. iii. 16, where the received Text is much better supported, by the *context*, by the *ancient Versions*, and by the weight of *Manuscripts* adduced by himself. His first edition, in a single volume, 1777, is preferable, perhaps, to the second, because he was then more scrupulous of innovating in the Text. A third, and more splendid edition, has been published in London, in two vols. 1809—1810, but it is not reckoned so correct as the second.

7. *Matthai's Greek Testament*. 12 vols. bound in 9, 8vo. Riga. 1788.

This, in the opinion of a most competent judge, Dr. *Middleton*, the learned and acute author of the *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, is by far the best edition of the Greek Testament that has appeared hitherto; the Manuscripts referred to, being of a better quality than those of his predecessors, and the editor himself more competent fairly to appreciate the merits of their various readings.

II. LEXICONS.

8. *Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon*. 2 vols. folio. London. 1669.

This stupendous work was designed for a companion to the *London Polyglott Bible*, by furnishing Lexicons for the *Hebrew* Text, for the *Chaldee* of *Daniel* and *Ezra*, and of the *Targums*, and for all the *Oriental Versions*. How long, and how indefatigably he laboured therein, how great were his losses and sufferings, and what was his reward *in this life*, we learn from his mournful *Dedication* to King *Charles II* *.

9. *Mercer's*

* The following is an extract from *Castell's* Dedication to King *Charles II*.

“*Annus jam agitur decimus septimus, ex quo, relicto rure paterno, immanibus his atque tremendis ausis (talìa fuerunt certè,) non sine MAJESTATIS TUE consensu, quum primùm specimen hujus operis sub ejus initium ob oculos fuit positum; nec non literis insuper quamplurimis, a viris magni nominis, quà in Ecclesia, quà in Re-*

its various branches, by the researches of the learned, and the discoveries of travellers, in all quarters of the globe.

9. *Mercer's Thesaurus*. Folio. 'Cologn. 1614. This excellent Hebrew Lexicon is an improvement of *Pagninus*.

10. *Buxtorf's Manual Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. Small 8vo. London. 1646. Sixth edition; Basil. 1696. Seventh edition. These are the best editions of this most useful and convenient Lexicon.

11. *Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon*. 8vo. 1799. London. Fourth edition.

12. ————— *Greek Lexicon*. 8vo. 1788. London. Third edition.

These Lexicons are deservedly esteemed for the various erudition of the pious and learned author. But unhappily, he was deeply infected with *Hutchinsonian mysticism*, the offspring of *Rabbinical*, and is frequently fanciful in his derivations and expositions of words. See, for instance, his revolting explanation of Ελωι, in

publica, domi forisque ad me missis, (quarum magna pars, uti etiam *Bibliotheca meæ* cum multâ suppellectili, et *tricens Lexici polyglotti exemplaribus*, in *flammis perii Londinensibus*,) me submissi invitum admodum, animoque (quod testabitur ὁ Καρδιο-γνωστῆς,) multum horrescente, quodque satis superque noverunt illi omnes summi viri, qui me *promissis* tum *auxilii*, tum etiam *remunerationis*, ad istæc non *pelle*xerunt tantum, sed *vi quâdam* *urgenter impulerunt*. Mihi vero, in *hoc molendino* per tot annorum lustra indesinenter occupato, *dies ille tanquam festus et otiosus visus est*, in quo tam *Bibliis polyglottis* quam *Lexicis hisce* provehendis, *sexdecim* aut *octodecim* horas *dietim non insudavi*.

“ Mitto *privata* quæ *corpori* in curriculo hujus operis contigerunt *mala*, *membrorum confractiones*, *luxationes*, *contusiones*; quodque præ omnibus hisce gravissimè dolet, *Oculorum lumen*, *perpetuis atque indefessis vigiliis tantum non ademptum*: item *alia magis publica*, *bellum nationale*, *pestem sævissimam*, et *miserandum urbis hujus incendium*; quibus omnibus, diutiùs multò ut protractum fuit hoc antea languens negotium, ita supra modum ingravescebant simul onera mea et impensæ.—Sunt tamen præter hæc omnia, *aliæ insuper* (nec *pauca* nec *parva*,) quibus gravatus fui, *infelicitates*, quas satius atque consultius puto, silentio contegere, quam non sine periculo in publicum proferre.

“ Tandem verò, *cum ad culmen jam perductus fuit miseriarum mearum cumulus*, duplicatis quasi lateribus (Exod. v. 7, 8.) Θεος απο μηχανης T. M. tempestivè mihi succurrit, idque multis modis: Primo *litteris* ad omnes *Archiepiscopos*, *Duces*, *Marchiones*, *Comites*, *Vice-Comites*, *Episcopos*, *Barones*, aliosque totius Regni subditos, hujus operis *recomendatitiis*: quas *insecutæ* sunt *aliæ* a R. R. D. D. *Archiepiscopis*, Reverendisque admodum D. D. *Episcopis* singulis subsignatæ: item ante quinquennium *aliæ*, a Reverendiss. Honoratissimoque præsule, patrono meo valde benefico, *Gilberto Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, ad singulos suæ provinciæ *Episcopos* conscriptæ. Quas omnes prelo commisi, (quasdam non semel) at successu parum felici: enim vero *universæ hæc literæ*, plus minus septingentas *libras* (700l.) tantum mihi porrexerunt, ad promovendum opus, in quo *millenas multò plures* (7000l.) *infaustus exhausti*, præter plurima atque ingentia valde, quæ *contraxi*, *debita*.”

“*Many running to and fro,*” in quest of information, with restless curiosity and “labour unabashed,” to “*en-*

our Lord's exclamation on the cross, which he derives from אלה, to *swear*, and renders “*accursed!*” p. 231 of volume III, note.

13. *Schleusner's Greek Lexicon*. 2 vols. in four parts. 8vo. Leipsic. 1801. Second edition.

This is by far the best Lexicon of the NEW TESTAMENT, hitherto published. It is highly recommended by Dr. *Marsh*, the learned translator of *Michaelis'* Introduction to the N. T.

III. CONCORDANCES.

14. *Calasio's Hebrew Concordance*. *Romaine's* edition. Four vols. folio. London. 1747.

This splendid and valuable work furnishes a complete Concordance of *Hebrew* words, explained in *Latin*, with marginal readings of the *Greek* Septuagint and *Latin* Vulgate; and in the last volume, an explanation of *proper names*, more copious than that subjoined to the last volume of the *Polyglott Bible*.

15. *Taylor's Hebrew Concordance*. 2 vols. folio. London. 1754.

This valuable *Concordance* and *Lexicon*, is a considerable improvement of *Buxtorf's* celebrated *Hebrew Concordance*, in giving the various renderings of the *Hebrew* words in our *English Bible*. The *Index* of the second volume gives the *English* and *Hebrew*.

16. *Trommius' Greek Concordance*. 2 vols. folio. 1718. Amsterdam.

This is a Concordance of the *Alexandrine* Copy of the *Greek* Septuagint, with the corresponding *Hebrew* words. The *Index* of the second volume furnishes a valuable *Hebrew-Greek* Lexicon, by giving the *Hebrew* words with their various renderings in *Greek*. For methodical and judicious arrangement, it is perhaps the best Concordance published in any language; and is particularly useful as a key to the *Alexandrine* Greek, which is the basis of the *Evangelical*.

19. *Stephens' Greek Concordance*. Folio. 1599. Or its improvement by *Schmiedius*. Folio. 1717. Leipsic.

These are most useful Concordances of the *Greek Testament*.

18. *Noldius' Concordance of Hebrew Particles*. Quarto. 1734. Jena.

This is highly useful as a guide to that most difficult and delicate branch of *Philological Criticism*; especially in *Hebrew*, which has so few particles, and those, of course, used with great variety and latitude.

19. *Glasse's Philologia Sacra*. Quarto. 1694. Amsterdam.

This also is a valuable assistant to the *Hebrew* and *Greek Scriptures*. A new edition has been published by Professor *Dathe*.

20. *Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article*. 8vo. London. 1808.

This important work, after a profound critical investigation of the nature and use of the *Greek Article*, drawn from the philosophy of the *Greek* language, applies

crease knowledge" in general, and *Scriptural knowledge* in particular. And we are assured, by the unerring

the doctrine, in detail, to the NEW TESTAMENT throughout, and detects a multitude of loose and inaccurate translations of our English Bible, owing to ignorance and inattention. For logical precision, acuteness of remark, and depth of research, it ranks among the highest class of critical comments. No Biblical student should be without it. It exposes, most ably and fully, the mistake of the *Unitarian* Translators, especially *Wakefield*. Dr. *Middleton*, however, is not infallible himself, and in his expositions does not always adhere to his own excellent rules.

20*. *Magee* on *Atonement and Sacrifice*, 1812, third Edit.

This enlarged and improved Edition was originally designed for the use of the Students of *Trinity College, Dublin*; and will be found a useful and valuable assistant to *Divinity Students* in general: on account of, 1. Its careful references to *authorities* throughout; 2. Its elaborate and exhaustive discussion of principles and arguments; 3. Its acute strictures on the leading errors of *Papists, Methodists, Socinians*, and *Unitarians*, respectively; and, 4. The copious supplemental lists of *books*, ancient and modern, consulted by the Author, down to the year 1811.

21. *Cruden's Concordance of the English Bible*. Quarto. London. 1785. Fourth edition; the last which he published himself, with improvements.

This also contains a concise and excellent explanation of the most remarkable and important *technical terms in Scripture*; which renders it the best, perhaps, that has hitherto appeared. Still it is capable of improvement; and especially in the *proper names*, which are too scanty, and their meanings are better explained in *Calasio's Concordance*, and in the *London Polyglott Bible*.

IV. COMMENTARIES AND NOTES.

22. *Critici Sacri*. 9 vols. folio. 1660. London.

————— 12 vols. folio. 1698. Amsterdam.

This great work, first published under the direction of four English Divines, Bishop *Pearson*, John *Pearson*, Anthony *Scattergood*, and Francis *Gouldman*, is considerably augmented in the second edition; which, beside several additional Commentators on the Continent, gives a multitude of select *Dissertations* on the most difficult and important subjects of the NEW TESTAMENT, by various authors, enumerated by Dr. *Clarke*.

23. *Poole's Synopsis Criticorum*. 5 vols. folio. London, 1669—1674.

On this most elaborate work, the learned author spent *ten* years, and must have worked as hard as *Castel* himself. It consolidates, with great skill and conciseness, all the *Critici Sacri* of the *London* edition, into one continued comment; besides many valuable additions from other authors of note, *Hammond*, &c. and his own corrections and decisions in several places. It has "*many advantages* over the *Critici Sacri*, not only in point of *size*," but in its admirable *arrangement* and *concentration* of evidence, and in the *author's remarks*, and it furnishes a most complete *material index* to the *Critici Sacri*. So that upon the whole, "the *Synopsis* will be

Word of Prophecy, that “*it shall be increased until the time of the end,*” or full disclosure of the PROVIDENTIAL HISTORY of mankind.

preferred to the *Original*,” by many, beside the author of this note, who reflect on the old adage, and do not wish to waste their precious time in wading through a multitude of discordant comments,

Ars longa, Vita brevis.
“*Slow is the attainment of skill ;*
Short, the expectation of life.”

It is highly to the honour of the city of *London*, (as remarked by Dr. *Clarke*,) that the great works of the *Polyglott Bible*, and *Castel's Lexicon*, the *Critici Sacri*, and *Poole's Synopsis*, forming twenty-two large folio volumes, in *nine* languages, were begun and finished in the comparatively short compass of about twenty years, by the *industry* of seven or eight *English Divines*, and the *munificence* of a few *Noblemen*. “*To complete,*” says he, “*its eminence in Biblical literature, and to place itself at the head of all the cities of the universe, London has only to add a new and improved edition of its own POLYGLOTT,*” p. xiv.

24. *Lightfoot's Works*. 2 vols. folio. 1684. London.

He was one of the most profoundly learned of the bright constellation of *Scholars* and *Divines*, which adorned that age, and shone, unrivalled, perhaps, in any other. His *Talmudical* learning he most happily applied to the illustration of Scripture. He was not, however, so happy in his *Chronological* and *Geographical* remarks. The former, indeed, was not to be wondered at, from the imperfect state of *Chronology* in his time. In the latter, he has committed several gross mistakes in the *Holy Land* and site of *Jerusalem*.

25. *Schoettgenius Supplement to Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ, et Talmudicæ*. 2 vols. 4to. Dresden. 1733.

This is a learned and useful work ; and is both *scarce* and *dear*. It is therefore entitled to republication in *London*.

26. *Calmet's Commentaire Literale*. 9 tomes, folio. Paris. 1719—1726.

An excellent Supplement is furnished in *Calmet's Dictionaire, &c. de la Bible*, 4 tomes, folio, 1730. Paris.

A valuable abridgment and improvement of *Calmet's Dictionaire, &c.* has been lately published by Dr. *John Robinson*, in his *Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Dictionary*. London, 1815. Large Octavo. Which contains a great variety and compass of *Religious* information, in a moderate size, illustrative of the *Old* and *New Testament*.

27. *Bible de Chais*. 6 vols. 4to. Hague. 1743—1777.

Besides a *French* Translation, which, in general, is judicious, this learned and elaborate work contains a valuable comment upon the OLD TESTAMENT, as far as the end of *Kings*, and a great number of curious and critical *Dissertations, Maps, &c.* It is much to be regretted, that the learned and pious author did not complete

III. The paramount excellence, therefore, the importance and the difficulty of the ORIGINAL SCRIPTURES,

the whole. What he has published, however, at long intervals, is excellent. His *Notes* are chiefly taken, as he professes, from the best *English Commentators*, to whom he gives a decided preference above the foreign, *Houbigant*, *Calmet*, &c. all of whom he appears to have carefully studied. It may, therefore, be justly considered as a considerable and valuable improvement upon his predecessors of every description, as far as it goes. I have found it such in the course of my researches; far superior, indeed, in critical information, to any single commentary, within its range, which I have consulted.

28. *Dodd's Commentary*. 3 vols. folio. London. 1770.

This may justly be considered as a Supplement to *Chais*. "Mr. *Chais*," says he, "has hitherto carried his work only to the second Book of *Samuel*; I was forced, therefore, to leave with regret, so useful an instructor, and should have been happy to have improved my comment by a continuance of his well-digested volumes." He also gives *Calmet* his well-earned praise, but qualified with "proper allowances for the author's faith, and his Church's attachment to the edition of the *Vulgate*." Preface.

V. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

29. The first and highest of this class is unquestionably *Josephus*, the great *Jewish Historian* and *Antiquary*. The first twelve books of his *Antiquities* form a regular comment on the *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil History* of the *Jews*, from the Creation till the time of the *Maccabees*, or *Asamonean Dynasty*. *Hudson's* edition of the Text, is more correct and convenient; though *Havercamp's* is larger, and abounds more in notes. His *Jewish war*, and the corresponding latter books of his *Antiquities*, furnish the most admirable illustrations of the predictions of *Moses*, the *Prophets*, and OUR LORD, respecting the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*.

30, 31. *Shuckford's* and *Prideaux's* *Connexions* are very useful in tracing the connexion, and supplying the chasm between the *Old* and *New Testament*.

32. *Lardner's Works*. 11 vols. 8vo. 1788. London.

This elaborate work is truly valuable. It contains the most copious materials for judging of the authenticity and credibility of the *Canonical Scriptures* of the NEW TESTAMENT.

33. *Michaelis' Lectures on the New Testament*. 4 vols. 8vo. 1793—1801. Cambridge. *Marsh's* Translation.

This may be considered as the sequel of *Lardner's*, and in many respects an improvement thereon. Both these writers, however, are rather *sceptical*, and not to be implicitly relied on in their conclusions, though generally fair and candid in citing their authorities, both for and against their own opinions.

34. *Abulfaragi's History of the Dynasties*. Quarto. *Arabic* and *Latin*. Oxford. 1663. Edit. *Pococke*.

This celebrated historian, whose real name was *Gregorius Bar Hebræus*, has given

have given birth to a greater number and variety of *helps* and *expositions*, than any other books that ever

a compendium of *Universal History*, from the creation of the world to A.D. 1273, in *Ten Dynasties*, or *Periods*. Though bred a *physician*, and a leader of the *Jacobite sect of Christians* in *Syria*, he was admired by *Mahometan* and *Jewish* writers, as "the *phœnix* of his age," and "we justly *venerate* him," says *Michaelis*, "as the *most learned*, and the *best historian* of the *Syrian* writers."——To this honourable distinction I also willingly subscribe, having found him the best and surest guide, in adjusting the *Chronology* of the *Patriarchs*, *Job*, *Jacob*, *Levi* and his *sons*, &c. and furnishing the true outline of the chronology of *Theophilus*, *Bishop of Antioch*; supplying important *chasms*, both in the *SCRIPTURES* and in *Josephus*, with an accuracy and fidelity not to be found elsewhere.

35. *Eutychius' Annals*. Quarto. *Arabic* and *Latin*. Oxford. 1659. Edit. *Pococke*.

This excellent Annalist and Patriarch of *Alexandria*, has also given a Compendium of *Sacred* and *Ecclesiastical History*, from the creation of the world to A.D. 637; which will be found a useful Supplement to *Abulfaragi*; but he is not so correct in his *Chronology*.

36. The younger *Spanheim's Ecclesiastical History*, from the Creation to the *Reformation*, 1535, including also his *Sacred Geography* and *Chronology*. *Latin*. Folio. Leyden. 1701.

This is a valuable work, and well deserving republication of the *Ecclesiastical History*, singly.

37. *Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*.

Of this a new edition has been lately published. The character of this work is too well established to require recommendation.

38. *Jortin's Erasmus*.

Of this also a new edition has been published. It contains curious and authentic documents of the progress of the *Reformation*.

39. *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*.

This work is superior to all praise for profound learning, compass of information, and accurate fidelity. His *Preface*, addressed to *them that seek*, (as they term it,) *the Reformation of the Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England*; and his *Seventh Book*, describing the *Constitution and Maintenance of the primitive Church*; and *vindicating the Discipline of the Church of England*; for close, temperate, masterly, and exhaustive reasoning, are unrivalled, and well deserve to be reprinted separately. The whole *eight books* are indeed too prolix and tedious for the *indolent fastidiousness* of modern readers and critics.

40. *Mede's Works*.

These contain a rich and varied fund of *Original Criticism*, on several important parts of Scripture, both of the *OLD* and *NEW TESTAMENT*. He was the first who furnished a rational *Key to the Apocalypse*, and who had the high merit of retrieving the doctrine of the *Millennium* from undeserved obloquy and neglect.

were written in any age or in any language : and if we review the infinite multitude of *Translations, Notes, Comments, Keys, &c.* of *Lexicons, Dictionaries, Concordances, &c.* of *Histories, Connections, Abridgments, &c.* that have already appeared, in all languages, wherever THE GOSPEL has been published throughout the whole world, we may safely conclude, without any hyperbole or exaggeration, that *the world itself could not contain the books that might be written*, upon a subject so absolutely inexhaustible in all its various branches and ramifications.

But amidst all this endless and oppressive variety of *Scriptural Helps*, there are scarcely any which are not liable to serious and weighty objections. Some are too voluminous, diffusive, and expensive for ordinary use ; others too short, superficial, and imperfect to convey sufficient information : and we may search in vain for a COMPETENT HISTORY OF THE BIBLE ; a History of the Bible which shall be plain and clear, even to the unlearned, and yet concise, correct, and critical ; competent, 1. to arrange all the scattered events in a regular and lucid, *chronological* and *geographical* order ; 2. to trace the connexion between the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT throughout, so as to render the whole one uniform and consistent narrative ; competent, 3. to expound the *mysteries, doctrines, and precepts* of both, intelligibly, rationally, and faithfully ; without *adding* to, or *diminishing* from the WORD OF GOD ; and without undue respect of persons, parties, or sects ; 4. to unfold and interpret the whole grand and comprehensive scheme of “ *the*

Here we shall end this *select list of most useful elementary books* ; referring the curious reader for further information on the subject, to the various *authors* cited in the course of this work.

prophetic argument *," from *Genesis* to *Revelations*; all admirably linked and closely connected together, subsisting in THE DIVINE MIND, "before the foundation of the world," 1 Pet. i. 20, Rev. xiii. 8, and gradually revealed to mankind, at sundry times, and divers modes and degrees, during the *Patriarchal*, *Mosaical*, and *Christian dispensations*, as they were able to bear it, Heb. i. 1, competent, 5. to solve *real difficulties*, and reconcile *apparent dissonances*, resulting from the obscurity of the original text, or from inaccurate translations; 6. to silence *Sceptics* and *Heretics*, *Infidels* and *Scoffers*, by exposing the weakness and inconclusiveness of their objections and cavils; 7. to defend the *institutions* of the *Primitive Church* against *Schismatics* and *Levellers*; and in fine, 8. to copy, as closely as possible, the brevity and conciseness, yet simplicity and plainness of the Gospel style;—such a history of the Bible is altogether a *desideratum* in the annals of sacred literature.

Such a plan was partly suggested many years ago, after the grand rebellion, by *Samuel Torshell*, a preceptor of the royal family of *Charles I.* as it seems, who addressed "the *Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*," on this great and important *national* concern, in a tract preserved in the *Phoenix* about 1707, Vol. I. p. 96, &c.

In this, he proposed "to dispose THE BIBLE into a *method* and *harmony*, by transposing the order of books and chapters; inserting the sacred oracles according to the times they were delivered in, and the psalms in their places, and on the occasions which they were framed to

* Τον προφητικον λογον, 2 Pet. i. 19.

suit ; in such a manner that by the mere force of *series* and *connexion*, the *historical* and *prophetical* parts might reciprocally explain and authenticate each other."

It is much to be regretted that this masterly plan was not attended to, and encouraged by a *British Parliament*. It proved abortive, and *Torshell's* materials, if he had collected any, were unfortunately lost, or condemned as waste paper. As far as the limited powers and confined opportunities of an unassisted and retired student could avail, an attempt has been made, in the present work, to fill up the scanty outline in some measure ; but to complete and perfect the whole, in all the various branches, expressed above, will require the united talents of the *most learned*, and the *most enlightened* scholars and divines, not only of the present age, but of ages yet unborn ; for THE MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL cannot be fully unfolded till the *time of the end*.

IV. This second volume, comprises the *History of the Old Testament*, and *Apocrypha*, in *eight* Chronological *Periods*, reaching from the *creation of the world*, B.C. 5411, (according to the present system) to the birth of *John the Baptist*, B.C. 5 ; and the third volume comprises the *History of the New Testament*, from thence, to the destruction of Jerusalem by *Titus*, A.D. 70.

To these is added, a *tenth prophetic period*, including a brief sketch of the state of the *Church militant*, or suffering, both before and after CHRIST, from the rise of the *Babylonian* empire upon the ruins of *Nineveh*, B.C. 606, to the end of the period of *the three woes*, for 1260 years, ending, according to this scheme, A.D. 1880. See the analytical investigation of it, p. 517, 518, of this volume.

The *Church militant* is to be succeeded by the *Church triumphant*, during the establishment of THE *kingdom of God* upon earth, foretold by the ancient prophets, especially *Daniel*, ii. 44, vii. 13, 14, for a *thousand years*, or probably *generations*, *Exod.* xx. 5, 6, *Deut.* vii. 9, *Ps.* cv. 8, 1 *Chron.* xvi. 15, in the *regeneration*, *Matt.* xix. 28; at the *first resurrection*, *John* v. 25, *Rev.* xx. 4, 5; or *resurrection of the just*, *Luke* xiv. 14, as distinguished from the *general resurrection* at the end of the world, *John* v. 28, 29, *Matt.* xxv. 31—46; when *seasons of refreshment* shall arrive, *Acts* iii. 19—21, at OUR LORD'S *second appearance*, *Heb.* ix. 28. When *wars* and *discord* shall cease throughout the world, and *religion* and *virtue* flourish, and the *paradisaical* state be once more revived upon earth during that blessed millenary period of a *thousand generations*. Under each of these periods its *chronology* is first given, and the principles upon which it was constructed are briefly explained before its *history* is detailed. Thus the *chronology* and *history* keep pace with each other, and their mutual consistency, and the harmony that pervades the whole of the *analytical* outline of the *chronology*, (as determined from the general principles laid down in the first volume of this work,) and the *synthetical* arrangement of the events furnishes no slight presumption, that the whole system is well founded, and solidly built in its superstructure.

The leading *prophecies* throughout the *Old* and *New Testament*, are introduced “according to the *times* they were delivered in,” for the following reasons:

1. This *chronological* order of the *prophecies* is recommended by the sacred writers themselves, who con-

stantly interweave their *prophecies* with the thread of the *history*, in the most simple and natural way.

2. The most important *prophecies* grew, as it were, spontaneously out of the circumstances of the *history*, and they mutually explain and illustrate each other: the prophecies, by their reflex operation, often contributing materially to explain the *passing events*, and also to predict others that were *nearer*, or *less remote*.

Thus, the *grand charter* of our REDEMPTION originated from the *historical fall* of our first parents in Paradise, (Gen. iii. 15.) And it contributes in turn to ascertain the *spiritual nature* of the *tempter*, under the *image* or form of a *serpent*; as expressly explained, (Rev. xii. 9.) And the famous prophecy of *the chosen virgin* of the royal house of *David*, of whom "THE BLESSED SEED," IMMANUEL, was to be born, destined in the fulness of *prophetic time*, to *crush the serpent's head*, or destroy the power of the *Devil*; was naturally suggested by the infidelity of *Ahaz*, king of *Judah*, refusing a sign of deliverance from his enemies, offered to him from THE LORD by the prophet *Isaiah*, vii. 10—15: while the *re-moter* prophecy of the birth of JESUS was verified by the *nearer* prediction, that in the course of *two years*, before THE HOLY CHILD should learn to distinguish his food, the hostile land of *Samaria* and *Syria*, which *Ahaz* then dreaded, should be deprived of its two kings, those *fire-brands* to *Judea*, ver. 16. See p. 419 of this volume.

3. And it is truly remarkable, that the most disastrous periods of the *history* were the most highly illuminated by THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY, for the comfort and support of the *faithful* under their present, or approaching trials. Thus, the sufferings of the *Israelites*, in their *Egyptian*

bondage, and in the waste howling wildernesses of *Arabia Petraea*, were mitigated and relieved by the most signal *prophecies* of future *rest* and *salvation* in the *promised land*; not merely for a short period, but for “a *thousand generations*” of the faithful, by the voice of THE TUTELAR GOD OF ISRAEL himself, from Mount *Sinai*. The greatest prophets, “in *word* and *deed*,” *Elijah*, *Elisha*, *Isaiah*, *Micah*, *Ezekiel*, *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, &c. were all raised up before, or during the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities.

The like kind and gracious economy took place under the GOSPEL dispensation. The *times* and *seasons* were highly calamitous, when OUR LORD and his harbinger the Baptist, appeared on the stage. And their most important *prophecies*, pointed chiefly to the approaching destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the long *desolation* to ensue during the *Roman* captivity; critically explaining and applying the foregoing prophecies of *Moses*, *Isaiah*, and *Daniel* relative thereto, for the comfort, support, and deliverance of the *faithful*; of whom *not a hair of their heads* perished in the catastrophe of the devoted city, because they listened to OUR LORD’S admonitions, and watched his *signs of the times*.

The same is still continued to *us* and to *our children* in these latter *times* and *seasons*. We likewise are forewarned in the sure and unerring word of prophecy, by CHRIST and his *Apostles* in the NEW TESTAMENT, and especially in his last and fullest *revelation* to his exiled servant *John*, in *Patmos*, of the *three woes* that are to conclude the persecutions of the *Church militant* before it shall become *triumphant*; and there is abundant reason to dread that the *last woe* has already begun; that the effusion of the *first vial of wrath* upon the *apostate*

world, began about A.D. 1793 ; and that the last persecution of the *remnant of the witnesses*, shortly before the expiration of the period in 1880, is likely to take place in *England*, and chiefly in its metropolis, *London*, that greatest seminary of *religion and virtue*, and also of *irreligion and vice*. In which conflict, we greatly apprehend, the *National Church* shall be extinguished for a short time, but shall rise again like the *Phoenix* from her ashes, with renewed lustre, at the *regeneration*. Nor is this ominous exposition of *Rev. xi. 7—12*, by any means singular or novel. It was expressly applied to the *Protestant, or Reformed Churches* in general, by the sagacious *Mede* ; it was dreaded for the *Church of England* in particular, by Bishop *Jewell*, Archbishop *Whitgift*, and the profound *Hooker*, in consequence of the sacrilegious *spoliation of ecclesiastical property* by the Laity ; and it is supported by some of the soberest *witnesses* of the present eventful times.

The study of the *Apocalypse* furnishes the *master key* to the whole scheme of *chronological prophecy*. The Apocalyptic visions, like the *head corner stone*, crown the whole fabric, laid by the great architect CHRIST himself, for the *edification* of the *faithful* in the last days. “ He that will understand the *old prophets* must begin with the *Apocalypse*,” said Sir *Isaac Newton*. *Observations, &c.* p. 250. And his *analytic* method was pursued throughout in framing this *Analysis of Sacred Chronology*, especially in the *prophetic* scheme. To such *serious* students as may wish to see the whole plan of this volume unfolded, it is earnestly recommended by way of *preparation*, to begin at the end, and read the *tenth period* first. This will furnish the clue to the whole. There they

will find out what was “*first, last, and midst, and without end*” in the author’s thoughts, during this long and laborious task:—1. an ardent desire and anxious endeavour to rouse and excite *public attention* to most awful and interesting and impending *prophecies*; 2. to engage, if possible, all the various jarring and discordant *sects and parties* that flourish even to rankness, in this enviable land of *religious and civil liberty*, to join in mutual *peace and charity* * with *the Church*, and with *each other*, from a lively sense of their *common danger*; and to unite cordially against the common enemy, *Popery*, now rearing her *hydra* head aloft in these isles, after having been *wounded to death* on the continent of *Europe*; one of the most astonishing and portentous *signs of the times*:—3. to establish upon solid and unshaken grounds, the truly *Scriptural and Orthodox* doctrine of the *first resurrection*, at OUR LORD’S approaching *appearance* at the *regeneration*, and his ensuing *spiritual* kingdom upon earth for a *thousand years or generations*; and to rescue this reviving and awakening doctrine (too long suppressed and neglected,) from the *vain terrors* of ignorant enthusiasts, and the *presumptuous imaginations* of artful and designing fanatics, vending their “*seals,*” or false securities among a deluded populace; 4. to promote the *conversion of the Jews*, and contribute to bring back the *lost sheep* of the house of *Israel*, to the great SHEPHERD of *their salvation*; demonstrating, by a close and critical survey of *all the prophecies* from *Moses to Malachi*, in the originals, respecting their MESSIAH, that they were altogether ful-

* “*There will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit.*” *Hooker. Preface.*

filled in JESUS OF NAZARETH *, and altogether in no other person whatsoever ; according to the judicious plan, proposed, indeed, but insufficiently, and unfairly executed by *David Levi* †, owing to his *partial blindness* and *rooted*

* In the APPENDIX to the third volume, *all these prophecies* are collected into *two grand series*. The first, descriptive of the *Human Nature* of CHRIST, his *pedigree*, *sufferings*, and *glory* ; the second, of his *divine character*, *titles*, and *offices*.

† About the year 1787, the late Doctor *Priestly*, rather unadvisedly, attempted the conversion of the *Jews*, and provoked a controversy with *David Levi*, a learned *London Jew*, in which “ little *David*,” as he humourously styled himself, encountered “ this *Goliath*,” in controversy; and boasted that “ he slew, with his own sword, this *man of war* from his youth ;” who, certainly, was not competent to maintain the cause of CHRISTIANITY upon *Unitarian* principles, against his brother the *Jew*.

Elated with his success, *Levi* threw down the gauntlet to the *Christian Divines* at large in these terms,——“ If I might presume to offer *my opinion*, in so weighty a cause, I think that the *fairest* method, and that which is the likeliest to lead to *conviction* on either side, (*Jewish*, or *Christian*) is to take a *review of all the prophecies* concerning THE MESSIAH, from *Moses* to *Malachi*, and compare them with the acts of *Jesus*, recorded in the *New Testament* ; to see whether they have been fulfilled in his person or not.”

This, *Levi* attempted to do in a publication of three volumes 8vo. on the *prophecies* ; which, with some ingenious expositions, mixes much trite and common place argument of *Jewish* writers, and much indecent virulence against “ the name of JESUS.” Still, the work is in estimation among his countrymen, and we understand, several of them have expressed surprize that it has not been answered.

This induced the *Society* lately instituted in *London*, to promote the *conversion of the Jews*, to offer a premium for the most approved answer to *David Levi's* book ; and one has lately appeared under their auspices, signed *Talib*, which has considerable merit, as far as it goes ; stating *Levi's* fundamental principle, namely, that the *glorious kingdom of the MESSIAH* was to take place *immediately*, or *shortly after his first appearance upon earth* ; and proving that it is, 1. a mere *petitio principii*, or taking for granted the question at issue between the *Jews* and *Christians* ; 2. That it is contrary to the whole analogy of the divine government of the world, in which the *progress* toward perfection is gradual ; from the *grain of mustard seed* to the *great tree*, Matt. xiii. 31, 32 ; 3. And contrary also, to the *express intimations* of the *Hebrew Scriptures* ; and 4. expressly opposed to those *prophecies* which foretel a *suffering MESSIAH*, &c. But the learned and ingenious author modestly professes neither sufficient *leisure* nor *erudition* for a complete answer to every part of *Levi's* work, p. vi.

This has been attempted, in the present *Analysis of Sacred Chronology* ; the necessity of which was originally suggested, indeed, in great measure, by *Levi's*

prejudices;—5. to induce and persuade all descriptions of *scholars* competent thereto, *Jewish, Christian, and Sceptical*, “up to reascend, though *hard and rare*,” to the *original* sources of information in the HEBREW and GREEK SCRIPTURES, rejecting their leaky and “*broken cisterns that can hold no water*”—no *living waters* from the ROCK CHRIST; and exchanging their *sounding brass* for *solid gold*:—their *secondary authorities*, of *received translations, dogmas, Mishnas and Talmuds*, their *formularies of faith, confessions, and traditions of men*, for the native *simplicity and dignity, and lucid argument*, “in *thoughts that breathe, and words that burn*,” of THE GOSPEL OF PEACE, from *Genesis to Revelations*;—6. and by their influence and exertions among the *unlearned and unstable*, to bring all descriptions of men, *high and low, rich and poor, one with another, from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto GOD, to guide their feet, and thereby our own also, into the way of peace* here, and *bliss* hereafter.

To propose and enforce in their full lights and bearings, views so vast and comprehensive, as are here delineated, is not the *author's* province, nor of any *individual* whatsoever, even the most highly gifted. He has, indeed, sketched a grand outline; but to fill it up, cor-

imposing challenge; for this led to a critical examination of the *Jewish System of Chronology* in the first volume of this work; which was found to be false and hollow. With the *ground work*, therefore, the superstructure of his *argument* necessarily fails; as I have endeavoured to prove by a critical analysis and dispassionate examination of the *prophecies* themselves in the course of this volume; to which the attention of the most learned *Jewish Rabbis*, is most earnestly and anxiously requested, by their sincere well-wisher.

“ O pray for the peace of Jerusalem! —————
They shall prosper, that love Thee.

rectly and completely, will require the joint concurrence, and the strenuous co-operation of the most intelligent and the most enlightened of the *wise* and *good* of all *sects* and *parties*, of “all sorts and conditions of men,” who compose the *visible Church*, under THE LAW and under THE GOSPEL. And such, he humbly trusts, are still to be found among *the Israel of God* and *followers of THE LAMB*. May their *number*, their *unanimity*, their *faith*, and fervent but considerate *zeal according to knowledge*, abound more and more to promote this blessed work of GENERAL REFORMATION in *belief* and *practice*!

In the progress of this arduous and tedious undertaking, as a laborious *pioneer* in the cause and service of *Sacred Literature*, he has proceeded all along with fear and trembling; impressed with the most lively and profound sense of the awful *responsibility* of a *sacred critic* to GOD and the *world*, if he presume, if he dare, to handle that *sharp two-edged sword*, of THE SPIRIT, THE WORD OF GOD, either heedlessly, unskilfully, or deceitfully; fully concurring in sentiment with the pious and sagacious, but most cautious and circumspect *Joseph Mede*, that “*Rashly to be the author of a false interpretation of SCRIPTURE, is to TAKE GOD’S NAME IN VAIN, in a high degree*,”—higher in *writing* than in *speaking*; for, *Litera scripta manet*.—

Feci quod potui, potui quod, CHRISTE, dedisti;

(*Improba, fac melius si potes, Invidia!*)

Si malè quid dictum est, Hominem dixisse memento;

Si bene quid dixi, gloria, CHRISTE, tua est.

Pfeiffer.

ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΔΟΞΑ.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.



THE following TEN PERIODS comprise the whole from the *Creation to the end of the World*.

VOL. II. OLD TESTAMENT.

FIRST PERIOD, p. 1.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE, 2256 YEARS.

	Y.		B.C.
1. <i>Adam</i>	(130) 230	....	5411
2. <i>Seth</i>	(105) 205	....	5181
3. <i>Enos</i>	(90) 190	....	4976
4. <i>Cainan</i>	(70) 170	....	4786
5. <i>Malaleel</i>	(65) 165	....	4616
6. <i>Jared</i> .....		....	4451
7. <i>Enoch</i>	(65) 165	....	4289
8. <i>Methuselah</i> .....		....	4124
9. <i>Lamech</i> .....		....	3937
10. <i>Noah</i>	600	....	3755
Deluge			
	2256		3155

SECOND PERIOD, p. 44.

FROM THE DELUGE TO ABRAHAM'S BIRTH, 1002 YEARS.

1. Deluge, <i>Shem</i>	2	....	3155
2. <i>Arphaxad</i>	(35) 135	....	3153
3. <i>Salah</i>	(30) 130	....	3018
4. <i>Heber</i>	(34) 134	....	2888
5. <i>Peleg</i> or <i>Phaleg</i>	(30) 130	....	2754

		Y.	B.C.
6. <i>Reu</i> or <i>Ragau</i>	(32)	132	2624
Division of the Earth.....			2614
<i>Nimrod's</i> kingdom and Confusion of Tongues			2554
7. <i>Serug</i>	(30)	130	2492
8. <i>Nahor</i>	(29)	79	2362
<i>Job's</i> trial			2337
9. <i>Terah</i>	(70)	130	2283
10. <i>Abraham</i>		1002	2153

THIRD PERIOD, p. 106.

FROM ABRAHAM'S BIRTH TO THE ISRAELITES' RETURN TO CANAAN,
545 YEARS.

1. <i>Abraham</i>	60	}	2153	
—— goes to <i>Charran</i> ..	15		75	2093
—— to <i>Canaan</i> ..	25			2078
—— to <i>Egypt</i> ..				2077
—— rescues <i>Lot</i>				2070
<i>Ishmael</i>				2067
Destruction of <i>Sodom</i>				2054
—— goes to <i>Gerar</i> ...			215	2054
2. <i>Isaac</i>	60	}	2053	
His intended <i>Sacrifice</i>				2028
3. <i>Jacob</i>	82	}	1993	
—— goes to <i>Charran</i>				1916
4. <i>Levi</i>	48	}	1911	
<i>Joseph</i> , Governor of <i>Egypt</i> .				1872
5. <i>Kothath</i>	60	}	1863	
<i>Jacob's</i> family go to <i>Egypt</i> ..				1863
6. <i>Amram</i>	75	}	1803	
<i>Joseph's</i> death.....			215	1792
7. <i>Moses</i>	80	}	1728	
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i>	40		40	1648
Their return to <i>Canaan</i> ..	545		1608	

FOURTH PERIOD, p. 257.

FROM THE ISRAELITES' RETURN, TO THE REGAL STATE, 498 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Joshua and the Elders</i>	26	1608
First division of Lands		1602
Second division of Lands		1596
<i>Anarchy or Interregnum</i>	10	1582
I. Servitude <i>Mesopotam.</i>	8	1572
2. <i>Othniel</i>	40	1564
II. Servit. <i>Moab</i>	18	1524
3. <i>Ehud and Shamgar</i>	80	1506
III. Servit. <i>Canaan</i>	20	1426
4. <i>Deborah and Barak</i>	40	1406
IV. Servit. <i>Midian</i>	7	1366
5. <i>Gideon</i>	40	1359
6. <i>Abimelech</i>	3	1319
7. <i>Tola</i>	23	1316
8. <i>Jair</i>	22	1293
V. Servit. <i>Ammon</i>	18	1271
9. <i>Jephthah</i>	6	1253
10. <i>Ibzan</i>	7	1247
11. <i>Elon</i>	10	1240
12. <i>Abdon</i>	8	1230
VI. Servit. <i>Philist.</i>	40	1222
13. <i>Samson</i>	20	1202
14. <i>Eli</i>	40	1182
<i>Samuel called as a prophet</i>	10	1152
VII. Servit. <i>Philist.</i>	20	1142
15. <i>Samuel</i>	12	1122
<i>Saul elected king</i>	498	1110

FIFTH PERIOD, p. 308.

FROM THE REGAL STATE TO THE REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES, 120 YEARS.

1. <i>Saul</i>	40	1110
<i>Samuel Judge jointly, 38 years</i>		
<i>Saul defeats the Ammonites</i>		1110
— his first offence		1108
<i>Jonathan defeats the Philistines</i>		1106

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Saul's</i> second offence	1100
<i>David</i> born	1100
—— kills <i>Goliah</i>	1080
—— marries <i>Michal</i>	1075
—— first flight to <i>Gath</i>	1074
—— second flight to <i>Gath</i>	1071
<i>Saul's</i> third offence	1070
2. <i>David</i>	40	1070
—— takes <i>Jebus</i>	1063
<i>Philistine</i> war	1061
Ark brought home	1060
<i>Nathan's</i> prophecy of THE MESSIAH, the Son of <i>David</i>	1055
<i>David's</i> first offence.....	1052
<i>Solomon</i> born	1050
<i>Absalom's</i> and <i>Sheba's</i> rebellions	1036
<i>David's</i> second offence.....	1032
<i>Adonijah's</i> rebellion.....	1030
3. <i>Solomon</i>	40	1030
Temple begun	1027
—— finished.....	1020
<i>Tadmor</i> built.....	1006
Temples on the Mount of <i>Corruption</i>	996
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
The Revolt	120	990

SIXTH PERIOD, p. 372.

FROM THE REVOLT TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 404 YEARS.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

1. <i>Rehoboam</i>	17	....	990
2. <i>Abijah</i>	3	....	973
3. <i>Asa</i>	41	....	970
4. <i>Jehosaphat</i>	25	....	929
5. <i>Jehoram</i> or <i>Joram</i>	8	....	904
6. <i>Ahaziah</i>	1	....	896
7. <i>Q. Athaliah</i> ..	6	....	895
8. <i>Joash</i> or <i>Jehoash</i>	40	....	889
9. <i>Amaziah</i>	29	....	849
Interregnum	11	....	820

	Y.	B.C.
10. <i>Uzziah</i> , or <i>Azariah</i>	52	809
11. <i>Jotham</i>	16	757
12. <i>Ahaz</i>	16	741
13. <i>Hezekiah</i>	29	725
14. <i>Manasseh</i>	55	696
15. <i>Amon</i>	2	641
16. <i>Josiah</i>	31	639
17. <i>Jehoahaz</i> , 3 m.		
18. <i>Jehoiakim</i>	11	608
19. <i>Jehoiachin</i> , <i>Jechoniah</i> , or <i>Coniah</i> , 3 m.		
20. <i>Zedekiah</i>	11	597
<i>Jerusalem</i> destroyed	404	586

SEVENTH PERIOD, p. 448.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO NEHEMIAH'S REFORM, 166 YEARS.

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

1. <i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> destroys <i>Jerusalem</i>	25 last	586
———— appoints <i>Gedaliah</i> governor ..		586
———— subdues the <i>Ammonites</i> , &c.		585
———— besieges <i>Tyre</i>		584
———— desolates <i>Judea</i>		582
———— subdues <i>Egypt</i>		570
———— his first <i>dream</i>		569
———— sets up the <i>golden image</i>		569
———— his second <i>dream</i>		568
2. <i>Evil Merodach</i>	3	561
———— releases <i>Jehoiachin</i>		561
3. <i>Belshazzar</i>	5	558
———— his <i>feast</i> and <i>death</i>		553

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN DYNASTY.

1. <i>Darius</i> the <i>Mede</i> , or <i>Cyaxares</i>	2	553
2. <i>Cyrus</i> the <i>Persian</i>	15	551
———— takes <i>Babylon</i> , first of his <i>sovereignty</i>		536
<i>Jews</i> return under <i>Zerubbabel</i>		536
1. High priest, <i>Jeshua</i> , 53 years		536
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	Y.	B.C.
4. <i>Darius Hystaspes</i>	36	521
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5. <i>Xerxes</i>	21	485
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———— stops the rebuilding of <i>Jerusalem</i>		463
———— marries <i>Esther</i>		460
———— sends <i>Ezra</i> to <i>Judea</i>		457
3. High priest, <i>Eliashib</i> , 40 years		453
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———— rebuilds the walls and the city		444
———— returns to <i>Persia</i>		432
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PERSIAN DYNASTY.

Jewish High Priests.

3. <i>Eliashib</i>	7 last	420
4. <i>Joiada</i> , or <i>Judas</i>	40	413
5. <i>Jonathan</i> , or <i>John</i>	32	373
6. <i>Jaddua</i> , or <i>Jaddus</i>	20	341

MACEDO GRÆCIAN DYNASTY.

7. <i>Onias</i>	21	321
8. <i>Simon the Just</i>	9	300
9. <i>Eleazar</i>	15	291
10. <i>Manasses</i>	26	276
11. <i>Onias II.</i>	33	250
12. <i>Simon II.</i>	22	217
13. <i>Onias III.</i>	20	195
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2. <i>Jonathan</i>	17	160
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		63
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VOL. III. NEW TESTAMENT.

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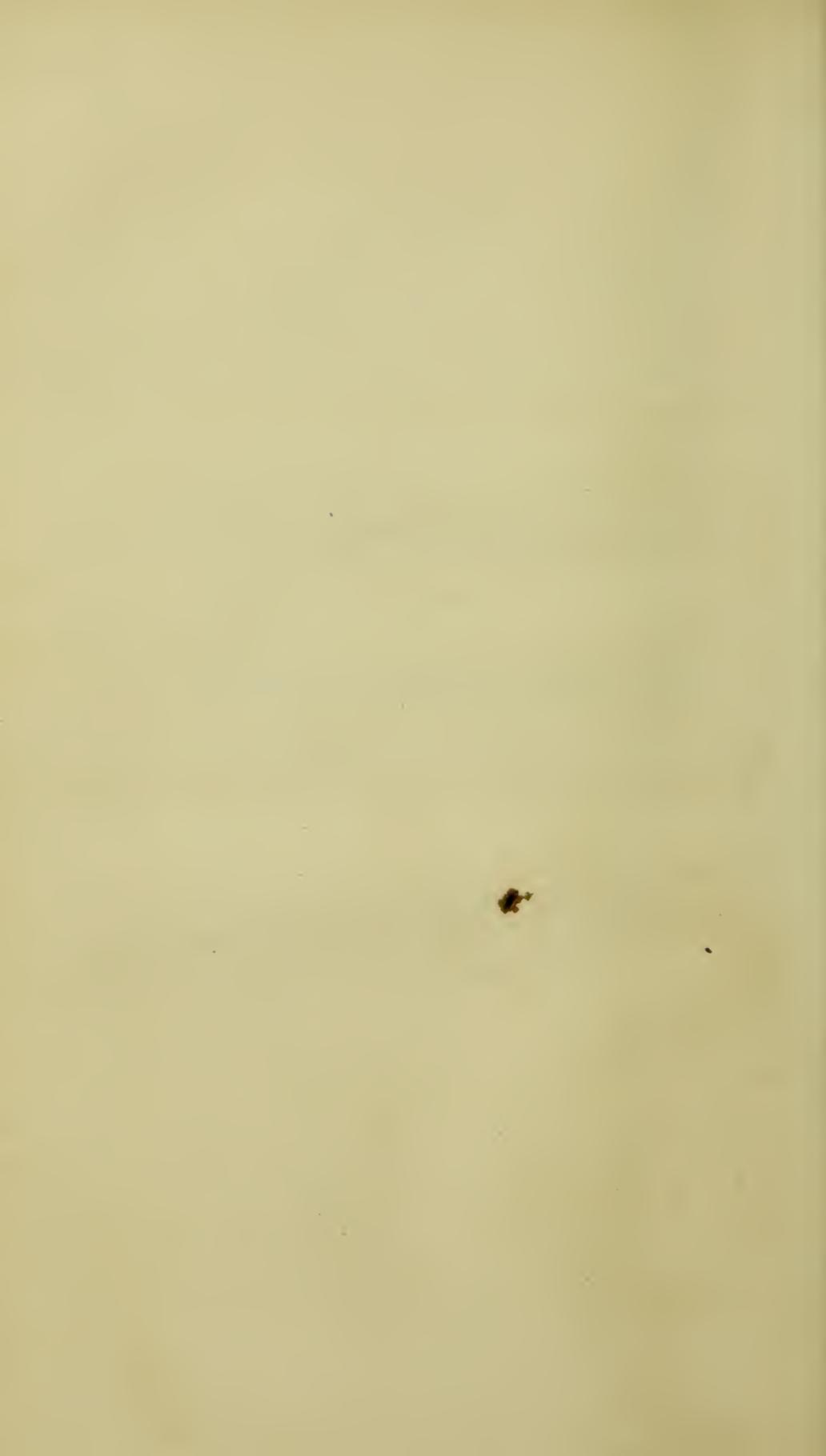
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ANALYSIS
OF
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.



ANALYSIS

OF

SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE, 2256 YEARS.

<i>Seth's line.</i>	Y.	B.C.	<i>Cain's line *.</i>
1. <i>Adam</i>	230	5411.	1. <i>Adam</i> .
2. <i>Seth</i>	205	5181.	2. <i>Cain</i> .
3. <i>Enos</i>	190	4976.	3. <i>Enoch</i> .
4. <i>Cainan</i>	170	4786.	4. <i>Irad</i> .
5. <i>Malaleel</i> . . .	165	4616.	5. <i>Mehujael</i> .
6. <i>Jared</i>	162	4451.	6. <i>Methusael</i> .
7. <i>Enoch</i>	165	4289.	7. <i>Lamech</i> .
8. <i>Methuselah</i> ..	187	4124.	8. <i>Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal Cain</i> .
9. <i>Lamech</i>	182	3937.	9.
10. <i>Noah</i>	600	3755.	10.
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/>			
Deluge	2256	3155.	

The book of *Genesis* begins with an account of the Creation of the *Earth*, its *elements*, *vegetable* productions, and *animals*, in the course of six days. At the same time were created, we may presume, the *sun*, *moon*, *planets* and *comets*, which compose our Mundane System. See the process of Creation described in the *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 308, &c.

The world was probably created in *Spring*, about the Vernal

* The probable Chronology of *Cain's line* is given in the fourth volume of this work. Section I.

Equinox. See *Elements of Technical Chronology*, Vol. I. p. 33. And the year of the Creation, assumed as the basis of this system, is B.C. 5411, collected from the rectification of the Chronology of *Josephus*, and of *Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch, as stated, Vol. I. p. 302.

The *primæval* or *sacred year*, consisted of 360 days. See the article of *years*, Vol. I. p. 31. And in this genealogical table of *Seth's* line, six centuries are added to the generations of *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Cainan*, *Malaleel*, and *Enoch*, exhibited in the present *Masorete* Hebrew text; for the reasons assigned, Vol. I. p. 272, &c.

ADAM.

The first chapter of *Genesis*, closes the general account of the creation with that of *Man*, the last and noblest work of GOD: who were created separately, "male and female," "in the image and likeness of God," endued with reason, speech, and knowledge of their CREATOR, who graciously conversed with, and "blessed them," and gave them "dominion" over the earth, its elements, and its productions, vegetable and animal: and concluded with the institution of the *sabbath* on the seventh day, after the work of creation was all finished, which "God *blessed*" to be a day of "rest," (as the name implies) or repose from labour; "and *sanctified*," to be a day devoted to religious worship and instruction. Gen. i. 26—31; ii. 1—3.

The second chapter (which more correctly begins with "*These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth*," &c. ver. 4.) resumes the subject, and gives a particular account of the separate formation of *Adam* and *Eve*; of their first settlement in the garden of *Eden*, made for their accommodation, and furnished with "every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food;" of the first covenant which God made with them; and of their marriage. Gen. ii. 7—25.

According to this more circumstantial account, "THE LORD OF GODS formed the first man*, *dust* of the ground: and breathed into his nostrils the *breath of life*; and the man became a *living soul*."

* The original expression, אֶת הָאָדָם is doubly emphatic, and should be rendered, "the first Adam," or "the first man," as it is by St. Paul, alluding to this passage, 1 Cor. xv. 47. "The first man was of the ground, earthy, or dusty," (χρῆμα.)

Human nature therefore, consisted of three parts, 1. the *body*, formed of the *dust* of the ground; 2. the *breath of life*, (or the "*breath of the spirit of life*," as more fully expressed in the original, Gen. vii. 22;) and 3. the *living soul*. And it is so explained by *Josephus*, Ant. I. 1.

"GOD formed the man, having taken *dust* of the ground; and put into him *spirit* and *soul*." The NEW TESTAMENT also represents the *whole* man as compounded of *spirit*, *soul*, and *body*, 1 Thess. v. 23, Heb. iv. 12.

Of these parts, "*the spirit*," or "*breath*," Job xxxiv. 14, is the noblest, and the peculiar prerogative of *man*, as distinguished above the rest of the animal creation, Eccl. iii. 21, by which he is made an heir of immortality, Titus iii. 7; for, "there is a *spirit* in *man*, and the inspiration [or breath] of THE ALMIGHTY giveth them understanding," Job xxxii. 8; "*the dust* [or *body*] shall return to the earth as it was; but the *spirit* shall return to GOD who gave it," Eccl. xii. 7. And it is remarkable, that when our blessed Lord began to *regenerate* his disciples after his resurrection, when "he was invested with *all power* in heaven and earth;" in allusion it seems, to the creation of *Adam*, originally, "he *breathed on*, or *into* them, (*ενεφυσησε*) and said, Receive a *holy spirit*." (*λαβετε πνευμα αγιον*) John xx. 22.

The *spirit* is also called in Scripture, "*the understanding*," Ephes. i. 18, iv. 18; "*the mind*," Rom. vii. 25, or "*the spirit of the mind*," Ephes. iv. 23. *Reason*, Dan. iv. 36, Acts xviii. 14; and *conscience*, Rom. ii. 15, ix. 1. All these distinctions are found also in heathen philosophy, and in both, the *spirit*, *reason*, or *conscience* is represented as the governing principle of human nature, Rom. ii. 15, &c. This, according to the *Mosaic* account, is supposed to be seated in the *head*, as the *sensorium*.

The second part, or *soul*, is the principle of sensation, or mere animal life, which man shares in common with brutes. Hence it was called a "*living soul*." And the term *ψυχη*, indiscriminately denotes both *soul* and *life*. This is supposed in Scripture to be seated in, or attached to the *blood*; "for the *life* of the flesh [or *body*] is in the *blood*," Gen. ix. 4, Levit. xvii. 11, Deut. xii. 23. And that excellent anatomist, Mr. *John Hunter*, from the result of many experiments, has confirmed the doctrine, that *the principle of life is inherent in the blood**. Phil. Transact. vol. LXVI. p. 414.

* "*Hunter's* experiments, however, are not decisive of the doctrine of the *vitality* of

Because the *soul* is more intimately connected with the third and lowest part, *the body*, it is frequently styled in Scripture, *the flesh*, as contrasted with the *spirit*, Matt. xxvi. 41; and is opposed thereto, "the *spirit* being inclined to *good*, the *flesh*, to *evil*," Gal. v. 17; compare Rom. vii. 15, viii. 6, 7. Sometimes, however, the *soul*, by a popular use of the word, includes the *spirit*; as when it is contrasted with the *body*, Psal. xvi. 10, Matt. x. 28, Luke xii. 4; or with *fleshly lusts*, 1 Pet. ii. 11.

To the *soul* belong the *appetites*, *affections* and *desires*, Ephes. ii. 3; the *passions* and *lusts*, Rom. i. 26, Gal. v. 24. All these were wisely implanted in *man*, to excite and stimulate him to action; and are therefore good in themselves; they only become bad or mischievous by excess or abuse, 1 Cor. vii. 31. Like fire and water, "they are good servants, but bad masters:" good, when restrained and controuled by *reason* or *conscience*; bad, when unrestrained*.

Human nature therefore, like all the other works of God's creation, was "*good*," in its kind, and "*very good*," for the purposes for which it was designed, Gen. i. 31; yet even in its original constitution it was imperfect, frail, and liable to evil, both natural and moral; as described by HIM who knew it best; "*the spirit* indeed is willing, but the *flesh* is weak!" Matt. xxvi. 41. And this is the uniform doctrine of Scripture throughout: "The first man knew not *wisdom* perfectly, neither shall the last find her out," Ecclus. xxiv. 28. "Verily, every man, in his *best estate*, is altogether *vanity*," [or imperfection,] Psalm xxxix. 5. And this, by the divine appointment: "For the [human] creation was made subject to *vanity*, not willingly, but by HIM who subjected [them thereto,]" Rom. viii. 20. This *vanity*, or *natural* imperfection, is styled by our Church, in her Article IX,

the blood, either in the body, or out of the body. The *blood* contains the principle of the *increase* and nourishment of the *body*; and distributes *heat* through every part of it. It is, indeed, the *principle of life*, so far as it is the vehicle of the *living principle*." This judicious remark is due to an esteemed friend, the Rev. T. Falconer, editor of *Strabo*, Bampton Lecturer, &c., the learned son of a learned father, and physician, Dr. W. Falconer, of Bath.

* Bishop Butler, in his sermon on Resentment, has an excellent observation on this subject.

"We should learn to be cautious lest we charge God foolishly, by ascribing that to HIM, or the *nature* he has given us, which is owing wholly to an *abuse* of it. Men may speak of the degeneracy and corruption of the world, according to the experience they have had of it: but *human nature* considered as the divine workmanship, should, methinks, be treated as sacred; for in the *image of God* made he man."

an *Original* or *Birth-sin*, “an *infection of nature*,” which “doth remain, yea even in them that are *regenerated* :” and this is correct scriptural doctrine; for, says St. *Paul*, who entered so deeply into the philosophy of human nature, “We know that *the whole creation* groaneth and travaileth until now; and not only *they*, [the *unregenerate*] but *we* [the regenerated *apostles*] who have *the first fruits of the Spirit*, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, awaiting *adoption*, namely *our deliverance from the body* ;” Rom. viii. 22, 23; or from *bodily infirmities*; 2 Cor. xii. 7—10. Phil. xi. 23, 24; at the *resurrection*; 1 Cor. xv. 23, &c.

But when it is said, that *man* was made “an *heir*” of immortality, “according to the hope of *eternal life*,” Titus iii. 7. this is not to be understood as being derived from any *inherent* virtue in his nature; as if the *spirit* or *mind* was *necessarily* immortal, according to the arrogant notions of Heathen philosophers, and philosophizing divines of their school. The divine sentence pronounced on *Adam*, “*dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*,” Gen. iii. 19: included the dissolution of the *spirit* also; for what had a beginning might reasonably be expected to have an end; and the *Stoic* philosophers reasoned more justly from analogy than the rest, when they maintained, that “the *soul*, from its distinct nature, might, indeed, *long* survive the body; but denied its *eternal* existence*.” “And this, I say,” says St. Paul, “that *flesh* and *blood* [or *mankind*, Matt. xvi. 17.] are not able [naturally] to inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption:” in order to this end, a great and sudden *change* is to be wrought in both soul and body; for the Apostle proceeds, “Behold, I tell you a mystery: we shall not all sleep [an *eternal sleep*, in death] but shall all be *changed*, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet (for the trumpet shall sound), and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed: for this *corruptible* [body] must put on incorruption, and this *mortal* [soul] put on immortality, 1 Cor. xv. 50—53. “*Eternal life*, indeed, is the free *gift* of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD,” Rom. vi. 23; “Who illustrated *life* and *incorruption* both by THE GOSPEL,” 2 Tim. i. 10, which he preached, John vi. 68; xx. 21; and by the example of his own resurrection, in

* *Stoici diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper, negant. Cicero.*

a glorified body, as “*the first fruits*,” the sample and the pledge, of “the resurrection of the just,” to “glory, honour, and immortality,” 1 Cor. xv. 20—23; Luke xiv. 14; Rom. ii. 7; Col. iii. 1—4.

It is remarkable that the first man was formed of the common earth, and afterwards translated into Paradise; and the name אדם *Adam*, signifying “red,” or the reddish colour of *native* virgin earth, according to *Josephus*, is common to the human species, “male and female:” for “God blessed them, and called their name *Adam**, in the day that he created them,” Gen. v. 2.

The first woman was formed separately, from a rib of *Adam* himself, and animated with the same spirit. He called her, אשה *Aishah*, “woman,” because she was taken out of אִישׁ, *Aish*, the proper name of “man,” or the male, Gen. ii. 23, he afterwards called her חַוָּה *Hhavah*, or *Eve*, “because she was the mother of all *living*,” Gen. iii. 20; either from חַי *Hhai*, “life,” or “living;” or from חָוָה, which in Arabic, signifies “to live †.” *Robertson’s Clavis Pentateuchi*, p. 49.

By thus forming *woman* from a part of the *man’s* body so near his heart, PROVIDENCE seems to have intimated the peculiar tenderness, and lasting union, of the matrimonial state:—“Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh,” Gen. ii. 24; “What, therefore, GOD hath joined together, let not *man* put asunder,” Matt. xix. 5, 6.

PARADISE.

The site and description of *Paradise*, most conformable, perhaps, to the *Mosaical* account of the “garden of *Eden*,” is given in the *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 316.

The state of our first parents in Paradise, was a pleasant state of moderate employment; “to dress and keep” the garden in order; which God furnished with every thing necessary for their accommodation and gratification: “Out of the ground, made the

* In Numb. xxxi. 35, אדם *Adam*, is remarkably applied to “*female persons*.”

† *Parkhurst*, in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 220, gives a fanciful derivation from the same verb, which in Hebrew, usually signifies to *declare*, or *discover*; as if *Eve* signified “*the manifestor*,” because she was to be the mother of all who *live* unto God, through Christ, the promised seed of the woman. The *Rabbins* ludicrously derive it from the same verb, as denoting her *talkativeness*. See *Buxtorf’s Manual Lexicon*.

LORD GOD to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food." It was also a state of trial or probation, and of discipline or preparation for a better. For these purposes, two remarkable trees were planted "in the midst of the garden," (in the most conspicuous place, we may presume,) "the tree of *life*, and the tree of *knowledge* of good and evil," Gen. ii. 9. iii. 3.

The tree of *life* was so called, as being the appointed instrument of conferring upon man, "that thing which, by nature, he could not have," to "*live for ever*," by eating of its fruit, Gen. iii. 22. It partook, therefore, of the essence of a *sacrament*, according to the interpretation of the best divines, "as a *means* whereby to receive the same; and a *pledge* to assure them thereof;" upon the condition of receiving it worthily.

The tree of *knowledge*, was so called as being the appointed test of the obedience or disobedience of our first parents; procuring *good* or happiness, in the former case, and *evil* or misery, in the latter.

THE FIRST COVENANT.

"And the LORD GOD commanded the man, saying, Of *every* tree of the garden thou mayest *freely* eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die."

This command was also repeated to both *Adam* and *Eve*, in still stronger terms: "God said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye *touch* it, lest ye die." Gen. iii. 3.

The divine permission to eat of "*every* tree of the garden," and that "*freely*;" evidently included "the tree of *life*;" and also implied the divine approbation to partake thereof, as the appointed means of procuring that free and gratuitous "*gift* of GOD—*eternal life*, through JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD;" while, on the other hand, "the wages of sin," in eating of the forbidden tree, "was *death*," Rom. vi. 23.

This covenant, therefore, with both its sanctions, is thus well paraphrased by Bishop *Bull*, in his excellent Sermon, *on the first Covenant*, and *the State of Man before the Fall*, &c. Vol. III. p. 1069.

"If thou shalt obey my commandment in not eating of the tree of *knowledge*, thou mayest continue in Paradise, and *freely* enjoy all the other delights thereof, not being debarred from the

tree of *life*, which thou mayest eat of, and *live for ever* : but if thou transgress this my commandment, in eating of the tree of knowledge, thou shalt *certainly die*.”

GOD, therefore, dealt with our first parents, as with *rational* and *free* agents, capable of understanding a law for the regulation of their conduct, and free to obey or disobey it. He dealt precisely in the same manner afterwards, in the covenant which *Moses* made, in his name, with the *Israelites* :

“ I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before you *life* and *death*, blessing and cursing : therefore *choose life*, that both *thou* and *thy seed may live* *.” Deut. xxx. 19.

The simplicity of the prohibition, not to eat of the fruit of a particular tree, has proved a stumbling-block to † Scepticism and Infidelity ; but it was wisely adapted to the peculiar circumstances of our first parents. In their primitive state of innocence and seclusion from society, what opportunity or what temptation had they to violate any one of the *ten* commandments ? No other God than *one* knew they, their Creator ; and, therefore, they had no inducement to *polytheism*, *idolatry*, or profanation of his *name* or *sabbaths* ; no earthly *parents* had they to dishonour ; no *neighbours* to injure by *murder*, *adultery*, *theft*, or

* The sublime *Milton* has finely expressed the foundation of free agency.

————— “ I made man *just* and *right*,
Sufficient to have stood, though *free* to fall,
Such I created *all the æthereal powers* ;
Freely they stood, who stood, and fell who fell :
Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true *allegiance*, constant *faith*, or *love* ?”

Young expresses the same sentiment, with his peculiar boldness and energy.

“ Blame not the bowels of the DEITY ;
Man shall be bless'd, as far as man *permits*.
Not Man alone, *all Rationals*, Heaven arms
With an illustrious, but tremendous power —
That power denied, *Man*, *Angels*, were no more
But *passive* engines, void of praise or blame.
Heaven *wills* our happiness, *allows* our doom :
Invites us ardently, but not compels.”

† “ If we consider *Reason* as our only oracle, we shudder at the thought of so many calamities, temporal and eternal, entailed upon *mortals* in punishment of the disobedience of one man, who tasted an *apple* ! though we should consider that master a bloody tyrant who should deprive a slave of his life, for such a trifle ; still, are we *uncharitable* for believing the transgression of one man will be the occasion of the loss of several ?” *O'Leary* against *Wharton* and *Hawkins*, p. 38.

perjury; where all was their sole property and dominion, no room had they for covetousness. Nothing, therefore, but the privation of some appetite, the restriction of some gratification within their reach, could easily have been proposed as a test of their obedience.

Both trees, indeed, were admirably ordained to contribute to the discipline, improvement, and perfection of human nature: the tree of *knowledge*, to restrain the inordinance of *appetite*, and keep the *flesh* in constant subjection to the *spirit*; the tree of *life*, “to strengthen and refresh the soul,” by its *sacramental* virtue, and to repair the decays of the body by divine power; until at length, after their appointed time, they might have been translated from the earthly to the heavenly *Paradise*, without tasting death; like *Enoch*, before the Law, and *Elijah*, under the Law. Indeed, that the garden of *Eden* could never have been designed for the perpetual residence of *Adam’s* posterity, is evident from its scanty limits: even the world itself could not contain the multitudes that would be born in a limited number of ages, supposing mankind to have propagated their species at the same rate as since the fall.

THE FALL OF MAN.

How long our first parents remained in *Paradise* is not noticed in Scripture. Various have been the guesses of *Jewish* and *Christian* chronologers; reckoning it a day, a week, or ten days, a year, or seven years. The period was probably longer: that it was not less than a century, may be collected from the primitive tradition of the *golden age*, evidently including the state of innocence; and still more decisively, from the most approved date of *Seth’s* birth, in the 230th year of *Adam*, soon after the murder of *Abel* by *Cain*, when the latter was arrived at manhood, and married at the time; and therefore not less, probably, than 100 years old, which would bring *Cain’s* birth to the 130th of *Adam*; not long after their expulsion from *Paradise*.

This longer period seems also more agreeable to the History of the Creation and Fall; which intimates that our first parents had other communications with their MAKER before that last, “when they heard his voice [probably in thunder] walking in the garden in the cool of the day, and were afraid, and hid themselves.” Before that fatal day, they might often have heard him,

speaking in “a still small voice;” as at their creation, Gen. i. 28, &c. ; and afterwards, as he spake to *Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Elijah, &c.*

The third chapter of *Genesis* gives an account of the fall. It has been the fashion with minute philosophers, and philosophizing divines, to endeavour to explain away the reality of the fall, and to resolve it all into “*allegory, apologue, or moral fable**.” But the whole scheme of *redemption* by CHRIST is founded thereon, and must stand or fall therewith; a figurative fall requiring only a figurative redemption. Even that noted Deist, Lord *Bolingbroke*, justly rejects the *allegorical* mode of interpretation:—“It cannot,” says he, “be admitted by *Christians*; for if it was, what would become of that famous text [*that the seed of the woman should crush the serpent’s head*, Gen. iii. 15] whereon the doctrine of our *redemption* is founded.” Vol. V. p. 372. 8vo.

Indeed, the *Mosaical* account, from its simplicity and consonance with the whole tenour of Holy Writ, was evidently designed to represent a real transaction; and it has been received as such, by the *inspired* penmen of the Old and New Testament, who certainly were most competent to decide. It discloses a mysterious doctrine of the most alarming information: that we are exposed to “the craft and subtlety” of a formidable *spiritual* adversary, who first seduced our first parents from their obedience to the law of God, by artfully working on their *appetites* and *affections*; and is still permitted to exercise a tremendous influence and sway over mankind, for a limited time. 1 Pet. v. 8; Rev. xii. 12; xx. 2; Matt. viii. 29.

His various titles in Scripture are, “the *great dragon*, the *old serpent*, called the *Devil* and *Satan*, who deceiveth the whole world,” Rev. xii. 9; “the *prince of this world*,” John xii. 31; and even “the *god of this world*,” 2 Cor. iv. 4; who claimed supreme jurisdiction over its kingdoms, Luke iv. 6; “the *prince of demons*,” or *devils*, Matt. xii. 29; as being leader of a numerous and formidable host of *wicked spirits*, called his *angels*, Matt. xxv. 41; and also, called the *principalities*, and *powers*,

* “The account of the *fall* cannot be considered under any other character than that of *allegory, apologue, or moral fable.*” *Middleton*.

“The fall is an excellent *mythologue*, or an Egyptian *allegory*, judiciously selected by *Moses*, to enable him to account for the *introduction of evil*, and of man’s *antipathy to the reptile race.*” *Geddes*.

and *rulers* of this world, Ephes. vi. 12 ; *the power of darkness*, Luke xxii. 53 ; who for his *pride* and *rebellion* was cast out of heaven, with his angels, Isa. xiv. 12—14 ; Luke x. 18 ; Ephes. ii. 2 ; Rev. xii. 7 ; and shall be finally cast into hell, at the end of the world, and the general judgment, Rev. xx. 10 ; Matt. viii. 29, with his *angels* and *wicked men*, Matt. xxv. 41.

Of the real and personal existence therefore of “the tempter,” as he is emphatically styled by way of bad eminence, when he tempted CHRIST himself, Matt. iv. 3, not the slightest doubt can be entertained by any one who “searches the Scriptures:” and, perhaps, one of “the depths of *Satan*,” or his deepest devices, Rev. ii. 24, is to deny or ridicule the idea of his own existence, and to represent it as *allegorical*, *visionary*, or *imaginary*, in order to throw an unsuspecting world off their guard, and “sift them as wheat,” or shake their faith, Luke xxii. 31.

The motive that instigated the tempter, was envy at the happiness of our first parents : “through *envy of the devil* * came sin into the world, and they that hold of his side do find it.” Wisd. ii. 24.

That the fall of man was considered as a real historical fact, by the sacred writers both of the Old and New Testament, is evident. The seduction of *Eve* is noticed ; “of the woman came the beginning of sin ; and through her we all die,” Ecclus. xxv. 24.—And *Adam’s* hiding himself ; “If I covered my transgressions as *Adam*, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom,” [or lurking place,] Job xxxi. 33.—“*Adam* was formed first, then *Eve* ; and *Adam* was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression,” 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14 :—and the faithful are warned to take heed from her example : “I fear, that as ‘*the serpent beguiled Eve*’ through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity [of the faith] concerning CHRIST, by *false apostles*,” 2 Cor. xi. 3.

* *Milton* has finely represented this, in *Satan’s* soliloquy at the sight of *Adam* and *Eve* in Paradise.

O hell ! what do mine eyes with grief behold ?
 Into our room of bliss thus high advanc’d,
 Creatures of other mold ; *earth born* perhaps,
 Not *spirits*, yet to heavenly spirits bright,
 Little inferior. _____

_____ Aside the devil turn’d
 For *envy* ; yet with jealous leer malign
 Ey’d them askance, and to himself thus plain’d. P. L. B. iv.

Among the great variety of the serpent kind, none was more likely to have been chosen by the tempter, (either assuming the form, or entering into a real serpent, as a convenient instrument of seduction,) than that deadly species of “*fiery serpents* *,” so called from their bright reddish colour, by which the *Israelites* were bitten near the close of their wanderings in the *Arabian* deserts, because they murmured for more substantial food, against THE LORD and against *Moses*, Numb. xxi. 6—8. In the original they are called *Seraphim*, from שרף *Saraph*, “to burn or glow;” and are represented as “*flying*,” and infesting *Palestine* and *Egypt*, Isa. xiv. 29; xxx. 6. *Herodotus* also describes a peculiar species of *flying serpents*, found in *Egypt*, and chiefly in *Arabia*, as of small body, spotted with various colours, in shape like the *water-snake*, and their wings without feathers, smooth like those of a bat. And he reports, that in *Arabia Felix*, the trees that bear frankincense are guarded † by great numbers of them; but that the *Arabs* drive them away by burning a gum called *styrax* underneath the trees, and then gather the frankincense, B. II. § 75, and III. § 107. This description accurately corresponds to the *seraph-serpent*; and happily establishes the propriety of that epithet of *Satan*, in the *Apocalypse*, δρακων μεγας πυρρος, “*the great fiery dragon*,” Rev. xii. 3, which was a *water-snake*, common in *Egypt*, Isa. xxvii. 1; Ezek. xxix. 3.; and was their principal divinity also, called *Serapis* (evidently from *Seraph*), worshipped all over the heathen world in ancient times, and even still in *Hindustan* and *China*. And by a striking analogy, as the healing *brazen serpent* erected on a pole by *Moses* in the wilderness, was a significant type of the Saviour of mankind, CHRIST on the Cross, John iii. 14; so, the deadly *Seraph*, was equally fit to denote “him that had the power of death, that is *the devil*.” Heb. ii. 14.

By a mysterious imagery, the winged angels, in prophetic vision to *Isaiah*, which surrounded the throne of GOD, or CHRIST, in glory, are called *Seraphim*, from their bright, shining appearance, Isa. vi. 2—6; referred to, John xii. 40. These seem to have resembled the *Cherubim*, stationed at the garden

* In the Targum of *Jonathan*, they are called “*royal serpents*,” or *basilisks*.

† This seems to bear a remote allusion to the tree of life, guarded by the *Cherubim*, on the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise.

of Eden after the fall; whose images, we may suppose, were, by divine command, placed at each end of the mercy-seat over the ark, in the Holy of Holies, both of the Tabernacle and of the Temple, Exod. xxv. 17—22, &c. which *Ezekiel* also beheld in mystical vision; compare Ezek. i. 5—13. with x. 20; and afterwards John; who, following *Ezekiel*, describes them as “*living creatures*,” or “*animals*,” (ζωα,) Rev. iv. 6—8. Whence the *Te Deum* in our excellent Liturgy, joins “*Cherubim* and *Seraphim*” together in singing the doxology of *Isaiah* and *John*: “Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of *Sabaoth* (‘*Hosts*;)’ heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.”

We may presume, therefore, that when “*Satan* beguiled *Eve*,” he was “transformed into an *angel of light*,” 2 Cor. xi. 3—14, or a *seraph*-serpent. *Eve* might easily and naturally have mistaken him for an angel of light, in this disguise, especially when possessed of the faculty of speech, which was denied to the brute creation. And she might have imagined that he came out of good will, to explain more fully the nature of the divine covenant, and to enlighten her ignorance.

The tempter artfully assailed *Eve*, as “the weaker vessel,” when she was alone, or separated from her husband; and in the course of conversation began to enquire: “Yea, hath God said ye shall not eat of *every* tree in the garden?” and when she repeated the prohibition, and the penalty of death, he allured her with the hope of impunity: “*Ye shall not surely die*:” and ingeniously perverting the meaning of “the tree of *knowledge*,” he added, “for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as *gods*, *knowing good and evil*;” or ye shall become as wise as gods, to *know* or distinguish *good* and *evil*.

“And when the woman saw that the tree was good for *food*; and that it was pleasant to the *eyes*; and a tree to be desired to make one *wise*; she took of the fruit thereof and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.” Gen. iii. 1—6.

The temptation under which *Eve* fell, was three-fold: “the lust of the *flesh*, the lust of the *eye*, and the *pride* of life,” in the language of St. John, or *appetite*, *vanity*, and *ambition*. And it is truly remarkable, that those with which the Devil, above five thousand years afterwards, vainly assailed the blessed Seed

of the woman, and Saviour of mankind, were precisely the same in kind, accommodated to their respective situations, Matt. iv. 1—12. It is probable, that on this occasion also, *Satan* appeared as an *angel of light*, not only from his claiming divine worship, but also from the circumstance of true “*angels ministering unto CHRIST,*” after the devil’s departure.

When it is said, that “*Eve* gave of the fruit to her husband with her,” the expression “*with her*” only implies her *partner*, or *help-mate*, Gen. ii. 20. As understood in *Adam’s* apology afterwards : “the woman whom Thou gavest to be *with me*, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat,” Gen. iii. 12. *Adam*, therefore, was not deceived ; he transgressed wilfully ; “he hearkened to the voice of his wife” more than to the voice of God, Gen. iii. 17 ; “he loved his wife more than God,” Matt. x. 37, and was, therefore, no more worthy to be called a “*son of God,*” Luke xiv. 26, iii. 38, xv. 19. The temptation which overcame him was “*inordinate affection**,” (*παθος*) Col. iii. 5.

And now, after their transgression, the delusive promise of the tempter was in part fulfilled ; “*the eyes of them both were opened,*” or enlightened †, not to their expected glory, “*as gods,*” or angels of light, but to their shame, as “fallen from their high estate,” and become *rebels* and *apostates* from GOD : “*and they knew that they were naked,*” both literally and figuratively ; like the *Israelites* afterwards, when seduced into idolatry and fornication, in the matter of the golden calf, whom “*Aaron made naked,* to their *shame,*” Exod. xxxii. 6—26, they felt conscious of concupiscence ‡, resulting from a sense of their nakedness : a feeling to which they had been strangers before ; when “they were both naked, and were not ashamed,” Gen. ii. 25. And to hide their nakedness from each other’s eyes, “*they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons,*” or rather *girdles*.

* *Milton* has finely expressed this, in *Adam’s* mourning over *Eve* :

————— Some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguil’d thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin’d ! for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die :
How can I live without thee !—&c.

† See Gen. xxi. 19, Numb. xxii. 31, 2 Kings vi. 17, Acts xxvi. 18.

‡ In this sense it is understood by *Milton*, and the best commentators.

And hence, in the hottest regions, and most savage nations, the custom of wearing girdles about their loins, even where the rest of the body is left naked, universally prevails; and furnishes extensive *historical* evidence of the reality of the fall, from which that custom took its rise.

THE JUDGMENT.

The judicial trial of the guilty offenders before God, is next related, with all the circumstantial evidence of a real transaction; and is perfectly analogous to the Divine procedure afterwards, at the confusion of tongues, Gen. xi. 5—7, and the destruction of *Sodom*, Gen. xviii. 20, 21, in which the Lord is represented as coming down *personally* from heaven, to enquire into the conduct of the parties.

“*And they heard the voice of the LORD GOD,*” (who probably was in a glorious *human* form,) “*walking* in the garden, in the wind (רוח) of the day,*” (in the evening breeze.) This was probably *thunder*, frequently called “the voice of the Lord,” Psalm xxix. 3. &c. Job xxxii. 5. John xii. 28. gradually growing louder, as the *Shechinah* or Divine presence approached: “*and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God, among the trees of the garden.*”

“*And the Lord called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden; and I was afraid because I was naked, and I hid myself.*” This confession of his fear and nakedness, was a virtual acknowledgement of his crime; and furnished a remarkable instance of that confusion which commonly attends and often betrays a guilty conscience.

“*And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And the Lord said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? [or rather†, why hast thou done this?] And the*

* This expression of *walking*, is, in the original, by a beautiful figure, applied to “the sounding of the voice of the trumpet long” on Mount *Sinai*, at the delivery of the law, “and waxing louder and louder,” Exod. xix. 19.

† *Quare hoc fecisti?* Vulg. taking מַה “*what,*” for the compound, לְמַה “*why.*” See Gen. iv. 6.

woman said, *The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat,*" Gen. iii. 8—13.

Nothing can exceed the simplicity and conciseness of this examination of the parties, "the deceived and the deceiver," Job xii. 16, before the righteous Judge of all the earth: the man, as the head, is first brought to the bar; he ingenuously confesses the truth, and lays the blame on his wife; she, on the serpent; the serpent is mute, confounded, and appalled*.

After the trial, judgment is immediately passed upon the delinquents: first on the serpent, as the most guilty; on the woman next, and on *Adam* last, as the least guilty.

"And the Lord said unto the serpent, *Because thou hast done this, cursed be thou above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.*

"*And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*"

This sentence is two-fold; first, on the animal, and secondly, on the spiritual serpent. The animal serpent, used as an instrument of seduction, is cursed and degraded to the lowest reptile state; and condemned to eat *dust* †, for a standing monument of the fall, and a living emblem to deter future ages from such *apostacy*; and also for a warning against that base and grovelling *idolatry* of serpent-worship; by which "the old serpent deceived the whole world," until the birth of *CHRIST*; and which still subsists in Pagan countries, throughout *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*.

And whereas the spiritual serpent seduced the woman under the mask of friendship, while he intended to compass her death, *his eyes* also are now *opened*, to his own shame and destruction: he is told, that his wicked policy should be defeated, and recoil upon himself; that *the woman* should live to have *seed* or offspring; that there should be a perpetual *enmity* ‡ between her

* ————— abash'd the devil stood,
And felt how awful GOODNESS is, and saw
VIRTUE in her shape how lovely! saw, and pin'd
His loss. MILTON.

VIRTUTEM videant, intabescantque relictâ. PERSIUS.

† "And *dust* shall be the serpent's meat," Isa. lxv. 25.

‡ The enmity here foretold, seems to be alluded to in the allegorical vision of the

and her righteous seed, and him and his wicked seed; for that *He*, who was to be in a peculiar sense, “the seed of the *woman*,” JESUS CHRIST, should be “manifested [in the flesh] that he might destroy the works of the devil, 1 John iii. 8; and should finally “bruise his *head**;” or “through death, destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil,” Heb. ii. 14; but

woman delivered of a *male child*, and persecuted with her offspring, by the great fiery *dragon*, Rev. xii. 1—14. And JESUS CHRIST was actually persecuted at his birth, by “the seed of the serpent,” *Herod*; Matt. ii. 13—20; and tempted by the devil, after his baptism; who, when foiled, “departed from him *for a season*,” Luke iv. 14, but afterwards renewed his attacks; when (we may presume) he raised a sudden storm to sink the ship in which OUR LORD lay asleep, Mark iv. 35—39. When he entered into *Judas Iscariot*, and tempted him to betray his master, Luke xxii. 3, John xiii. 2; and the *chief priests* and *Pharisees* to condemn him; acting under the influence of the *power of darkness*, Luke xxii. 53; and *Pilate*, the pusillanimous Roman governor, to crucify him, after acknowledging his innocence, John xix. 12—16. *The devil* working upon their various passions and prejudices, of *covetousness*, *hypocrisy*, *superstition*, *resentment*, and *fear*; and taking advantage of their *ignorance* of their LORD’s prophetic character, John v. 46, Luke xxiii. 34, Acts iii. 17, 18, 1 Cor. ii. 8.

* Milton has admirably paraphrased this :

“ So spake this Oracle: then verified
 When JESUS, son of *Mary*, (second *Eve*)
 Saw *Satan* fall like lightning down from Heaven (a,)
 Prince of the air (b,) then, rising from his grave,
 Spoil’d principalities and pow’rs triumph’d,
 In open shew (c,) and with ascension bright,
 Captivity led captive through the air (d,)
 The realm of *Satan* long usurp’d;
 Whom he shall tread (e,) at last (f,) under our feet.”

Par. Lost, B. x.

(a) “ I beheld *Satan*, as lightning fall from Heaven,” Luke x. 18, Isa. xiv. 12.

(b) “ Prince of the power of the air,” Ephes. ii. 2.

(c) “ He (CHRIST) having spoiled principalities and powers, made a shew of them openly; triumphing over them, on it [the cross,] Coloss. ii. 15.

(d) “ HE ascended on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men,” Ephes. iv. 8, Psalm lxxviii. 18.

(e) “ The God of peace shall bruise *Satan*, shortly, under the feet of his saints,” Rom. xvi. 20, Psalm xci. 13, cx. 6. “ Behold I give unto you power to tread on *serpents* and *scorpions*, and over all the power of the *enemy*; and nothing shall by any means hurt you,” Luke x. 19.

(f) “ For He (CHRIST) must reign, until he hath put all enemies under his feet,” 1 Cor. xv. 25, Rev. xx. 2—10.

To crush the head of a serpent is used figuratively in the Greek classics, *to break the yoke of tyranny*. Thus *Epaminondas* the *Theban* general, when he exhorted them to attack their oppressors the *Lacedemonians*, shewing them the head of a serpent which he had crushed, said to them: “ *See the head of the serpent is crushed; his body can live no longer.*” *Polyæni Stratag.* 2, 3, 19.

should suffer somewhat himself, though not fatally, in the conflict; for that the devil, and “that generation of vipers, who were of their father the devil,” John viii. 44, “should bruise his *heel* :” as was literally and remarkably fulfilled, in the very act of nailing his feet to the cross !

It is not to be supposed however, that our first parents, or even *Satan* himself, understood this oracle, so obscurely and concisely expressed, to the extent that we do now with the help of the Gospel. A general and indistinct intimation only, of punishment to the tempter, and of mercy to the tempted, was conveyed thereby; and our first parents were comforted with an obscure hope, that they should be avenged of their adversary, by means of the peculiar “seed of the woman :” that as the offence had originated from her, so might the remedy likewise. And this was signified to them in kindness, by their merciful CREATOR, before sentence was pronounced upon themselves, the better to enable them to support it, and to prevent despair. But the full meaning of “*this grand charter of God’s mercy to mankind,*” (as this oracle has been justly styled) was gradually developed by a curious and connected chain of prophecies, growing clearer and distincter, from *Adam* to CHRIST; like the first dawns of the morning twilight, gradually brightening into the glorious appearance of “the Sun of righteousness,” rising with “healing in his wings,” or rays; and “shining more and more into perfect day.”

That the general import of the oracle was so understood, even before the coming of CHRIST to take our nature upon him, and to be born of a pure virgin; according to later prophecies, Isa. vii. 14, Jer. xxxi. 22; we learn from the *Targums*, and Paraphrases which conveyed the sense of the primitive *Jewish Church* *. And the earlier *Greek Version* of the Septuagint, remarkably renders the passage, *αυτος σου τηρησει την κεφαλην*, “*he shall lie in wait for thy head* :” using the masculine *αυτος*,

* The Targum of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* paraphrases it thus.

“Moreover I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between the seed of thy sons and between the seed of her sons. And it shall come to pass, that when the sons of the woman shall observe the precepts of the law, they shall endeavour to smite thee on thy head; but when they shall forsake the precepts of the law, thou shalt endeavour to smite them on their heels: but they shall have a remedy, when thou shalt have no remedy; because they shall apply a remedy to the heel, in the days of king MESSIAH.” which, according to the *Jerusalem Targum*, were to be “in the end of the days.”

instead of the neuter *αυτο*, which in strictness, corresponds to the foregoing, *σπερματος αυτης*, “her seed*.” And in a subsequent limitation of “the seed of the woman” to “the seed of Abraham,” Heb. ii. 16, it is understood of a single person: “and that seed is CHRIST,” Gal. iii. 16.

Sentence is next pronounced on the woman: Unto the woman he said, “*I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children: and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.*”

By a just retaliation, the woman’s desire of gratifying her appetites, is punished with the pains of childbirth; and her ambition to vie with *gods* in knowledge, or to be exalted, by her desire of subjection to her husband, (as the phrase is understood afterwards, Gen. iv. 7,) and her submission to his will.

Thus was woman degraded from her original rank of equality with the man, and made his inferior. And in this fallen estate did the female sex continue till the birth of the promised Seed, their peculiar Deliverer, who in his gracious Gospel, reinstated them in their first privileges. For, as professor *Robinson* justly observes, “Woman is indebted to *Christianity* alone for the high rank she holds in society.” This is in great measure confined to the countries blessed with the light of the Gospel. Before that auspicious era, *woman*, every where, was in a state of servitude, regarded principally as an object of sensual passion, or of domestic economy, and seldom as a rational *helpmate*. And it is still the case, in heathen or Mahometan countries, where *polygamy* prevails. Indeed “the blessed” *Mary’s* thanksgiving to “GOD HER SAVIOUR, who regarded the *low estate* of his handmaiden;”—“who put down *the mighty* from their seats, and exalted them of *low degree*,” Luke ii. 47—52, was applicable to the whole sex; husbands are no longer permitted to lord it over their wives, but required to “dwell with them according to knowledge; giving honour to them as the weaker

* The Vulgate *Latin* Version, in defiance of the sense and grammatical construction of the original, applies this prophecy to the Virgin *Mary*, as the representative of the woman: “*Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius: Ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus;*” for the participle *אָרַם*, is masculine, agreeing with *זָרַע* “seed.” This *Vulgate* Version was authenticated by the Infallible Council of *Trent*, and preferred before the Hebrew and Greek fountains. See *Episcopus*, p. 276, and *Grotius*, Tom. I. p. 35. *Kennicott’s* Dissertation I. on the tree of life and the creation and fall of man, p. 58.

vessels, and as joint heirs of the grace of [eternal] life." 1 Pet. iii. 7*.

Adam's sentence comes last.

And unto *Adam* He said, "*Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, thou shalt not eat of it; cursed is the*

* "It is undoubtedly *Christianity*," says Professor *Robinson**, "that has set *woman* on her throne, making her in every respect the equal of man, bound to the same duties, and candidate for the same happiness." Mark how woman is described by a *Christian* poet:

————— "Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems *wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.*

"Neither her outside form'd so fair,——
So much delights me, as those *graceful acts,*
Those thousand deceucies that daily flow
From all her words and actions, mix'd with love
And sweet compliance, which declare *unfeign'd*
Union of mind, or *in us both one soul.*

————— "And to consummate all
Greatness of mind, and nobleness, their seat
Built in her loveliest, and *create an awe*
About her, as a guard angelic plac'd."—MILTON.

This is really *moral* painting without any diminution of female charms. This is the natural consequence of that *purity of heart* so much insisted on in the *Christian* morality, as an indispensable duty, and enforced by many arguments peculiar to itself.——

"Look into the works of the Greek and Latin poets, and the writings of antiquity:—I can find very little, indeed, where woman is treated with respect.——What does *Ovid*, the great panegyrist of the sex, say for his beloved daughter, whom he praised for her attractions, in various places of his *Tristia*, and other compositions? He is writing her epitaph, and the only thing he can say of her as a *rational* creature, is, that she is a *domisida*, ["stay-at-home,"] not a "gad-about."——"*Chastity, modesty, sobermindedness,*" are all considered as of importance, merely in respect of economy or domestic quiet. Recollect the famous speech of *Metellus Numidicus* to the Roman people, when, as Censor, he was recommending marriage :

Si sine uxore possemus Quirites esse, omnes eâ *modestia* careremus: Sed quoniam *ita Natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis commodè, nec sine illis ullo modo, vivi posset, saluti perpetuæ potius quam brevi voluptati* consulendum.—*Aulus Gell.* Noct. Att. 1, 6.

Here the grave censor considers a wife as a *necessary evil*, and a "lasting union with a *modest*" woman, preferable to "transient enjoyment" with a harlot, merely upon "*prudential* considerations!" And yet, women ranked higher at *Rome* than elsewhere in the ancient world.

* See his *Proofs of a Conspiracy*, p. 263—271.

ground for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee: and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."*

Here it was consolatory † to observe, that no positive curse was pronounced on *Adam*, as on the wicked *serpent*, and that the penalty of death was not to be immediately inflicted; but a respite graciously granted to the frail offenders to repent and amend. The ground, indeed, was "cursed for their sake," [rather, "transgression,"] or the culture of it rendered more laborious and troublesome, by "*thorns and thistles*," which were unknown in Paradise, where his easy employment was only to dress the garden, and keep it in order; and instead of its delicious *fruits*, he was now doomed to eat of the *herb* of the field.

* The venerable book of *Job*, which in all probability is considerably the oldest in the Sacred Canon, (as will be proved in the sequel,) notices the circumstance of *Adam's* hiding himself after his transgression, xxxi. 33: and in another passage seems to have recorded an oracular saying, omitted by *Moses*, which may thus be more correctly rendered, xxviii. 28.

"And unto *Adam* HE said:

*Behold, the fear of THE LORD, this is wisdom,
And to depart from evil is understanding.*

The word *Adam* here, should not be rendered *man*, in general, as in our public translation; but *Adam*, our first parent, as it is rendered in the former passage. "Whether it was spoken to him before or after his fall, is not easy to determine. If after the fall, as seems rather more probable, the words carry with them a *reproof* as well as an *instruction* highly seasonable, and suited to the circumstances of his unhappy change. As if GOD had said: You, who in defiance of the prohibition I had given you, have been seeking after another sort of *wisdom and knowledge* than was proper for you; go learn from sure experience, that *your truest wisdom is to fear ME*, and to pay an *implicit obedience to MY commands*.—*Peters on Job*, p. 460.

† *Milton* thus beautifully represents *Adam* consoling *Eve* :

————— "Remember with what mild
And gracious temper HE both heard and judg'd,
Without wrath or reviling: we expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought
Was meant by '*death that day*;' when lo, to thee
Pains only in *child-bearing* were foretold,
And bringing forth, (soon recompens'd with joy,)
Fruit of thy womb: On me, the *curse* aslope
Glanc'd on the ground."

And by a *wholesome necessity**, he was for the future to procure his livelihood by the sweat of his brow, until his death, or dissolution of the body.

The final salvation of our first parents, upon their repentance and obedience in future, was the doctrine of the primitive *Jewish* and *Christian* Churches. The author of the book of *Wisdom*, declares: "WISDOM preserved the first-formed father of the world, who was created alone, and brought him out of his fall; and gave him power to rule all things," *Wisd.* x. 1, 2. Here, WISDOM denotes the ORACLE, or personified WORD OF GOD, as in *Prov.* viii. 22—25; *Matt.* xi. 19; *Luke* xi. 49; or JESUS CHRIST, *Matt.* xxiii. 34. And *Adam* was brought out of his fall, or from the punishment due thereto, when a remedy was promised by the blessed Seed of the woman; through whom he was to be reinstated in his original privileges of dominion, &c.

To this very passage *St. Paul* appears to allude, in his extension of redemption to *Eve* also:

"For *Adam* was first formed, then *Eve*. And *Adam* was not deceived; but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression. Nevertheless she [also] shall be saved, by means of the child-bearing; if they [both] remained [for the rest of their lives] in faith, and love, and holiness, with sobriety †," *1 Tim.* ii. 14, 15.

THE INSTITUTION OF SACRIFICES.

It is very probable, that sacrifice was instituted immediately after GOD had revealed the *covenant of grace*, by means of the promised "*seed of the woman*" in his denunciation to the serpent, *Gen.* iii. 15. That promise was the first stone that was laid toward the erection of this glorious building, the work of

* *Virgil* well expresses it:

———— PATER IPSE, colendi

Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem

Movit agros: curis acuens mortalia corda.

GEORGIC.

† In this difficult and much contested passage, we may, with the judicious *Hammond*, understand *δια της τεκνογονιας* to refer to the bearing the promised Seed, or CHRIST: the salvation of *Eve*, *σωθησεται*, to include the salvation of *Adam*, a fortiori; which will account for the plural aorist, *εαν μεινωσιν*, "if they remained," both *Adam* and *Eve*, in the observance of their several duties of *faith* or trust in the divine promise, of *love*, or gratitude, and *holiness* of life, with *sobriety*, or moderation in the indulgence of their appetites.

Redemption, through JESUS CHRIST, "the chief corner stone," to crown and complete the whole, at the consummation of all things, Ephes. ii. 20. And the next stone that was laid upon that, was the institution of *sacrifice*, to be a type or significant emblem of the great atonement, or all-sufficient sacrifice of "*the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the repentant and believing world,*" John i. 29, thus "*slain for us, from the foundation of the world,*" Rev. xiii. 8.

After God had pronounced sentence on all the offending parties, we are next told, that "the Lord God made to *Adam* and his wife, coats of *skins*, and clothed them*." Instead of the slight and imperfect covering they had made for themselves, God now taught them to make more substantial, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather in their new abode, when excluded from Paradise.

These coats are supposed, by the generality of divines, to have been made of the skins of beasts slain in sacrifice, by the Divine appointment. They could not have been slain for food: because in Paradise, man was only allowed to eat of its "fruits;" and after his expulsion, of "the herb of the field:" the grant of flesh-meat was not given till after the deluge, to *Noah* and his family, Gen. ix. 3. For sacrifice, therefore, no other reasonable cause can be assigned. What temptation could have induced our first parents to shed the blood of unoffending animals? a deed so revolting to their feelings and to their reason; to which, nothing short of a divine injunction would naturally have compelled them. In animal sacrifices, the *blood*, in which was the principle of *life*, was devoted to GOD, as an atonement for the forfeited life of the sacrificer, Levit. xvii. 11. But this *symbolical* atonement could only have been appointed by Him with whom are "the issues of life and death," GOD himself; whose sole prerogative it is "to *kill* and to *make alive*, to wound and to heal," Deut. xxxii. 39. The death of the victim was also wisely appointed to be a mournful presage to our first parents, as often as they were required to sacrifice, of that death which they had incurred by their transgression, and to be inflicted on them-

* This is beautifully expressed by *Milton*, and expanded,

"Nor HE their outward only with the *skins*
Of beasts, but inward nakedness, (much more
Opprobrious) with his robe of righteousness
Arraying, covered from his FATHER'S sight." P. L. B. x.

selves, they knew not how soon. *Sacrifice*, therefore, furnished a useful *memento* of their own death.

Besides their positive transgression, our first parents seem also to have been guilty of a sin of omission, not usually noticed, but implied in the reason assigned for their expulsion from Paradise in the divine council; namely, a continual neglect to partake of the fruit of the tree of life, that sacramental sign and pledge of immortality, during the golden opportunity of their residence there. "And the LORD GOD said, *Behold, the man is become* [in his own imagination] *as one of Us, [Gods,] to know good and evil; [by eating of the forbidden tree of knowledge, at the Devil's suggestion;] and now, lest he [presumptuously] put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and live for ever: therefore, the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken."* "So he drove out the man [and the woman,] and [to prevent any one from entering it again] *He placed at the east of [or before] the garden of Eden, Cherubims, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way to the tree of life."*

THE SHECHINAH, OR DIVINE PRESENCE, AT PARADISE.

"This *flaming sword*," or as it may be rendered, by a usual enallage, "*sword-like*, or pointed *flame*," is generally considered as a sensible symbol of the divine presence: resembling, perhaps, the flame that appeared to *Moses* in the bush, Exod. iii. 2; or, that afterwards rested on the heads of the Apostles at the day of Pentecost, in the form of "*fiery tongues*," or *tongue-like flames*, Acts ii. 3, and was here "*placed*," or stationed, between two *Cherubim*, or glorious angels; according to the interpretation of the ancient Targums*, furnishing, probably, the original archetype of the *Shechinah*, (from שכן, *shachan*, he placed) in the first tabernacle in the wilderness, and of the second, in *Solomon's temple*.

One design of this symbol of the Divine presence, was by "*turning every way*," or darting its refulgent beams all around,

* "And drove out the man, and stationed his majesty of old between the two cherubim, on the east of the garden of Eden." *Targum Jerusalem.*

"Then He drove out the man. From which time, He stationed the glory of his divinity of old between two Cherubim." *Targum Jonathan.*

to bar all access to the garden on every side. But in the midst of judgment, God remembered mercy; a further, and most gracious design of its residence here, was “to keep (or preserve) the way to the tree of life* :” by keeping up or maintaining the practice of religious public worship, at this place, among *Adam* and his righteous descendants.—“The *terrestrial* paradise, indeed, was shut soon after the fall of man; nor is it now subsisting any where: but the way to the *celestial* one was opened from the first promise that was given of a REDEEMER.” As judiciously remarked by *Peters*, on Job, p. 402, edit. 2. *Paradise* was *lost* by the first *Adam*: but it was *regained* by the second, CHRIST JESUS. Speaking in the person of CHRIST before his passion, the inspired Psalmist declares, “*Thou wilt shew me the path of life; in thy presence is fulness of joy, and at thy right hand pleasures for evermore,*” Psalm xvi. 11; thus elegantly alluding to the second tree of life, and the *Shechinah* in the celestial Paradise; so admirably described in the *Apocalypse*, according to the following masterly explanation given by Lord *Barrington*, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, vol. iii. p. 48.

“To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the *tree of life*, which is in the midst of the *paradise of God*, Rev. ii. 7. The tree of life here signifies *life and immortality*, Rev. xxii. 2. *It bears twelve manner of fruits, and fresh fruit every month*, to shew that there will be no failure of its fruit, and that the fruit will be always in the greatest perfection: which is to signify, that the immortality of those who can take of its fruit will be preserved. It is said to grow *in the midst of the street of the heavenly Jerusalem* †, in allusion to its growing in the midst of the garden, Gen. ii. 9. And it is said to grow on *each side of the river* that runs through the street of the heavenly Jerusalem, to

* The verb שמר (*Shamar*) signifies to *keep*, or *take care of*. Thus, *Adam* was placed in the garden of *Eden*, “to dress it, and to keep it” [in order,] Gen. iii. 15; and the phrase לשמר את דרך, (*lishmor eth derech*), to “keep the way,” is constantly used in the sense of *observing* or *preserving*. So, to “keep the way of the Lord,” Gen. xviii. 19, Judg. ii. 22, is the same, as to “observe and keep his laws,” Psalm cv. 45. In the present case, the emphatic article את *eth*, intimates the true or proper way to the tree of life: as in the translation of *Junius* and *Tremellius*; ad custodiendum viam ad arborem vitæ; adopted by *Wells*, in his *Paraphrase*: the preposition ל, *to*, being understood; and omitted, perhaps, on account of its occurrence immediately before.

† The holy city, *new Jerusalem*, coming down from GOD out of heaven. Rev. xxi. 2.

shew that all men may have constant and easy access to it. Farther, its *leaves* are said to be *for the healing of the nations*; that is, of the hurt they had received by *Adam's* eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. And when they are represented as healed, it is immediately added, that there should be *no more curse*, Rev. xxii. 3, as there had been on [the ground, for] *Adam* and *Eve's* [transgression] after their being placed in the garden. And it is likewise added, that there shall be *no more night*, ver. 5, which there was in Paradise when the evening and the morning made every day, Gen. i. 5—31. The night being then as well as now, made for rest, and the day for labour. Finally, it is said, ver. 14, *Blessed are they that do his commandments; for they shall have a right to eat of the tree of life*, i. e. shall be entitled to immortality.

“All these observations plainly shew that relation which the tree of life in the *Revelation* bears to the original tree of life in *Eden*; and the allusion to it as a *tree preserving life*, Gen. ii. 9. This meaning of the tree of life is the more probable, because it makes the history of the fall appear a *real history*, and not a parable; which it must seem unnatural to suppose an account to be, which is related by an historian who gives us an account of *facts*, not parables, in all the rest of his writings: and above all, that is the foundation of all the rest of his history, and indeed of all *future revelation*; for such every one must allow the history of the fall to be.”

Though *Adam* was expelled from the garden of *Eden*, it is highly probable that he took up his residence in its vicinity; and that he offered the sacrifices prescribed to him by God, especially that of expiation or atonement, in the presence of the Lord, or before the SHECHINAH, at the stated seasons.

CAIN AND ABEL.

The first transaction noticed after the expulsion of *Adam* and his wife from Paradise, is the birth of their first son, *Cain*; which probably happened about a year after, and about the 130th year of the world. See Vol. I. p. 280. His name *Cain* signifies “*acquisition*,” from his mother’s declaration, “I have gotten (קניתי *Kanithi*) a man [from *] the Lord,” Gen. iv. 1.

* The particle את, (*eth*), “*the*,” is put elliptically for מאת, (*meth*), “*from the*,” as understood Gen. xlix. 25; and expressed, Gen. xix. 24, Josh. xi. 20, Ezek. xxxiii.

Not long after, "she again bare his brother *Abel*," [חבל] whose name, signifying "*pain*," as of childbirth, Isa. lxvi. 7, Hosea xiii. 13, &c. was given, probably, from the accomplishment of her sentence, Gen. iii. 16. After these two sons, she bore several sons and daughters, Gen. v. 4. *Cedrenus*, in his history, Vol. I. p. 8, from ancient tradition, reckons, that she bore thirty-three sons, and twenty-seven daughters; sixty in all.

The different occupations of *Cain* and *Abel* are next recorded; "*Abel* was a keeper of sheep, but *Cain* a tiller of the ground." Thus, says Lord *Bacon*, were those brothers dedicated, the one to the *active*, the other to the *contemplative* life. *Cain* assisted his father in the labours of husbandry, while *Abel* provided the sheep for sacrifice and clothing.

The ensuing sacrifices and oblations of *Cain* and *Abel*, are curious and important, as they furnish the only *formal* account we have of the religion of the antediluvian world: though they plainly intimate the established religion of *Adam's* family, and the pious education of his children. And from *Adam's* example, probably, was derived the primitive patriarchal custom, that the head of the family was also its priest: as in the cases of *Noah*, Gen. viii. 20, *Job*, i. 5; *Abraham*, Gen. xii. 8, xv. 9, 10, &c. *Melchizedek*, Gen. xiv. 18; *Isaac*, Gen. xxvi. 25; *Jacob*, Gen. xxxi. 54, &c. Whence, it is reasonable to suppose, that *Cain* and *Abel* did not offer up distinct sacrifices and oblations, till they were grown up to manhood, and married, as *Cain* seems to have been at the time, Gen. iv. 17, which might have been when they were both upwards of a hundred years of age; as may be collected from the birth of *Seth*, after *Abel's* murder, in the 230th year of *Adam*. See Vol. I. p. 280.

The season of offering these sacrifices and oblations was not "*in process of time*," as vaguely rendered, but "*at the end of days*," or "*the end of the year*;" as the original was shewn to denote: Vol. I. p. 35, namely, at the beginning of *spring**, when "the firstlings of the flocks," and the "first fruits of the harvest," were ready to be offered unto the Lord; the former as

30, Job ii. 10, &c. So the *Arabic* version renders it; and the Targum of "*Onkelos*." מן קדם, "*from before THE LORD*."

* It is so understood by the Targum of *Jonathan*, who renders the passage: "And it came to pass, at the end of days, on the fourteenth of *Nisan*, *Cain* brought of the fruit of the ground, *flax seed*, an oblation of the first fruits," &c.

a sacrifice of atonement, the latter as an oblation of thanksgiving. And the whole of this short, but most difficult passage, may thus be rendered, supplying elliptical expressions.

“And it came to pass, at the end of the year, *Cain* brought of the fruit of the ground, an oblation unto the LORD; and *Abel* brought [an oblation:] he also [brought] of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof, [a sin offering.] And the Lord had respect unto *Abel* and to his oblation; but unto *Cain* and to his oblation, he had not respect,” Gen. iv. 3, 4.

If we may be allowed to reason from the analogy of the *Levitical* law, founded on *patriarchal* usage, the original term, מִנְחָה, *Minhah*, or “oblation” of the first fruits, denoted “green ears of corn dried by the fire, or corn beaten out of full ears,” Levit. ii. 14, (where it is rather improperly rendered, “meat offering,” instead of “bread offering.”) It was contrasted with זֶבַח, *Zabah*, “the animal sacrifice,” Psalm xlix. 7, or חַטָּאת, *Hatah*, “the sin offering,” Ezek. xlv. 29. And both the oblation of the first fruits, and the sacrifice of a lamb, were required at the yearly sacrifice of the *passover*, Levit. xxiii. 10—13. And also in the daily sacrifice, under the service of the Tabernacle, in the wilderness, Exod. xxix. 38—42; of the first temple, 2 Kings xvi. 15; and of the second temple, Ezra iii. 3, Nehem. x. 33, which subsisted till “the daily sacrifice was abrogated*,” Dan. ix. 27; by “CHRIST, our *passover*, who was sacrificed for us,” “once for all,” 1 Cor. v. 7. (εφαπαύξ,) Heb. ix. 26.

The sacrifice of *Cain*, therefore, was imperfect or incomplete; he brought indeed an oblation of his first fruits, as an offering of thanksgiving for God’s *temporal* bounties, Deut. xxvi. 2—11; he was not, therefore, devoid of religious sentiment: but he did not bring an animal sacrifice, or a sin offering; either, because he did not count himself a sinner, and so had no need of it; or because he wanted *faith*, and disbelieved the use and efficacy of this instituted mode of atonement; or perhaps upon both accounts conjointly. Whereas *Abel*, not only brought a *Minhah*, (as expressly asserted in the latter clause, and therefore to be understood in the former) in token of thanksgiving; but also, “by *faith*,” a *sin offering* also, confessing himself a sinner;

* “Like the moon, which having no intrinsic brightness, shines only by a light borrowed from a nobler body; and disappears at the rising of the sun, as being no longer of service to mankind.” *Kennicott*, Diss. 11, p. 226.

which, therefore, St. *Paul* styles, *πλειονα θυσιαν*, “a fuller sacrifice*,” or more complete and “excellent,” than *Cain’s*; and speaks of it in the plural number, *δωροισ*, “gifts,” Heb. xi. 4.

When it is said that “the Lord had respect unto *Abel* and his oblation,” it was, because it was accompanied by the sin offering; whereas “unto *Cain* and his oblation, He had not respect,” because it was defective in the form, and rebellious in the spirit, with which it was offered. This was “the error of *Cain*,” Jude 11;—a renunciation of “the benefits of the instituted mode of atonement for sin;” and a “going about to establish his own righteousness,” like the self-sufficient *Jews*, Rom. x. 3 †. The visible token of the divine approbation of *Abel’s* offering, was probably fire from heaven, or from the *Shechinah* or divine presence, before which the offerings were probably made. Such was the token of acceptance of the sacrifice of *Moses* and *Aaron*, Levit. ix. 24; of *Gideon*, Judg. vi. 22; of *Manoah*, Judg. xiii. 20; of *David*, 1 Chron. xxi. 16; of *Solomon*, 2 Chron. vii. 1; of *Elijah*, 1 Kings xviii. 38. And accordingly, *Theodotion’s* version, in this case, expresses the verb *ἤψ*, *respexit*, by *ενεπυρρισεν*, *inflammavit*, “The Lord set fire to the offering of *Abel*,” &c.

* *Wickliffe*, in his translation of Heb. xi. 4, renders,—“By faith *Abel* offridd a much more sacrifice than *Cayn* to God, &c.” which, in the *Geneva Bible*, was altered to, “a greater sacrifice;” as less uncouth, and in the last, to “more excellent.”

† This interpretation was first given by Doctor *Kennicott*, in his second *Dissertation* on the *Oblations of Cain and Abel*; and has been generally approved, as the best that has been offered. Dr. *Magee*, however, has produced good reasons to prove, that *Kennicott’s* interpretation is untenable.

1. The particle *וְ*, *Gam*, “also,” Gen. iv. 4, refers rather to *Abel* himself, as contrasted with *Cain*, than to his sacrifice.

2. *מנחה*, *Mincha*, properly signifies any gift, or offering to a superior; as in Gen. xxxii. 20, xliii. 11—15; and if made to God, includes both the bread, or flour offering, and the animal sacrifice; as in Judges vi. 18, 1 Sam. ii. 17, 1 Kings xviii. 29, &c. But in the Levitical law, it is usually applied to the animal sacrifice; as the principal offering.

3. In the account of *Abel’s* sacrifice, Heb. xi. 4, the term *πλειονα* is not confined to number, according to *Kennicott’s* hypothesis; it sometimes denotes excellence; as in Matt. vi. 25, “Is not the soul [or life] more (*πλειον*) than meat?” And again, xii. 41, “Lo a greater (*πλειον*) than *Jonah* is here.” The expression therefore denotes a “fuller sacrifice,” partaking more fully and essentially of the true nature and virtue of sacrifice. *Magee*, vol. ii. p. 213—223.

We readily concur with Dr. *Magee* so far; but, admitting *Kennicott’s* interpretation to be novel and fanciful, yet it does not seem to follow, that it is either “dangerous” in its consequences, or “inconsistent with his principles;” since it ascribes the whole efficacy of *Abel’s* sacrifice, to the animal victim, or prescribed mode of atonement, which was neglected by *Cain*.

This marked preference of his brother's offering, excited the resentment and the envy of *Cain*. "And he was very wroth, and his countenance fell." And the Lord condescended to reason with *Cain*, probably from the *Shechinah*, and said unto him, "Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doest not well, a sin offering * lieth (coumeth) at the door; [in readiness to be sacrificed.] Or, it may be rendered, "If thou didst well, shouldst thou not have been accepted? [like *Abel* ;] but if thou didst not well, a sin offering lieth at the door, [in readiness to be sacrificed, as an atonement for thy offence.] And to remove *Cain's* jealousy, lest his brother might aspire to pre-eminence, the Lord states *Abel's* humility, and submissive disposition: "And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him," [as the elder brother †.]

But this did not avail. When they departed from the presence of the Lord, or the place of public worship, at the east of the garden of *Eden*, "*Cain* said unto *Abel* his brother, [Let us go into the field:] and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that *Cain* rose up against *Abel* his brother, and slew him."

This parenthetical clause, is expressly required by the context; and seems to have been dropt by accident, out of the present *Masorete* Hebrew text. It is preserved in the *Samaritan*

* Here, the original חַטָּאת, *Hatath*, rendered "sin" in our translation, may more correctly be rendered a *sin offering*, as in several passages, Levit. iv. 21—29, vi. 25, Numb. vi. 14, 15, Ezra vi. 17, Ezek. xlv. 29, &c. And so the Septuagint rendering ἁμαρτία; "GOD made him (CHRIST,) who knew no sin, to be a *sin offering*, for our sakes; that we might become GOD's righteousness in Him," 2 Cor. v. 21. Compare 1 Pet. ii. 22, 1 John ii. 2, iii. 5.

† Dr. *Magee* ably paraphrases the whole passage thus: "Of *Cain*, who was filled with rage, at the preference given to his brother *Abel*, by the acceptance of his sacrifice, while his own was rejected; JEHOVAH demands the reason of his anger? "If thou doest well," says He, "shalt thou not be accepted?" (or rather, as the margin of our Bible reads, Shalt thou not have the excellency, or exaltation above thy brethren, which thou conceivest to be thy birth-right?) "And if thou doest not well, [is there not] a *sin offering*, lying at thy very door, to make the due reconciliation, and restore thee to the station which thou hast lost by thy misconduct? And thus in every way, [or in either case] it depends upon thyself, that he (thy brother) may become subject unto thee, and that thou mayest have the dominion over him." And this explanation is supported by *Theodotion's* version, as he observes. Vol. ii. p. 238—249.

Perhaps the transgression of *Cain* is recorded in Scripture, among other reasons, to account for the transfer of the seniority, or right of primogeniture, and so the parentage of the *Messiah*, from *Cain's*, into *Seth's* younger line: which was absolutely necessary to be known in the history of our Lord's genealogy. See *Kennicott*, Diss. II, p. 211.

text, and translated by the *Greek Sept.* the *Latin Vulgate*, and the *Syriac Versions* ; and therefore ought to be restored.

And now, as before in the case of *Adam's* transgression, the Lord took immediate cognizance of *Cain's* ; who, according to *Josephus*, interred the body, to hide his crime.

“ And THE LORD said unto *Cain*, *Where is Abel thy brother ? And he said, I know not ; am I my brother's keeper ?*” And HE said, “ *What hast thou done ? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.*”

“ *And now cursed art thou from the earth which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength. A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.*”

For this complication of crimes, *envy*, which led him to *murder* his brother, and then to attempt to hide it by a *lie*, and an insolent *rebellious* answer to GOD ; *Cain* is styled in the New Testament, “ a child of the *Devil*,” 1 John iii. 12 ; as imitating his works, who through *envy* seduced our first parents, and was “ a *liar* and a *murderer* from the beginning,” John viii. 44 ; and therefore *Cain* became the first of “ his wicked *seed*,” Gen. iii. 15, and like him, inherited a positive “ *curse*,” of *banishment* from the Divine presence, and his father's family, in its neighbourhood ; which he was no longer worthy to enjoy, for his premeditated crimes against both ; and of additional *barrenness* of the soil, in the land of his exile.

“ And *Cain* said unto the Lord, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, [or rather, *my iniquity is greater than to be forgiven* *.] *Behold thou hast driven me out this day from the face of this land ; and from thy face [or presence] shall I be hid : and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth ; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.*”

By the usual progress of guilt, *Cain* adds to his former sins that of *despair*, for he does not attempt to supplicate mercy from God : and *terror*, lest he should find no mercy from man. His apprehension of being slain, in retaliation for the death of

* It is so rendered by the more ancient versions, the *Septuagint*, *Latin Vulgate*, *Syriac* and *Arabic*. And **W** is generally taken in the sense of *iniquity*, *depravity*, *perverse-ness* : and seldom for the *punishment* thereof, as perhaps Levit. xxvi. 41—43, 1 Sam. xxviii. 10.

his brother, by “*every one* that should find him,” proves that *Adam* must have had several other children at the time, and then grown up to manhood: and furnishes a powerful confirmation of the longer antediluvian chronology of the *Septuagint*, and *Josephus*, adopted in this work.

“And the Lord said unto him, *Not so* *: *whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him seven fold. And the Lord gave to Cain a sign* †, *that no one finding him should kill him. And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, eastward of Eden.*”

The law against murder was not enacted until after the deluge; when it was given to *Noah* and his family, Gen. ix. 6; and afterwards renewed to the *Israelites*, Exod. xx. 13, &c. *Cain's* life, therefore, was spared, as not having been forfeited by a positive law. What the sign was, which *God* gave him of his security from man, it is impossible to guess. The land of *Nod*, or “*exile*,” to which *Cain* retired with his wife, is generally reckoned by the Oriental Geographers, to have been the low country of *Susiana*, or *Chusistan*.

The sacred historian proceeds to relate, concisely, the descendants of *Cain* for seven generations, but without specifying their ages. His design seems to have been to record the earlier progress of *Cain's* line, in the arts of luxury, vice, and refinements of society. *Cain* built a city, called *Enoch*, after his son; and *Lamech*, the sixth in descent, is the first on record for *polygamy* and *homicide*.

“And *Lamech* said unto his wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*, *Hear my voice ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech: I have slain a man for* ‡ *my wounding, and a young man for* ‡ *my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged seven fold; truly Lamech, seventy and seven fold.*”

Lamech here apologises for killing a man who had wounded, and a young man who had hurt him; adding, that if *Cain*

* Instead of לָכֵן (*lachen*), “*therefore*,” the *Sept. Vulg. Syriac, Arab.* read לֹא כֵן (*lo-chen*), “*not so*,” which is more agreeable to the context.

† Thus the Lord gave to *Noah* a sign or token, in the rainbow, Gen. ix. 12, 13; to the *Jews* a sign, “*the Virgin shall conceive and bear a son*,” Isa. vii. 14.

‡ The preposition לְ, frequently signifies “*for*,” “*on account of*,” and is so rendered Numb. vi. 7, Deut. xiv. 1, 1 Kings xxii. 48, Isa. x. 3, Psalm lxxxiv. 2, Job xxx. 25, &c. See *Noldius, Concord. ad לְ*, No. 28. *Junius* and *Tremellius* correctly render, *propter vulnus meum*,—*propter livorem meum*.

should be avenged on any one who slew him, seven fold, for the heavier crime of unprovoked murder; surely *Lamech*, seventy and seven fold, for the smaller, of homicide in his own defence.

The conduct of *Lamech* was that of the age in which he lived; which was remarkable for *lust* and *violence*, Gen. vi. 1—4. and thus began in the family of *Cain*.

SETH.

He was born about a year after the murder of *Abel*, according to some *Jewish* writers; about A. M. 230, and might have been one of the youngest sons of *Adam*. *Eve* called his name *Seth*, (“*appointed*;)” because GOD had appointed her another seed, instead of “*Abel* whom *Cain* slew.” *Abel* probably died without children; as only those of *Seth* are noticed in the sequel. “*Adam* begat *Seth* in his own likeness, after his image;” who became the head of that righteous family, called “*Sons of God*,” Gen. v. 3. vi. 2. *Seth* is reported by the *Arabian* historians to have invented *writing*.

ENOS.

He was one of the sons of *Seth*. In his time the righteous *Sethites* “began to call themselves by the name of the Lord*;” or “*Sons of God*;” to distinguish themselves from those that neglected the fear and worship of the Lord, called “*children of men*,” Gen. vi. 2. And to this distinction the prophet *Malachi* perhaps alludes: “Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened and heard: and a *book of remembrance* was written before Him for them that feared the Lord, and thought upon his name. And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels; and I will spare them as a man spareth *his own son* that serveth him. Then shall ye return, and discern between *the righteous* and *the wicked*: between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not.” Compare Rev. xx. 12, Deut. xiv. 2, Matt. xxv. 32—46. Hence also, the distinction in the New Testament, between “*the children of God*, and the *children of the Devil*,” 1 John iii. 8—11.

* This is the marginal rendering of our Bible, and preferable to that in the text, Gen. iv. 26. The same phrase occurs, Isa. xlv. 5, xlvi. 1.

Enos, whose name signifies “*man*,” is reckoned by the Arabian historians to have been a great philosopher and astronomer. *Elmacin* adds, that he expressly forbade the intermixture of his family with the *Cainites*: which corresponds with the foregoing account.

CAINAN

Was the son of *Enos*. His name signifies “*possessor*.” According to the Arabian historians, by his wisdom he foresaw that the blessed God would bring a flood upon the earth: the prophecy of which he wrote upon tables of stone. See Vol. I. p. 293.

MAHALALEEL

Was the son of *Cainan*. His name signifies “*He that praises God*.” The Arabian historians assert that he made his children swear by the blood of *Abel*, that they would never descend from the mountains where they dwelt, to associate with the *Cainites*.

JARED

Was the son of *Mahalaleel*. His name signifies “*He that descends*.” It was perhaps descriptive of the descent of the *Sethites*; of whom a hundred, in his days, notwithstanding his remonstrances, went and associated with the female *Cainites*; according to the Arabian historians. This inauspicious connexion, which laid the foundation of the ensuing corruptions, began in the 1070th year of the world, in the days of *Jared*; according to the apocryphal book of *Enoch*; and consequently, in *Jared's* 110th year, which furnishes a confirmation of the present system of *chronology*. See Vol. I. p. 280.

ENOCK.

The name of this distinguished patriarch, the son of *Jared*, signifies “*dedicated*,” as he was to GOD; probably before his birth, like *Samuel*. He is celebrated in early and extensive traditions, for his proficiency in astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences; (see Vol. I. p. 280) and is called *Edris* by the Arabian historians, from his great *knowledge*; and is honourably noticed in the *Coran*, as “a just person and a prophet,”

chapter xix. He is more gloriously distinguished in Scripture, for his *faith*, and his *progressive* improvement in piety, intimated twice, by the phrase, “*he walked with God* ;” and as a preacher of “*repentance*” to a corrupt world. And because “*he pleased God, he was not found*” [any longer upon earth,] for “*God took him away*,” [at the early age of 365 years,] “*and translated him that he should not see death*” to the celestial Paradise. Compare Gen. v. 22—24, Heb. xi. 5, Eccclus. xlv. 16, xlix. 14, Luke xxiii. 43.

It is highly probable, that some visible or sensible demonstration of the translation of *Enoch* was given to his contemporaries ; as afterwards in the case of *Elijah* *. “*And as the fate of Abel was an argument addressed to the reason of mankind, so the translation of Enoch was a proof to their senses, as it were, of another state of life.*” *Peters* on Job, p. 272.

Enoch was also a distinguished prophet : he foretold the general judgment, in a precious fragment of antediluvian history, preserved by the apostle *Jude*.

“*And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied against them, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with his holy myriads, to execute judgment upon all, and to convict all the ungodly among them of their impious works which they have impiously committed, and of all the hard [sayings] which impious sinners have spoken against Him,*” ver. 14, 15 †.

Those against whom *Enoch* prophesied, are evidently the sinners described in the preceding part of the Epistle, against whom

* *Milton* so represents :

————— “*Him, THE MOST HIGH*
 Wrapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds,
 ————— received *to walk with God,*
 High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
Exempt from death.”————— P. L. B. xi.

† We learn from *Bruce*, the Abyssinian traveller, that this prophecy, ascribed to *Enoch*, is to be found, word for word, in the second chapter of the apocryphal book of *Enoch*. *Travels*, 8vo. Edit. Vol. II. p. 422, 423. Hence, some object to the truth of the prophecy itself, because the book, in which it is found, is spurious ; and conclude that *Jude* only cited it, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, as deemed to be *Enoch's*, by those to whom the Apostle wrote, without vouching for its veracity ; in the same way as he cited an ancient tradition, ver. 9, respecting *Michael* the archangel contending with the devil, &c. See *Poole's* Synopsis. But surely the prophecy might be true, though found in an apocryphal book, and yet the rest of the book be spurious. Its complete fulfilment at the deluge is evidence of its truth ; and this gives more weight to the Apostle's argument than the other supposition.

“woe” is denounced: 1. “They who walked in the way of *Cain* ;” and their successors, “in the error of *Balaam*,” and “in the gainsaying of *Korah*,” ver. 11. 2. “The *Angels* *, [“*Sons of God*,” or pious *Sethites*,] who kept not *their own principality*, (την ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν,) but *left their proper habitation*, (το ἰδίον οἰκητήριον,) [“to take wives of the *daughters of men*,” or apostate *Cainites*, Gen. vi. 2:] whom HE hath kept in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the *judgment of the great day*, ver. 6.

That these are the *angels* meant by the apostle, in this very obscure passage (not the fallen angels, or outcasts from heaven, as generally imagined,) is evident from the ensuing illustration of their peculiar crime: “Even as *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the cities about them, *in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and going after strange flesh*, are set forth for an example; suffering the vengeance of eternal fire,” ver. 7.

And the degeneracy of the *Sethites*, in the age of *Enoch*, is remarked by *Josephus*:

“They continued, indeed, for *seven* generations, holding GOD the governor of the universe, and in all respects, attending to virtue. But in the course of time, they changed, for the worse, from their primitive institutions, no longer paying legitimate honours to God, nor regarding justice to men. They even manifested in their deeds, double the zeal for vice, that they formerly had for virtue. Hence they rendered God their adversary.” Ant. I. 3, 1.

From these impure and promiscuous connexions of the *Sethites* with the *Cainites*, there sprang a race of “*giants, mighty men of old, men of renown*,” for their strength, and violence, and rapacity. Gen. vi. 4.

We learn from profane history, preserved in a curious fragment of *Berosus*, the Chaldean historian, that an empire was erected in *Chaldea* or *Babylonia*, in violation of the primitive patriarchal government, which subsisted, under a dynasty of ten elective kings, till the Deluge; and began with *Alorus*, the first prince, about B.C. 4355, or the 96th year of *Jared*, and 69 years before the birth of *Enoch*. See an account of this dynasty, in

* “*The Sons of God*,” or pious *Sethites*, Gen. vi. 2, are rendered, “*The Angels of God*,” by the *Alexandrine* Greek Version; and also by *Josephus*, Ant. i. 3, 1. Although the latter misapplies it to the *Spiritual Angels*; and is followed by several early Jewish and Christian writers, *Philo*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, &c.

the ensuing Analysis of *Assyrian and Chaldean Chronology*, Vol. IV.

It is not to be imagined, that a prophet so highly favoured as *Enoch*, with the remotest views of the Divine economy, could be ignorant of the impending Deluge; and through him, perhaps, was communicated to the world that obscure prophecy which immediately follows the account of the defection of the *Sethites*, Gen. vi. 3.

“And the Lord said, *My Spirit shall not always* [or any longer] *strive* [or plead] *with mankind, because they are flesh*; [and walk according to the *flesh*, not according to the *Spirit*, Rom. viii. 1—8; Jude 19.] *Nevertheless, their days shall be 120 years.*”

The former part of this prophecy is generally understood to denote, that *the Spirit of Christ*, which was in his prophets, *Enoch*, &c. would make no further efforts to reclaim an incorrigible world, but would exercise his just vengeance upon them;—as God afterwards “gave his *good Spirit* to instruct the *Israelites*”—and “*testified* against them, by *his Spirit*, in *his Prophets*,” Nehem. ix. 20—30.

Instead of the verb יָרִן, (*Iadun*) “shall strive;” the ancient versions, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, Syriac, and Chaldee Paraphrast, appear to have read יָרַר (*Iadur*) “shall dwell, or remain:” for they render it, “*My spirit shall not always dwell, or remain among men.*” As implying a threat, that the *Shechinah*, or visible presence of the Lord, which had resided hitherto among the *Sethites*, should henceforth be withdrawn from a guilty world. And this interpretation is supported by the primitive tradition, preserved by the mythological poet, *Ovid*, that in consequence of the *impiety* and *violence* of the old world, the goddess *Astræa*, or *Justice*, at last, quitted the earth, and flew away to heaven, where she holds the *balance* of justice, among the constellations of the zodiac.

Victa jacet *pieias*, et virgo *cæde* madentes

Ultima Cælestum terras *Astræa* reliquit. Met. I. 149.

This departure of the *Shechinah*, might perhaps have taken place at the translation of *Enoch*, “of whom the world was not worthy,” after they had despised his admonitions and warnings; and perhaps sought his life; as afterwards, in the similar case of *Elijah*.

The limited term of 120 years, in the latter part, is also generally understood to denote that last respite for repentance, granted to the world in the days of *Noah*, "*when the long suffering of God waited while the ark was preparing; wherein he and his family were saved in the general deluge,*" 1 Pet. iii. 20.

Enoch is generally thought to have alluded to the destruction of the old world, by the deluge, in the name of his son,

METHUSELAH,

Signifying, "*His death shall send*" [the deluge]. And, accordingly, *Methuselah*, who lived the longest of any of the Patriarchs, God adding to the son, what he had subtracted from the father, died in the very year of the deluge, shortly before it, of which, therefore, he was the immediate harbinger. The son of *Methuselah* was

LAMECH,

Signifying, "*Poor.*" A remarkable prophecy of his is recorded at the naming of his son *Noah*, signifying "*consolation,*" which was fulfilled after the deluge; "*He shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed,*" Gen. v. 29.

NOAH.

By the usual progress of impiety and vice, in the tenth generation, the iniquity of the old world came to the full, and "all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth," save *Noah*; who "found grace in the eyes of the Lord, because he was a *just* man, *perfect* in his generation, and *walked* with God," like his immortal ancestor, *Enoch*.

"And GOD said unto *Noah*, *The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them: and behold I will destroy them with the earth.—Make thee an ark of gopher wood, &c.—for behold I, even I, am going to bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die. But with thee will I establish my covenant: And thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and*

thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee," &c. Gen. vi.

From the extraordinary dimensions of the ark, which was by far the greatest vessel that ever was built, (see the description of it, Vol. I. p. 323,) it should seem, that 120 years was a moderate time to be employed in its construction. And if so, *Noah* began it in his 480th year; while he was childless; a striking proof of his implicit *faith*, both in the divine threatenings and promises: for his eldest son, *Japheth*, Gen. x. 21, was not born till twenty years after, in the 500th year of his age, Gen. v. 32; and the second, *Shem*, two years after, Gen. xi. 10. Such is the apostle *Paul's* description:—"By *faith*, *Noah*, having been instructed by the divine oracle, concerning things not yet seen, [the ensuing deluge, &c.] moved with fear, prepared an ark for the saving of his house," [or future family,] Heb. xi. 7.

During the time while the ark was building, *Noah*, as "a preacher of righteousness," like *Enoch* before him, warned the world of their impending danger, during this gracious season of respite, but in vain; and their punishment is recorded by the apostle *Peter*, in terms strongly resembling the prophecy of *Enoch*, preserved by *Jude*, and explanatory thereof:

"CHRIST went also (in the spirit) to the spirits in prison, and preached to them who were disobedient formerly, when the long suffering of God once waited in the days of *Noah*, while the ark was preparing; wherein a few [that is eight] souls were saved [in the midst of the water] by means of water," 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20.

"GOD spared not the offending angels, but cast them into *Tartarus*, (*ταρταρωσας*) and reserved them, kept in chains of darkness, unto judgment: And he spared not the old world, but preserved *Noah* the eighth [of his family,] a preacher of righteousness, bringing the flood upon the world of the ungodly, 2 Pet. ii. 4, 5.

Here, the "disobedient spirits in prison," the "offending angels in *Tartarus*," evidently correspond to *Jude's* "angels who kept not their own principality," who were shewn to denote "the Sons of God," or offending *Sethites*: they are all equally reserved, in chains of darkness, to the judgment of the great day.—*Tartarus*, a term borrowed from the Heathen mythology, denotes that part of *hades*, (or "the invisible world," and general receptacle of departed spirits, good and bad,) in which

the bad are confined: called by the Latins, *Orcus*, (from *ἔρκος*, "a fence,") because it is separated by "a great impassable gulf;" Luke xvi. 26, from that other part of *hades*, called in Scripture, *Paradise*, Luke xxiii. 43; and by the Heathens, *Elysium*, which is set apart for the abode of the spirits of just men, until "the resurrection of the just," Luke xiv. 14, and the general resurrection, Rev. xx. 6. To this, *Enoch*, *Moses*, and *Elijah*, are supposed to be translated; *Abraham*, the father of the faithful, and his sons, to reside there, Luke xvi. 22; and this OUR LORD visited, immediately after his crucifixion, Luke xxiii. 43.

The careless security of the *old world*, and the unexpected suddenness of their catastrophe by the deluge, are circumstantially described by OUR LORD; and set forth as an awful warning to future generations in the latter "*days of vengeance*," upon apostate *Christendom*, foretold to precede his next triumphant coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, to establish *the kingdom of God* upon earth; of which he laid the foundation, at his first coming in humiliation: and those days, if we attend to the disastrous *signs of the times*, have perhaps already commenced.

"But as the days of *Noah*, so shall also the coming of THE SON OF MAN be. For as in the days before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that *Noah* entered into the ark; and knew not, until the flood came and took them all away, [or destroyed them all:] so shall also the coming of THE SON OF MAN be*, Matt. xxiv. 37—39, Luke xvii. 26—30.

"By his exemplary *faith*, *Noah* condemned the *world*," rendering their infidelity more inexcusable by the contrast, Heb. xi. 7. And we may be assured, that while he was employed in building the ark, he underwent much ridicule and reproach from the *scoffers* of his day, for his folly, as they might represent it,

* The alarming analogy between the rebels of the old world, who despised the preaching of *Noah*, and the rebels of the new, who despise the preaching of CHRIST and his *Apostles* and *Ministers*, throughout the Gospel dispensation, is well and concisely expressed in *Poole's Synopsis* on 1 Pet. iii. 19.

"Rebellibus tempore *Noe*, ob spretam prædicationem *Noe* diluvio absorptis, respondent rebelles toto hoc tempore quo prædicatur *evangelium*, quos diluvium *iræ Divinæ* obruit et perdit. Contra, *paucis* illis in aqua servatis, respondent fideles, qui *præ incredulis sunt pauci*, servandi per mortem et resurrectionem CHRISTI. Ex hoc loco colligitur, CHRISTUM fuisse tempore *Noe*, quia tunc prædicasse dicitur."

in preparing such a great vessel, in an inland situation, at such a distance from the sea!

And now at length, when the ark was finished, and *Noah*, his family, and all the various species of animals destined to be preserved, had entered, by a divine impulse, into the ark, in the space of seven days, and that "the Lord had shut them all in;" immediately after, the miraculous and stupendous process of the deluge began, on *the seventeenth day of the second month*, or about the middle of the *spring* quarter, at an unusual season of the year: in the same day, were *all the fountains of the great abyss* [of subterraneous waters,] *broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened*, [to discharge the atmospheric waters.] *The rains continued*, without intermission, for *forty* entire days, and the eruptions of subterraneous waters, for *150 days*, or five months, until at length the inundation came to its height, and *covered all the high hills which were under the whole heaven, fifteen cubits upward*, above the highest. And on the *seventeenth day of the seventh month*, the ark, which had been borne aloft by the waters, *rested*, or grounded on the highest summit of the *mountains of Ararat*, in eastern *Armenia*. And from thence, *the waters decreased continually till the first day of the tenth month, when the tops of the neighbouring mountains were seen*; and at length, by the further recess of the waters, into their subterraneous reservoirs, which was more gradual than their rise, *the face of the ground*, or surface of the low lands *became dry, on the seven and twentieth day of the second month*; when *Noah* and all the souls with him in the ark, went forth, after a confinement therein of a year and ten days. See the circumstances of the Deluge, and the site of mount *Ararat*, more fully explained, Vol. I. p. 322, 332.

The first act of the pious *Noah*, after his deliverance was, *to build an altar unto the Lord, and offer burnt-offerings of every clean beast and of every clean fowl upon the altar*, as a sacrifice of thanksgiving. And THE LORD *smelled a sweet savour*, or was pleased with his offering; and promised, 1. that He would not again *curse the ground any more for man's sake*, [or transgression,] *even though* the imagination of man's heart should*

* Instead of "for," or "because," the usual rendering of the particle כִּי (*chi*) in this place; it admits of a better, "though," or "although;" as in Exod. xiii. 17, Deut. xxix. 19. In this adversative sense it seems to be put elliptically, for כִּי אִים (*chi aim*), "for though," as in Amos v. 22.

be evil from his youth, or mankind become corrupt again, as before the deluge, Gen. vi. 5; *neither*, 2. *again smite any more every living creature* by a deluge; but that, 3. *while the earth remained*, the regular vicissitudes of the seasons of the year, and of day and night, should continue; or *seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, should not cease*. And moreover, 4. He renewed to *Noah* and his family, the temporal blessings granted to *Adam* at the creation; for He blessed them, and said unto them, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth*; and invested them with *dominion* over all the animal tribes, beasts, and birds, and fishes. 5. He also gave the additional grant of *animal food*, of eating *flesh meat*, even as the *green herb*, and 6, to prevent violence, He enacted the salutary law against *murder*; and to crown all, 7. in reward of his exemplary *faith*, *Noah* was entitled to the spiritual blessings of the first covenant in Paradise, and “*was made heir of the righteousness which is by faith*,” in the Redeemer, CHRIST, Heb. xi. 7.

“Tell me now,” says Bishop *Sherlock*, “what is there bestowed in the first blessings, that is wanting in the second? What more did *Adam* enjoy in his happiest days, what more did he forfeit in his worst, with respect to this life, [and also to the next,] than what is contained in these blessings? If he neither had more, nor lost more, all those blessings you see expressly restored to *Noah* and his posterity. And can you still believe that a *curse* upon the earth remains? A *blessing* is once more pronounced on the earth, and a covenant of *temporal* [and also of *spiritual*] prosperity confirmed to *Noah*; and by him to all mankind: making good the prophecy of his father at the time of his birth; *This same shall comfort us*,” &c. *Sherlock on Prophecy*, Disc. IV. p. 104.

On this occasion, the *rainbow**, which must have existed from the beginning, in consequence of the immutable laws of “the refraction and reflection of the sun’s rays in drops of falling rain;” See *Newton’s Optics*, p. 147, was appointed for a sign or token of the ratification of this gracious covenant with

* The description of the rainbow by the Son of *Sirach*, is eminently beautiful: “Look upon the rainbow, and praise Him that made it, very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof: it compasseth the heavens with a glorious circle, and the hands of the Most High have bended it,” *Eclus.* xliii. 11. *Homer* calls it *τερας μεροπων ανδρωπων*, “a wondrous sign to mankind.”

Noah and his posterity. Hence it is called "*the faithful witness in heaven*," in the sublime hymn of *Ethan*, Psalm lxxxix. 37; and by a beautiful imagery, "*the mighty angel*" of mercy, in the Apocalypse, the representative of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, "had a *rainbow* upon his head;" Rev. x. 1; and "*the throne* of grace was surrounded by a glorious rainbow, in appearance like an emerald," Rev. iv. 3. It is, indeed, no more necessary to suppose that the rainbow was now created, for this purpose, than the symbols of bread and wine, for the institution of the *Lord's Supper* *.

The residence of *Noah* and his family, is supposed to have been in the delightful plain at the foot of Mount *Ararat*, near *Erivan* and the *three Churches*, according to the tradition of the *Armenians*; which is still famous for its *vines*, according to *Tournefort*. See the foregoing volume, p. 335.

Here the venerable Patriarch lived an *agricultural* life, for 350 years after the deluge, Gen. ix. 29. An eminent proof that the diminution of the standard of human life after the deluge, first to 600 years, in the case of *Shem*, and by successive reductions, to 400 years, and 200 years until the days of *Abraham*, in the tenth generation, did not originate from any insalubrity of the air or waters, shortening life by *natural* causes, but from the sole will and pleasure of GOD. Had such causes existed, they must have operated most powerfully in the times nearest to the deluge, contrary to the fact.

The famous prophecy of *Noah* †, concisely foretelling the fortunes of the families of his sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, could not have been delivered until after the birth of *Canaan*, the youngest of the four sons of the undutiful *Ham*; "Cursed be [*Canaan*,] &c. Gen. ix. 22—25, and probably not long before his death, when such solemn blessings and cursings upon obedient and disobedient children, were usually pronounced, as in the case of *Jacob*, &c. Gen. xlix. 1.

At the same time also, was probably delivered the general

* In the original passage, Gen. ix. 13—16, the verb נָתַתִּי, being in the *perfect* tense, ought to be rendered, "*I have set*, or given my bow in the cloud," &c. as a *former* effect, now appointed for an *outward sign*, &c. and not in the *present* tense, with our English Bible, "*I do set* my bow in the cloud," &c. nor in the *future*, with *Maslef* and others, "*I will set* my bow in the cloud," &c. as if the *first appearance* of the bow had been after the deluge.

† See an explanation of this prophecy, Vol. I. p. 344.

outline of that primitive *Geographical Chart*, describing the allotted settlements of the families of Noah's sons, and the orderly colonization of the earth, by their posterity, in the 10th chapter of Genesis.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE DELUGE TO ABRAHAM, 1002 YEARS.

1. Deluge. <i>Shem</i>	2 ..	3155
2. <i>Arphaxad</i>	135 ..	3153
3. <i>Salah</i>	130 ..	3018
4. <i>Heber</i>	134 ..	2888
5. <i>Peleg</i> , or <i>Phaleg</i>	130 ..	2754
6. <i>Reu</i> , or <i>Ragau</i>	132 ..	2624
Division of the Earth .....	..	2614
Beginning of <i>Nimrod's</i> kingdom, and confusion of tongues	}	2554
7. <i>Serug</i>	130 ..	2492
8. <i>Nahor</i> ..	79 ..	2362
<i>Job's</i> trial .....	..	2337
9. <i>Terah</i>	130 ..	2283
10. <i>Abraham</i>	1002 ..	2153

SHEM.

The chronology of this second period is carried on by the sacred historian, in the line of *Shem* (signifying "*name*" or "*renown*"), the ancestor of *Abraham*, of *David*, and of *CHRIST*. His genealogy therefore is given entire, while the descendants of *Japheth* and *Ham* are only brought down as low as the confusion of tongues, and the subsequent dispersion, in order to transmit to posterity the names of the first founders of nations, and there to dismiss them. Thus, only the sons and the grandsons of *Japheth* are recorded, "by whom *the isles of the Gentiles*," or the maritime regions of *Europe*, were colonized, "each after their tongue and their families in their nations," Gen. x. 2—5; and likewise the sons and grandsons of *Ham*, with the exception of *Cush*, the eldest son, whose genealogy is carried down, through *Raamah* and *Sheba*, to his great-grandson, *Nimrod*, the remarkable founder of the first empire after the deluge, in the land of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*. And for the same reason, *Joktan*, the brother of *Peleg*, the contemporary of *Nimrod*, is recorded, with his thirteen sons, because they gave names to so

many districts in *Arabia*, colonized by them, and inhabited by their descendants. And this is stated in the conclusion of the chapter: "*These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.*" Gen. x. 32. See the explanation of this chapter, Vol. I. p. 352.

ARPHAXAD.

He was the eldest son of *Shem*, born two years after the deluge, Gen. xi. 10, though ranked the fourth among the sons of *Shem*, Gen. x. 22. His name signifies, "*He that heals, or releases,*" probably in allusion to the deliverance of *Noah's* family from the deluge. His lot appears to have been the plain of *Shinar*, in the southern part of *Mesopotamia*, stretching westward of the river *Tigris*, together with the country of *Eden*, and the tract on the east side of the same river, called *Arrapachitis*, in *Assyria*; evidently derived from אַרְפַּכְשָׁד, *Arpachshad*, his name in Hebrew. And *Josephus* relates, that the *Chaldeans*, who occupied a part of the land of *Shinar*, were originally called *Arphaxadecans*, from him. He lived 438 years. With him began the second reduction of the standard of human life; the first having begun with his father, *Shem*, who lived 600 years; whereas *Noah* lived 950 years.

SALAH.

His name signifies "*He sends,*" and was probably given him by *Arphaxad* his father, in allusion to the deluge, as in Job v. 10. "*He sendeth waters upon the face of the fields.*" A town near *Susa*, called *Sala* or *Sela*, is supposed to be named from him. He lived 433 years.

EBER, OR HEBER,

Signifies "*He that passes over.*" He is reckoned the father of the *Hebrews*, or of them who retained the pure Hebrew dialect, nearest to the primæval language, after the confusion of tongues, Gen. x. 21; Numb. xxiv. 24. Hence *Abraham* was called "*the Hebrew,*" Gen. xiv. 13. And his descendants, by way of distinction from the rest of the children of *Heber*, called themselves by the double title, "*Hebrew of the Hebrews;*" so *Eusebius* called *Moses*, "*That great theologian, a Hebrew of*

the Hebrews ;” and St. Paul called himself “ a Hebrew of the Hebrews,” Phil. iii. 5. He lived 464 years.

PELEG, OR PHALEG,

His elder son, whose name signified *division*, “because that in his days the earth was *divided*” among the three families of the sons of *Noah*, by the divine decree promulgated before by *Noah*. By the most probable account of *Abulfaragi*, the Armenian annalist, this division actually began to take place in the 140th year of *Phaleg*, B.C. 2614, or 541 years after the deluge, 191 years after the death of *Noah*, and 29 years after the death of *Shem*, when probably *Japheth* and *Ham* were dead also. This was a likely time for the three primitive families to begin to separate, when their original settlement became too scanty for their increased population. *Abulfaragi*, as living in *Armenia*, the immediate residence of *Noah* after the deluge, has, from the primitive tradition of his countrymen, preserved some valuable and authentic *epochs* for the adjustment of sacred chronology, in its early periods, no where else to be found. And we learn from St. Paul, that this division was not made at random, but that “ GOD made of *one blood* (namely, *Noah’s*,) every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth, having ordained the predetermined *seasons* and *boundaries* of their respective settlements,” Acts xvii. 26. See the foregoing account of these settlements, Vol. I. p. 352.—Of *Peleg’s* allotted settlement, a trace may perhaps remain in the town of *Phalga*, not far from the conflux of the river *Chaboras* with the *Euphrates*, where the town of *Charran* was seated. *Bochart* rather derives the name of the town from *Phalga*, signifying, in the Syriac *dialect*, “the middle,” because it was *midway* between the two *Seleucias*; the one city in *Pieria*, the other in *Mesopotamia*. Vol. I. p. 93. *Peleg* lived 239 years, and began the third reduction of the standard of human life.

REU, OR RAGAU,

His son, whose name signifies “*his shepherd*.” From him, perhaps, was denominated “the great plain in the borders of *Ragau*,” and “the mountains of *Ragau*,” in *Media*, Judith i. 5—17. He lived 239 years.

In the 70th year of *Reu*, (B.C. 2554,) according to *Abulfaragi*,

p. 12, sixty years after the migration of the primitive families of Noah's sons, from their original settlement to *Shinar*, or *Mesopotamia*, they conspired to build the Tower of *Babel*; but their rebellious attempt was defeated by the confusion of tongues, and they were all scattered from thence upon the face of the earth. See Vol. I. p. 351.

The leader in this disastrous enterprise, which instead of *renown*, brought *shame* and *confusion* upon the perpetrators, was

NIMROD,

Signifying "*the Rebel*," by way of bad eminence. He is generally supposed to have been the immediate son of *Cush*, and the youngest, or sixth, from the Scriptural phrase, "*Cush* begat *Nimrod*," after the mention of his five sons, Gen. x. 8. But the phrase is used with considerable latitude, like *father* and *son*, in Scripture. Thus *Moses* warns the *Israelites* of their future apostacy, "When thou shalt *beget children* and *children's children*, and shall have remained *long* in the land, and shall *corrupt* yourselves," &c. Deut. iv. 25, where the phrase evidently extends to remote descendants. In *David's* pedigree, "*Naashon* begat *Salmon*, and *Salmon* begat *Boaz*," &c. Ruth iv. 20, 21, where there is a deficiency of four generations at least after the two latter. In *Nimrod's* pedigree, the chasm may be supplied by the insertion of the intermediate generations of *Raamah* and *Sheba*, thus :

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Ham</i> | 1. <i>Shem</i> . |
| 2. <i>Cush</i> | 2. <i>Arphaxad</i> . |
| 3. <i>Raamah</i> | 3. <i>Salah</i> . |
| 4. <i>Sheba</i> | 4. <i>Eber</i> . |
| 5. <i>Nimrod</i> | 5. <i>Peleg</i> . |

Hence it appears that *Nimrod* was contemporary with *Peleg*, according to *Abulfaragi*, confirmed by the whole tenor of sacred and profane history. He is introduced incidentally by *Moses*, as the most famous of the sons or descendants of *Cush*. "For he began to be a *mighty one* in the earth: he was a *mighty hunter* before the Lord; even [proverbially,] as *Nimrod* the *mighty hunter* before the Lord."

"And the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*, and *Erech* and *Accad* and *Calneh*, in the land of *Shinar*: out of that land he went forth [to invade] *Assyria*; and built *Nineveh*, and the

city *Rehoboth*, and *Calah*, and *Resen*, between *Ninereh* and *Calah*: the same is a great city," Gen. x. 8—12.

Though the main body of the *Cushites* was miraculously dispersed, and sent by Providence to their original destinations along the sea-coasts of *Asia* and *Africa*, yet *Nimrod* remained behind, and like "the *giants* and *mighty men, men of renown*, of the old world, who founded an empire in *Babylonia*," according to *Berosus*; *Nimrod* did the same, by usurping the property of the *Arphaxadites* in the land of *Shinar*; where "the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*," or *Babylon**, and other towns: and not satisfied with this, he next invaded *Assur*, or *Assyria*, east of the *Tigris*; where he built *Ninereh*, and several other towns.

The marginal reading of our English Bible, "He went out into *Assyria*," or to invade *Assyria*, is here adopted in preference to that in the text; "And out of that land went forth *Ashur*, and builded *Ninereh*," &c. for the reasons assigned, Vol. I. p. 451.

The meaning of the word *Ninereh* may lead us to his original name, *Nin*, signifying "a son," the most celebrated of the sons of *Cush*. That of *Nimrod*, or "Rebel," was probably a parody, or nickname, given him by the oppressed *Shemites*; of which we have several instances in Scripture. Thus *Nahash*, the brazen "serpent" in the wilderness, was called by *Hezekiah*, in contempt, *Nehushtan*, "a piece of brass," when he broke it in pieces, because it was perverted into an object of idolatrous worship by the Jews, 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Nimrod, that arch-rebel, who first subverted the patriarchal government, introduced also the *Zabian* idolatry, or worship of

* This also is confirmed by Heathen testimony.

1. *Dorotheus*, an old Phœnician poet, cited by *Julius Firmicus*, called "ancient *Babylon*, the city of the *Tyrian* (or *Assyrian*) *Belus*."

Ἀρχαία Βαβυλῶν Τυρίου Βηλοιο πόλισμα.

2. *Eustathius*, in his Commentary on the *Periegesis* of *Dionysius*, verse 1006, states, that "*Babylon* was built 1800 years before Queen *Semiramis*, who surrounded it entirely with a strong wall." But according to *Herodotus*, *Semiramis* lived five generations, or about 166 years before *Nitocris*, the last queen, who embellished it. She was probably the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who flourished about B. C. 581, which would bring the time of *Semiramis*, to about B. C. 747: and the building of *Babylon* to B. C. 2547, or the seventh year of *Nimrod's* reign: which therefore seems to be rightly assigned in the preceding rectification; and furnishes a valuable coincidence of sacred and profane chronology, at so early a period, drawn from different and independent sources.

the heavenly host; and after his death, was deified by his subjects, and supposed to be translated into the constellation of *Orion*, attended by his hounds, *Sirius* and *Canicula*, and still pursuing his favourite game, the *Great Bear*; supposed also to be translated into *Ursa Major*, near the north pole; as admirably described by *Homer*, *Iliad*. xviii. 485.

Ἀρκτον θ', ἣν και ἀμαξαν επικλησιν καλεουσιν,
'Η τ' αὐτου στρεφεται, και τ' Ὠριωνα δοκενει.

“And *the Bear*, surnamed also *the Wain*, [by the *Egyptians*,] who is turning herself* about there, and watching *Orion*.”

Homer also introduces the shade of *Orion*, as hunting in the *Elysian* fields, *Odyss*. xi. 571.

Τον δε μετ' Ὠριωνα πελωριον εισενοησα,
Θηρας ὄμιον ειλευντα κατ' ασφοδελον λειμωνα,
Τους αὐτος κατεπεφνεν εν οιοπολοισιν ορεσσιν·
Χερσιν εχων ροπαλον παγχαλκειον αιεν ααγεε.

“Next, I observed the mighty *Orion*,
Chasing wild-beasts through an *Asphodel* mead,
Which himself had slain on the solitary mountains:
Holding in his hands, a solid brazen mace, ever unbroken.”

The Grecian name of this “mighty hunter,” may furnish a satisfactory clue to the name given him by the impious adulation of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*. *Ωριων*, nearly resembles *Ουριαν*, the oblique case of *Ουριας*, which is the Septuagint rendering of *Uriah*, a proper name in Scripture; as in 2 Sam. xi. 6—21. But *Uriah*, signifying “*the light of the Lord*,” was an appropriate appellation of that most brilliant constellation.

He was also called *Baal*, *Beel*, *Bel*, or *Belus*, signifying “*Lord*,” or “*Master*,” by the *Phœnicians*, *Assyrians*, and *Greeks*, and *Bala Rama*, by the *Hindus*; or *Bala*, the son of *Rama*, who was evidently the *Raamah* of Scripture; confirming the foregoing rectification of his genealogy. At a village, called *Bala deva*, or *Baldeo*, in the vulgar dialect, 13 miles east by south from *Muttra*, in *Hindustan*, there is “a very ancient statue of *Bala Rama*, in which he is represented with a *ploughshare* in his left hand, and a thick *cudgel* in his right, and his shoulders covered with the skin of a tiger.” *Asiat. Research*. Vol. V. p. 294. Captain *Wilford* supposes, that “the *plough-*

* *Homer* thus poetically expresses the diurnal rotation of this constellation around the north pole. It is remarkable, that both *Homer* and *Job*, represent the *Bear* as feminine.

share was designed to hook his enemies;" but may it not more naturally denote the constellation of the *Great Bear*? which strikingly represents the figure of a *plough*, in its seven bright stars; and was probably so denominated by the earliest astronomers, before the introduction of the *Zabian* idolatry, as a celestial symbol of agriculture. The "thick cudgel" corresponds to the "brazen mace" of *Homer*. And it is highly probable, that the Assyrian *Nimrod*, or Hindu *Bala*, was also the prototype of the Grecian *Hercules*, with his club and lion's skin.

According to the foregoing scheme, the migrations of the three primitive families, from the central regions of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assyria*, began about B. C. 2614, or 541 years after the deluge: and lasted, as Sir *William Jones* conjectures, about four centuries*; in the course of which, by successive colonizations, they established far distant communities, and various modes of society and government: the *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, *Ethiopian*s, and *Libyans*, southwards; the *Persians*, *Ethiopian*s, *Indians*, and *Chinese*, eastwards; the *Scythians*, *Celts*, and *Tartars*, northwards; and the *Goths*, *Greeks*, and *Latins*; even as far as the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*, of South America, and the *Indian* tribes of North America, westwards. All these various inhabitants of the globe, retain a striking affinity in the leading principles of their language, customs, and religions, however diversified, in process of time, from each other, by local circumstances: such affinity evincing their common descent from one and the same parent stock. See the Articles on *the Division of the Earth*, and the *Varieties of Mankind*, Vol. I. p. 350, 359.

And this period of four centuries, corresponds remarkably well with the most authentic documents of profane history, still subsisting, as to the establishment of the primitive nations in their respective settlements.

SERUG

Was the son of *Reu*. From him, *Bochart* conjectures, that the town of *Sarug* was named; which was near *Charra*, in Mesopotamia. *Suidas* and others ascribe to him the introduction of the idolatry of deifying the dead, as benefactors of mankind.

* See *Asiat. Research*. Vol. IV. p. 4; and his valuable discourses, on the three primitive families of *Noah's* sons, in the first four volumes.

And it is remarkable, that the arch-rebel *Nimrod* died in his days, about B. C. 2456. *Serug* lived 230 years.

NAHOR

Was his son. In his time, according to *Euty chius*, flourished *Zorodasht*, or the elder *Zoroaster*, the founder of the *Zabian* religion: and according to *Abulfaragi*, on the authority of *Arudha*, a Canaanitish historian, the trial of *Job* began in the twenty-fifth year of *Nahor*, or B. C. 2337. He lived only 148 years.

JOB.

Vir fortis cum malâ fortunâ compositus *.—*Seneca*.

This celebrated patriarch, has been represented by some sacred critics, as imaginary, and his book as a fictitious *dramatic* composition. But he was evidently considered as real, in the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, wherein *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job* are ranked together †, as powerful intercessors with God; the first for his

* “A brave man struggling with adversity.”

† The sceptical *Michaelis*, of more learning than judgment, considers *Job* as a fictitious character, and represents his poem as an allegory, composed by *Moses* during his exile, to raise the spirits of the oppressed and enslaved *Israelites* in Egypt. In his Supplement to *Louth's* admired *Prelections on Hebrew Poetry*, he thus endeavours to set aside the evidence of *Ezekiel*, p. 180.

Locus *Ezechielis* fictionem habet et vero impossibilem; fieri enim omnino nequit, ut *viri non coævi*, Noachus, Jobus, et Daniel, in eadem simul urbe vivant: nec inauditum aut absurdum, veras personas et fictam, in proponendo exemplo conjungi.

But this is a misrepresentation of the prophet's meaning: the passage neither contains “a fiction nor an impossibility,” but a perfectly natural supposition; not that *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job* were actually “coeval, and lived together in the same city,” which indeed would be a glaring anachronism and absurdity; but only, that if three such eminent personages were therein, their intercessions should avail only to save themselves, but not their countrymen; thus forcibly delineating the total corruption and degeneracy of the latter. And surely, to blend a fictitious character with others avowedly real, would serve only to weaken the effect of the whole, and not only be “unusual,” but even “absurd,” or incongruous. The *German* professor's illustration of recommending “chastity to a daughter,” by the examples of “*Lucretia*,” in *Livy*, and of “*Pamela*,” in *Richardson's* novels, could only tend to set them on a par in point of reality, and render the former rather doubtful.

With equal improbability, *Michaelis* ascribes the difference of the style of *Job* and of *Moses*, to the youth of the latter at the time of its composition, when his imagination was more fervid; but surely, the most glowing and brilliant of all his compositions, his last hymn, Deut. xxxii, was written at the age of 120, just before his death. “The poetical vigour of which appeared miraculous,” even to the professor himself!

family; the second for the wise men of *Babylon*; and the third for his friends, Ezek. xiv. 14. And the apostle *James* celebrates the exemplary "*patience of Job*," Jam. v. 11. And the book itself, whose early admission into the Sacred Canon is strongly in favour of its veracity, describes the residence of *Job* and his friends, with all the *geographical* precision of true history.

Job himself, whose name, by the most natural derivation, signifies "*enduring enmity* *," lived "in the land of *Uz*;" (colonized by *Uz*, the son of *Aram*, Gen. x. 23,) of which *Edom*, or *Idumea*, was a district, Jer. xxv. 20, Lam. iv. 21. *Eliphaz* was of *Teman*, a city of *Edom*, Jer. xlix. 7—20, Ezek. xxv. 13, Amos i. 12. *Bildad* was of *Shua*, a district in "the east country" of *Arabia Petraea*, where *Abraham's* sons by *Keturah* were settled, Gen. xxv. 2—6. *Zophar*, of *Naamah*, a city of *Edom*, Josh. xv. 21—41. And *Elihu*, is still more particularly described by his parentage also, as "the son of *Barachiel*, the *Buzite*;" in the neighbourhood of *Dedan* and *Teman*, in *Edom*, Jer. xxv. 23, xlix. 8, Ezek. xxv. 13, "of the kindred of *Ram*," or *Aram* †. "This," says *Mercerus*, "was done designedly by the author of the book, to shew the certainty of the history, and that it was not a fictitious or imaginary composition."

That *Job* was not a *Hebrew of the Hebrews*, or of the chosen line of *Peleg*, may be inferred from the omission of his name in the list of worthies renowned for their *faith*, Heb. xi. He was probably of *Joktan's* race, who first colonized *Arabia*, Gen. x. 25, Job xv. 19. And that the author was not of *Peleg's* line, may be most unequivocally collected from the style of the book, which differs considerably from the writings of *Moses* and the *prophets*; abounding in *Syriasm*s, *Chaldaism*s, and *Arabism*s.

The *time of Job*, his *trials*, and his *faith*, have given rise to

The English professor, *Lowth*, has well accounted for such reveries of the learned, by the following remark, in his own elegant *Latinity* :

Nunquam in dubium vocata fuisset *historiæ veritas* nisi quibusdam *allegoariarum conquisitoribus* tantum placuissent *suæ fictiones*, ut nihil amplecti vellent quod non *unbratile* esset et *commentitium*. "The truth of the history would never have been called in question, had not some *searchers for allegories* been over-pleased with their *own fictions*; so as to admire nothing that was not *visionary* and *fanciful*." Prælect. xxxiii. p. 419. Peters, 143.

* אִיּוֹב, (*Aiob*), from אִיב, (*Aib*), "*inimicus est*."

† Thus, "*Ram*, the father of *Aminadab*," Ruth iv. 19, is called "*Aram*," Luke iii. 33, and רַמִּים, (*Ramim*), "*the Syrians*," 2 Chron. xxii. 5, are called אַרְמִים, (*Aramim*), 2 Kings viii. 28.

a great variety of opinions ; they are next to be determined and explained, according to the most probable.

THE TIME OF JOB.

I. The Bible chronology dates the trial of *Job*, twenty-nine years before the exode of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*. And indeed, 1. That the book was composed before, is evident from its total silence respecting the mighty signs and wonders that accompanied the exode ; such as the passage of the *Red Sea* *, the destruction of the *Egyptians*, the *manna* in the desert, &c. all happening in the vicinity of *Job*, and so apposite in the debate about the ways of Providence.

2. That it was composed before *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan*, may also be inferred from its silence respecting the destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and the other cities of the plain, covered by the Dead Sea ; which were still nearer to *Idumæa*, where the scene is laid.

3. The longevity of *Job* sufficiently corresponds to the time assigned by *Abulfaragi*. He survived his trial 140 years ; xlii. 16, and his age was probably not less at that time ; for his seven sons were all grown up, and settled in their own houses a good while, i. 4, 5. He speaks of the " sins of his *youth*," xiii. 26 ; of the prosperity of " his *youth*," xxix. 4. And yet *Eliphaz* schools him as a novice ; " With *us* are both the gray headed and *very aged*, much older than *thy father*," xv. 20.

4. That he did not live at an earlier period, may be collected from an incidental observation of *Bildad*, referring *Job* to their forefathers for instruction in wisdom.

" Enquire, I pray thee, of the *former age*,
And prepare thyself to the search of *their fathers*."

Assigning as a reason, the comparative shortness of life, and consequent ignorance of the present generation :

* The following passage, " *He divideth the sea* with his power," Job xxvi. 12, has been considered as alluding to the passage of the *Red Sea* : but it probably refers to the separation of the waters at the creation ; like the parallel passage, xxxviii. 8—11. In both passages, *Rahab*, or " *proud*," is an epithet of the sea. The former passage may perhaps allude to the deluge, from the preceding xxvi. 10, more correctly rendered, " *He hath inscribed a covenant on the face of the waters*, until the *day and night* come to an end." The sign of this covenant with *Noah* was the *rainbow*, Gen. ix. 31.

N.B. Many other passages supposed to be imitations of *Moses* and the *prophets*, will be found, on examination, either irrelevant, or to have been imitated rather by them.

“ For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing ;
Because our days upon earth are a shadow,” viii. 8, 9.

But “ the fathers of the former age,” or grandfathers of the present, were the contemporaries of *Peleg* and *Joktan*, in the fifth generation after the deluge : and they might easily have learned wisdom from the fountain head, by conversing with *Shem*, or perhaps with *Noah* himself ; whereas, in the seventh generation, the standard of human life was reduced to about 200 years ; which was “ a shadow” compared with the longevity of *Noah* and his sons*.

5. The manners and customs critically correspond to that early period. *Job* acted as high priest in his own family, according to primitive usage, Gen. viii. 20. For the institution of an established priesthood does not appear to have taken place any where, until *Abraham’s* days. *Melchidezek*, king of *Salem*, was a priest of the primitive order, Gen. xiv. 18 ; and so was *Jethro*, the father-in-law of *Moses*, in the vicinity of *Idumæa*, Exod. xviii. 12. The first regular priesthood probably took place in *Egypt* : *Joseph* was married to the daughter of the priest of *On*, Gen. xli. 45.

6. The slavish homage of prostration to princes and great men, which prevailed in *Egypt*, *Persia*, and the east in general, and still subsists there, was unknown in *Arabia* at that time. Though *Job* was one of “ the greatest of all the men of the east ;” we do not find any such adoration paid to him by his contemporaries, in the zenith of his prosperity, among the marks of respect so minutely described, chap. xxix. “ When the young men saw him, they hid themselves,” through rustic bashfulness ; the aged arose, and stood up, in his presence ; the princes refrained from talking, and laid their hand upon their mouth ; the nobles held their peace, and were all attention while he spoke. All this was highly respectful indeed, but still it was manly, and shewed no cringing or servile adulation.

And so Sir *William Jones* describes the genuine *Arabs* at the present day, as “ a majestic race,” who were never conquered, and who have retained their primitive manners, features, and characters, without scarcely any alteration. “ Their eyes,” says he, “ are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick,

* This argument for the antiquity and traditional knowledge of *Job* and his friends is ably insisted on in the sagacious Mr. *Davis’ Celtic Researches*, p. 11.

their minds always present and attentive, with a spirit of independence appearing in the countenance of the lowest among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of their own country : but if *courtesy* and *urbanity*, a love of *poetry* and *eloquence*, and the practice of *exalted virtues* be a juster proof of perfect society, we have certain proof that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in Republican and Monarchical states, were *eminently civilized for many ages* before their conquest of *Persia*." *Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 3—9.

7. The only species of *idolatry* noticed in the book, is *Zabianism*, which is the earliest on record, and an additional proof of the high antiquity of the composition ; especially as it is noticed with abhorrence, as a novelty, deserving *judicial* punishment, xxxi. 26—28.

And we learn also from Sir *William Jones*, that "The people of *Yemen*, (*Arabia*,) very soon fell into the common but fatal error of adoring the *sun* and the *firmament* ; for even the third in descent from *Yoktan*, who was, consequently, as old as *Nahor*, took the surname of *Abdu-Shams*, or ' *Servant of the Sun* ;' and his family, we are assured, paid particular honour to that luminary. Other tribes worshipped the *planets* and *fixed stars*."—*Zabianism*, therefore, was actually introduced into *Arabia*, (probably from *Chaldea*,) in *Job's* days, who was the contemporary of *Nahor*.

8. The cardinal constellations of spring and autumn, in *Job's* time, were *Chimah* and *Chesil*, or *Taurus* and *Scorpio* ; noticed ix. 9 ; and again xxxviii. 31, 32, of which, the principal stars are *Aldebaran*, the bull's eye, and *Antares*, the scorpion's heart. Knowing, therefore, the longitudes of these stars at present, the interval of time from thence to the assumed date of *Job's* trial, will give the difference of their longitudes, and ascertain their positions then, with respect to the vernal and autumnal points of intersection of the equinoctial and ecliptic ; according to the usual rate of the *precession of the equinoxes*, one degree in $71\frac{1}{2}$ years. See that Article, Vol. I. p. 78.

The following calculations I owe to the kindness and skill of the respectable Dr. *Brinkley*, *Andrew's* Professor of Astronomy in the University of *Dublin*.

In A.D. 1800, *Aldebaran* was in 2 signs, 7 deg. east longitude. But since the date of *Job's* trial, B.C. 2338 + 1800 = 4138

years, the precession of the equinoxes amounted to 1 sign, 27 deg. 53 min. which, being subtracted from the former quantity, left *Aldebaran* in only 9 deg. 7 min. longitude, or distance from the *vernal* intersection: which, falling within the constellation of *Taurus*, consequently rendered it the cardinal constellation of *spring*; as *Pisces* is at present.

In A.D. 1800, *Antares* was in 8 signs, 6 deg. 58 min. east longitude, or 2 signs, 6 deg. 58 min. east of the *autumnal* intersection: from which subtracting, as before, the amount of the precession, *Antares* was left only 9 deg. 5 min. east. Since then, the autumnal equinox was found within *Scorpio*, this was then the cardinal constellation of *autumn*; as *Virgo* is at present.

Since, then, these calculations critically correspond with the positions of the equinoxes at the assumed date of *Job's* trial, but disagree with the lower dates of the age of *Moses*, and still more, of *Ezra*, furnishing different cardinal constellations; we may rest in the assumed date of the trial*, as correct.

Such a combination and coincidence of various rays of evidence, derived from widely different sources, *history*, sacred and

* These *astronomical* calculations were originally published in a Series of Essays on *Sacred Criticism*, *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, 1802, Vol. II. p. 241. Since that time, I have reduced the date of *Job's* trial a year lower, B.C. 2337.

This day, (Jan. 2, 1809,) I was agreeably surprised to find, that this *astronomical* mode of determining the age of *Job*, by the *precession of the equinoxes*, had been anticipated forty-four years ago, by a learned and ingenious Frenchman, *Ducoutant*, in a *Thesis*, published at *Paris*, 1765, in the Sorbonne; stating that *Chimah* and *Chesil*, corresponded to the *Pleiades* and *Scorpio*, and were the cardinal constellations of *spring* and *autumn*, in *Job's* time. As the tract is scarce, I will transcribe the passage:

Libri *Jobæi* antiquitatem, confirmant, etiam non mediocriter, constellationes quarum fit mentio, Job. ix. 9, et xxxviii. 31. Ibi, DEUS *Jobum* alloquens ait: Numquid religare poteris amœnitates (seu delicias) *Pleiadum*, (כִּימָה,) id est, Numquid cohibere poteris ne erumpant deliciae quas *Pleiades*, (seu sidus *Kimah*) annunciant? Unde rite colligitur, constellationem *Kimah*, seu *Pleiades*, tempore *Jobi* fuisse veris prænuncias. Jam vero, si astronomice calculus ineatur temporis quo *Kimah* seu *Pleiades* vernal tempus prænuntiabant, invenietur id contigisse anno ante Christum 2136. — Jam vero nomine *Kimah Pleiadas* esse intelligendas, multa gravissimaque argumenta demonstrant.

Ibidem, Job xxxviii. 31. Deus *Jobum* alloquens ait: Numquid poteris dissolvere vincula *Kesil* (כֶּסֶל) id est, Numquid efficere poteris ut dum apparet sidus *Kesil*, terram frigore constringens, erumpant flores et fructus? Ex his pariter concluditur, *Kesil* esse sidus oppositum *rov Kimah*, et tempore *Jobi* fuisse hyemis prænunciam; ac proinde, nomine *Kesil*, intelligendum esse *Scorpionem*; seu sidus quod vocatur *cor Scorpionis*. Per *Kesil Scorpionem* intelligendum esse, multa alia gravissimaque monumenta ostendunt. Jam vero calculo astronomice inito, invenietur pariter *Kesil*, seu *Scorpionem* hyemem prænunciassse anno [ante Christum, 2136.] Atqui, tempore *Mosis*, nec *Kimah* vernal tempus, nec *Kesil* hyemem jamdudum prænunciare poterant: Ergo Liber *Jobæus* longe est *Mose* antiquior, p. 7.

profane, *chronology* and *astronomy*, and all converging to the same common focus, tend strongly to establish the time of *Job's* trial, as rightly assigned in the year B.C. 2337; or 818 years after the deluge; 184 years before the birth of *Abraham*; 474 years before the settlement of *Jacob's* family in *Egypt*; and 689 years before their *exode* or departure from thence*.

If now we reckon, with the most intelligent critics, *Schultens*, *Peters*, *Lowth*, &c. that the work was written by *Job* himself, whose name it bears; by the same analogy, as those of *Samuel*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezra*, &c. (and surely among the various authors that have been assigned by the learned, *Elihu*, *Moses*, *Solomon*, *Isaiah*, *Ezra*, &c. none has a better title than the venerable patriarch himself to be considered as such,) this supposition stamps an additional value on the authority and authenticity of the work; and accounts for the high estimation in which the character of *Job* is represented, (and by the ALMIGHTY himself,) in that solemn denunciation to the *Israelites*, recorded by *Ezekiel*, and thrice repeated, as if to guard against any mistake of his name; Ezek. xiv. 14—18—20; and also by the apostle *James*; and also, for the respect with which that passage, "HE taketh the wise in their own craftiness," v. 13, is cited, as canonical Scripture, by the apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. iii. 19, which surely would not have been the case, had it been the work of a doubtful or unknown author. Nothing, indeed, but its intrinsic excellence, and the inspiration of the author, which is not obscurely intimated by his seeing the Divine presence, xlii. 5, can account for the admission of a *foreign* production into their sacred canon, certainly before the time of *Ezekiel*; and, not improbably, as early as the time of *Hezekiah*, *Solomon*, *Samuel*, or even *Moses* himself, who might have found it among the collections of his father-in-law, *Jethro*, priest of the neighbouring country of *Midian*, who appears to have been a person of great wisdom; and *Moses* could not want curiosity to procure

* The witting *Paine* ridicules "the Bible makers, and those Regulators of Time, the *Bible Chronologists*," for "their ignorance in affixing to it the æra, [rather, date,] of 1520 years before Christ; which is during the time the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*:" "and for which," says he, "they have just as much authority, as I should have for saying it was a thousand years before that period! The probability, however, is, that it is older than any book in the Bible."—Little did he know, in the extent and compass of his ignorance, that the supposition which he treated as downright extravagant, is not much more than the truth.

a book so fraught with wisdom and instruction, and so apposite to his own case, during his long exile of forty years.

I have been solicitous to investigate its *author*, and the *time* of its composition, as well as its *canonical* authority, because the circumstance of its remote antiquity, being considerably the oldest book in the world, long prior to the *Pentateuch*, stamps the highest value on it, as a most faithful and authentic monument of the language, the learning, the manners, and the religion of the earlier and purer *patriarchal* ages; it is a valuable voucher for all such historical facts and doctrines, as it notices conjointly with the books of *Moses*, such as the *creation* of the world, the ministry of *good angels*, the agency of *bad*, the fall of *Adam*, the universal *deluge*, &c. while the difference of the manner, and the new circumstances it incidentally relates, not to be found in the *Pentateuch*, prove it to be also an independent voucher, which derived information from different sources or traditions, preserved in *Aram's* and *Joktan's* families.

THE TRIALS OF JOB.

II. These come next under consideration.

The grand spiritual "*adversary*" of mankind, who is here, first, introduced in Scripture, under his proper name, *Satan**, and under the character assigned to him from hence, in the New Testament, of "*walking about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour,*" 1 Pet. v. 8, (alluding to Job i. 7, and ii. 3 †,) and as "*the accuser of the brethren, who accused them before God, day and night,*" Rev. xii. 10, is represented, by the Divine permission, as afflicting, with divers trials, a person of distinguished piety and virtue, who was "*perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil,*" ver. 1.

Job is described as one of "*the greatest and most prosperous of all the men of the east, or Arabia.*" He had a numerous family, "*seven sons and three daughters,*" all by one wife, xix. 17; for he had no concubines, xxxi. 1; and abhorred fornication and adultery, xxxi. 9. And his sons were all grown up and settled in their own houses, and lived in the greatest harmony with each other, and with their sisters, whom they regu-

* ————— The arch enemy,
And thence, in Heaven call'd *Satan*. MILTON.

† In the original, the last clause of Job ii. 3, may more closely be rendered,—"Thou (*Satan*) movedst me to devour him, (*Job*), without a cause."

larly feasted on their birth-days, each in his turn: "*His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she asses, and a very great household,*" ver. 2—4. All these circumstances critically correspond to the earlier and purer patriarchal ages.

How well the "illustrious" patriarch bore this dangerous trial of long and increasing "*prosperity* *," appears from his pious solicitude to "send for his sons, when their feast days were gone about, and to *sanctify* them, early the next morning, and to offer *burnt-offerings* of atonement, according to the number of them all," seven times in the year, lest "his sons might have *sinned* at their feastings, and forgotten to *bless* God †, even in their

* Constat *Jobum* maximis opibus prædivitem, eò illustriorem fuisse, quod his neque integris corruptus, neque amissis depravatus fuerit. Severus Sulpitius.

† The verb בָּרַךְ (Barak,) properly signifies to "*bless*." In this passage, therefore, where the sense evidently requires the contrary, the particle לֹא, "*not*," should be understood; "Perhaps, my sons *have sinned* (הִטְאוּ), and [*not*] *blessed* [לֹא] וְ (וְ בָרַכוּ GOD in their hearts;" which is necessary, by implication, to support the translation of our English Bible—"and *cursed* God in their hearts." (See a parallel passage, Jer. xx. 14, where the particle is expressed.) But this latter is harsh and revolting: for surely, the sons of *Job*, who were pious men, could have no inducement to *curse* or *blaspheme* God at any time, much less in the midst of their festivity; but there might have been danger of neglecting or forgetting to *bless* Him on such occasions: Thus *Moses* warns the *Israelites*: "When thou *hast eaten* and *art full*, then shalt thou *bless* the Lord thy God, for the good land which he hath given thee: Beware that thou *forget not* the Lord thy God," &c. Deut. viii. 10.—"*Bless* THE LORD, O my soul, and forget not *all his benefits*! Psalm ciii. 2.

In a parallel passage also, 1 Kings xxi. 10, the particle לֹא, "*not*," must likewise be understood: "Thou didst [*not*] *bless* God and the king;" in order to support the English translation: "Thou didst *blaspheme* (or *curse*) God and the king:" by malicious implication of the contrary, Eccles. x. 20. "*Curse not* (אֵל תְּקַלֵּל) the king, not even in thy thought."

The two following passages also, in our English Bible, where *Satan* says of *Job* to the LORD,—"*He will curse* thee to thy face," i. 11, ii. 5, are harsh and revolting, and altogether incompatible with the character of *Job*. But the impropriety will be removed, if they be rendered interrogatively: "And will he *bless* Thee to thy face?" The interrogation malignantly insinuating the reverse, that he would *not* *bless* God. And this *antiphrasis* is frequent in Scripture: Thus *Jezabel* said to *Ahab*, when vexed at *Naboth's* refusal to exchange or sell his vineyard, "Dost thou now *govern* the kingdom of *Israel*?" 1 Kings xxi. 7; plainly intimating the reverse; that he did *not* *govern* it. And when the Lord gently declined *David's* offer of building a temple to his honour: "*Shall thou build* Me a house for my dwelling?" 2 Sam. vii. 5. In the parallel passage, the refusal is clearly expressed: "*Thou shalt not build* Me a house to dwell in," 1 Chron. xvii. 4. And so, when *Bethlehem* was foretold to be honoured as the birth-place of *CHRIST*: "And art thou *Bethlehem Ephratah* little to be [*esteemed*] among the thousands of *Judah*?"—Micah v. 2; the reverse here understood is clearly expressed in

hearts," for his gracious bounties. "*Thus did Job continually,*" every year, ver. 5.

And now *Satan* is represented as appearing in a council of "the sons of God," or holy angels, before GOD, and thus calumniating *Job*, by ascribing his extraordinary piety to interested or mercenary motives: "Hast not Thou made a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath, on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land: But put forth thy hand now, and *touch all that he hath*; and will he *bless* Thee to thy face?"—malignantly insinuating the reverse, ver. 6—11.

Then THE LORD, knowing *Job's* sincerity, and the integrity of his heart, permitted *Satan* to afflict him with the trials of adversity;—to touch his substance, but to spare himself: "Behold, *all that he hath* is in thy power; only upon *himself* put not forth thy hand," ver. 12.

And now *Satan* began the first set of trials, choosing a day of rejoicing, on the eldest son's birth-day, to convert it into a day of the deepest mourning, by a complication of calamities, following close on the heels of each other, in rapid succession. The first "messenger of *Satan* sent to buffet him," (2 Cor. xii. 7.) brought the disastrous intelligence,—1. That his *oxen* and *asses* were suddenly carried off, and his servants who attended them slain by the *Sabæans*, or marauding "companies of *Saba* or *Seba*;" vi. 19, the *Nabathean* Arabs; and that he only escaped; and while he was yet speaking, 2. a second, that his *sheep* and the *shepherds* were all destroyed by lightning, except himself; 3. a third, that his *camels* were carried away, and his servants slain, by the irruption of three bands of *Chaldeans*, from the borders of the *Euphrates**, and that he only escaped; and to fill up the

the evangelist's translation: "And thou *Bethlehem*, territory of *Judah*, art by no means least among the princes of *Judah*," Matt. ii. 6.

The counsel of *Job's* wife, "*Curse* God and die," ii. 9, in our English Bible, is equally harsh and revolting. It should rather be rendered, "*Bless* God, and die:" conveying a bitter irony; grounded perhaps upon his pious resignation in the loss of his children and substance: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, *Blessed* be the name of the Lord!" i. 21; as if she said, "*Bless* the Lord" for depriving you, now of *health*, as before of your *children*, "and *die*," for nothing else remains!

* To *Job's* residence in *Idumæa* has been objected the improbability that the *Chaldeans* should cross the frightful deserts of Arabia, above 600 miles broad, for the sake of plunder. But it was not unusual for these roving bands of robbers to make very distant excursions. To such, the *camels* of *Job* would prove a great prize, from their ability of travelling a long time without water; whence the *camel* is emphatically styled

measure, 4. a fourth, that a "whirlwind" from the desert, or "from the south," xxxvii. 9, had blown down his eldest son's house, and destroyed all the company except himself.

The unexpectedness, the suddenness, and the completeness of all these calamities deeply affected, but did not overcome *Job*: he felt them as a man, but he bore them with astonishing patience and resignation.

"Then *Job* arose and rent his mantle, and shaved his head [in token of mourning, Jer. lxi. 5*.] And he prostrated himself on the ground, and worshipped, and said, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: Blessed be the name of the Lord.* In all this, *Job* sinned not, nor charged God foolishly," ver. 13—22.

On the event of this first trial, when the Lord in council, as before, commended *Job* for "holding fast his integrity," or his faith; *Satan* maliciously attributed it to selfishness, as if *Job* disregarded the loss of his children and substance, since he had escaped himself: "*Skin for skin*, (or his children's skins instead of his own,) yea, *all that a man hath* (his substance) will he give *for his life*: But now put forth thy hand, and touch *his bone and his flesh*; and will he *bless Thee to thy face*?" Then "the Lord delivered *Job* to *Satan* for the destruction of the *flesh*, that the *Spirit* might be saved in the day of our Lord JESUS CHRIST," 1 Cor. v. 5: for the further trial of his faith, He permitted *Satan* to torment his body, but to *spare his life*, ii. 1—6.

Satan then began a second and a sorer trial: "He smote *Job* with *sore boils*, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head," or with a loathsome and universal *leprosy* †. "And he

by the Arabs, "the ship of the desert." The other cattle would be useless to the *Chaldeans*.

* Compare Jer. vii. 9; Isa. xv. 2; Hom. Odyss. iv. 197. *Herodotus* speaks of it as a general practice among all people, except the *Egyptians*, to cut off their hair as a token of mourning, ii. 36. At the *Friendly Isles* in the *South Sea*, "cutting off the hair is one of their mourning ceremonies;" *Cook and Clarke's Voyage*, Vol. I. p. 112; and at *Otaheite* "the hair was cut off and thrown upon the bier." *Forster's Observations*, p. 560.

† The *leprosy* is a most loathsome scrofulous disease, common in the east and in hot countries. It is of two kinds, the white and the black.

The former, such as that of *Gehazi*, 2 Kings v. 27, is thus described by the judicious *Maunderel*, as he saw it in ten poor lepers at *Sichem* (now *Naplous*), near the place where our SAVIOUR healed an equal number.

took him a potsherd to scrape himself withal :” And in token of profound humiliation *, “he sate down among the *ashes*.” But his sorrows were too great for utterance ; he sate in silence.

To exasperate his sufferings, his wife, by a taunting irony, compels him to break silence only to rebuke her : “Dost thou *still* maintain thine integrity,” or faith ? “*Bless God and die !*” She was naturally offended at the composure with which he had borne the loss of all their children, and all their substance, for which her grief was probably excessive and impatient †. When he, on the contrary, *blessed the Lord* for his losses, she sarcastically recommended him to *bless the Lord* for this last stroke too, which was incurable, “*and die*.”—But he said unto her, “*Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh : What ! shall we*

“This distemper not only defiles the whole surface of the body with a foul scurf, but also deforms the joints of the body, particularly those of the wrists and ankles, making them swell with a gouty scrofulous substance, very loathsome to look upon. I thought their legs resembled those of old battered horses, such as are often seen in drays in *England*. The whole distemper, indeed, as it there appeared, was so noisome, that it might well pass for the utmost corruption of the human body on this side the grave. And certainly the inspired penmen could not have found out a fitter emblem to express the uncleanness and odiousness of vice.” *Maundrel’s Travels*, p. 150 —It is called *Beres* by the *Arabs*, and *Λεκη* by the *Greeks*.

The latter has been called the *leprosy of the joints*, because it principally affects the extremities, which, in the last stage of the malady, are distorted, and at length drop off. It is in truth a distemper corrupting the whole mass of blood, and is therefore considered by *Paul of Egina*, as an *universal ulcer*, requiring a more general appellation, and may properly be named the *black leprosy* ; which term is in fact adopted by *M. Boissieu de Sawages*, and *Gorræus*, in contradistinction to the *white*. It is called *Judham* by the *Arabs*, and also *Daul Asad*, a name corresponding with the *Leontiasis* of the *Greeks* ; and supposed to have been given in allusion to the grim, distracted, and *lion-like* countenances of the miserable persons who are affected with it. See the *Asiat. Resarches*, Vol. II. p. 153, on the *cure of the Elephantiasis*, which is its more common name, because it renders the skin like that of an *elephant*, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles or furrows.

With which of these two species of leprosy *Job* was smitten, is not easy to determine —but the latter, or “*universal ulcer*,” seems more applicable to his case, *Job* ii. 7.

* *Job* xlii. 6, *Jonah* iii. 6, *Jer.* vi. 26, *Esther* iv. 3, *Isa.* xlvi. 3, &c.

† The *Septuagint* Version, without any warrant from the Original, or the other ancient Versions, puts the following speech into her mouth : “And after a long time had elapsed, his wife said unto him, How long wilt thou persist in saying, *Lo, I will wait a little longer, expecting the hope of my salvation* : for lo, thy remembrance is blotted out from the earth : thy sons and daughters, the pains and labours of my womb, whom I have borne in vain with throes, [are no more ;] thou thyself, the prey of worms, sittest the whole night in the open air ; while I, a vagrant and dependant, rove from place to place and from house to house, expecting, till the sun shall set, to get a respite from my sorrows, and from the woes which now oppress me : *but speak some word unto the Lord, and die*.” (*Αλλα ειπον τι ρημα εις κυριον, και τελευτα.*)

receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? —[the former with gratitude, the latter with resignation.] In all this [trial also] *Job* sinned not with his lips*," ver. 7—10.

"Hearing of all the evil that had befallen him," *Job's* three principal friends and neighbours, *Eliphaz*, *Bildad*, and *Zophar*, followed by a younger, *Elihu*, soon after, xxxii. 4, "came by appointment to mourn with him, and to comfort him." And their meeting is described in the most lively and picturesque terms: "*And when they lift up their eyes afar off, and knew him not, [so disfigured was he by the disease] they lifted up their voices and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads towards heaven. So they sate down with him upon the ground, seven days and seven nights †; but none spake a word unto him, for they saw that his grief was very great,*" ver. 11—13. This closes the historical preface to the work, or prologue to the poem.

The third, the last, and the severest trial of all, forms the subject of the poem itself. It was occasioned by the unkind suspicions, and the unjust reproaches of his morose and austere friends, obliquely insinuating, and at length openly asserting, that his sufferings were inflicted by God as a punishment for his

* In the *Arabian Tales of the thousand and one nights*, *Cogia Hassan Alhabbal*, the cobbler, lost a sum of money given him by his friend, *Saadi*, to relieve his poverty, by means of a *kite* who flew away with his turban from off his head, in which it was concealed. But he "*murmured not*" at his misfortune, and the misery to which it again reduced him; and expressed himself nearly in the language of *Job*:

"God has wished to prove me, in giving me aid when I least expected it. He has taken it away, almost at the same time, because it so pleased Him, and because it belonged to Him: Praised be the Lord! As I have praised Him heretofore, for the benefits which He bestowed upon me, according to His pleasure, so now I submit to His will.

"I was engaged in these reflections; mean while, *my wife*, from whom I could not conceal the loss I had suffered, and the means by which it had happened, was *inconceivable*. *My neighbours*, to whom, in my trouble, I had disclosed the loss of a purse of 190 pieces of gold along with my turban, knowing my poverty, and not conceiving how I could have gained so large a sum by my work, did nothing but *laugh at me*, and the children still more than they." Tom. VII. p. 194. of *Galland's* French translation.

This popular work exhibits a lively, entertaining, and faithful picture of *Arabian* manners and customs at the present day; and is in high estimation in *Arabia*. A good English translation of it, immediately from the *Arabic*, is much wanting; and is, we understand, expected from the skilful hand of Major *Scott*. That in common use, is a paltry one, formed from *Galland's*.

See *Alnaschar*, the Glassman's story, given in *Arabic*, with a literal English translation, by *Richardson*, in his *Arabic Grammar*, p. 200.

† This was the usual period of mourning, Gen. i. 10, 2 Sam. xii. 16—18, Ezck. iii. 15.

crimes. This attack on his *reputation*, the dearest thing in the world to a good man, next to his integrity, stung him to the quick; and led him, at length, when goaded by repeated accusations, to assert his innocence, and even in some measure to arraign PROVIDENCE, with a heat and intemperance of expression, excusable only by the greatness of his provocations from these "*miserable comforters*," his friends: for which he was reprehended by God, but pardoned upon his repentance and humiliation, and finally restored to twice the temporal prosperity that he had enjoyed before.

The poem consists of five parts: the first dialogue, or debate between *Job* and his three friends, occupies chap. iii.—xiv; the second, chap. xv.—xxi; the third, chap. xxii.—xxxii.; the fourth, the speech of *Elihu*, chap. xxxii.—xxxvii; and the fifth, the answer of GOD, and *Job's* submission; chap. xxxviii.—xlii. 1—6.

I shall endeavour to give a general outline of the argument, more closely and critically translated, omitting *amplifications* and *episodes*, which, however beautiful or illustrative thereof, are not absolutely essential thereto; and also *obscure passages*, whose meaning and connexion are not easily, if at all discoverable, at the present day.

Job breaks his long silence by an abrupt and passionate lamentation, in which he "*cursed the day of his birth*," in the glowing imagery of the East, or wished that he had never been born, and longed for death to end his woes. His grief, however, though impetuous, is still decorous; he does not presume to impeach the Divine justice, or "*charge God foolishly*." He rather indirectly imputes his calamities to the sins of his children, which appear to have been to him a constant source of dread, i. 5.

- III. 3. Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night which said, *a male child is brought forth* *!

* The Prophet *Jeremiah*, in his tribulation, evidently imitated *Job's* complaint:

- Jer.* xx. 14. "*Cursed be the day*, wherein I was born,
Let not the day be blessed, in which my mother bare me!
15. *Cursed be the man* who brought tidings to my father,
Saying, '*a male child is born unto thee*!'—
18. Wherefore came I, thus, forth from the womb,
To see labour and sorrow;
That my days shall be consumed in shame?"

The distress, in both cases, is painted in strong and lively colouring. The pencil is

11. Why died I not from the birth,
Why expired I not from the womb?—
20. Why is light given to the wretched,
And life to the bitter of soul?
21. Which long for death, but it cometh not,
And dig for it more than for hid treasures.—
23. [Why]—to the man whose way is hid,
And whom God hath hedged in?
24. For my sighs intrude upon my food,
And my roarings are poured forth like waters.
25. For the fear that I feared, is come upon me,
And that which I dreaded is befallen me.
26. I had no ease, no quiet, no rest,
Yet trouble came!

1. *Eliphaz*, the eldest of the three friends, begins the debate, with an apology for his speech, as if occasioned by *Job's* intemperance of expression: representing his grief as rather unmanly and inconsistent with his former character for wisdom, piety, and integrity. He then shrewdly insinuates that his sufferings were the punishment of some secret iniquity. This he collects from general observation of God's dealings with the righteous and the wicked; and as an illustration of his argument, he pointedly alludes to the particular calamities of *Job*. He then recommends him to seek unto God for refuge; that such corrections were intended for his good; and concludes, for his comfort, that God

guided by the hand of nature, which delights in *amplifying* passions, especially the violent and tumultuous; and expanding the imagery over whatever has the slightest relation to, or connection with, the exciting object. But if we compare the original with the copy, the former appears to have considerably the advantage: in *Job*, the *night* itself, by a bolder and more poetical imagery, is represented as announcing his birth; a curse directed against it, was harmless; but in *Jeremiah*, it is directed also against the innocent messenger of "glad tidings to the prophet's father:" who, therefore, ought not to suffer; much less, to be devoted to "the fate of the impious and inhospitable inhabitants of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*." This is neither *poetical* justice, nor morality. Indeed, "the holy men of old," are candidly represented in Scripture, as often *impatient* under their sufferings or their disappointments. *Moses*, "the meekest of men," expostulated with God, for the burden laid upon him, and wished for death. *David* abounds with imprecations against the enemies of GOD and CHRIST; and sometimes, perhaps, his own; *Elijah*, like *Moses*, wished for death to end his sufferings. And *Jonah*, likewise, in his disappointment because *Nineveh* was not overthrown according to his prediction! The apostles *James* and *John*, those "sons of thunder," (as our Lord, perhaps from thence, denominated them,) wished to call down fire from heaven, as *Elijah* formerly did, to consume the inhospitable *Samaritans*. The holy Scriptures throughout, faithfully "*hold the mirror up to nature*," and shew mankind as they really are, without extenuation or exaggeration: they—"nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice"—"*Dipping their pen in mind*,"—not in partiality or prejudice, "*without respect of persons*."

was still able to deliver him from all his troubles, to restore his prosperity, to grant him a numerous issue, and a ripe old age.

- IV. 2. If we attempt to answer thee, wilt thou be offended?
 For who is able to refrain from speaking?
3. Behold *thou* hast instructed many,
 And thou hast strengthened the weak hands:
4. Thy discourses have upholden the falling,
 And thou hast confirmed the feeble knees:
5. But *trouble* cometh upon thee, and thou faintest,
 It toucheth thee, and thou art dismayed.
6. Is [this] thy *fear* [of God,] thy *confidence*,
 Thy *hope*, and the *uprightness* of thy ways!—
7. Remember, I pray thee, who, being innocent, perished?
 And when were the righteous cut off?
8. According as I have seen, they that plough *iniquity*,
 And sow *wickedness*, do reap the same.
9. By the blast of God they perish,
 And by the breath of his nostrils they are consumed.—
- V. 3. I have seen the *foolish* taking root,
 But I quickly cursed his habitation:
4. His *children* were far from safety,
 And they were crushed in the gate,
 And there was none to deliver [them.]
5. Whose *harvest* the hungry [*Sabeans*] devoured,
 And even from the thorn—hedges carried it away;
 And their *substance* the thirsty [*Chaldeans*] swallowed up.—
8. I would seek unto GOD,
 And to GOD would I commit my cause.
 Who doeth great things and unsearchable,
 Marvellous things without number.—
17. Behold, *happy* is the mortal whom God correcteth,
 Therefore despise not thou the chastenings of the ALMIGHTY!
18. For HE maketh sore and bindeth up,
 He woundeth, and his hands make whole.
19. He shall deliver thee in six troubles,
 Yea in seven, no evil shall touch thee.
20. In famine HE shall redeem thee from death,
 And in war, from the power of the sword.
21. Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue,
 Neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it cometh.—
24. And thou shalt know that thy tabernacle shall be in peace,
 And thou shalt visit thy habitation, and not be disappointed.
25. And thou shalt know that thy seed shall be many,
 And thine offspring as the grass of the ground.
26. Thou shalt go to thy grave in full age,
 As a shock of corn cometh up in its season.

Job, in reply, apologizes for the intemperance of his grief, by the greatness of his calamities; he rejects the proffered comfort, in any prospect of future *earthly* prosperity, as distasteful to him,

and inconsistent with his hopeless state ; he prays for a speedy death, and looks only for comfort beyond the grave ; he complains of the unkindness of his friends, as aggravating his sufferings, and cavilling at his hasty expressions. He expostulates with God for the severity of his trials ; and concludes with a humble acknowledgment of his sins in general, an earnest supplication for mercy, and for a speedy death.

- VI. 2. O that my grief were thoroughly weighed,
And my calamities set against it in the balance !
3. For now are they heavier than the sand of the sea,
Wherefore my words are impetuous ;
4. For the arrows of THE ALMIGHTY are within me,
The poison whereof my spirit drinketh up.
The terrors of God are arrayed against me.
5. Doth the wild ass bray [discontentedly] over his grass,
Or the ox lowe [dissatisfied] over his fodder ?
6. Can insipid food be eaten without salt ?
Or is there flavour in the white of an egg ?
7. My soul refuseth [your consolations]
They are to me as putrid meats.
8. O that I might have my request,
That God would grant my desire,
9. That it would please God to destroy me,
With outstretched hand to cut me off.
10. Then should I yet have *comfort*,
Yea I would rejoice in sorrow,
Even though He should not spare :
For *I have not denied the words of the HOLY ONE.*
11. What is my strength that I should hope,
And what my end that I should prolong my life ?——
14. Whoso withholdeth *pity* from his *friend*,
Forsaketh the fear of THE ALMIGHTY.
15. My *brethren* have dealt treacherously,
As a brook, as the current of brooks, they pass away !——
21. For now ye are become nought,
Ye see my downfall, and are afraid.——
24. Teach me, and I will hold my tongue,
And instruct me how I have erred.
25. How forcible are right words,
But what doth your reasoning reprove ?
26. Do ye argue to reprove [hasty] expressions
And to cavil at the words of the forlorn ?
Yea, ye overwhelm the desolate,
And dig a pit for your friend !——
- VII. 17. What is man that thou sustainest him,
And that thou regardest him ;
18. If Thou visitest him every morning,
If Thou triest him every moment ?

19. How long wilt thou not depart from me,
Nor let me alone, *till I swallow my spittle* *,
20. *I have sinned*, [but] what have I done to thee,
O THOU OBSERVER OF MAN,
Why hast Thou set me as an offence unto Thee,
So that I am a burden to myself?
21. And why pardonest thou not my transgression,
And removest not mine iniquity?
So should I soon lie down in the dust:
Thou shouldst seek me in the morning,
But I should be no more.

Not satisfied with this animated and pathetic apology, and humble confession of his sins in general, and supplication for a mitigation and end of his punishment, in which *Job* does not yet appear to have "sinned with his lips," nor to have "charged God foolishly;" *Bildad*, the second of his morose friends, treading in the steps of *Eliphaz*, reproves him, with more acrimony, and less disguise.

- VIII. 2. How long wilt thou speak thus,
And the words of thy mouth resemble a whirlwind?
3. Doth GOD pervert judgment,
Doth THE ALMIGHTY pervert justice?
4. If thy *children* have sinned against him,
Then hath He cast them off for their transgression.
5. If thou wilt seek unto God betimes,
And make thy supplication to THE ALMIGHTY,
6. If thou be pure and upright,
Surely now will He watch over thee,
And make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous.
7. And though thy beginning be small,
Yet shall thy latter end greatly increase. —
11. Can the reed grow up without mire,
Can the flag grow without water?
12. While yet in its bloom, and not cut down,
It withereth sooner than any herb;
13. So are the paths of all that *forget* GOD;
And the hope of the *hypocrite* perisheth:
14. Whose hope shall be cut off,
And whose trust shall be a spider's web;
15. Who leaneth upon her frail house,
She graspeth it, but it shall not stand. —
20. Lo, *God will not cast off the perfect*,
Neither will He strengthen the hand of the wicked.
21. When shall He fill thy mouth with laughter,
And thy lips with rejoicing?
[When] shall thy adversaries be clothed with shame,
22. And the tabernacle of the wicked be brought to nought?

* This phrase is equivalent to "Let me draw my breath," ix. 18; or "get a little respite," x. 20.

This unkind speech, the obvious charges of *irreligion* and *hypocrisy*, and the taunting *irony* with which it concludes, overpowered the patience of *Job*, and in his reply betrays him into inconsistencies: one time he acknowledges the divine justice, and his own submission to its decrees; at another he seems to arraign it, and complains, rather impatiently, of his sufferings, as greater than he deserved, and wishes for a public trial before God with his calumniators, to clear his innocence, before his speedy death.

- IX. 2. I know, indeed, that it is so,
But how can *man* be justified with GOD ?
3. Should He summon them to judgment,
One of a thousand could not answer Him.—
14. Much less should I be able to answer Him,
Though I should use the choicest arguments.
15. Even if I were righteous, I would not answer,
But rather supplicate my Judge.—
20. *If I justify myself, my own mouth shall condemn me,*
If [I say that I am] perfect, it shall prove me perverse.—
22. *This is singular, therefore I say it,*
HE destroyeth the perfect and the wicked.
23. Though the scourge slay the foolish,
Yet it laugheth at the trial of the innocent,
24. The earth is given into the hand of the wicked,
The face of the judges thereof is hid ;
If [so] where, or what, is HE ? —
28. All my griefs terrify me,
I know that Thou holdest me not innocent.
29. [If] I be wicked why do I thus labour in vain ?
30. If I wash myself with snow water,
And cleanse my hands in purity ;
31. Still shalt Thou plunge me in the ditch,
And mine own clothes shall abhor me.
32. *For [GOD] is not a man, as I, that I should answer Him,*
That we should go together to judgment ;
33. There is no *umpire* between us,
Who might lay his hand upon us both.
34. Let Him withdraw His rod from me
And let not dread of Him terrify me,
35. Then would I speak and not fear Him ;
But it is not so with me.—
- X. 7. *Thou knowest that I am not wicked,*
Yet none can deliver me out of thine hand.—
15. If I be wicked, woe unto me,
And if I be righteous yet can I not lift up my hand.—
I am full of *ignominy*, and the *spectators* of my affliction
Even pride themselves against me, and insult me.
16. Thou huntest me, as if I were a fierce lion,
And repeatest thy marvellous assaults upon me.

17. Thou renewest thy *witnesses* against me,
And increasest thine indignation upon me.
Fresh *assailants* are upon me.—
20. Are not my days few and fleeting?
Let me alone, that I may get a little respite,
21. Before I go, whence I shall not return,
To the land of darkness and of the shadow of death,
22. A land of darkness, like the thick darkness
Of the shadow of death without luminaries,
Whose light is like darkness.”

This passionate and intemperate reply, called forth the still severer animadversions of *Zophar*, the third of his morose friends; who, without any reserve, taxes him openly, with loquacity, arrogance, and iniquity, and as justly punished for his sins; and exhorts him to repentance, as the only means of recovering his prosperity.

- XI. 2. Shall not this multitude of words be answered,
And shall a man full of talk be justified?
3. Shall thy companions be silent at thy boastings,
And shalt thou mock, and no one shame thee?
4. Thou sayest, My life is pure,
And I am clean in thine eyes:
5. But O that God would speak,
And open his lips against thee,
6. That He would shew thee the secrets of wisdom,
Which surpass the most perfect knowledge,
Then shouldst thou know, that *God exacteth of thee*
[*Less*] than thine iniquity [*deserveth*].—
13. If thou prepare thy heart,
And stretch out thy hands unto Him,
14. If iniquity be in thy hand put it away,
And let not sin dwell in thy tents,
15. Then shalt thou lift up thy face *without spot*, ———
16. Thou shalt forget thy misery ———
17. Thine age shall be clearer than the noon day;
Thou shalt shine forth,—as the morning——
19. Yea many shall make suit unto thee.
20. But the eyes of the wicked shall fail,
And they shall not escape.
And *the giving up the ghost*, shall be their hope.

In answer to this taunting speech, *Job* treats such commonplace sayings with contempt, as if he had not some share of understanding as well as they, to discern the ways of PROVIDENCE; who, in his wisdom, sometimes suffered the upright to be afflicted, and the wicked to prosper; but that no one could call OMNIPOTENCE to account. That therefore, to conclude from his sufferings that he must needs be wicked, was to be

guilty of wickedness themselves; as if God needed their rash censures to vindicate the ways of his providence. Even in death, he professes his trust in God, as his Saviour, maintaining his own integrity, and that he was no hypocrite: and supposing himself already dead, he challenges his friends to plead with, or accuse him before the awful tribunal of God; beseeching his Judge, before he enters into judgment with him, to grant him two things; to withdraw his afflicting hand, and veil the terrors of his majesty, that it might not overpower him with dread; then to question him, and he would answer; and also, that God would vouchsafe to inform him what were his sins and transgressions, that occasioned such severe inflictions. He professes his hope in a future resurrection at the end of the world, illustrated by the renovating analogy of nature, in the sprouting of a tree when cut down; and wishes to be kept in *hades*, the region of departed souls, until the time of his *change*, or renovation, and summons to the general judgment; when he should receive a more equitable sentence from his CREATOR, who had a tender regard for his own workmanship, than from his rash ill-judging *friends* and *accusers*: though now, God seemed to deal hardly with him, by numbering his steps, and carefully recording all his transgressions, even the smallest, and by those severe chastisements which exposed him to obloquy and unmerited censure.

- XII. 2. Truly, ye are [the voice of] the people,
And with you is the perfection of wisdom!
3. I also have understanding as well as you,
I am not inferior to you:
Who knoweth not such [trite] things? —
6. The tents of the spoilers are prosperous,
And they that provoke God are secure;
To whom their hand [or power] is their god. —
13. With [GOD] is wisdom and power,
He hath counsel and understanding —
16. With Him is strength and perfection,
The *deceived* and the *deceiver* are his. —
23. He encreaseth the nations and destroyeth them. —
He enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them. —
- XIII. 7. Will ye speak iniquitously for GOD,
And will ye speak deceitfully for Him?
8. Will ye accept His person,
If ye plead for God?
9. Will it be good [for you] that He should search you?
Can ye mock Him, as man is mocked?
10. Surely He will reprove you,
If ye do secretly accept persons.

11. Shall not his majesty make you afraid
And his terror fall upon you?—
15. *Though He slay me yet will I trust in Him.*
But [still] I will maintain my own ways [or integrity]
16. *Before Him; He also shall be my salvation,*
For a hypocrite shall not come into his presence.
17. Hear diligently my speech,
And give ear to my declaration.
18. Behold now I have set my cause in order;
I know that I shall be justified.
19. Who is he [among you] that will plead with me [before God?]
(For now shall I [soon] be silent, and expire.)
20. Only do, O GOD, two things with me,
Then will I not hide myself from Thee:
21. Withdraw thy hand from over me,
And let not thy terror affright me.
22. Then call Thou, and I will answer;
Or I will speak, and answer Thou me.
23. How many are my iniquities and sins?
Make me to know my transgression and my sin.
24. Wherefore hidest Thou thy face,
And holdest me for thine enemy?
25. Wilt Thou break a leaf driven [by the wind?]
Wilt Thou pursue the dry stubble?
26. For Thou writest bitter things against me,
And imputest to me the *sins of my youth*.—
- XIV. 7. If a *tree* be cut down, there is hope
That it will sprout again, and that its branches will not fail;
8. Tho' its root wax old in the ground,
And its stock die in the dust,
9. Yet by the moisture of water it will bud*,
And bring forth boughs like a plant:
10. But *man* dieth and wasteth away,
Yea, man expireth, and where is he?—
11. The *waters* fail from the sea,
And *the rivers* decay and dry up,
12. *Man* also lieth down; and riseth not again,
Until the heavens shall be no more: [until then]
They shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep.
13. O that Thou wouldest hide me in *hades*,
That Thou wouldest screen me till thy wrath be past,
That Thou wouldest set me a term, and remember me!
14. If a man die shall he revive?—[assuredly.]
All the days of my appointed station will I wait
Until my change shall come.
15. [Then] shalt Thou call, and I will answer Thee,
[Then] shalt Thou yearn on the work of thine hands!
16. But now, Thou numberest my steps;
Dost not Thou watch over my sin?

* Vide adeo, quàm in solatium nostri resurrectionem futuram omnis Natura meditetur, says an elegant Christian writer, *Minucius Felix*, p. 170.

17. Thou hast sealed up my transgression in a bag,
And Thou hast sewed up my iniquity.—

2. The second dialogue is opened, as before, by *Eliphaz*, the eldest of the friends; who goes nearly over his former ground, but with greater asperity. He charges him now, unreservedly, with vain and unprofitable talk, xv. 2, 3; with casting off the fear of God, and prayer, 4; as self-convicted of sin, 5, 6; of arrogance, in despising the advice of his wiser friends, 7—10; and of impiety towards God, 11—13. And he concludes with an elaborate representation of the progress and end of a wicked man; which bears, in the following, a marked resemblance to *Job's* particular case:

- XV. 19. He shall not be *rich*, neither shall his *substance* continue,
Neither shall he *strike root* in the earth.
30. He shall not emerge from darkness,
The *fire* [of God] shall wither his *branches*,
By the *breath of His mouth*, they shall be swept away!
31. Let not the *deceived* trust in vanity,
For vanity shall be his recompense.
32. He shall come to an *untimely end*,
And his branch shall not be green,
33. He shall shake off, as a vine, his unripe grapes,
And cast off, as an olive, his blossoms,
34. For the assembly of *hypocrites* are like a flint,
Fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery.
35. They conceive mischief, and bring forth vanity,
And their womb teemeth with deceit.

Job, in reply, complains of the unkindness of his friends in aggravating his sorrows, instead of assuaging them, as he would have done in their case; and considers this as the most grievous visitation of God. He maintains his integrity, and relies on God, as his *witness*, or *inspector*, to justify him from the scorn of his friends: and again challenges any of them to a trial before God. He apprehends the scandal his sufferings might create among even just men, and the anger of the innocent at his supposed hypocrisy; but still persists in the steadfastness of his righteousness, and looks to death as his last resource.

- XVI. 2. I have heard many such things:
Miserable comforters are ye all!
3. [When] shall vain words have an end,
Or what emboldeneth thee to answer.
4. I also could talk as ye do,
If your soul were in my soul's stead:

- I could mutter over you, words,
I could shake mine head at you.
5. But I would strengthen you with my mouth,
I would soothe you with the motion of my lips. —
 9. He that hateth me, teareth me in his wrath,
He gnasheth upon me with his teeth,
Mine enemy sharpeneth his eyes upon me !
 10. They gape on me with their mouth,
They smite me upon the cheek, in scorn,
They gather themselves together against me,
 11. GOD hath delivered me up to the *ungodly*,
And turned me over into the hands of the wicked. —
 16. My face is foul with weeping,
And on my eye-lids the shadow of death,
 17. Not for any injustice in my hands ;
My prayer also was pure.
 18. O *earth*, cover not my blood,
Let there be no obstruction to my cry !
 19. *For even now, lo, my witness is in heaven,*
And my Inspector, on high.
 20. My *friends* indeed scorn me,
But mine eye weepeth unto GOD. —

- XVII. 2. Are there not mockers with me,
Whose reproaches are continually in my sight ?
3. Appoint now, my surety with thee,
Which [of you] is he that will strike hands with me ?
 4. For Thou hast veiled their hearts from understanding [my cause].
Therefore, Thou shalt not exalt them [in the judgment] —
 6. Thou hast made me a *by-word* among the people,
I am become a mockery unto them. —
 8. The upright are astonish'd at this,
And the innocent is roused against the *hypocrite*.
 9. But the righteous will persist in his way,
And the pure in hands will gain strength.
 10. But as for you all, return now, and depart,
For I cannot find a wise man among you. —
 14. I cry to *Corruption*, thou art my Father !
To the *worm*, thou art my Mother, my Sister !
 15. Where is now my hope ?
And my expectation, who shall see it ?
 16. It shall descend to the gates of *hades*,
We shall rest together, in the dust !

Bildad follows *Eliphaz*. He goes over his former ground, but with greater asperity, and more marked references to the peculiar sufferings of *Job* ; which he represents as the punishment of his wickedness ; and a salutary warning to his contemporaries, and to posterity ; the whole being the necessary result of the established order of things in this world, by which God

punishes the wicked, and rewards the good; which *Job* wished to set aside in his own case :

- XVIII. 2. How long wilt thou not refrain from talking?
Stop, that we also may speak.
3. Wherefore are we counted as beasts,
And reputed vile in your sight ?
4. He teareth himself in his rage !——
Shall the earth be forsaken for thee ?
Or shall the rock be removed from its place ?
5. Yea [rather] let the light of the wicked be put out,
And let not the spark of his fire shine.——
16. His *root* shall be dried up beneath,
And his *branch* shall be cut off, above.
17. His *memory* shall perish from the earth,
And he shall have no name in the street.
18. He shall be driven from light into darkness,
And chased out of the world.
19. He shall neither have *son* nor *grandson* among his people,
Nor any, remaining in his dwellings.
20. They that come after him, shall be astonished at his day,
As they that went before him, were affrighted.
21. Such, verily, are the dwellings of the wicked,
And such, the place of him that knoweth not God !

Wearied with such incessant and accumulated reproaches and accusations, *Job*, in his reply to *Bildad*, more mournful than vehement, laments the estrangement and alienation of his friends and his family, in the most pathetic terms ; and attributes it to the divine wrath : and despairing of redress, or the vindication of his innocence in this life, he makes a solemn appeal to his REDEEMER ; and professes his belief, that he should be acquitted, at his resurrection, in the general judgment of the last day ; and bids his friends beware, lest God should afflict them with those common visitations here of *the sword*, &c. which were designed to evince God's judgment on sinners.

- XIX. 2. How long will ye vex my soul,
And afflict me with your speeches ?
3. These ten times have ye reproached me ;
Are ye not ashamed to harden yourselves against me ?
4. Supposing indeed that I have erred [in my opinion]
Let my error remain with myself.
5. But if indeed ye will magnify yourselves against me,
[At least] prove against me my reproach.
6. Know now, that GOD hath overthrown me,
And hath compassed me with his toils.
7. Behold, I cry out of misrepresentation, but I am not heard,
I complain, but there is no redress !

8. HE hath hedged in my way, that I cannot pass,
And hath set darkness in my paths.
9. He hath stripped me of my glory,
And taken the crown from my head.
10. He destroyeth me on every side, and I perish.
And my hope, like a tree, hath He removed.
11. His wrath hath He kindled against me,
And he counteth me as an enemy unto him.
12. His *troops* assemble together,
And heap up their way against me,
And encamp around my tabernacle.
13. He hath removed my *brethren* far from me,
And verily my *acquaintance* are estranged!
14. My *kinsfolk* desert me,
And my *familiar friends* have forgotten me!
15. My *domestics* and my *maids* count me a stranger,
I am become an alien in their sight!
16. I call my *servant*, but he answereth not,
Though I entreat him with my mouth!
17. My breath is strange to my *wife*,
Though I entreat [her] for mine own children's sake!
18. Yea, the *little ones* of my household despise me;
I arise, and they insult me!
19. All my *intimates* abhor me,
And my *favourites* are turned against me!
20. My bones cleave to my skin and to my flesh,
And I have scarcely any gums to my teeth.
21. Pity me, pity me, O ye *my friends*,
For the hand of GOD hath touched me.
22. Why do ye persecute me, as God,
And are not satisfied with my [wasted] flesh?
23. ——— O that *my words* were now written,
That they were inscribed in a book,
That they were engraven with an iron pencil,
And [inlaid with] lead, in a rock, for ever:
25. "I know that my REDEEMER [is] living,
And that at the last [day]
He will arise [in judgment] upon dust [mankind:]
26. *And after my skin be mangled thus,*
Yet even from my flesh, shall I see GOD:
27. *Whom I shall see, for me, [on my side]*
And mine eyes shall behold HIM not estranged;
[Though] my reins be [now] consumed within me."*

* The translation here given of this famous passage, differing considerably from the received, and also from the interpretations of several commentators and critics, *Grotius*, *Warburton*, &c. supposing that it relates only to the miraculous restoration of *Job's* health, at the end of his trial, which actually took place; the high importance of the subject demands that its accuracy should be supported by a critical analysis of the terms of the original.

Ver. 25. The word גַּאֵל, (*Goel*), when applied to God, as it evidently is in this

28. — But ye should say, “*Why persecute we him [further.]*”
Since the strength of the argument is found in me.

place, (being in apposition to אֱלֹהִים, *Elohim*, in the next verse,) denotes a *Redeemer*, or *deliverer* from all evil, temporal and spiritual. Thus, the patriarch *Jacob*, invokes “the angel who *redeemed* him from all evil,” to bless *Joseph* and his sons, Gen. xlviii. 16, in which there seems to be a marked allusion both to this passage, and also to another in Job xxxiii. 23, where he is called “an *angel*, an *intercessor*.” *David* also invokes him under the same title; “O Lord, my strength and my *Redeemer*,” Psalm xix. 14, &c. And *Isaiah*, “Our *Redeemer*, the Lord of Hosts is his name, the Holy One of *Israel*,” xlvii. 4; and again, “The *Redeemer* shall come from *Sion*,” lix. 20; evidently applying the term to *CHRIST*; as it is also understood by *St. Paul*; “The *Deliverer* shall come out of *Sion*,” Rom. xi. 26.

The *Redeemer* is said to be חַי, (*Hai*), “*living*,” and the *Sept.* αὐνοῦς, “*ever living*.” This also is a usual epithet of God: “My soul thirsteth for God, even for the *living God*: when shall I come and appear before God?” Psalm xlii. 2; which bears a remarkable analogy to this passage. The most solemn oath or adjuration, was by “the *living God*,” Matt. xxvi. 63, “who *liveth for ever*,” Dan. xii. 7; and “who is *ever living* to make *intercession* for us,” Heb. vii. 25; whence our Lord styles himself, “the *living*,” and “*living for evermore*,” Rev. i. 7; and declares, “As the Father hath *life in himself*, so hath He given to the Son also, to have *life in himself*,” John v. 26; and to his faithful disciples he says, “Because *I live*, ye shall *live* also,” John xiv. 19; and in the noblest comment that ever was given on this passage of *Job*, our Lord, before he raised *Lazarus* from the dead, styles himself “the *resurrection and the life*,” or the author of the resurrection to eternal life: “*He that believeth on Me, though he die [here,] yet shall live [hereafter;] and every one that liveth [hereafter,] and believeth in Me, shall die no [more] for ever*,” John xi. 25; as this most sublime and important text may be more critically rendered and explained.

The next term אַהֲרֹן, (*Aharon*), is here put elliptically for יוֹם אַהֲרֹן, (*Iom aharon*), “the *last day*,” as in a parallel passage of *Isaiah*, which bears a remarkable analogy to that passionate wish which ushers in this noble declaration of *Job*’s faith in a future resurrection: says the Lord to the prophet, “Go now, [to the people of *Israel*,] write it before them in a tablet, and *inscribe* it in a *book*; and it shall be until the *last day*, for ever, even for evermore,” *Isaiah* xxx. 8. The repetition of so many remarkable terms used by *Job* in this short passage, could not have been casual. The ellipsis also is supplied by our Lord, in his solemn and repeated declarations to the unbelieving Jews:

“I descended from heaven not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me. And this is the will of the Father who sent me, that I should lose nothing of all that He hath given me, but should raise it up at the *last day*.” “And this is the will of Him that sent me, that every one who beholdeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have *eternal life*; and I will raise him up at the *last day*,” John vi. 38—40.

And that this was also the popular belief, appears from *Martha*’s answer to our Lord’s promise, “Thy brother shall rise again.”—“I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the *last day*,” John xi. 23, 24, which seems to be a citation from *Job*, and determines the sense in which the passage was understood at that time.

The ensuing verb יָקוּם, (*Iakum*), signifies “*He shall arise*,” and is frequently annexed in the Scripture to the prerogative of *judging*, in a judicial capacity. The posture of *standing up* to pronounce sentence, being usual among judges in all ages and countries. In allusion to this, the Psalmist says, “*Arise*, O God, *judge* the earth,” Psalm lxxxii. 2. And it is so understood in a subsequent passage of *Job*, which can only relate to the future judgment: “If I despised the *plea* of my man-servant or maid-servant in their

29. Fear ye for yourselves, from the face of the sword;
 For [divine] wrath [punisheth] iniquities [with] the sword;
 That ye may know there is a judgment.

suit with me, what then shall I do when God *arise*th [in judgment?] and when He *visit*eth, what shall I answer Him?" Job xxxi. 13; where the verbs *arise* and *visit* are plainly parallel or synonymous, and the noun *מישפט*, (*Mishpat*), ambiguously denotes both *plea* and *judgment*: of which the former sense is expressed, and the latter, though suppressed, is elegantly understood. The ellipsis, however, is fully expressed in the following passage: "Every tongue that shall *arise* in judgment against thee shall be condemned," Isaiah liv. 17.

The following noun, *עפר*, (*Aphar*), literally signifies "*dust*;" but is frequently used figuratively, to denote *mankind*, as having been originally formed from "*the dust of the ground*," Gen. ii. 7; and doomed to return thither, Gen. iii. 19. Thus, "He knoweth our frame; He remembereth that we are "*dust*!" Psalm ciii. 14. Whence *Abraham*, in his self-abasement before the righteous *Judge* of all the earth, styles himself "*dust and ashes*!" Gen. xviii. 27; for, "shall *dust and ashes* be proud?" Ecclus. x. 9. But it is peculiarly applicable to the *dead*, after their bodies are reduced to dust. "Shall the *dust* praise thee? Shall it declare thy truth?" Psalm xxx. 9, as explained elsewhere, "Wilt Thou shew wonders to the *dead*? Shall the *deceased* arise and praise Thee? Shall thy compassion be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark, and thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?" Psalm lxxxviii. 10—12. These interrogations are perhaps to be answered affirmatively, from the Psalmist's positive belief of a future resurrection, expressly stated elsewhere, Psalm xvi. 9—11, xvii. 15, lxxiii. 20, lxxi. 20, xlii. 2, &c. And so are the similar passages in Job. *If a man die shall he live again?* xiv. 12, &c. by no means doubting the fact, but conveying a lively and animated expression of its certainty; corresponding to his positive declaration immediately after, of his "*change or renovation*," xiv. 14; an expression adopted by St. Paul in that noble description of the resurrection: "Lo, I tell you a *mystery*: all we, indeed, shall not sleep, but shall all be *changed*; in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised *incorruptible*, and we shall be *changed*," 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.

Versc 26. The verb *נקפו*, (*nikephu*), is plural, signifying "they shall *mangle, rend, or destroy*;" Here our translators have introduced "*worms*," as the nominative case understood; but unnecessarily, for this form of the verb is frequently taken singularly, in a passive sense. Thus, our public translation judiciously renders, "The mighty shall be taken away without hand," Job xxxiv. 20; where the literal construction is, "They shall take away the mighty," &c. And, "This night shall thy soul be required of thee," Luke xii. 26, is literally, "They shall require thy soul;" (*την ψυχην σου απαιτουσιν*), meaning, in both cases, "the *destroyers*," Job xxxiv. 22, or "the *angels of death*;" who are expressed, Luke xvi. 22, where the soul of *Lazarus*, the beggar, "was carried by the *angels* unto *Abraham's bosom*."

The following particle *זאת* (*zoth*), is rendered "*thus*," in several passages of the English Bible, as Levit. xvi. 3, 2 Sam. xvii. 15, 2 Chron. xxxi. 20, Amos ii. 11. or, "*in this manner*," Gen. xlv. 17, 2 Chron. xxxii. 15; or, "*after this sort*," 1 Chron. xxix. 14; intimating the present ulcerated state of *Job's* skin. The word "*body*," therefore, is awkwardly and irrelevantly introduced in our public translation of the passage, to the manifest detriment of its sense and grammatical construction.

The next word, *ומבשרי*, (*u-me-basari*), is literally "*and from my flesh*." But the conjunction *ו*, *Vau*, is used in various senses; here, as contrasted with the preceding

This pathetic speech is here given entire, to shew more clearly the natural connexion between *Job's* lamentation at the unkindness and estrangement of his friends and his family, and his animated appeal to his gracious REDEEMER, who he doubts not will be on his side, and clear his character at the last day.

In answer thereto, *Zophar*, the most violent, immediately turns his appeal against himself. He labours with much eloquence to describe, from the earliest annals of the world, *the short-lived triumph of the wicked*, and *the momentary joy of the hypocrite*, here and hereafter; for he seems to glance at both, xx. 4—9. He paints, in glowing colours, the outward calamities, and the *inward terrors*, which sometimes marred his prosperity, and turned his wholesome *meat into the gall of asps*, through dread of future retribution, when *his secret sins* * *should lie down in the dust with him*, but should rise in witness against him, when “*the heavens should reveal his iniquity, and the earth rise up against him* in the general judgment,” 11—27, for to both *Job* had appealed to witness his innocence; endea-

Vau, it must be rendered “*yet* ;” as in Deut. ix. 29, Job xxiv. 12, &c. or “*nevertheless* ;” as in Psalm xlix. 12; or “*again*,” as in Zech. ii. 1, of our English Bible, the expression “*from my flesh*,” signifies “*from, or out of my changed or renovated body*.” The necessity of this change is finely represented by *St. Paul*: “*For this I say unto you, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption*.”—“*It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body*.” 1 Cor. xv. 44—50. For “*the children of God*,” must be first “*likened unto their glorified REDEEMER*, before they can *see Him as He is*,” 1 John iii. 2.

Job next, by anticipation, views his REDEEMER in a most encouraging light; first as his gracious Protector, לִי, (*li*), signifying “*with me*,” as in Gen. xxxi. 42, &c. or “*for me*,” Psalm lvi. 9, xciv. 16, &c. or, “*on my side*,” Psalm cxviii. 6, &c. and next, as finely contrasted with his unkind friends, וְלֹא זָר (velo-zar) “*and not a stranger*,” or “*not estranged or alienated from me*,” as they are; alluding to their treatment of him in the preceding part of his speech, ver. 14—17.

That he had no expectation of a miraculous recovery or restoration to health in this life, is evident from the sequel; though “*my reins be [now] consumed within me*,” or “*in my bosom* ;” according to the Septuagint rendering, παντα δε μοι συντετελεσται εν κολπῳ, where, instead of the present Masorete text, בחקי, “*in my appointed time* ;” they evidently read, בחקי, “*in my bosom* ;” as understood plainly by the *Masoretes*, &c. furnishes a more easy and natural sense, and most agreeable to the context, in which *Job* all along despairs of his recovery, and wishes earnestly and repeatedly for death to end his sufferings. In this noble declaration of faith in a future resurrection, *Job* evidently had no more notion of a miraculous recovery, than *Martha* of the immediate resurrection of her brother *Lazarus*, when she professed her faith, in the language of *Job*, “*I know that he shall rise again at the last day*.”

* עֲלוּמִים, from עָלַם, *abscondit*, is rendered “*secret sins*,” Psalm xc. 8.

vouring, by this tragical description, to scare *Job*, if it were yet possible, into a confession of guilt. *Peters*, p. 180.

The following chapter, *xxi.* contains *Job's* reply; in which he enters at large into the momentous question of God's dealings with mankind, in order to shew the falsehood of *Zophar's* argument of the *short-lived triumph of the wicked*.

He begins his speech with a gentle complaint of their severe treatment of him, and calls their attention to his reasoning upon this delicate subject, which he reflected on with awe and reverence, *why do the wicked live, &c.* ver. 2—7; he then shews that the wicked sometimes live long, and prosper, and die in peace; he enlarges, 1. on their security from the incursions of robbers; 2. their health, or freedom from diseases, ver. 9; to this is added, 3. plenty of cattle, the riches of those times, ver. 10; next comes, 4. a numerous and happy offspring, ver. 11, 12; and to crown all, 5. after a prosperous and pleasant life, an easy death, ver. 13; and yet that all this only hardened them in their wickedness, and led them to cast off all regard to God and religion, ver. 14, 15.

But in touching on this tender ground, *the prosperity of the wicked*, which his adversaries might misinterpret, as if he were pleading the cause of impiety, he adds an apology for himself, that he was not of the *counsel of the wicked*, neither of their opinion nor society; for that he did not consider their prosperity to be owing to themselves, or in their own *hand* or power; that *oftentimes* God makes them terrible examples of his justice, and their children after them; thus admitting his adversaries' arguments, as far as they were just, ver. 16—21.

Still, however, he contends, in opposition to them, that in the *general* course of God's providence, as it appears in *fact*, however mysterious his ways, that *good and evil* are not seldom dispensed here *promiscuously*, without any strict regard to merit or demerit, during the whole period of human life, ver. 22—26.

He next touches on their uncharitable perversion of his calamities into judgments, and as he had before stated his *own hope of a resurrection*, and a gracious sentence from his REDEEMER, so now he closes and completes his masterly argument with a declaration, that the *impious wicked* who prosper in this life, and leave their proud monuments behind them, shall receive a dreadful recompense in the *future day of judgment*, 27.

- XXI. 2. Hear ye attentively my speech,
Let this be in return for your consolations.
3. Bear with me while I speak ;
And after I have spoken, [*Zophar*] *mock thou on.*
4. What ! do I [direct] my complaint to *man* ?
And if [I did,] why might not my spirit be impatient ?
5. Observe me, and be astonished,
And lay your hand upon your mouth.
6. For when I reflect, I am affrighted,
And my body is seized with trembling.
7. *Why do the wicked live [happy]*
Grow old, and even become mighty in substance ?
8. Their *seed* is established with them in their sight,
And their *offspring* before their eyes.
9. Their *houses* are secure from fear,
Neither is the *rod of God* upon them.
10. Their *bull* gendereth and faileth not,
Their *cow* beareth, and casteth not her calf,
11. They send forth *the little ones* of their household, like a flock,
And their *children* dance.
12. They take up the timbrel and harp,
And rejoice at the sound of the pipe ;
13. They spend their days in good,
And in a moment descend to *Hades* ;
14. And yet, they say unto God, *Depart from us,*
For we desire not the knowledge of thy ways.
15. *Who is the ALMIGHTY, that we should serve Him,*
And what shall we profit, if we pray unto Him ?
16. Lo their good is not in their *own* hand ;
Far be from me the counsel of the wicked !
17. *How oft* is the candle of the *wicked* put out,
And their destruction cometh upon them ?
[How oft doth God] distribute sorrow to them in his anger ?
18. [How oft] are they as stubble before the wind,
And as chaff which the storm carrieth away ?
19. GOD layeth up his iniquity for *his children*,
He rewardeth him, that he may know ;
20. His eyes see his destruction,
And he drinketh of the wrath of the ALMIGHTY.
21. For what pleasure hath he in his house after him,
When the number of his days is cut off ?
22. Shall any teach knowledge to GOD,
To Him who ruleth on high ?
23. *One* [the *wicked*] dieth in the fulness of his strength,
Wholly at ease, and in tranquillity :
24. His bowels are full of fat,
And his bones are moistened with marrow.
25. *Another* [the *good*] dieth in bitterness of soul,
And never eateth with pleasure.
26. They lie down alike in the dust,
And the worms cover them.

27. Behold I know your thoughts,
And the calumnies which ye forge against me,
28. For ye say, *Where is the house of the prince !
And the habitations of the wicked !*
29. Have ye never asked them that pass by the way,
And do ye not know their tokens ?
30. *That the wicked is reserved to the day of destruction,
They shall be brought forth to the day of wrath* *.—
34. How then comfort ye me in vain,
Since in your answers remaineth falsehood ?

3. The third dialogue is opened by *Eliphaz*, who returns once more to the charge, in chap. xxii. He represents *Job's* vindication of himself, and his appeal to heaven, as displeasing to God, and an aggravation of his guilt; with which he now openly taxes him. *Is not thy wickedness great, and thine iniquities infinite?* ver. 2—5. He accuses him, without scruple, of several heinous acts of *fraud*, *cruelty*, and *oppression*, and even *atheism* itself, or a denial of God's providence; (and *Eliphaz* has been followed in this by *Maimonides*, *Kimchi*, and several of the later Jewish Rabbis.) He reminds him of the destruction of the old world by the deluge, and of its future destruction by fire, ver. 15—20. And concludes with a fresh exhortation to repentance and prayer, as the only means of his restoration, *acquaint thyself now with HIM, and be at peace*, ver. 21—30.

In the two following chapters, xxiii. xxiv. *Job* repels the charge of *atheism* in a most noble description of the universal presence of God, though invisible. He contends that his sufferings were designed as trials of the purity of his faith, and again maintains his integrity. And shews, in a variety of instances, that wickedness often escapes punishment in this life.

This calls up *Bildad*: who, in a short speech, chap. xxv. repeats his former positions, that God, in the plenitude of his dominion, both punishes and rewards in this life; and that *no*

* To interpret this passage, with some commentators, of *temporal* destruction, is to represent *Job* as condemning himself, and justifying the charges of his friends against him; and contradicts the whole tenor of his argument. And the writers of the NEW TESTAMENT, adopt the same language, when they speak of the *future judgment* and the final doom of sinners. "They shall be punished with *everlasting destruction* from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power," 2 Thess. i. 9, in "the *day of wrath*, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God," Rom. ii. 5; "a *day of perdition to ungodly men*," 2 Pet. iii. 7. Such a remarkable analogy of expression, indicates imitation, and shews how the *apostles* understood such passages in the OLD TESTAMENT.

man, strictly speaking, can be *justified before God*: man, at best, being a frail and fallible creature, a mere *worm*; but GOD, a Being of infinite purity and perfection. These were commonplace arguments, involving themselves, as well as *Job*, in the general description of sinners: and having been previously admitted by *Job*, could not tend to make him criminate himself in particular, which was their main object.

Job having at length silenced, though not convinced his opponents, after addressing a short reproof to *Bildad*, chap. xxvi. enters into an elaborate vindication of his character, in the five following chapters, xxvii—xxx. He asserts his integrity and their slanders, in the following animated appeal to heaven, in rather too bold a tone of remonstrance:

- XXVII. 2. [As] GOD liveth, *who hath taken away my judgment,*
 And THE ALMIGHTY *who hath afflicted my soul,*
 3. Surely all the time that my breath is in me,
 And the spirit of God, in my nostrils,
 4. My lips shall not speak wickedness,
 Nor my tongue, utter deceit.
 5. *God forbid, that I should justify you!*
Till I expire, I will not forego my integrity;
 6. *My righteousness will I hold fast, and will not let it go,*
My heart shall not reproach me, so long as I live.
 7. Let my enemy be as the *wicked*
 And my adversary as the *unjust*.
 8. For what is the hope of the *hypocrite*,
 When he is cut off, when God taketh away his soul? —
 19. *The [ungodly] rich man shall lie down, [or die]*
But he shall not be gathered [to his fathers]
He openeth his eyes [in hades] and is not.*

* *Peters* thus ingeniously explains this important passage, p. 382. “The *wicked* rich man, (for of such *Job* was speaking,) shall die, but *shall not be gathered* to the assembly of good and pious souls: *he openeth his eyes* in the other world, and [*is not*, or] finds himself lost and miserable!” He observes that the phrase of “*being gathered to their fathers*,” or “*to their peoples*,” is confined in Scripture to the eminently good and pious. Thus it is applied to *Abraham*, Gen. xv. 15, xxv. 8. To *Ishmael*, Gen. xxv. 17. To *Isaac*, Gen. xxxv. 29. To *Jacob*, Gen. xlix. 29—33. To *Aaron*, Numb. xx. 24. To *Moses*, Numb. xxvii. 13, xxxi. 2, Deut. xxxii. 50, &c. To *Joshua* and the *elders* of his time, Judges ii. 8—10. To *David*, Acts xiii. 36. To *Josiah*, 2 Kings xxii. 20; whereas the general expression applied to good and bad indifferently is, to *lie down*, or *sleep with their fathers*; as *Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xiv. 20. *Rehoboam*, 1 Kings xiv. 31, &c. To *lie down with the uncircumcised*, or the *wicked*, as *Pharaoh*, Ezek. xxxii. 19—28, &c. for “*the uncircumcised shall be cut off from his peoples*,” Gen. xvii. 14. The plural, עַמִּים, “*peoples*,” is remarkable, it cannot denote the present generation only, but must mean the several generations of good men that were gone before; to whose assembly, as the *circumcised* hoped to be *gathered* when they died, so the *uncircumcised* are threatened to be cut off from it.

Job then, to repel the calumnies of *Eliphaz* especially, xxii. 5—20, enters into a minute detail of his past life and conversation, which shews him to have been, indeed, exemplary in piety, virtue, and sobriety: and he closes his admirable apology, reluctantly extorted from his modesty, by repeating his ardent wish for an immediate trial with his calumniator, before the tribunal of God, in the following terms:

- XXXI 35. O that I had a hearing granted me !
 Lo there is my gage ! Let the ALMIGHTY question me,
 And let my accuser write a bill of indictment !
 36. Surely I would take it upon my shoulder [in triumph]
 And bind it as a crown upon me ;
 37. I would declare to HIM, the number of my steps,
 As a prince would I approach Him !—

Here ends the controversy between *Job* and his friends. The grand question in debate between them was, whether *Job* was a sinner and a hypocrite, or not. Both parties draw their arguments from the *providence of God*, which, they both agreed, could not act wrong.

The friends represent his extraordinary calamities, as a visible *judgment* on him for his sins: and because he had none that were public and notorious, they at first insinuate, and afterwards plainly assert, that he must needs have been guilty of some secret bosom sin, and that of the deepest die, that could subject him to such extreme misery: for that God *never* afflicts in so remarkable a manner, but for sins of great magnitude.

By these expressions was denoted the happiness or misery of good or bad souls, in the intermediate state between their death and resurrection. The general receptacle of departed spirits was called in Hebrew שְׁאוֹל, *Sheol*, and in Greek Ἅιδης, *Hades*; and is defined by *Job*, “The house of assembly for all living,” xxx. 23. This was supposed to be divided into two separate departments: the one for good souls, called “*Paradise* ;” into which our Saviour promised admission to the penitent thief on the cross, Luke xxiii. 43; to which *Paul* was caught up in vision, 2 Cor. xii. 4; and wished to be there with *Christ*, Phil. i. 23; and to which the soul of the beggar, *Lazarus*, was carried by the angels of death to “*Abraham’s bosom*,” Luke xvi. 22. The other for bad souls, separated from the former by an “*impassable gulph*,” was called “the lower *Sheol*,” *Tartarus*, or *Hades*, where the rich man, in the parable, lift up his eyes, being in torments, and saw *Abraham* afar off, and *Lazarus* in his bosom, Luke xvi. 23, a metaphor taken from the manner in which the *Jews* reclined at meals. Both, perhaps, are included in the following passage of *Job*, xxxviii. 17. “Have the gates of death been opened unto thee, or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death? Hast thou perceived the breadth of the earth?”—where the *Chaldee Targum* thus remarkably paraphrases the latter clause: “Hast thou perceived the breadth of the land of the garden of Eden?” supposing it to denote *Paradise*; as the former clause, *Gehenna*, or “*Hell*,” which he improperly substitutes for the lower *Sheol*.

For which they appeal to *experience*: “*Recollect, I pray thee, says Eliphaz, what innocent person ever perished? And when were the righteous cut off?*” iv. 7; “*Behold, says Bildad, GOD will not cast off the perfect man, neither will He help the evil doers,*” viii. 20; and Zophar tells him bluntly, “*Know therefore, that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth!*” xi. 5.

Job, on the other hand, defends himself, by setting before them another view of *Providence*. He denies an exact retributive justice in this life, arguing from the *general* course of it; whereas they argued chiefly from *extraordinary* exceptions: they had seen a good man *sometimes* remarkably delivered; and *oftentimes* a wicked man remarkably punished. But he bids them reflect, how many they had known, who were notoriously wicked, and had nevertheless prospered a long time, and no extraordinary calamity befel them in the course of their lives, nor in their deaths. And though it was not so easy to discern who were really good, (a bad inside being often covered by a fair outside,) yet he bids them consider what ravages were sometimes made, either by the *pestilence* or the *sword*; and they must needs be convinced that many good men must unavoidably suffer with the bad, in such great and *general* devastations. So that no certain conclusion could be drawn of men’s being either good or bad, from what they enjoyed or what they suffered in this world. And therefore it was rash, and even wicked in them, to charge him with heinous sins, without any apparent foundation, besides the greatness of his sufferings.

This is evidently the way of reasoning on both sides; and the leading object of *Job’s* repeated wishes for an immediate trial before God with his accusers; and when that failed, his hopes of a future resurrection at the day of judgment, was, by such a solemn appeal, to convince them, if possible, of his innocence. *Peters* on *Job*, p. 176.

Now, *Elihu* appears on the stage, and acts the part of a moderator in the disputation between *Job* and his friends; and blames both, very freely, in a long speech, which runs through six chapters, xxxii—xxxviii, and forms the fourth part of the poem. He censures the friends for charging *Job* with crimes which they could not prove, and for persisting in condemning him, after they were silenced, xxxii. 3, and for their respect of persons, in treating GOD as a *man*, and vindicating the course

of his moral providence unjustly, in maintaining that virtue was *uniformly* rewarded, and vice punished in this life, xxxii. 21. He censures *Job* for *justifying himself rather than God*, saying, “*I am righteous, and God hath taken away my judgment,*” xxxiv. 5; and this because God did not gratify his impatience, by bringing him and his accusers presently to trial, and clearing his innocence before them and the world: also, for *speaking without knowledge, and uttering words without wisdom*, in “*his answers for wicked men,*” or in putting an argument in their mouth to charge God foolishly, as if he had dealt unjustly with *Job*; thus adding *rebellion* unto his *sin*, xxxv. 35—37; whereas God’s *omnipotence* was sufficient to prove that *He could not do wrong*; and consequently, that GOD, who does not explain the ways of his providence, will render unto every man according to his work; if not here, assuredly hereafter.

XXXIV. 10. Hearken to me, ye men of understanding :

Far be iniquity from GOD,

Yea far be injustice from the ALMIGHTY.

11. For *He shall render unto man*, [according to] *his work*,

And cause every man to find according to his ways :

12. Yea surely GOD will not do wickedly,

Neither will the ALMIGHTY pervert judgment.—

21. For his eyes are upon the ways of man,

And he seeth all his goings :

22. There is no darkness nor shadow of death,

Where the workers of iniquity can hide themselves.

XXXIII. 13. But God giveth no account of any of his proceedings.—

There is a remarkable passage in *Elihu’s* speech, which seems to allude to *Job’s* faith in his REDEEMER, and even obscurely to predict his approaching *temporal* deliverance, and justification by GOD. It is introduced with much solemnity, as an *oracular* declaration; and gives a lively description of a person supposed to be chastised for his *pride*, with the most excruciating pains; abhorring all manner of food, wasted away to a skeleton, and nearly at the point of death; and then suddenly restored by a redeeming *angel* or *intercessor*, to health, prosperity, and the favour of God. Than which nothing can be more apposite to *Job’s* particular case.

XXXIII. 14. GOD speaketh once for all,

And will not repeat it twice,

15. In a *dream*, in a nightly *vision*,

When deep sleep falleth on man,

In slumbers upon the bed.

16. Then He openeth the ears of men,
And sealeth their instruction.
17. To withdraw man from his [foolish] doings,
And to hide *pride* from man :
That He may save his soul from death,
And his life from perishing by the dart.
19. [Therefore] is he chastened with pain upon his bed.
And the cry of his bones is strong,
20. So that his life abhorreth bread,
And his soul, dainty meat,
21. His flesh wasteth away from view,
And his bones that were not seen, stick out ;
22. Yea his soul draweth nigh unto the pit,
And his life, unto the *destroyers*.
23. If then, there be over him an *angel* * ,
An *intercessor* * , one of a thousand,
To represent, in man's behalf, his uprightness,
24. Then will [GOD] be gracious unto him, and say,
“ Deliver him from going down to the pit :
I have found an atonement * .”

* The word מלאך, (*Malach*), rendered *Messenger* in the English Bible, may more correctly be rendered *Angel*, signifying “ the angel who redeemed Job, as well as Jacob, from all evil,” Gen. xlviii. 16, who was indeed “ one of a thousand,” or the most excellent : whom *Isaiah* called “ the Angel of God's presence,” lxiii. 9 ; in whom “ God placed his name,” or reposed his authority, according to *Moses*, Exod. xxiii. 20, 21 ; whom *Malachi* called “ the Angel of the Covenant,” iii. 1, and who was CHRIST, “ anointed with oil of gladness above his fellows,” Psalm xlv. 7, Heb. i. 5.

The epithet מליץ, (*Melits*), is rendered “ *Interpreter*,” Gen. xlii. 23, and “ *Ambassador*,” 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, and critically corresponds to the titles of CHRIST, “ *Intercessor*,” Isa. lix. 16. “ *Mediator*,” 1 Tim. ii. 5, Heb. xii. 24 ; and “ *Advocate* with the Father,” 1 John ii. 1.

The word כִּפָּר, (*Caphar*), literally signifies “ a covering,” and in a religious sense, an “ atonement,” Exod. xxix. 36, Numb. xvi. 46 ; or “ propitiation.” Such was CHRIST for the sins of the whole world, 1 John ii. 2, Rom. iii. 25, whose precious blood, as “ the Lamb of God,” virtually sacrificed “ from the foundation of the world,” Rev. xiii. 8, had a retrospective efficacy to all preceding times, under the *Patriarchal* covenants, as to future, under the *Christian*. In whom, therefore, “ God found an atonement for Job's sins ;” and restored him to that *original righteousness*, which had been lost by *Adam's* transgression. A transgression which *Adam* vainly endeavoured to cover, or hide in concealment, and to remedy by his own imperfect contrivance, Job xxxi. 33.—Such views of the *medialtorial* scheme of *salvation*, through the blessed *seed* of the woman, in so early an age, and in a Heathen country, are really surprising. But that such subsisted, we learn from *apostolical* authority, in the following passage of *Peter*.

“ Concerning which *salvation*, the [ancient] *prophets* enquired and searched diligently ; who prophesied concerning the *grace* [of THE GOSPEL] communicated unto you, [Gentile as well as Jewish converts :] searching what [time,] and what manner of time, the *spirit* of CHRIST, which was in them, pointed out ; when it testified, beforehand, concerning the *sufferings*, and the ensuing *glories* of CHRIST. To whom it was revealed, that they ministered not to themselves, but to us, these things,” or foretold, by

25. His flesh shall become fresher than a child's ;
He shall return to the days of his youth ;
26. He shall beseech God, and He will accept him ;
He shall see his face with joy,
And [GOD] will restore to the man his righteousness.
27. He shall sing among men, and say,
" *I have sinned, and have done amiss,*
But [GOD] hath not retaliated on me :
28. *He hath delivered my soul from going into the pit,*
And my life, that it may behold the light !"
29. Lo, all these worketh God with man,
30. *Ofi-times*, to bring back his soul from the pit,
To enlighten him with the light of the living.

And in this view *Job* himself appears to have considered it, for when he was called upon "to answer, if he had any thing to say," by his youthful but friendly monitor, who, unlike the rest, "desired to *justify* him," where he was right, and to "*teach* him wisdom," where he was wrong, xxxiii. 31—33, he held his peace, and listened, in respectful silence, to his sage admonitions, though rather severe, without attempting any reply. And he also exactly followed the course prescribed to him, and humbled himself before God. And now the ALMIGHTY put an end to the debate, and spoke to *Job*, out of the whirlwind, in a most sublime and magnificent speech, chap. xxxviii—xli, the substance of which is nearly a counterpart to *Elihu's*, though more splendid in its ornaments and amplifications ; dwelling chiefly on the points noticed by *Elihu*, namely, the *omnipotence* of GOD, and man's utter *ignorance* of His ways and works of creation and providence.

Indeed, this argument of *Omnipotence*, when duly considered, (as *Peters* justly remarked, p. 184,) includes in it a full, perfect, and sufficient vindication of the ways of God with man. For if He can *do all things*, and *nothing is impossible with God*, He can have no temptation to do wrong ; for "*GOD cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man*," James i. 13. Though for wise and salutary purposes, for correction, for discipline, for purification of heart and life, and preparation for a better, he tries the best men, like *Job*, and *proves them* in the

divine inspiration, *mysteries* which were not to be accomplished in their times, but in ours. *Mysteries* "into which *angels* are desirous to pry," 1 Pet. i. 10—12.

Among these ancient prophets *Job* seems to be included by the apostle, by a marked reference immediately before, to the *sufferings* of the converts, designed, like those of *Job*, "for the *proof* of their faith, a proof much more precious than that of *gold* which perisheth, though proved by fire," ver. 7. Compare *Job* xxiii. 10.

furnace of affliction, that *they may come forth like gold!* While He restrains the craft and subtilty of the *devil* or *man*, working against them, to shake their faith, and “sift them as wheat,” by his all-governing and all-controuling providence; saying to the former, as to the ocean originally, *Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!*—At the same time, of his infinite *mercy* and *goodness*, He is not severe to mark what they have done amiss, upon their hearty repentance and true faith, for *HE knoweth whereof they are made, He remembereth that they are dust!*

That transcendant speech, too long to be inserted, and too sublime to be abridged, begins with this animated interrogation:

XXXVIII. 2. *Who is this that darkeneth counsel
By words without knowledge?—*

XL. 2. *Let him that contendeth with the ALMIGHTY reply;
Let him that reproveth GOD answer.*

3. Then *Job* answered the *LORD*, and said,

4. Behold I am vile, what shall I answer Thee.
I will lay my hand upon my mouth.

5. Once have I spoken, but I will not answer;
Yea twice, but I will not proceed.

6. Then the *LORD* answered *Job* out of the whirlwind—

7. *Gird now thy loins like a man:
I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto Me:*

8. *Wilt thou supersede My judgment?
Wilt thou condemn Me, to justify thyself?—*

XLII. 1. Then *Job* answered *THE LORD*, and said,

2. I know that Thou art *all powerful*,
And that no device can be withholden from Thee.

3. *Who is this* [saidst Thou] *that hideth counsel without knowledge?*
Therefore I uttered what I did not understand!
Wonders above me which I did not know!

4. Hear I beseech Thee, and I will speak,
I will inquire of Thee, and instruct Thou me;

5. By the hearing of the ear have I heard of Thee,
But now mine eye seeth Thee!

6. Wherefore I *abhor* myself,
And *repent* in dust and ashes.

This humble confession and self-abasement of *Job* was graciously accepted. It covered all his imperfections: his passionate *complaints*, wrung from him by the extremity of sufferings, corporeal and mental; his *despair* and *weariness* of life; his often wishing for death; his eagerness to come upon his trial; his earnest requests, and even *expostulations* with his Judge, to bring him to it, or at least to acquaint him with the

reasons of such severe afflictions. Such shades and blemishes in the character of this illustrious patriarch, argue somewhat of *impatience* in this heroic pattern of patience*. But God is ever ready to pass over the frailties and infirmities of human nature, where there is a tried and resolute integrity, determined to adhere to GOD in all trials and temptations, whatever may be the result.

*Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.* Hor.

The fullest exculpation of *Job*, and condemnation of his three friends, is furnished by THE ALMIGHTY himself, in the following historical conclusion.

XLII. 7. "THE LORD said to *Eliphaz*, the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends, because *ye have not spoken rightly of Me, as hath my servant Job*. Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and offer up for yourselves a burnt offering, and my servant *Job* shall pray for you (for him will I accept), lest I deal with you according to your folly, in that *ye have not spoken rightly of Me, like my servant Job*.

9. "So *Eliphaz* the Temanite, and *Bildad* the Shuhite, and *Zophar* the Naamathite, went and did according as the Lord commanded them.

10. "And the LORD accepted *Job*: and the Lord turned the captivity of *Job* when he prayed for his friends.

"And the LORD gave *Job* twice as much as he had before."

The three friends, as we have seen, endeavoured to vindicate

* As a singular curiosity, the reader is presented with the following character of *Job*, and of his book, sketched with a masterly hand, by the witty *Paine*; the only one in the whole range of the Bible, which his jaundiced imagination has not caricatured: furnishing the most unequivocal proof of that excellence, which extorted even his applause!

"The book of *Job* shews itself to be the production of a mind cultivated in science.—The allusions to objects of *natural philosophy* are frequent and strong.—It is full of the meditations of a mind strongly impressed with the *vicissitudes* of human life, and by turns sinking under and struggling against the pressure. It is a *highly wrought* composition, between willing submission and involuntary discontent, and shews *man*, as he sometimes is, *more disposed to be resigned than he is capable of being*. *Patience* has but a small share in the character of the person of whom the book treats; on the contrary, *his grief is often impetuous*, but he still endeavours to keep a guard upon it, and seems determined, in the midst of accumulating ills, to impose upon himself *the hard duty of contentment*."—O SI SIC OMNIA!

the ways of PROVIDENCE, by contending for an *exact* distribution of good and evil in this world ; that the righteous are never afflicted without remedy, nor the wicked, upon the whole, prosperous here, which is a wrong representation of the fact ; and they falsely and uncharitably represented *Job's* sufferings as *judgments* from God for his wickedness. Their opinion, therefore, (like the *Stoic* philosophers in after ages, that *virtue is its own reward*,) tends, in its consequences, to sap the foundation from reason, of the belief of a *future state* ; which would be superfluous on this supposition. They therefore spoke unworthily of God. On the other hand, *Job* asserted that *God destroyeth the perfect and the wicked*, ix. 22, which is the argument upon which he all along insists ; that the righteous are sometimes afflicted here indiscriminately, and that without remedy, and the wicked prosper ; whence evidently follows the necessity of that *future judgment* in which he rests his hope, to redress all these seeming irregularities, when ultimately the righteous should be rewarded and the wicked punished. *Job* therefore spoke worthily of God, as *the righteous Judge of all the earth*.

The charity of *Job* was as conspicuous as his piety. GOD appointed him the *priest* to make atonement for his repentant friends. And it is truly remarkable, that it was not until the display of his charity in "*praying for his friends*," that "*THE LORD turned the captivity of Job*," or restored him to health and prosperity ; and "*gave him twice as much as he had before*."

With this simple conclusion the author of the book seems to have ended. The six remaining verses, particularizing the increase, the number of his sons and daughters, and the names of the latter, who, according to primitive usage, were made co-heiresses with their brothers ; and the number of years that *Job* survived his trial, form an *appendix*, which, probably, was added in later times from tradition, either by *Moses*, who resided so long in his neighbourhood, *Samuel*, or whoever introduced the book into the sacred canon.

At the end of the book, after the account of *Job's* death, xlii. 16. the *Alexandrine* Greek version adds, γεγραπται δε, παλιν αναστησεται αυτον, μετ' ων ανιστησιν ο Κυριος. "*But it is written, that he shall rise again, along with those whom the Lord raiseth up*." Where it was so written concerning *Job*, is not easily to be found ; unless in his own celebrated confession,

“*I know that my REDEEMER is living,*” &c. The remark, however, is so far of importance, as it proves the *popular belief* of the doctrine, before the coming of CHRIST: a belief, to which this inestimable book, we may rest assured, contributed not a little.

It is remarkable that *Job's* substance was doubled in every respect, except his children; for “*he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she asses;*” but only “*seven sons and three daughters.*” For this, the following excellent reasons are assigned by that early and learned Father of the Christian Church, *Basil*, in his Homily on the trials of *Job*, xxiii. p. 565, &c.

“When the *Devil* was foiled, his disease fled away also, having assaulted him in vain, and gained no ascendancy over him. He first began to be renewed with a second youth; he flourished also in his substance, which was restored to him with encrease; for riches flowed so plentifully into his house, that they became double of what he had before: First, that he might be no loser by his affliction; and secondly, that he might have a gracious reward of his patience under it. Therefore it was, that his horses, and mules, and camels, and sheep, and all the rest of his income, were doubled; only his children were not more than equal to the number he had before, seven sons and three daughters. The reason was, *because his cattle perished entirely; but the better part of his children still survived*, when they were taken from him. And, therefore, being again adorned with as many sons and daughters as he had formerly possessed, *he had a double portion of them also: these, who were present with him here, and those who expected him in the next world.*”

“Behold then,” proceeds this pious and enlightened divine, “what good things this just man, *Job*, heaped up for himself, by his *patient* submission to God! and do thou, therefore, if thou hast suffered grievously in this fire, which the malice of the devil hath kindled, bear it with constancy, and mitigate the affliction with these better thoughts: *Cast all thy care upon THE LORD, and He will support thee.*” See the whole of this admirable Homily, in *Patrick's Commentary*, Vol. III. Appendix, p. 61.

Job's trial, altogether, probably did not last a year; as we may collect from “*the months of vanity,*” of which he complains, vii. 3, compared with “*the months past,*” of his prosperity, xxix. 2.

THE FAITH OF JOB.

III. It now remains to ascertain the nature and extent of the *faith of Job*; a curious and important disquisition, involving the state of religion and morality in his age and country.

The two prime articles of *patriarchal* faith, from the earliest days, according to *St. Paul*, were, *Heb. xi. 6.*

1. *That there is a GOD.*

2. *That He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.*

These articles are comprised in *Job's* famous declaration,

*I know that my REDEEMER is living,
And at the last day shall arise [in judgment] upon dust.*

And, indeed, are inculcated throughout the whole book.

What exalted and sublime conceptions *Job* entertained of THE DEITY, and how firmly he trusted in Him, under all the pressure of his accumulated trials, may appear from the following specimens, selected out of many, stating his *omnipresence*, and *spirituality* or *invisibility*.

“ Canst *thou* by searching find out God?
Canst *thou* find out the ALMIGHTY to perfection?
Higher than heaven——what canst *thou* do!
Deeper than hell——what canst *thou* know!
Longer than the earth, is His measure,
And broader than the sea.”——xi. 7—9.

“ O that I knew where I could find HIM,
That I might go, even to his throne!——
Lo, I go eastward, but He is not found,
And westward, but I cannot perceive Him,
Northward, where He worketh, but I behold Him not,
He covereth Himself southward, and I cannot see:
But he knoweth the way that I take,
He hath tried me; I shall come forth as gold!”——xxiii. 3—10.

But *where* could *Job* expect to “come forth as gold,” purified and refined in the fire, and perfected by sufferings? Surely not in this life, in which he repeatedly despaired of his recovery; xvii. 1, xxx. 23, &c. and, from the beginning, wished for death to relieve him from his sufferings, iii. 21, vi. 9, vii. 21, x. 20, &c. It must have been, therefore, in the next, as intimated by the whole tenor of his argument; and especially in this and in the following passages, before and after his confession of faith, perfectly harmonizing therewith; such as vi. 8—10,

xiii. 15, 16, xiv. 12—15, xvi. 19, &c. where he expected to be comforted and justified; and the wicked to be tormented, xxi. 30, xxvii. 8—19.

To this it has been objected, that in several passages *Job* speaks as if he had no hope beyond the grave, or considered death as an eternal sleep; such as vii. 8—21, x. 21, xvi. 22, xvii. 13—16; but surely these are to be limited, and to be interpreted in unison with the preceding*, that after death, he expected *no return to this world*; since he did not look for his “*change*,” or resurrection, until the general judgment at the end of the world. At the same time, it is by no means necessary to suppose, that this sage heathen was fully acquainted with the doctrine of the *resurrection*, as illustrated in the *Gospel*, and exemplified by CHRIST, “the first fruits.” It was to *Job*, as “*a light shining in a dark place, until the day should dawn*,” or rather, “*shine forth in full splendour*,” (διανγασθη,) 2 Pet. i. 19, involved in some degree of doubt and obscurity, John i. 5. Still, however, it was sufficient to guide his *steps*, to support his *patience*, in the main, and to animate his *faith* and *hope*, under the pressure of such accumulated trials, with the cheering prospect of being *gathered to his fathers*, and of *seeing GOD*, as *He is*.

Indeed, as observed before, the death of the pious *Abel*, immediately after his acceptance by GOD, was an argument for a future state, addressed to the *reason* of mankind; as the translation of the righteous *Enoch* afterwards, without tasting death, was more palpably addressed to their *senses*. With great propriety, therefore, are they placed in the fore-ground of the noble catalogue of the *faithful*, furnished by St. *Paul*, Heb. xi.

And this may account for the prevalence of the belief of a *Providence*, and of a *future state*, in the earliest and purest ages of the heathen world. Mankind received it first by *tradition*; they obscured, or lost it afterwards, by the speculations of *vain philosophy*, affecting to be wise above what was delivered by the ancients.

“If,” says *Sir William Jones*, in the foregoing discourse,

* If popular expressions were to be understood literally and rigidly, our Christian poet, *Gray*, might be charged with infidelity, in his celebrated *Elegy* in a *Country Church-yard*:

“Each in a narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep!”

“an inscription, said to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentic, the ancient inhabitants of that country preserved the religion of *Eber*, and professed a belief of *miracles* and a *future state*.”——“We may safely pronounce, that before the *Mahomedan* revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were *Theists*;——because we have Arabian verses of unsuspected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated sentiments on the *goodness* and *justice*, the *power* and *omnipresence* of *GOD*:——but that a stupid *idolatry* prevailed among the lower orders of the people.”

How nobly *Job* protested against the growing idolatry of his age and country, will appear from the following passage :

- XXXI. 26. If I beheld the light [of the sun] when shining,
Or the *moon* advancing in splendour,
27. And my heart were enticed in secret,
Or my hand kissed by my mouth ;
28. Even this would be a *judicial crime*,
For I should have lied unto GOD ABOVE.

In *Job's* time *idolatry* was a capital offence*, cognizable by

* The propriety of this procedure is ably vindicated against the charge of *intolerance* or *religious persecution*, by the profoundly learned Bishop *Butler*, in his Occasional Sermon on the *thirtieth* of *January*, p. 363, sixth edition.

“Whenever the book of *Job* was written, the scene of it is laid at a time when *idolatry* was in its infancy, an acknowledged novelty, essentially destructive of true religion ; arising, perhaps, from mere wantonness of imagination, [Eccl. vii. 29.]

“In these circumstances, *this greatest of all evils*, which afterwards laid waste true religion over the face of the earth, might have been suppressed at once, without danger of mistake or abuse. And one might go on to add, that if *those to whom the care of it belonged*, instead of serving themselves of prevailing superstitions, had, in all ages and countries, opposed them in their rise, and adhered faithfully to that PRIMITIVE RELIGION which was received of old, since man was placed upon earth, (*Job* xx. 4,) there could not possibly have been any such difference of opinion concerning the ALMIGHTY GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD, as could have given any pretence for tolerating the idolatries which overspread it ; on the contrary, HIS universal monarchy must have been universally recognized ; and the general laws of it more ascertained and known, than the municipal ones of any particular country can be.

“In such a state of religion, as it could not but have been acknowledged by all mankind, that immorality of every kind was disloyalty to THE HIGH AND LOFTY ONE, that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, (*Isa.* lvii. 15,) so it could not but have been manifest, that idolatry, in these determinate instances of it, was plain rebellion against HIM ; and, therefore, might have been punished as an offence of the highest sort against the Supreme Authority in Nature.

“But this is in no sort applicable to the present state of religion in the world : for if the principle of punishing idolatry, were now admitted among the several different parties in religion, the weakest in every place would run a great risk of being convicted of it ; or, however, heresy and schism would soon be found crimes of the same

the *Pelilim*, or *Judges*, who were *arbitrators*, consisting of the heads of tribes or families, appointed by common consent, to try offences against the community, and to award summary justice. Such was the case of the *Transjordanite* tribes, suspected of *apostasy*, and threatened with extirpation by the heads of the ten tribes on the western side of *Jordan*, Josh. xxii. 16—22. *Adultery* was also cognizable by them, xxxi. 10, 11; and punishable with death, as in the case of *Thamar*, Gen. xxviii. 34.

How admirably does this sublime poem strike at the root of the *Zabian* superstition, which idly imagined that the *stars* and *constellations* were the residences of certain spiritual intelligences, regulating, by their occult influence, the various seasons of the year; in the following passages, proving that they were all mere machines, guided and directed by the *almighty* Creator and Governor of the universe.

IX. 2. "How can *man* be justified with *GOD*!—

7. Who commandeth the *sun*, and it riseth not,
And sealeth up the *stars*, [with clouds];—

9. Who made *Aish*, *Chesil*, and *Chimah*,
And the recesses of the *south*."

XXXVIII. 31. Canst *thou* shut up the delightful teemings of *Chimah*?

Or the contractions of *Chesil*, canst *thou* open?

32. Canst *thou* draw forth *Mazaroth* in his season?

Or *Aish*, with her sons, canst *thou* guide?

1. The Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, all agree that *Chimah* denotes the *Pleiades*, or principal cluster of stars in the constellation *Taurus*. And the name, signifying "*charming*," admirably corresponds to the delightful season of *spring*, of which *Taurus* was the cardinal constellation in *Job's* time; when the earth *expands* her bosom to the genial warmth of the sun, and all Nature blooms*.

2. The learned *Abraham ben Ezra* says, that *Chesil* denoted *Antares*, or the *Scorpion's* heart. Its name signifying "*be-*

nature, and equally deserving punishment. Thus *the spirit of persecution* would rage, without any stop or controul.

"But *our religious establishment* disclaims all principles of this kind, and desires not to keep persons in its communion, or gain proselytes to it, by any other methods than *CHRISTIAN* ones, of *argument* and *conviction*."

* Nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,
Nunc frondent sylvæ, nunc formosissimus annus. *Virg.*

כִּימָה, *Chimah*, is derived from כָּמָה, *Chamah*, "*desideratus est*." Hence *Cama*, the Indian *Cupid*, armed with bow and arrows. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. I. p. 255. Fig.

numbed*, or torpid with cold," aptly represents the chill season of autumn, of which *Scorpio* was then the cardinal constellation, when the earth contracts her bosom at the approach of cold weather, in the month *Chisleu*, or *November*, when fires begin to be lighted, Zech. vii. 1, Jer. xxxvi. 22.

3. *Suidas* has happily determined the meaning of *Mazaroth*, in his second signification of Μαζουρωθ, namely, τον αστροων κυνα, "the constellation *Canis*;" belonging to the mighty hunter "*Orion*," or "the *Giant*" *Nimrod*, as it is expounded by the Septuagint, Vulgate, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions. It signifies "raging, or furious†," and aptly represents the sultry heats of summer during "the dog days;" when the dog star is drawn or dragged forth, by an *Almighty* Hunter, "from the recesses of the south," in the parallel passage, where he is poetically supposed to have lain hid, during the winter and spring; "in his proper season," which begins at the heliacal rising or emersion of *Sirius* from the sun's beams, and lasts for forty days until his sitting, or occultation.

4. With this southern constellation, is finely contrasted *Aish*, signifying "a group or assemblage‡," and aptly denoting, ac-

* כסיל, *Chesil*, from כסל, *Chasal*, "frigus," in Arabic.

† מזרות, *Mazaroth*, from מזר, *Mazar*, "inebrians, potens," Syriac, or "fortis ac validus fuit," Arab. And this derivation is confirmed by the Latin epithets of *Sirius*, and προκυων, *canicula*;—"Rubra canicula"—"Æstus caniculæ"—"flagrantis atrox hora caniculæ"—"Jam Procyon furit"—"Insana canicula"—"Rabiem canis."—"Sirius ardor"—"Torrens sitiens Sirius Indos," &c. in *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Columella*.

‡ עיש, *Aish*, from עוש, *Aush*, "congregavit."—Our English Bible, through inattention to the feminine affix בניה, "her sons," and from ignorance of astronomy, renders, "Canst thou guide *Arcturus* and his sons?" It is remarkable, that *Job* and *Homer* both agree in representing the bear as female: as observed before in the article of *Nimrod*. *Dalhè*, by a blunder unpardonable at the present day, calls *Aish*, "*Ursus Major*!"

N.B. This astronomical analysis was first published in the *Inspector*, 1799, 8vo. *White*. It was occasioned by the blundering ignorance of the witling *Paine*: who, from the Greek names of the constellations, "*Pleiades*, *Orion*, and *Arcturus*," in our public translation of those passages, idly imagined, that the book of *Job* was originally written in *Greek*, by some Heathen philosopher, and translated from thence into *Hebrew*: the *Jewish* translator, being ignorant of astronomy, (as he supposes the Jews in general were,) and retaining the *Greek* terms! Thus betraying his ignorance of *Greek* as well as *Hebrew*; since the fourth constellation, *Mazaroth*, by its *Hebrew* or *Egyptian* termination, (like *Naboth*, *Thoth*, *Behemoth*, &c.) could not otherwise have been overlooked by him; for it was discreetly left untranslated, from ignorance of its meaning, in the English Bible. In the *Syriac* dialect, by a usual change of kindred consonants, it is written *Mazaloth*, 2 Kings xxiii. 5, and unskilfully rendered "the planets;" as if it were plural. The Septuagint there, correctly restores the *Hebrew* Μαζουρωθ.—The

cording to *A. ben Ezra*, the northern constellation of *Ursa Major*, supposed to preside over the *winter* frosts, from its contiguity to the north pole. The ancient versions all connected it with *Arcturus* or *Arctophylax*, the *Almighty* "keeper of the Bear;" who is here supposed to "guide her and her sons," in their never-setting diurnal rotation.

The whole drift of the argument, in these two most sublime, but difficult passages of *Job*, may thus be summed up :

GOD IS ALL POWERFUL———

Constantly regulating the appearance of the *sun*,
And of the *stars*, and the *seasons* of the year,
And canst *thou*, puny and presumptuous mortal!
Reverse the distinguishing characters of *spring* and *autumn* ;
Or produce the sultry *summer*-heats, and *winter*-frosts ;
Each in their proper season ?

The *morality* of *Job* was not less excellent than his *theology*. He thus expresses his undeviating obedience to the laws of *GOD*, and his delight therein.

- XXIII. 11. " My foot hath held in His steps,
I have kept His way, and not turned aside,
12. Neither have I gone back from the commandment of His lips.
I have esteemed the words of His mouth,
More than my necessary food."

It is evident from this passage, and others, that there was some collection of *written* precepts, or rules of religion and morality, in use among the patriarchs ; such were the precepts of the *Noachidæ*, or sons of *Noah* ; and there is great reason to believe, that the substance, at least, of the Decalogue, given at Sinai, was of primitive institution. The decree of the first council, held at *Jerusalem* by the apostles, seems to refer to such, Acts xv. 28, 29. Compare Gen. ix. 1—6.

How well he observed the duties of morality, may appear from the following :

- XXIX. 11. " When the ear heard, it blessed me,
When the eye saw, it witnessed for me,
12. Because I delivered the poor, that complained,
And the orphan, and him that had no helper.

Egyptian title of the dog star, was *Chiun*, (whence was derived the Greek *κυων*,) *Amos* v. 26 ; which, in the citation of this prophecy, is rendered *Raiphon* or *Remphan*, Acts vii. 43. Another *Egyptian* epithet of this star, signifying "verdant," from *רִיף*, *Raiph*, "viridis fuit." *Castellus*. Whence *Egypt* is called by the *Arabs* at present, *Raif* or *Rif* ; from its verdure and fertility, occasioned by the inundation of the *Nile*, beginning with the *dog days*.—Et *Viridem* *Ægyptum*, *nigrâ* *fœcundat* *Arenâ*. *Virgil*.

13. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me,
And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.
14. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me,
And justice, as a robe and a diadem,
15. I was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame,
16. I was a father to the needy,
And the cause of the stranger, I searched out.
17. I also brake the jaws of the wicked,
And plucked the prey out of his teeth !"
- XXXI. 16. " If I withheld from the poor their desire,
Or caused the eyes of the widow to fail ;
17. If I ate my morsel by myself, [alone,]
And the orphan did not eat thereof ;
18. If from his youth, I brought *him* not up as a father,
And guided *her*, from her mother's womb ;
19. If I saw any perishing for want of clothing,
Or any poor without covering,
20. If his loins did not bless me,
And he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep ;
21. If I lift up my hand against the orphan,
When I saw my assistance in the gate,
22. Then let my shoulder fall from the blade,
And mine arm be broken from the socket.
- XXXI. 1. " I made a covenant with mine eyes,
That I would not look upon a *maid*.
2. For what would be [my] share in GOD ABOVE,
Or, my inheritance with the ALMIGHTY ON HIGH ?
3. *Is not destruction* [reserved] *for the wicked,*
And estrangement [from GOD] *for the workers of iniquity ?*
4. *Doth not HE see my ways,*
And count all my steps ?" —

Such was *Job's* " *religion pure and undefiled,*" who " visited the *orphan* and *widow* in their affliction, and kept *himself* " unspotted from the world ;" no wonder, then, that it was accepted " before GOD, even THE FATHER," James i. 27.

This surely is *gospel faith*.—And the apostle *James*, in his excellent practical epistle, seems particularly to allude to the case of *Job*, whose " *patience*" he expressly celebrates, in the following marked passages also, i. 2—26.

" My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into various *trials* : knowing that the proof of your *faith* worketh *patience* : Let patience, then, have her perfect work ; that ye may be perfect and complete, deficient in nothing.—

" Blessed is the man that endureth *trial* : for when he is proved, he shall receive the crown of life ; which THE LORD hath promised to them that love him.

" Let no man say, when *tempted*, ' *I am tempted by GOD* :'

for God cannot be tempted by evil, neither tempteth He any one, HIMSELF: But every man is tempted, when he is *drawn out*, by means of his peculiar *appetite*, and *ensnared** (δελεαζομενος) [by the *Devil*; that wicked ‘fisher of men:’] Then *the appetite* having conceived, *produceth* (τικτει) *sin*; and sin when perfected, bringeth forth (αποκυει) *death*.”—

“If any seem to be religious among you, who *bridleth not his tongue*, but deceiveth his heart; this man’s *religion* is vain.”

OUR LORD also, has set his seal to the integrity of *Job*, by marked allusions to his *continence*, in abstaining from “the lust of the eye,” in his Sermon on the Mount, Matt. vi. 28, 29. And to his *charity*, in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, &c. at the representation of the general judgment, Matt. xxv. 34—46.

There is a remarkable reference in the book of *Job*, to the former destruction of the world by *water*, and to its final dissolution by *fire*; which was prophesied by *Enoch* before the deluge, as we have seen in the foregoing pages; whence it must have been known to *Noah*; and no doubt, transmitted by him to his family; and so might be communicated to *Job* and his friends. It occurs in the last speech of *Eliphaz*, the most intelligent of the three.

- XXII. 15. Dost [not] *thou* keep the *old way*,
Which wicked men have trodden?
16. Who were cut off, before their time,
The flood overthrew their foundation:
17. Who said unto GOD, ‘*Depart from us:*’
And, ‘*What can THE ALMIGHTY do for us?*’
18. Yet He filled their houses with good,
Though the counsel of the wicked was far from Him,

* The finest comment on this passage of *James*, (more critically translated from the original,) is furnished by *Shakspeare*, in that inimitable soliloquy of a libidinous and hypocritical Judge, *caught* by the charms of a fair and virtuous maiden, when supplicating for an offending brother’s life:

“O cunning *Enemy!* that to catch a *Saint*,
With *Saints* dost bait thy hook: Most dangerous
Is that *temptation*, that doth goad us on to *sin*,
In loving *VIRTUE!*”—————
“*Hooking* both right and wrong to the *appetite*,
To follow as it *draws!*”—————

Measure for Measure.

This is exquisite *moral* painting, drawn from *NATURE*, or from the *GOSPEL*, in the original.—Quere, Did *Shakspeare* understand *Greek*?

19. The righteous saw, and were glad,
And the innocent [*Noah*] derided them :
20. ' *Is not their substance cut down ?*
And the fire shall consume the remnant of them !'

As if *Noah* had said, Though this judgment by *water*, however universal, may not so thoroughly purge the earth, as that iniquity shall not spring up again, and wicked men abound: yet know that a final judgment by *fire*, will utterly consume *the remnant* of such sinners as shall then be found alive, along with the earth itself.

This surely is a more rational interpretation of the last clause, furnished by the very intelligent *Peters*, p. 411, (who has seized the *spirit* of the original, in many places, where tamer commentators "weary themselves to find the *letter*;") than that of *Heath* and others, who refer it to the destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*.—For, as *Peters* justly objects, "How could the destroying a little city or two, be said, with any propriety, to consume *the remnant*, that is, the whole remainder of wicked men; when, at the same time, *Chaldea*, and perhaps the greatest part of the world, was overrun with *idolatry*?"

Of this final judgment, *Moses* has given no obscure intimation, in his *Divine Ode*, Deut. xxxii. 22.

For a fire is kindled in mine anger,
And it shall burn to Hades beneath ;
It shall consume the earth and her productions,
And set on fire the foundations of the mountains.

" *Hades beneath*," or " *the lower Hades*," ἕως Ἁϊδου κατω, as rendered by the Septuagint, is what St. Peter called *Tartarus*, in the parallel passage, noticed before; ταρταρωσας, 2 Pet. ii. 4.

The *Chaldee Paraphrast* has given a very bold exposition of the *whirlwind*, out of which the Lord is said to have answered *Job*, xxxviii. 1. understanding it figuratively, as a "whirlwind of *grief*," or amidst the tumult of *Job's* sorrows.

But the generality of expositors agree in understanding it to denote a visible and miraculous interposition of the **VISIBLE LORD**, appearing in a cloud, the symbol of his presence, or the **ANGEL OF THE COVENANT**, speaking in **GOD'S** name. Such divine manifestations and communications to favoured mortals, were not infrequent in the purer patriarchal ages; and are plainly intimated in some remarkable passages of the poem, by *Eliphaz*, iii. 12—21. *Elihu*, xxxii. 8—16, xxxiii. 14—17.

And by *Job*, viii. 5. It may, therefore, best be understood literally. The Divine argument, on the *Omnipotence* of God, displayed in the works of the Creation, is transcendently sublime; furnishing, indeed, internal evidence the most irresistible, that it must have proceeded from immediate inspiration; like the *Divine Ode* of *Moses*; which, perhaps, is the only part of the sacred writings that may admit of comparison therewith, except our Lord's divine Sermon on the Mount, his parables and discourses. But like the ALMIGHTY himself, it is veiled in clouds and darkness, and fraught with difficulties and obscurities, arising out of the subject itself, and the majesty, energy, and conciseness of the style; abounding in short and animated interrogations, crowding thick upon each other in rapid succession; and operating on the imagination, like flashes of lightning, with a suddenness and force impossible to be resisted. Such are the sublime passages respecting the *creation of the world*, and the *cardinal constellations*; amidst a multitude.

There is a part of this speech especially, that seems as if it were designed to *humble the pride of the learned*; namely, the pompous descriptions of the *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*, with which it concludes.

One good use may result from these and the like difficult passages of Scripture: they will lead us to know our own *mediocrity*; that we must not hope to understand every thing in the *word* of God, any more than in his *works*. *Peters*, p. 441.

From a careful and critical comparison of the Hebrew Text with the Ancient Versions and the best modern commentators; and by availing myself of the *various readings*, furnished by these Versions, the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* especially, I have endeavoured to render more justice both to the translation and to the argument, than is possible, from the present *Masorete* text alone. Still, however, adopting the apology of his ablest expositor, *Peters*; "*whoever attempts to write on the book of Job, must be a happy man indeed, if he does not commit some errors. My own may form, perhaps, the subject of another's observation,*" p. 173.

VINDICATION OF JOB.

Before I close this long and important article, it is a debt of justice due to this venerable and enlightened patriarch, to vin-

dicate his fame from some calumnies of later date, with which it has been assailed by injudicious friends or concealed enemies.

1. By a mischievous misconception, founded upon incorrect translation of the original, and want of sufficient attention to the whole tenor of the argument, the learned orientalist, *Schultens**, has idly imagined, that *Job* had the rashness and folly to challenge the ALMIGHTY himself to trial, as a party, when he only appealed to Him as a judge between him and his accusers. And he has been followed by several expositors. The passages on which he founded it, are principally xiii. 19—22, xvii. 3, xxiii. 3—7, and xxxi. 35. In all which, it is evident, that the *adversary* whom *Job* challenged to a trial before the Divine tribunal, was *Eliphaz* chiefly, the eldest and most pertinacious of his accusers. Indeed *Job* himself expressly declares, ix. 32, 33, early in the debate, that “ he, as a *man*, could not contend with GOD;” for that there was no *umpire* to arbitrate between them both. Consequently, to challenge *God*, would not only be foolish and absurd, but ruinous also; as tending to provoke the ALMIGHTY to render his condition still worse, for such daring arrogance and presumption: which is the very argument adduced by *Schultens* himself, from *Mercerus*, in his note on another passage, ix. 17, vol. I, p. 246.—*Si a Deo non lacessito, non provocato, tam graviter adfligat; quid non paterer, si Eum in jus trahere, atque lacessere, auderem?*

2. The later Jewish Rabbi's, *Ben Maimon*, (or *Maimonides*, as he is called by Christian writers,) *David Kimchi*, &c. have defamed *Job*, no less than his immediate friends. They accuse him of denying the *resurrection*, and a *future state*; of *blaspheming God*, as if he asserted, that “ GOD made no distinction between the just and the unjust, by reason of the *baseness* of the human race:” and they accordingly load him with maledictions;

* *Schultens* published an elaborate Commentary on *Job*, in two volumes, 4to. 1737, which contains several useful and ingenious remarks, amidst a multitude that are irrelevant or nugatory. His predilection for Arabic literature led him, on many occasions, to adopt fanciful derivations from the *Arabic*, when better could be found in the *Hebrew*; and his Latin translation is rugged, and frequently unintelligible. It is given, with a selection from his notes, in *Grey's* useful edition of *Job*, in 8vo. *Dathè* has given a freer Latin translation, better expressing the meaning and spirit of the original: and a generally close and correct English Translation, by that early prodigy of genius and learning, Miss *Elizabeth Smith*, was published, after her decease, by the Rev. Dr. *Randolph*, 8vo. 1810, Bath.

Terra super os Jobi, &c. "Let *Job's* mouth be stopped with earth," &c. *More Nerochim*, p. 403.

That *Job* did not deny a *resurrection*, is evident from the preceding analysis of the general argument. And perhaps we may trace the slander to their own pride and self-sufficiency: they were persuaded that "*salvation* was of the *Jews*;" that the doctrine of the resurrection was first revealed to *Moses* and their nation only; and they could not brook, nor bring themselves to grant, that an "*alien* from the commonwealth of *Israel*," or a foreigner, like *Job*, could have been acquainted therewith, from different and independent sources of tradition or revelation. And the REDEEMER of *Job*, bore too striking a resemblance to the SAVIOUR of the Christians.

Upon all these accounts, they set themselves to depreciate a book so highly esteemed in the earlier and purer ages of their Church, long before the time of CHRIST, if not from the age of *Moses*.

Unhappily, the imposing weight of their authority in *Hebrew* literature, influenced several learned and ingenious *Christian* writers to imagine, that *Job* looked only to a *temporal* deliverance, or to a miraculous restoration of his former health and prosperity. In this class we may rank *Le Clerc*, *Grotius*, *Patrick*, *Warburton*, *Heath*, *Dathè*, *Stock*, &c. At first, adopting the opinion of the *Jews*, and afterwards, following each other. To them, however, we may oppose authorities of no less weight and erudition, equally skilful and industrious to "search the *original* Scriptures," without respect of persons or parties: such as *Mercerus*, *Schultens*, *Houbigant*, *Spanheim*, *Lowth*, *Michaelis*, *Sherlock*, *Grey*, *Scott*, *Parkhurst*, &c. and *Peters*, who is himself a host; maintaining, and upon the strongest grounds, that *Job* looked beyond the grave to a *future resurrection*. An opinion, which now, I trust, is placed beyond the reach of further controversy.

The grand moral of the book is to show, 1. that GOD sometimes permits the best men to be afflicted by *Satan*, and that most grievously, in this life, to try or prove their *faith*, *patience*, *humility*, and *resignation* to his will: that 2. this world is not a *perfect* state of retribution for virtue and vice: but that 3. all the *inequalities* that are to be found here, will be completely redressed in a future state, at the general judgment, in which the good will be finally rewarded, and the wicked punished.

Job indeed, was one of the best men that ever lived; but he was not exempt from the frailties and infirmities of human nature; and he failed, in some measure, under his last and sorest trial. Still, with all his imperfections, he will shine forth to the end of time, an *admirable example*, and a *heroic pattern* of *piety* and *patience*: to be exceeded only by THAT inimitable *standard* of perfection, who was “*meek* and *lowly* of heart;” who was “*tried* in all respects as we are,” and that “*by the Devil*,” but yet did “*no sin*,” nor was *guile* found in his mouth; and who was “*perfected* by sufferings,” in this life, that HE might be “*transcendently exalted* at the right hand of GOD,”—the “*blessed seed* of the woman,” THE MAN CHRIST JESUS.

“There is, methinks,” says *Peters*, p. 118, “a pleasure in observing the accomplishment of that passionate wish of his, chap. xix. 23, and that in a *higher* and *better sense* than *Job* himself could possibly have hoped for when he made it.

“Had *his words* been *graven upon a rock*, they might have remained some few ages; but in this *divine poem* they will live for ever. And how could this good man better employ the remainder of that life which God had so miraculously restored and lengthened out to him, than in the composing such a noble work as this! A thing so agreeable to his own most ardent wishes, and for which none could be so well qualified as he:—to write his own story, and to leave it as an instruction for the *Church of God* in all succeeding ages.”

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE RETURN OF THE ISRAELITES TO CANAAN, 545 YEARS.

	Y.		B. C.		
1. ABRAHAM	60	}	2153		
_____ goes to <i>Charran</i> ..	15		75	2093	
_____ - <i>Canaan</i> ..	25			2078	
_____ visits <i>Egypt</i>				2077	
_____ rescues <i>Lot</i>				2070	
<i>Ishmael</i>				2067	
Destruction of <i>Sodom</i>				2054	
_____ visits <i>Gerar</i>				2054	
			215		
2. <i>Isaac</i>	60		}	2053	
_____ his intended <i>sacrifice</i> ..				2028	
3. <i>Jacob</i>	82			1993	
_____ goes to <i>Charran</i>				1916	
4. <i>Levi</i>	48			1911	
<i>Joseph</i> Governor of <i>Egypt</i>				1872	
5. <i>Kohath</i>	60	}		1863	
<i>Jacob's</i> family go to <i>Egypt</i> ..					1863
6. <i>Amram</i>	75				1803
				215	
<i>Joseph's</i> death.....				1792	
7. <i>Moses</i>	80		}	1728	
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i>	40			40	1648

Their return to <i>Canaan</i>	545			1608	

With this period the *Mosaical* history properly commences. All the preceding part of *Genesis* is only *introductory* to the birth of *Abraham*, the illustrious ancestor of the *Israelites*, and of the *Jews*; the father of the faithful, and by the highest of all titles, “*the friend of GOD*,” 2 Chron. xx. 7, Isa. xli. 8, James ii. 23, and “*a blessing*” to the world, Gen. xii. 2; as being the privileged ancestor of *CHRIST*, in whom, “*all the nations of the earth are blessed*,” Gen. xxii. 18.

“Now these are the generations of *Terah* [or the history of his family]. *Terah* begat *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*.” &c. Gen. xi. 27.

The chronology of this period has been considerably embarrassed by the vulgar error, that *Abram* was the eldest of *Terah's* sons, because he is named first; and the date of *Abram's* birth has been usually assigned to the seventieth year of *Terah*, because it is said that "*Terah* lived seventy years, and begat *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*." But this is the date of the birth of *Haran*, who was unquestionably the eldest son, because his daughters, *Milcah* and *Iscah* (the latter surnamed *Sarai* and *Sarah*) were married to their uncles, *Nahor* and *Abram*, respectively, and *Sarah* was only ten years younger than her husband, Gen. xvii. 17; *Abram* was probably the youngest son, born by a second wife, Gen. xx. 12, when *Terah* was 130 years old, Gen. xi. 32. xii. 4, as proved in Vol. I. p. 229, &c.

From this rectification of the time of *Abraham's* birth, in the year B.C. 2153, according to the genuine system of *Josephus*, (see Vol. I. p. 297,) the outline of this period is easily adjusted, for *Abram* was 75 years old when he went to *Canaan*, and the exode of the *Israelites* from *Egypt* happened 430 years after, Gen. xii. 4, Exod. xii. 41, Gal. iii. 17, amounting to 505 years. We learn also from *Josephus*, that from *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan*, until the settlement of *Jacob's* family in *Egypt*, was 215 years, and from thence to the exode 215 years more; thus subdividing the 430 years, Ant. II. 15, 2. And it was foretold to *Abraham* by the divine ORACLE, that "*his seed* should sojourn in a land, not their own" [*Canaan*], and serve [in *Egypt*] 400 years, in round numbers, and should return again to *Canaan* in the fourth generation after they left it, Gen. xv. 13—16, which was accordingly fulfilled; for from the birth of *Isaac*, the promised seed, to the exode was 405 years, and *Moses*, who led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, was the fourth in descent from *Levi*, whose son, *Kohath*, was born in the year of their migration to *Egypt*, shortly before it; and from the exode of the *Israelites*, under *Moses*, till their arrival in *Canaan*, under *Joshua*, was 40 years more.

But there are some chasms in the sacred history which render it difficult and embarrassing to fill up the outline, and give the particular dates in detail. 1. The stay of *Abraham's* family at *Charran*, until the death of *Terah*, is not noticed in Scripture; and 2. The years of the births of *Levi*, *Kohath*, and *Amram*, are also omitted, though the lengths of their lives are given in their genealogy, Exod. vi. 16—20. Fortunately these chasms are

supplied by the judicious *Abulfaragi*, and by him only, with critical accuracy. He informs us, 1. that *Abraham* was 60 years old at the time of his first migration to *Charran*, where he staid with his household *fourteen* years complete, or fifteen years current, p. 13; and 2. that *Levi* was born when *Jacob* was 82 years old, p. 15; *Kohath* when *Levi* was 47*, p. 17; and *Amram* when *Kohath* was 75, *ibid.* These numbers accurately harmonize both with the outline and with the detail, and by so doing, demonstrate their correctness.

We shall now proceed to explain the leading events of this period.

ABRAHAM.

Terah's family were originally idolaters, and "served other gods," Josh. xxiv. 2. According to tradition, *Terah* himself was a statuary, or maker of images, *Suidas* voce Σεργουχ. Such were the *Teraphim*, or "images" of divination, probably, in his grandson *Laban's* days, used in *Mesopotamia*, Gen. xxxi. 19. But they were converted to the true faith by special revelation to *Abraham*, Acts vii. 2, and forced to fly from *Chaldea*, to avoid the persecution of their countrymen, for adhering to "THE GOD whom they *knew*, THE GOD OF HEAVEN;" because "they would not follow *the gods of their fathers*," Judith v. 6—8. In obedience to the divine oracle, *Terah*, his two sons *Abraham* and *Nahor*, and their wives, and *Lot*, the son of *Haran*, went from the family settlement, "*Ur*, of the *Chaldees*," in the eastern, to *Charran*, in the western part of *Mesopotamia*. Compare Gen. xi. 31, with xxiv. 10, where *Charran* is called "the city of *Nahor*," and xxvii. 43, the residence of *Laban*, his son.

FIRST CALL.

This first call, omitted in the *Old Testament*, is fortunately recorded in the *New*;

"THE GOD OF GLORY appeared to our father *Abraham* while he was [at *Ur* of the *Chaldees*] in *Mesopotamia*, before he dwelt in *Charran*, and said unto him, Depart from *thy land* and from *thy kindred*, and come hither to a *land* (γην) which I

* In the foregoing Table, *Levi's* generation is reckoned 48 years current, in order to complete 215 years to the migration of *Jacob's* family to Egypt, and to complete the remaining 215 years from the birth of *Kohath*, shortly before, to the exode; therefore *Kohath* was the youngest son of *Levi*, Gen. xlvi. 11.

will shew thee. Then departing from the land of the *Chaldees*, he dwelt in *Charran*," Acts vii. 2—4. Compare Nehem. ix. 7.

Charran, as it is called still by the *Arabian* geographers, was *Carrhæ*, a city in the north-west part of *Mesopotamia*, famous in after times for the defeat of *Crassus*, the Roman general, by the *Parthians*; it was seated upon a river of the same name, which ran into the *Chaboras*, and thence into the *Euphrates*, and was about 150 miles distant from *Ur*, lying in the road to *Canaan*. See *Bochart's Phaleg*, map, p. 78, and p. 95. This then was a convenient resting place for the aged *Terah*, and there they all "sojourned *many days*," Judith v. 8, or *fourteen years*, till his death, aged 205 years, Gen. xi. 32.

"From thence, after his father's death, GOD removed him to the land of *Canaan*," Acts vii. 4.

SECOND CALL.

This is recorded in the *Old Testament* only.

"Then THE LORD said unto *Abram*, 'Depart * from *thy land*,' and from *thy kindred*, and from *thy father's house*, unto the land (צְרַרְרָא, תְּנִיב גְּנֻב, *Sept.*) which I will shew thee †," Gen. xii. 1.

The difference of the two calls (more carefully translated from the originals) is obvious; in the former, the *land* is indefinite, which was designed only for a temporary residence; in the latter, it is definite, intimating his abode. A third condition is also annexed to the latter, that *Abram* shall now separate himself from *his father's house*, or leave his brother *Nahor's* family behind at *Charran*. This call *Abram* obeyed, still "not knowing whither he was going," but trusting implicitly to the Divine guidance, Heb. xi. 8 ‡.

"So *Abram* departed, as THE LORD had spoken unto him; and *Lot* went with him: (and *Abram* was seventy-five years old when he departed from *Charran*.) And *Abram* took *Sarai* his wife, and *Lot*, his brother's son, and all their substance that

* Heb. לך, לך. "Go, go."

† This call is injudiciously confounded with the former, in the English Bible; incorrectly rendering the Hebrew, "Now the Lord had said unto *Abram*, Get thee out of *thy country*," &c. Gen. xii. 1.

‡ This distinction of the two calls is not novel: I have since found that it was made by the sagacious *Lightfoot*, on Acts vii. 3, and noticed from him in *Poole's Synopsis*.

they had gathered, and *the souls that they had gotten in Char-ran*; and they departed to go to the land of *Canaan*, and came to the land of *Canaan*," Gen. xii. 3—5.—“*The souls that they had gotten*” during their sojournment of *fourteen* years in *Char-ran*, were “*the little ones of their household*,” (עִילִים) which formed part of the riches of the primitive patriarchal times; see *Job* xix. 18; xxi. 11; and compare Gen. xiv. 14.

When *Abram* arrived at *Shalem*, or *Sichem*, in the plain of *Moreh*, and northern part of *Palestine*, then inhabited by the *Canaanite* tribes, as distinguished from the rest, the *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, &c. GOD was pleased, in reward of his faith and obedience, to appear unto *Abram* a third time, and to enter into a covenant with him, ratifying the promise He had made him before he left *Charran*, which was both of a temporal and spiritual nature.

FIRST COVENANT.

“And I will make of thee a *great nation*, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a *blessing*; and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: and *in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed*,” xii. 2, 3.

—“Unto *thy seed* will I give *this land*,” xii. 7.

The *temporal* part was the promise of prosperity; that he should be blessed himself, and be the founder of a great nation, which should inherit that land: the *spiritual*, that he should be the chosen ancestor of the promised REDEEMER, and, thereby, the means of “*blessing all the families of the earth*.”

From this covenant, so understood, the Apostle *Paul* dates the commencement of the 430 years, Gal. iii. 14—17.

The implied condition on *Abraham's* part, was that he should publicly profess the worship of the TRUE GOD in this more tolerant land. And accordingly, *Abram* built here an “*altar unto THE LORD, who appeared unto him*;” and again, in his progress southward, another altar, at *Luz*, or *Bethel*; where “*he called upon the name of THE LORD*,” xii. 7, 8.

VISIT TO EGYPT.

Abram's visit to Egypt was occasioned by a sore famine in the southern part of *Palestine*, towards which he still proceeded. *Egypt* at this time was under the iron yoke of the *Arabian*, or *Cushite* shepherds, who had invaded and conquered it, in the

time of *Tirmaus*, or *Thammuz*, under *Salatis*, about B.C. 2159, or seventy-two years before this visit; which the generality of chronologers place in the year after his arrival in *Canaan*, B.C. 2077. See the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian* chronology.

Here *Abram* appears to have laboured under a temporary suspension of faith, and to have stooped to the mean and foolish prevarication of denying his wife, and making her pass for *his sister**: apprehending that the *fear of God* was not in that country, and that he should be killed on account of her great beauty, if she was known to be his wife. And had not the Lord miraculously interposed to punish *Pharaoh*, “the king,” (as the name signified in the *Egyptian* tongue,) and his household “with *great plagues*, because of *Sarai*, *Abram’s* wife,” whom he withheld; and to reveal to him the truth; and to compel him with a high hand to restore her, and dismiss him with all his substance, *Abraham* must have sunk under his timidity, and forfeited his title to the covenant which God had so recently made with him, Gen. xii. 11—20.

What is still more extraordinary is, that *Abraham* failed, a second time, under the same trial, twenty-three years after; when he again denied his wife to *Abimelech*, the king of *Gerar*, whose character, and that of his people, was the reverse of that of the *Egyptian* court: for he took her in the “*innocency of his heart*,” and *his nation* was then “*righteous*;” God therefore dealt more gently with him than with the Egyptians; and removed the plague of barrenness from him and his household, on *Abraham’s* intercession, Gen. xx. 1—18.

The beauty of *Sarah* at that time, when she was in her *nineteenth* year, and pregnant with *Isaac*, seems to have been miraculous; and the latter circumstance especially, renders *Abraham’s* conduct still more unaccountable. But he nobly retrieved his character in his last and sorest trial; his faith increasing, as he had further proofs of the divine aid and veracity.

After his return from *Egypt*, *Abraham* advanced northwards, as far as *Bethel*, his first station in the land of *Palestine*; where he again called on the name of THE LORD, xiii. 1—4. Some time after, a separation took place between him and his nephew *Lot*, because their substance was too great for them to dwell

* “She was the daughter (grand-daughter) of his father, but not of his mother,” Gen. xx. 12. He called her “*sister*,” therefore, by the same latitude as *Lot* his “*brother*,” Gen. xiv. 14.

together in that land. *Abraham* kindly gave *Lot* his choice, what part of the vacant country to occupy. So *Lot* chose *Sodom*, in the fertile plain watered by the river *Jordan*, eastward; while *Abraham* remained in the land of *Canaan*; and after the separation, he pitched his tent in *Hebron*, about twelve miles to the south of *Jerusalem*, and built there also an altar to THE LORD: who was pleased to signify the exclusive inheritance of the whole land to *him* and to *his seed* for ever; rejecting *Lot's* family, xiii. 5—18.

RESCUE OF LOT, AND DEFEAT OF THE ASSYRIANS.

About eight years after *Abraham's* migration to *Canaan*, the cities of the plain, *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Bela*, afterwards called *Zoar*, rebelled against *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, (or a part of *Persia*, called by Heathen writers, *Elymais*,) after having served him as tributaries twelve years. He therefore invaded their territories, assisted by his neighbouring allies, the kings of *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, *Ellasar*, and *Goim*, or "nations" which lay between *Elam* and them, defeated the confederate cities in a pitched battle, after reducing in their route*, the *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Emims*, *Horites*, *Amorites*, and *Amalekites*; and carried away much spoils and many captives; and among them *Lot* and his goods. Hearing of this disaster, *Abraham* armed three hundred and eighteen trained servants of his household, pursued the invaders, and, according to *Josephus*, overtook them on the *fifth* night, encamped at *Dan*, one of the springs of the river *Jordan*; and dividing his small force into two parties, attacked them on opposite sides, secure and careless, and buried in sleep and wine, defeated them with great slaughter, and recovered all the goods and captives; and among them his brother *Lot* †: and he generously refused any recompense for his services from the king of *Sodom*:

"And *Abraham* said, I have lift up my hand [or sworn] unto THE LORD, the MOST HIGH GOD, the CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, that I will not take any thing that is thine, from a thread to a shoe-latchet; lest thou shouldst say, I have made *Abraham* rich," xiv. 1—23.

* See their route, traced on the Map, Vol. I. p. 397.

† See Vol. I. p. 287.

MELCHIZEDEK.

On this occasion, *Abram*, returning from the slaughter of the *Assyrians*, in his way to *Hebron*, was met at *Shaveh*, or “King’s dale,” (afterwards the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, between *Jerusalem* and *Mount Olivet*,) by *Melchizedek*, king of *Salem*, (the most ancient quarter of *Jerusalem**,) and priest of THE MOST HIGH GOD; who gave him a *eucharistic* feast of *bread* and *wine*; and blessed him in the name of THE MOST HIGH GOD, CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH. To whom *Abram*, in return, piously gave *tythes*, or the tenth part of all the spoils, as an offering to GOD: thus acknowledging his sacerdotal office, Heb. vii. 2, *Joseph. Ant.* i 10, 2.

This *Canaanitish* prince was early considered as a type of CHRIST, in the *Jewish Church*;—“THOU art PRIEST for ever, after the order of *Melchizedek*!” Psalm cx. 4, who resembled CHRIST in the following particulars: 1. in his name, *Melchizedek*, “King of Righteousness;” 2. in his city, *Salem*, “peace;” 3. in his offices of *king* and *priest* of the Most High God; and 4. in the omission of the names of his *parents* and *genealogy*, the time of his *birth*, and length of his *life*; exhibiting an indefinite reign and priesthood; according to the Apostle’s exposition, Heb. vii. 5. And from whom, perhaps, OUR LORD adopted the symbols of bread and wine in the *Eucharist*, as of primitive institution.

A leading reason, we may presume, which influenced *Abraham* to settle at *Hebron*, was its vicinity to *Salem*, and to the public worship of the true God there. For the religion of *Abraham* and *Melchizedek* were evidently the same; from their joint use of the same epithets, or attributes of the DEITY; which were introduced, or designed to counteract the *Zabian* idolatry. That this idolatry had crept from *Chaldea*, where it began, into the northern borders of *Palestine*, before *Abraham*’s days, is evident, among other reasons, from the names of places: thus, the *Rephaims*, or “giants,” who were smitten by the *Assyrian* confederates in their march, xiv. 5, worshipped the *moon* in particular; as we may collect from the name of their district, *Ashteroth-Karnaim*, signifying “the shining cow two horned †.”

* See the Map of *Jerusalem*, Vol. I. p. 437.

† *Ashteroth*, from עשת (Asht,) “to shine;” תורה (Torah,) “a cow,” or “heifer,” in Chaldee; and *Karnaim*, the dual of קרן (Kern,) “a horn.” Hence

And the idolatrous worship of "*Baalim*," or of "*Baal* and *Ashtaroth*," (the *sun* and *moon*,) was that into which the northern tribes of *Israel* fell the soonest; these being "the principal gods of the people that were round about them," Judges ii. 12, 13. The tribe of *Naphthali*, in particular, which afterwards occupied the country of the *Rephaims*, worshipped "the heifer *Baal*," before the *Assyrian* captivity, Tobit i. 5. The southern districts of *Palestine*, were, at that time also, a more religious people; as in the case of the *Arims*, the ancient inhabitants of *Gerar*, and the people of *Abimelech*; who were then "a righteous nation," as pleaded by *Abimelech* to God; and God admitted the plea; though afterwards they were expelled or subdued by the *Philistines*, or "shepherds," who fled from *Caphtor*, or lower *Egypt*, in *Jacob's* days, when they grew corrupt, Gen. xx. 1—4, Deut. ii. 23, Gen. xxvi. 1, as will be shewn in the ensuing rectification of *Egyptian chronology*.

THE WORD OR ORACLE * OF THE LORD.

"After these things," or after this eminent display of *brotherly kindness, generosity* and *piety*, (and we may reasonably conclude,

the *Sidonians* called the moon *Astarte*; and "queen of the stars," or "queen of the heavens," Jer. vii. 18; and the *Phœnicians* called the sun *Beelsamen*, "master of the heavens," whom the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* called *Baal*, Numb. xxii. 41; and *Moloch*, or *Melech*, "king," i. e. "of the heavens," 1 Kings xxi. 7, Jer. xi. 5, xxxii. 35. *Orpheus* called the moon *ταυροκερως μηνη*; and *Horace*, "*Siderum regina bicornis*;" both renderings of *Ashtaroth Karnaim*.

* The original expression, דָּבָר יְהוָה, DABAR IAHOH, is rendered here, and throughout the work, THE ORACLE OF THE LORD, or THE ORACLE, in preference to the WORD OF THE LORD, or THE WORD, for the following reasons:

1. To avoid ambiguity, by discriminating the PERSONAL WORD from the *written word*.

2. The term *Oracle* is familiar in Scripture. It is applied to the *inner Sanctuary*, whence the divine responses were given from the *Mercy-seat*, 2 Sam. xvi. 23, 1 Kings vi. 5—16, &c. And the divine responses, and revelations to the *prophets*, are frequently rendered Λογια, in the New Testament, and translated *Oracles*, in our Bible, Acts vii. 38, Rom. iii. 2, 1 Pet. iv. 11, &c.

3. *St. Paul* has sanctioned the use of the term, by his rendering of the original expression, ὁ χρηματισμος, Rom. xi. 4, which *Macrobius*, a competent judge of the Greek language, renders *Oraculum*, in Latin. And there seems to be a peculiar propriety in this rendering, which so pointedly describes "THE TRUE ORACLE," reclining on THE FATHER'S bosom; who *expounded* (ἐξηγησατο) his *spiritual nature* and *true worship* to mortals, (John i. 18, Matt. xi. 27) and revealed his "*lively oracles*" to the *Patriarchal*, *Jewish*, and *Christian* world, as THE SAVIOUR OF MANKIND; thus pointedly contrasted with the *false Oracle*, *Apollo*, the *destroyer of mankind*; the *Abaddon* of the eastern

soon after,) a signal manifestation of Himself was made to *Abraham* by the personal WORD OF THE LORD, or ORACLE OF THE LORD, for the first time that this expression is used in the Old Testament: “who came to *Abram*, in vision, and said, “Fear not, *Abram*, *I am thy shield, thy exceeding-great reward.*” Thus promising him protection and abundant recompence:—an *heir* that should proceed from his own loins,—not *Eleazar of Damascus*, his household steward,—as *Abram* complained; and *a seed* as numerous as the stars of heaven,—“*And he believed, (or trusted) in THE LORD, and it was counted to him for righteousness,*” xv. 1—6. This is that *faith of Abraham*, which is so highly celebrated in the New Testament, Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, James ii. 23, and which consisted in a firm belief or persuasion, that the divine promises, both *temporal* and *spiritual*, would be fulfilled in their season; and a conduct suitable to that persuasion; which were counted meritorious in the sight of God.

On this solemn occasion, The ORACLE OF THE LORD announced Himself to *Abram*, as the same God who had brought him out of *Ur of the Chaldees*, to give him the *inheritance* of the land of *Canaan*. And He was pleased to gratify *Abram*, after a sacrifice which He prescribed, in a vision, with a prophecy of the wanderings and servitude of his posterity in *Canaan* and *Egypt*, four hundred years; their return to *Canaan*, when the *iniquity of the Amorites*, (and other inhabitants,) should come to the full, in the fourth generation, after the descent to *Egypt*; and to fix the boundaries of the land promised to his seed, xv. 7—21. See the *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 413.

ISHMAEL.

After *ten years'* residence in the land of *Canaan*, *Abram*, by the persuasion of his wife, who had been barren heretofore, and now despaired of bearing children herself, when she was se-

world, and the βασιλευς απολλυων, or αναξ απολλων, of the western; who was the *Old Serpent*, the *Devil*, or *Satan*, deceiving the whole world.

These reasons, the Author humbly trusts, will be sufficient to justify him for the use of a term which he dares not surrender, without incurring the imputation of “*handling the word of GOD deceitfully,*” through that “*fear of man* which bringeth a snare.”—To please all sorts and conditions of readers, is indeed impossible; he wishes to sacrifice to THE TRUTH alone.

venty-five years old, took as a second *wife*, or concubine, her handmaid, *Hagar*, an Egyptian. And when *Hagar* conceived, she despised her mistress; who dealt hardly with her, *Abram* giving her up to his wife's discretion; so that she fled towards *Egypt* from the face of her mistress; but was stopped in her flight by the ANGEL OF THE LORD, who foretold that she should bear a son called *Ishmael*, because "THE LORD heard" her affliction, and that his race should be numerous, rapacious, and unconquered; so remarkably fulfilled in the *Ishmaelites*, or *Arabs*, even to the present day! And *Abram* was eighty-six years old when *Hagar* bare *Ishmael*, chap. xvi.

ISAAC PROMISED.

Thirteen years after, when *Abram* was ninety-nine years old, THE LORD appeared to him by the name of ÆL SADI, "GOD ALMIGHTY;" changed his name from *Ab-ram*, signifying "a high father," to *Abraham*, "a father of a multitude of nations*." And solemnly renewed the covenant, to "be A GOD unto him and to his seed;" and instituted the rite of *circumcision* in token thereof, for an *everlasting covenant*. He also changed his wife's name from SARAI, signifying "my princess," to SARAH, "the princess," promised him a son by her, and declared that she should be "a mother of nations." And when *Abraham* laughed inwardly with joy at the prospect of a son, when he was a hundred years old, and *Sarah* ninety; and prayed for a blessing on *Ishmael*: the LORD promised that *Ishmael* should beget twelve princes, and be the founder of a great nation: but that His peculiar covenant should be limited to the son which *Sarah* should bear that time twelvemonth; and who should be called *Isaac*, "he laughed," to record the foregoing circumstance.

The self-same day, in obedience to the Divine ordinance, *Abraham* himself, his son *Ishmael*, and his household servants, and slaves, were all circumcised, xvii. 23—27.

About three months after, THE LORD was pleased to renew the promise to *Abraham* that *Sarah* should bear a son; when HE and two attendant angels, in human form, to make trial of *Abraham's* hospitality, visited, conversed, ate and drank with

* From אב, (*Ab*), "a father;" רב, (*rab*), in Chaldee, "great;" and הם, (*Ham*), the abridgment of המון (*Hamun*), "multitude;"—*Abraham*, *Ab-rab-ham*, "a father of a great multitude."

him. *Sarah* also laughed inwardly at the good tidings ; which at first she disbelieved, on account of her great age, and that it had “ ceased to be with her after the manner of women.” But THE LORD rebuked her, and said, “ *Is any thing too hard for THE LORD?* at the time appointed I will return to thee, according to the time of life, and *Sarah* shall bear a son.” The original term which this Divine Person here applies to himself, is the awful and venerable name, יהוה, (IAHOH,) usually rendered “ THE LORD,” xviii. 1—14.

The *faith* of both *Abraham* and *Sarah* on this occasion, are celebrated in the New Testament, in the following passages, more closely translated.

“ *Abraham*, against hope, believed in hope, that he should become a father of many nations, according to the saying, *So shall thy seed be.* And not being weakened in faith [by the increase of his age,] he considered not his own body, now *deadened*, (*νενεκρωμενον*,) when he was about a hundred years old, nor the *deadness* of *Sarah*’s womb ; and staggered not, through unbelief, at the promise of God, but was *strengthened* in faith, giving glory to God ; being fully persuaded, that *what HE had promised, He was able to perform* : and therefore, it was imputed to him for righteousness,” Rom. iv. 18—22.

“ By faith *Sarah* herself also received strength to conceive seed, and bore [*Isaac*] when she was past the seasonable age, because she accounted HIM faithful who had promised.”

“ Therefore there sprang from one, and he too *deadened*, (*νενεκρωμενον*,) in these respects, [a seed] like the stars of heaven for multitude, and as the sand on the sea shore innumerable,” Heb. xi. 11, 12.

DESTRUCTION OF SODOM, &c.

The enormous wickedness of these cities of the plain, now ended in their total overthrow. Unmindful of the merciful warning they had recently received in their defeat and captivity by their *Assyrian* masters, and their deliverance by the valour and generosity of *Abraham*, principally for *Lot* his brother’s sake, they persisted in their evil courses ; and so universally had they corrupted their ways, that when *Abraham* was informed by his divine guest, immediately after the preceding transaction, of his intention of punishing their wickedness, if the report of it were well founded ; mindful of *Lot*, he ventured to intercede with the

righteous Judge of all the earth, with much humility, for the devoted city of *Sodom*; and emboldened by the Lord's gracious acceptance of his repeated intercessions for sparing the city, at first if there were *fifty* righteous, and at last if there were only *ten* found therein; his conduct on this occasion furnishes a powerful instance of the efficacy of well-directed prayer; and an encouragement to the faithful at all times, to *continue instant in prayer, watching thereunto with all perseverance; without fainting* indeed, but *with all humility of mind*. Though *Abraham* did not succeed for the guilty *Sodom*, his intercession was powerful to save *Lot* and the righteous part of his family; for "it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the plain, that *GOD remembered Abraham*, and sent *Lot* out of the midst of the overthrow." And one of the five cities, *Zoar*, was saved from the general destruction, by the sole intercession of *Lot*; and, by a gracious impossibility, *Sodom* itself, the largest and the guiltiest could not be destroyed, while one righteous person remained therein.—"See, I have accepted thee," said *THE LORD* to *Lot*,—"that I will not overthrow this city for which thou hast spoken: Haste thee, escape thither, *for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither.*"

These are remarkable and comfortable instances of the mighty efficacy of intercession before the throne of grace: "*Much availeth the energetic supplication of the righteous,*" James v. 16, not only for themselves, but for their families and friends, and for their country, and even for strangers: while the destruction of *Sodom*, because there were not *ten* righteous found therein, furnishes a most awful and awakening example, that every obstinate and incorrigible sinner, is not only an enemy to himself, but an enemy to his family and to his country; by contributing to swell the tide of national guilt, which will not fail to end in national calamity, whenever the measure of the iniquity of the individuals that compose the community, shall come to the full!—The *inhospitality* of the inhabitants of *Sodom* to the two attendant *angels*, who went thither while *Abraham* was pleading their cause before *THE LORD*, who designedly remained behind to give him this opportunity; and their *ingratitude* to their benefactor *Lot*, to whom they owed their deliverance from captivity, completed their complicated crimes, and hastened their catastrophe.

"*GOD* having consumed to ashes the cities of *Sodom* and

Gomorrhah, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample to the ungodly in future, and delivered righteous *Lot*, afflicted with the filthy conduct of the lawless: (for this righteous man, dwelling among them, afflicted his righteous soul from day to day, with seeing and hearing their unlawful deeds,) 2 Pet. ii. 6—8.

The fate of *Lot's* wife, who, for “*looking back* *” wistfully towards *Sodom*, in their flight, contrary to the divine command, was turned into “a pillar of *salt*,” furnishes an awful warning of the dangers of irresolution, and relapse into unbelief † and disobedience. So it is perhaps applied by our SAVIOUR: “No man having put his hand to the plough, and *looking back*, is fit for the kingdom of GOD,” Luke ix. 63. And in that most awakening representation of the dreadful catastrophe that is to come upon the *Christian* world, about the time of his next approaching advent; the example of the people of *Sodom*, and of *Lot's* wife, is forceably adduced by our Lord:

“Likewise, as it was also in the days of *Lot*, they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but the same day that *Lot* went out of *Sodom*, [the LORD] rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all: so shall it be in the day when the SON OF MAN is to be revealed.”

“*In that day*, whosoever shall be on the house [top,] and his furniture in the house, let him not descend to take it away; and whosoever shall be in the field, let him likewise *not return back* [to his house.] *Remember Lot's wife*, Luke xvii. 28—32.

And in his instructions to his *Apostles*, and to the seventy *disciples*, to preach repentance through the cities of *Judea* and *Galilee*, he repeatedly declares, that “it shall be more tolerable for the land of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, than for that city, [which should refuse their preaching,] in a *day of judgment*,” or visitation by *temporal* calamities, Matt. x. 15, Mark vi. 11, Luke x. 12.

The following most tender and affecting apostrophe of the tutelar God of *Israel*, to that backsliding people, drawn from the fate of the two remaining cities of *Admah* and *Zeboim*,

* Hence probably was derived the *Grecian* fable of the descent of *Orpheus* to hell, or *hades*, to recover his wife *Eurydice*, whom he lost again, for “*looking back*” at her on the way.

Immemor, heu, victusque animi, respexit! Virg. Georg. IV. 491.

† “A standing pillar of salt, is a monument of an *unbelieving* soul.” Wisd. 10, 7.

which shared in the general overthrow, is furnished by the Prophet *Hosea* :

How shall I give thee up *Ephraim* !
 How shall I deliver thee up *Israel* !
 How shall I make thee as *Admah* !
 How shall I set thee as *Zeboim* !
 My heart is turned within me,
 My bowels are moved together ;
 I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger,
 I will not return to destroy *Ephraim* :
 For I am GOD, and not *man*,
 THE HOLY ONE in the midst of thee, x. 8, 9.

Yet notwithstanding *God's* reluctance to punish that most highly cherished people, when they obstinately persisted in their ingratitude and disobedience, and abusing his indulgence and forbearance, grew more and more corrupt and licentious, He saw it expedient to execute his long threatened judgments upon them, even to the utter subversion of their kingdom, and desolation of their country ; which ever since the *Babylonian* and *Roman* captivities, has been subject to a foreign yoke.

In the account of the overthrow of *Sodom*, there is a distinction of persons in the Godhead, marked in the original, which is ambiguous in the English Bible :

“ The sun was risen upon the earth, when *Lot* entered into *Zoar*. Then the Lord (יהוה) rained upon *Sodom* and upon *Gomorrhah*, brimstone and fire* from THE LORD (את יהוה) out of heaven,” xix. 24. The former was the *visible* Lord, “ THE

* Though this shower of fire and brimstone, or sulphureous lightning, was unquestionably miraculous, from its beginning at the precise time that *Lot* entered into *Zoar*, that “ little” city of refuge, yet it may not be improper to observe, that such showers have sometimes fallen, even in *Europe*.

The Abbé *Richard*, in his entertaining *Histoire Naturelle de l' Air*, Vol. V. p. 370, records the following, as happening in one of the sea-port towns of *Spain*.

“ In the month of November, 1741, a cloud of this sort, driven by a very violent east wind, struck several times against the mountains above the town of *Almeria*, in the kingdom of *Grenada*, in *Spain*, near *Capdegate*, in 31 deg. 51 min. latitude ; and then burst, and discharged a shower of burning sparks, (*une pluie d'étincelles ardentes*,) which not only set fire to all the country in the environs, and especially to the brambles with which the mountains called *Alpuzarras*, are covered, which stopped the cloud, but even to a part of the squadron then in the harbour of *Almeria*, commanded by *M. De Court*. The ships *le Saint Esprit*, commanded by *M. de Piolenk*, *le Tigre*, by *M. de la Galissoniere*, and *l'Eole*, by *M. le Chevalier d'Albert*, were damaged by the fall of these fires. This fact has been certified to me by *M. le Marquis de Bataille*, governor of *Flavigny* ; who was at that time an officer in the squadron.”—Some other instances, of a similar nature, may be found in a former publication of mine, *De Sonis et Modificationibus Atmosphærae*, 1778, p. 85.

IMAGE," or representative, of "THE INVISIBLE," whom "no man *hath seen*, at any time, nor *can see*; nor ever *saw* his shape, nor *heard* his voice;" as we learn from the former; who only could *expound* to mortals, the nature and the will of the FATHER: for "no man *intimately knoweth* (*επιγινωσκει*) the FATHER, save the SON; and he, to whomsoever the SON is willing to *reveal* [HIM*."] Compare Coloss. i. 15, John i. 18, v. 37, 1 Tim. vi. 16, Matt. xi. 27.

LOT'S POSTERITY.

The failings of *Lot* and his daughters, are impartially related in the same chapter which records their miraculous deliverance. From their incestuous commerce sprang two sons, whose descendants, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, soon relapsed into the idolatry of the neighbouring nations. And mindful, it should seem, of their origin, by the usual association of *fornication* and *idolatry*, they afterwards seduced the *Israelites* in the plains of *Moab*: which gave rise to that severe law of *Moses*, that an *Ammonite* or *Moabite* should not enter into the congregation of the Lord, [as a citizen,] even to his tenth generation, Deut. xxiii. 3. In order to preclude any intermarriages with them.

St. Paul is supposed by some to have alluded to this transaction, in his prohibition against drunkenness, the sin under which *Lot* fell. "Be not *drunk* with wine, wherein is *dissoluteness* (*ασωτια*): but be filled with THE SPIRIT," Ephes. v. 18.

ABRAHAM VISITS GERAR.

The time of this visit is ascertained by its happening between the destruction of *Sodom* and the birth of *Isaac*, the next year. It probably took place the same year, shortly after the former

* That the visible LORD was the SON OF GOD, was the doctrine of the primitive Church:

FILIUS est qui ab initio *judicavit*: turrim superbissimam, (*Babel*), elidens, linguasque disperdens; orbem totum *aquarum* violentiâ puniens; pluens super *Sodomam* et *Gomorrham* ignem et sulphurem, DOMINUS a DOMINO. *Tertullian*.

Philo has a fine remark, applicable to the deliverance of *Lot* and the destruction of *Sodom*:

"When THE ORACLE OF GOD, (*ὁ του Θεου λογος*), comes from [Heaven] to visit our mundane system, he aids and assists the friends of virtue, and such as are disposed to virtue; so as to grant them complete succour and safety; but on the adversaries he inflicts incurable loss and destruction."

This coincidence of the primitive *Jewish* and *Christian* Churches, respecting the *person* and *character* of CHRIST, is most satisfactory.

catastrophe, which naturally struck great terror all around. To this, perhaps, *Abimelech's* expostulation with the Lord, obliquely referred,—“Wilt THOU also destroy a *righteous* nation!” xx. 4. *Sarah's* pregnancy would, in the next year, naturally have discovered the imposition put upon the king by *Abraham*; which was noticed in the former article, of his visit to *Egypt*. *Abraham* now settled at *Beersheba*, in the neighbourhood of *Abimelech*, xxi. 14—34.

ISAAC BORN.

Sarah not only bore *Isaac*, when she was *ninety* years old, but she also suckled him. In the joy of her heart she said, “GOD hath made me to *laugh*; so that all that hear, will laugh with me;” or rejoice at this miraculous dispensation of Providence, xxi. 6.

When *Isaac* was weaned, *Ishmael*, the son of *Hagar*, who was now about fifteen years of age, offended *Sarah* by some mockery or ill-treatment of *Isaac*; the original word signifies elsewhere, “to skirmish, or fight,” 2 Sam. ii. 14. And St. *Paul* represents *Ishmael* as *persecuting* him, Gal. iv. 29. *Sarah* therefore complained to *Abraham*, and said, “Cast out this bond-woman and her son, for the son of this bond-woman shall not be heir with my son *Isaac*. And the thing was very grievous in *Abraham's* sight, because of his son *Ishmael*;” but God approved of *Sarah's* procedure, and again excluded *Ishmael* from the special covenant of Grace; “for *in Isaac shall thy seed be called*: Nevertheless, the son of the bond-woman will I make a *nation* also, because he is thy seed.” And GOD renewed this promise to *Hagar*, during her wanderings in the wilderness of *Beersheba*, when she despaired of support;—“Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hands, for I will make him a *great nation*. And GOD was with the lad, and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness of *Paran*, and became an archer. And his mother took him a wife out of the land of *Egypt*,” xxi. 8—21.

“And *Abraham* planted a grove, [or place of worship,] in *Beersheba*, (signifying “the well of the oath,” from the convention into which he there entered with *Abimelech*,) and called there on the name of THE LORD, THE ETERNAL GOD,” or his “EVERLIVING REDEEMER,” in the language of *Job*.

ABRAHAM'S LAST TRIAL.

After a residence of many days at *Beersheba*, xxi. 34, when *Isaac* was come to the age of twenty-five years, according to *Josephus*, Ant. I. 13, 2. *God* was pleased to *prove Abraham*, by the last and greatest trial of his faith and obedience, after he had passed through nine trials, according to the Jewish doctors, 1. in quitting his native country, *Chaldea*; 2. his flight to *Egypt* from famine in *Canaan*; 3. the first seizure of *Sarah* in *Egypt*; 4. the war for the rescue of *Lot*; 5. his taking *Hagar* to gratify *Sarah*; 6. his circumcision; 7. the second seizure of *Sarah* in *Gerar*; 8. the expulsion of *Ishmael*; 9. the expulsion of *Hagar*.

XXII. 2. "And the Lord said unto *Abraham*, Take now thy son, thy *only** son, whom thou lovest, *Isaac*, and get thee unto the land of *Moriah*, and offer him there for a *burnt offering* upon one of the mountains which I shall tell thee."

3. "And *Abraham* arose early in the morning and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and *Isaac* his son, and clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went towards the place which *God* told him."

4. "And on the third day [of the journey], *Abraham* lift up his eyes, and saw the place [Mount *Calvary*] afar off. And *Abraham* said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass, while I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and return again to you. So *Abraham* took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon *Isaac* his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife, and they went both of them together."

7. "And *Isaac* spake unto *Abraham* his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son: and he said, Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And *Abraham* said, *GOD** will see (or provide) for

* *Isaac* was not the "only son," as in the English Bible. The Hebrew יְהוֹדָי, (*Jehid*) is rendered by the Septuagint here, μονογενης, "only begotten," which is adopted by St. Paul, Heb. xi. 17. "Only," is the literal translation of the Hebrew; and in the usual latitude of speech, frequently "pre-eminent," or "excellent." In this sense, THE FATHER is styled the ONLY TRUE GOD, John xvii. 3; without excluding THE SON from being THE TRUE GOD also, 1 John v. 19. And in the concluding Hymn of the Communion Service, THE SON is invoked in a similar sense, "Thou only art HOLY; thou only art THE LORD; thou only, O CHRIST, with the HOLY GHOST, art most high in the glory of GOD THE FATHER. Amen."

* From the name given to this place by *Abraham*, *Jahoh Jireh*, "THE LORD will

himself a lamb for a burnt offering, my son. So they went both of them together.”

After this ambiguous answer, *Abraham* probably unfolded to *Isaac*, on the way to the top of the hill, that he was himself the victim provided by GOD. When this pious and dutiful youth voluntarily submitted to become a sacrifice, in obedience to the will of God, and the desire of his father. It could not be an act of compulsion; for how could his aged father, of 125 years, alone, without assistance, have compelled a youth of 25 years, in full strength and vigour, and who was able to carry the whole of the wood, from a considerable distance? It must, therefore, have been with *Isaac's* own consent.

9. “And they came to the place of which God had told him, and *Abraham* built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound *Isaac* his son, and laid him on the altar, upon the wood: and *Abraham* stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son.”

“11. “And THE ANGEL OF THE LORD called to him out of heaven, and said *Abraham! Abraham!* and he said, Here am I. And He said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing to him: for now *I know that thou fearest GOD, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son, from Me.*”

13. “And *Abraham* lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold, behind him a *ram* caught in a thicket by his horns; and *Abraham* went and took the ram [which GOD thus unexpectedly provided,] and offered him up for a burnt offering, in the stead of his son. And *Abraham* called the name of that place *JAHOH* JIREH*, (“THE LORD WILL SEE,”) according as he

see,” afterwards, Gen. xxii. 14, *Kennicott*, with much probability, infers, that the original reading here was *Jahoh*; which was changed into *Elohim*. Dissert. Vol. I. p. 510.

* The true ancient pronunciation of “this glorious and awful name, יהוה,” was lost, by the superstitious scruples of the Jews to utter it, perverting the meaning of Deut. xxviii. 58; and substituting for it, *Jehovah*, formed by the vowels of *Elohim*, &c. But the primitive pronunciation has been fortunately preserved in several of the Heathen Classics, according to the pronunciation of those foreigners who had early intercourse with the *Israelites*, and afterwards the *Jews*. Thus the *Clarian Oracle*, (founded before the *Trojan war*,) in answer to the enquiry, “Which of the Gods is he to be reckoned, who is called *IAΩ*?” uttered a remarkable response, preserved by *Macrobius*, of which this is a part:

Φραζεο τον παντων υπατον Θεον εμμεν' ΙΑΩ.

“Learn, that THE GOD SUPREME OF ALL, is *IAΩ*.”

See my Dissertations, p. 192, and the Hymn of *Eupolis*.

said that day, on the Mount, "THE LORD *will see*," &c. alluding to his ambiguous answer, "GOD *will see*," &c. *

It is most highly probable, that GOD, on this occasion, revealed to *Abraham*, that great future sacrifice of the *Lamb of God*, which taketh away the sins of the world: for so may we most easily and naturally interpret our Lord's observation to the unbelieving *Jews*, those unworthy children of *faithful Abraham*, who boasted that they were not born of fornication, (like the *Ishmaelites*, &c.) but were *Abraham's* legitimate children: "Your father *Abraham* longed to see *my day*; and he saw it, and was glad;" or he foresaw it, in prophetic vision, John viii. 56, like *Baluam*, the *Chaldean* diviner, afterwards. "I see Him, but not now: I behold Him, but not *nigh*," &c. Numb. xxiv. 17.

And *Isaac* was a remarkable type of Christ, in his voluntary devotement of himself, in the prime of life, and in his carrying the wood for the burnt sacrifice on his shoulders, as Christ, his cross †, the beloved son of his father, as CHRIST, of GOD.

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude, that *Abraham* also, was among those ancient prophets, to whom the SPIRIT OF CHRIST, which was in them, revealed the sufferings of CHRIST and his ensuing glories, 1 Pet. i. 11; Luke xxiv. 25—27.

On this last trial, GOD was pleased to renew and ratify by an oath, his special covenant with *Abraham*.

XXII. 15. "And the ANGEL OF THE LORD called unto *Abraham* the second time out of heaven, and said, *By MYSELF have I sworn* saith THE LORD, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thy only son, That *in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed* as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore, and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and *in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed*, because thou hast obeyed my voice."

* The received translation of this passage: "As it is said [to] this day, *In the mount of the Lord [it] shall be seen*;" is scarcely intelligible, and is also ungrammatical: for the verbs אָמַר and רָאָה, should be rendered actively, in *Kal*, "dixit," and "videbit;" not passively in *Niphal*, *dicitur* and *videbitur*; contrary to their acceptation in the rest of the chapter, and to the obvious analogy of the case. The *Vulgate* and *Syriac* Versions have rightly rendered the latter clause, "*Domínus videbit.*"

† This is not the observation of *Christian* divines only, the *Jews* themselves have so understood it: the *lesser Bereshith*, on the passage, "and *Abraham* took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon his son:" observes in a note—"as a man carries his cross upon his shoulders." *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 200.

By the latter "*seed*" St. *Paul* understood a single person, and "that *seed* is CHRIST," Gal. iii. 16.

This last and greatest trial of *Abraham's* faith and obedience has given occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, as if unworthy of GOD to propose, and of *Abraham* to obey, being repugnant, say they, to the fundamental principles of religion and humanity, which both prohibit *human* sacrifices, especially of the *innocent*: it may not be amiss, therefore, to vindicate the Divine command, and *Abraham's* implicit obedience thereto, by considering, with all due humility, the motives which may have led to both.

The horrid custom of human sacrifices, introduced by the gradual corruption of the primitive religion, had probably, by this time reached *Palestine*, and *Moloch*, the *Sun*, and his bloody sacrifices, in *Canaan*, either accompanied, or soon followed, we may presume, the worship of *Ashteroth Karnaim*, or the *Moon*, and were prevalent throughout *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and the coasts of *Asia* and *Africa*, colonized by the gloomy and superstitious race of *Cush* and *Ham*. *Diodorus Siculus* relates that it was an ancient usage of the kings of *Egypt*, especially of the *shepherd* dynasty (founded soon after *Abraham's* birth) to sacrifice men to *Typhon*, at the tomb of *Osiris*, particularly in the *dog days*, when those *Typhonian* victims, as they were called, were burnt alive, and their ashes scattered in the air! And *Philo* remarks, that "the Barbarian nations had long reckoned the sacrifice of their children as a work holy and acceptable unto God; it being the most valuable and precious offering in their power to present." Following early ages, we may presume, the *Sepharvites*, in later times, burnt their children in the fire to their gods, *Adram-Melech* and *Anam-Melech*, 2 Kings xvii. 31. And the king of *Moab*, when pressed in battle, "took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the walls," 2 Kings iii. 27. *Balak* proposed the same, Micah vi. 7. See the following article of *Balaam's Prophecies*.

Hence *Philo* conjectures, and not unreasonably, that God proposed to *Abraham*, as a test of his zeal for the true God, that usual sacrifice by which the Heathen manifested theirs to their false gods. And this seems to derive weight from the requisition itself:—"Take now thy son, thy *only* son, whom thou lovest, *Isaac*," the terms rising in their value, by an admirable

climax, from the first to the last, according to the order of the original. GOD, therefore, in kindness to *Abraham*, knowing the strength of his faith, designed to make him an illustrious example, as the *Father of the Faithful*, to all future ages, that when proved, like *Job*, he might come forth as gold; thus proportioning the greatness of the trial to the firmness of his faith*.

And as God was pleased to grant *Abraham*, at his request, a *sacrificial* sign of the temporal branch of the covenant, in the *heifer*, *she-goat*, and *ram*, which he divided asunder, and the *turtle-dove* and *pigeon*, which he divided not, Gen. xv. 8—12: so, from analogy, we may conclude, that this was a *sacrificial* sign also of the spiritual branch, in consequence of a request of *Abraham*, not noticed in the Old Testament, but intimated by our Lord, that “*Abraham longed to see his day;*” and in other passages, as where He declared to his disciples, that “*many prophets and kings had desired to see those things that they saw, and did not see them,*” &c. Luke x. 24. And, perhaps, after the sacrifice of the *ram*, substituted by THE LORD, instead of his son, the great mystery of the future sacrifice of Christ, on that very spot, was graciously revealed to him; to which also he seems to have alluded in the name of the place, JAHOH JIREH.

We may then naturally account for *Abraham's* readiness to obey the divine command, however revolting to human nature and a father's feelings, if it was in consequence of his own requisition of a sign. While he was careful to guard against this transaction being brought as a precedent for *human* sacrifices †, by cautiously excluding his attendants from witnessing it. He

* Some years since, a lady in *Italy*, who had lost an only and a darling son, at confession, could not forbear repining at her loss. Her confessor endeavoured to console her, by reference to *Abraham's* case: “*True father,*” said she, “*GOD knew what Abraham was able to bear, but He would not have laid so heavy a trial upon Sarah!*”

† By preventing the sacrifice of *Isaac*, GOD testified his rejection of human sacrifices. *Sanchoniatho*, in his *Phœnician History*, strangely metamorphosed this transaction; he represented *Saturn*, whom the Phœnicians call *Il*, as sacrificing his only son, *Icud*, by the nymph *Anobret*, adorned in royal attire, upon an altar which he had made. *Euseb. Præp. Evangel.* 4, 16.

Here the Phœnician *Il* is evidently from the Hebrew אֵל, *Æl*, “*God;*” *Anobret*, from חַן עֹבֶרֶת. *Han-obreth*, by “*grace conceiving,*” as intimated of *Sarah* in Scripture; and *Icud*, from יחיד, *Ichid*, “*only,*” the epithet of *Isaac*.

The learned *Poole*, in his excellent *Synopsis*, observes, “*Such is the relation of Sanchoniatho and Porphyry: the Devil wishing that the matter might be so understood, as to be made a precedent, which happened accordingly, for they sacrificed their children, through a false and vicious desire of imitating Abraham.*”

designed to have offered up his son, indeed, but in the presence of God alone; and the *intention* * was accepted by God, as equivalent to the *actual* sacrifice, "Because thou hast *done* this thing, and hast *not withheld* thy son," &c. For *Isaac* was *virtually dead* from the time of his intended sacrifice. Hence the apostle remarks, that *Abraham* "received him from the *dead*, εἰ παρὰβολῆ, in a *parable*, *figure*, or *similitude*."

But how did *Abraham* reconcile the required sacrifice and death of his son with GOD's promise, that in "*Isaac should his seed be called?*"

He was assured that the command came from that GOD who had so often appeared to him personally; he was likewise persuaded that GOD could neither *lie* nor *do wrong*; therefore depending upon the promise, he implicitly obeyed the command, though he could not comprehend the reason of it. And he still *hoped* even *against hope*, in this instance also, that the same ALMIGHTY, who gave him this son, out of the usual course of nature, would again raise him from the dead, or restore him to life, after he should be sacrificed. And this is the Apostle's solution, "By *faith*, *Abraham*, when he was tried, offered up *Isaac*, and he that had received the promises offered up his only son; *accounting that GOD was able to raise him even from the dead*. From whence also he received him, in a *figure*" [or resemblance of the resurrection from the dead], Heb. xi. 19.—*Isaac* was figuratively "offered up," and therefore figuratively "received again" by his joyful father, who might well say, *This my son was dead, and is alive again! and was lost, and is found!* And surely *Isaac* must have been more endeared to him than ever, by this signal proof of pious resignation and filial duty.

Twelve years after the last transaction, *Sarah* died at *Kiriath Arba*, or *Hebron*, to which place *Abraham* returned from *Beer-sheba*: her age was 127 years. *Isaac* was then 37 years old, having been born when his mother was 90. Gen. xxiii.

FAITH OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Abraham's declaration, that "he was only a *stranger* and *sojourner* in that land," and his *purchase* of a burial-place for his deceased wife and his family from the proprietors, the

† A Heathen philosopher has justly observed, *Ea quæ proficiscuntur a virtute, susceptione prima, non perfectione recta sunt judicanda.*—This was the *Stoical* doctrine.

Hittites, or sons of *Heth*, Gen. xxiii. 3—20, is finely introduced by *St. Paul*, to prove how well he and the Patriarchs understood that the grant of the land of promise gave them no present title, or immediate *possession* of it, that it was only designed for a future *inheritance*.

“By faith *Abraham* sojourned in the land of promise, as in a *strange* country, dwelling in tents, with *Isaac* and *Jacob*, the heirs with him of the same promise. For he looked unto the city that hath [lasting] foundations, whose builder and framer is *GOD*, Heb. xi. 9, 10.

“All these died in faith * ; not having received [the fulfilment

* These important passages lead us to a more correct rendering of *St. Paul's* celebrated definition of *faith*, at the beginning of this chapter.

“*Faith* is a *subsistence* of things *hoped for* ; a *conviction* of things *not seen*,” Heb. xi.

1. The original term ὑποστασις, literally signifying a “*foundation*,” is often understood figuratively for a *firm assurance*, or a *confident expectation*. It is the rendering of the Septuagint for the Hebrew תַּלְתָּה, “*patient expectation*,” Psalm xxxix. 8 ; and for הַקָּה, “*earnest expectation*,” Ruth i. 12, Ezek. xix. 5. And *Diodorus Siculus* contrasts ὑποστατικός, a *confident person*,” with ἀνηλπισας, one “*without hope*.” In the second clause, οὐ, “*not*,” may be put for οὐπω, “*not yet*,” corresponding to *Noah's* conviction of the approaching deluge, μηδεπω βλεπομενων, though “*not yet seen*,” ver. 7 ; and to the Patriarchs' conviction of the truth of the Divine promises, though *seen afar off*, verse 13. But although the subjects of Faith are for the most part *future* “*things not yet seen* ;” yet the *past* is by no means excluded ; as in the first instance of the “*creation of the worlds* :” therefore the general expression in the definition οὐ βλεπομενων, “*not seen*,” is to be retained.

Chrysostom has furnished an admirable commentary thereon :

Ἡ πιστις τοιωνν εστιν οψις των αδηλων, φησι, και εις την αυτην τοις ορωμενοις φερει πληροφοριαν τα μη ορωμενα.— Επειδη γαρ τα εν ελπιδι ανυποστατα ειναι δοκει, ἡ πιστις ὑποστασιν αυτοις χαριζεται· μαλλον δε, ου χαριζεται, αλλ' αυτο εστιν ουσια αυτων. Οιον δε αναστασις ου παραγεγονεν, ουδε εστιν εν ὑποστασει, αλλ' ἡ ελπις ὑφιστησιν αυτην εν τη ἡμετερα ψυχῃ.

“*Faith*, then, is *vision of things unseen*. And it brings the things that are not seen to the same *fulness of assurance* as the things that are seen. For when the things hoped for seem to be unsubsisting, faith bestows on them a *subsistence*, or rather, not bestows, but constitutes itself their existence. Thus *the resurrection* is *not yet* come, nor is it already in subsistence, but *hope* makes it subsist in our mind.”

This is a happy illustration of the transition from the literal sense of the word ὑποστασις, “*foundation*,” to the figurative πληροφορια, “*fulness of assurance*,” with which it is here considered as synonymous. And the familiar, but most important instance of the *resurrection* is well chosen, which *OUR LORD* represents as already present to the *faithful*, by a beautiful and lively anticipation of the event: “*Verily, verily, I say unto you, that whosoever heareth my discourse, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath* (εχει) eternal life, and is not to come into judgment, but *is already passed* (μεταβεβηκεν) from death unto life.” John v. 24.

And so *St. Paul*: “*But ye are already come to* (προσεληλυθατε) *Mount Zion, and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to myriads of angels, to the assem-*

of] the promises, but *seeing them afar off*, having been persuaded of, and embracing them, and confessing ‘that they were *strangers* and *sojourners* in the land.’ For they that speak thus, indicate that they seek a country [of their own;] and, truly, if they had been mindful of that from whence they came [*Chaldea*], they had opportunity to return thither. But now they desire a better, that is, a *heavenly*; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called THEIR GOD, for He hath prepared for them a city”—“the *Heavenly Jerusalem*,” Heb. xi. 13—16; xii. 22.

ISAAC’S MARRIAGE.

In his fortieth year *Isaac* married *Rebecca*, the grand-daughter of *Nahor*, *Abraham’s* brother, by his son *Bethuel*; who had remained behind with his family at *Charran*, when *Abraham* removed to *Canaan* from thence, Gen. xxii. 20—23, xxiv. 15, xxv. 20.

ABRAHAM’S SECOND MARRIAGE.

Soon after his son’s marriage, *Abraham* married *Keturah*, when he was turned of 140 years of age; by whom he had six sons, *Zimram*, *Jokshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Ishbak*, and *Shuah*; and before his death, thirty-seven years after, he settled her sons, in the east country of *Arabia*, near the residence of *Ishmael*. Whence the *Ishmaelites* and *Midianites* are mentioned promiscuously afterwards, when *Joseph* was sold to them by his brethren, Gen. xxv. 1—10, xxxvii. 28.

Some chronologers, Bishop *Clayton*, *Hallet*, &c. thinking it improbable that *Abraham* should marry again at such an advanced age, have dislocated the chronology of this period, by supposing that *Abraham* took *Keturah* as a concubine, in consequence of his wife *Sarah’s* barrenness, even before he left *Charran*; and that *Keturah’s* children were among the souls that were born to him and *Lot* during their residence there.

But it is evident from the whole tenor of the history, that *Abraham* was “childless” until the birth of *Ishmael*, Gen. xv. 2, 3; that he had no other son but *Ishmael* when he received the promise of *Isaac*, Gen. xvii. 18; and that *Isaac* and *Ishmael*, jointly, as his eldest sons, celebrated his funeral, Gen. xxv. 9. That he should marry again, at 140 years of age, shews his faith

blage and Church of the *first born*, registered in heaven, and to GOD the Judge of all, and to the spirits of *just men* perfected, and to JESUS the Mediator of the new covenant,” &c. Heb. xii. 22.

in the divine promise, that he should be “a father of *many* nations:” for which purpose his constitution might have been miraculously renovated, like *Sarah’s*. Besides, *Abraham* himself was born when his father *Terah* was 130 years of age. “The souls gotten in *Charran*,” denoted the joint increase of the households of *Abraham* and *Lot*. Even after their separation in the land of *Canaan*, *Abraham* took with him, in the pursuit of the *Assyrian* confederates, “318 trained servants, *born in his own house*,” about eight or nine years after his arrival in *Canaan*; several of these, therefore, must have been born at *Charran*, in order to be then able to bear arms, Gen. xiv. 14.

ESAU AND JACOB.

After *Isaac* and *Rebecca* had been married twenty years, *Esau* and *Jacob* were born, Gen. xxv. 26. Their fortunes were predicted, before their birth, by the Oracle of the Lord, which *Rebecca* went to consult, (at *Debir*, perhaps, signifying “*the Oracle*.”) *Abulfaragi*, from ancient tradition, reckons that the response was given by *Melchizedek*, p. 15.

The Oracle foretold that “*Rebecca* should bear twins, and that the *elder* brother should serve the *younger*,” which was afterwards fulfilled in the days of *David*, who subdued *Edom*, and put garrisons in all the country, 2 Sam. viii. 14, 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13.

From the adoption of *Jacob’s* family in preference to *Esau’s*, before their birth, *when they had neither done good nor evil*, *St. Paul* infers, that the purpose of God’s election was not derived from *works*, but from his sole will and pleasure; as strongly expressed by *Malachi* the prophet, “*Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated*,” Rom. ix. 10—13, Mal. i. 2.

After *Abraham’s* death, the Lord blessed his son *Isaac*, and made him to prosper greatly, Gen. xxv. 11. And he twice solemnly renewed the *Abrahamic* covenant with him in its full extent, during his residence in *Gerar*, Gen. xxvi. 2—5; and again, after his removal to *Beersheba*, Gen. xxvi. 23, 24.

During his residence in *Gerar*, *Isaac* denied his wife, as his father *Abraham* had done, in the same country, and for the same reason; for which he also was reproved by the reigning king, *Abimelech*; who likewise was a just prince, and feared God; and renewed with *Isaac* the convention that had been formerly made with *Abraham*, Gen. xxvi. 6—31.

Esau, the elder son of *Isaac*, was guilty of two offences, by which he forfeited his title to the blessing of *Abraham*. First, "he *despised* his birthright," and sold it to his brother *Jacob* for a mess of pottage, to relieve his hunger, Gen. xxv. 29—34. That this birthright meant more than the *temporal* rights of primogeniture, namely, a double portion of the father's estate, Gen. xlviii. 22, and authority over the younger brethren, Gen. iv. 7, is noticed by the Jewish *Targums* on the place, "Thus *Esau* despised the birthright, and the portion in the world to come"—*Jonathan Ben Uzziel*. "Thus *Esau* despised the birthright, and spurned his portion in the world to come, and renounced the resurrection of the dead." *Jerusalem*. And this interpretation seems to be warranted by the NEW TESTAMENT, which styles *Esau* "*profane*," Heb. xii. 16.

Next, when he was forty years old, (the age at which his father *Isaac* married, and which seems to have been the established age of manhood, till *Moses'* days; compare Exod. ii. 11, Acts vii. 23.) he took two wives of the *Hittites*, one of the devoted nations of *Canaan*; "which were a grief of mind to *Isaac* and *Rebecca*," Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, and for which he is also called a "*fornicator*" in the New Testament, Heb. xii. 16. Still "*Isaac* loved *Esau*, because he did eat of his venison: but *Rebecca* loved *Jacob*," who declined such prohibited intermarriages.

ISAAC'S BLESSING TO HIS SONS.

Thirty-seven years after, when *Jacob* was seventy-seven years old*, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 15, and *Isaac* 137, "when he was old, and his sight had failed, and he expected soon to die, his partiality for *Esau* led him to attempt to set aside the oracle, and the cession of *Esau's* birthright to *Jacob*, by conferring on him the blessing of *Abraham*, in reward for bringing him savoury venison to eat, before his death. In this design, however, he was disappointed by the artifice of *Rebecca*, who dressed her favourite *Jacob* in his brother's cloaths, and made him personate

* His age at this time, may thus be collected from SCRIPTURE. When *Jacob* had been fourteen years at *Charran*, *Joseph* was born, Gen. xxxi. 25. *Joseph* was thirty years old when made Regent of *Egypt*, xli. 46; and in the ninth year of his regency, brought his father and family to settle in *Egypt*, xli. 53, 54, xlv. 6. The amount of these sums, 14 + 30 + 9 = 53 years from the time that *Jacob* went to *Charran*; which, being subducted from 130 years, his age when he stood before *Pharaoh*, xlvii. 9, leaves seventy-seven years for his age when he went to *Charran*: thus confirming the account of *Abulfaragi*, and also of *Demetrius*, an earlier writer, according to *Polyhistor*.

Esau, and thereby surreptitiously obtained for him the blessing : “ Let people serve thee and nations bow down to thee : Be *lord* over thy brethren, and let *thy mother’s sons* bow down to thee : *Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee !*” Gen. xxvii. 1—29.

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the agitation of *Isaac*, when “ he trembled very exceedingly,” at the detection of the fraud, he did not attempt to rescind the blessing, nor transfer it to *Esau* ; but on the contrary, confirmed it on *Jacob* ; “ *yea, and he shall be blessed* !*” His wishes were overruled and controlled by that higher Power, which he vainly endeavoured to counteract ; and that he spoke as the Spirit gave him utterance, appears from his prediction respecting *Esau’s* family ;— “ And it shall come to pass, when *thou* shalt have *the dominion*, that thou shalt break *thy brother’s yoke* from off thy neck,” Gen. xxvii. 40, which was fulfilled in the days of *Jehoram*, king of *Judah*, “ when the *Edomites* revolted from under the dominion of *Judah*, and made themselves a king—unto this day !” 2 Chron. xxi. 8—10.

In this transaction all the parties were to be blamed. *Isaac*, for endeavouring to set aside the oracle in favour of his younger son, to which he pointedly alluded in the second clause of his blessing, and especially in the invidious expression, “ *thy mother’s sons* ;” the last clause contained the first blessing of *Abraham*, Gen. xii. 3. *Esau*, for wishing to deprive his brother of the blessing which he had himself relinquished ; and *Rebecca* and *Jacob*, for wishing to secure it by fraudulent means ; not trusting wholly in THE LORD.

That their principal object, however, was the *spiritual* blessing, and not the *temporal*, was shewn by the event. For *Jacob* afterwards revered *Esau*, as his elder brother, and insisted on *Esau’s* accepting a present from his hand, in token of submission, Gen. xxxiii. 3—15. *Esau* also appears to have possessed himself of his father’s property, during *Jacob’s* long exile ; 1. from his coming to meet him, in his return homewards, with so large a retinue as four hundred men ; 2. from his saying that “ *he had enough*,” when he wished to decline *Jacob’s* present ; 3. from *Jacob’s* making no claim on him for a division of the patrimony, saying, that *he also had enough* ; and 4. from *Esau’s*

* St. Paul cites these blessings as a proof of *Isaac’s* faith, Heb. xi. 20.

removal to Mount *Seir*, with all his substance which he had got in the land of *Canaan*; thus relinquishing to his brother's family, all *future* title to the possession of that land, by establishing himself elsewhere, Gen. xxxiii. 3—14, xxxvi. 6, 7.

But though the intention of *Rebecca* and *Jacob* might have been good, and free from worldly or mercenary motives, they should *not have done evil that good may come*, according to the maxim of Scripture, Rom. iii. 8. And they were both severely punished in this life for their pious fraud: which destroyed the peace of the family, and planted a mortal enmity in the breast of *Esau* against his brother:—"Is not he rightly named *Jacob*, ('a supplanter,') for he hath *supplanted* me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and lo, now he hath taken away my blessing:"—"The days of mourning for my father are at hand, then will I slay my brother *Jacob*," Gen. xxvii. 36—41. And there can be little doubt of his intention of executing this threat, when he came to meet him on his return, with such an armed force; which strongly alarmed *Jacob's* fears; had not GOD changed the spirit of *Esau* into mildness; so that "he ran to meet *Jacob*, and fell on his neck, and they wept," Gen. xxxiii. 4.

Rebecca was deprived of the society of her darling son, whom "she sent away for *one year* *," as she fondly imagined, "until his brother's fury should turn away," Gen. xxvii. 42—44, but she saw him no more; for she died during his long exile of twenty years, though *Isaac* survived, Gen. xxxv. 27. Thus was "she pierced through with many sorrows," and according to the Apostle's inference, from the foregoing maxim, "*her punishment was just.*"

Jacob also had abundant reason to say, "*Few and evil* have been the days of the years of my *pilgrimage!*" Gen. xlvii. 9. Though he had the consolation of having "the blessing of *Abraham*" voluntarily renewed to him by his father, before he was forced to fly from his brother's fury, Gen. xxviii. 1—4, and had the satisfaction of *obeying* his parents in going to *Padan Aram*, or *Charran*, in quest of a wife of his own kindred, Gen. xxviii. 7, yet he set out on a long and perilous journey of 600 miles and upwards, through barren and inhospitable regions, seemingly unattended and unprovided; like a *pilgrim* indeed, with only his *staff* in his hand, Gen. xxxii. 10. And though he was sup-

* See the phrase explained, Vol. I. p. 35, note.

ported with the assurance of the Divine protection, and the renewal of the blessing of *Abraham* by God himself, in his remarkable vision at *Bethel*; and solemnly devoted himself to his service, wishing only for *food* and *raiment*; and vowing to profess the worship of God, and pay *tythe* unto Him, should he return back in peace, Gen. xxviii. 10—22; yet he was forced to engage in a tedious and thankless servitude of seven years, at first for his daughter *Rachel*, with *Laban*, who retaliated upon him the imposition he had practised on his own father; and substituted *Leah*, whom he hated, for *Rachel*, whom he loved; and thereby compelled him to serve seven years more; and changed his wages several times during the remainder of his whole servitude of twenty years; in the course of which, as he pathetically complained, “the drought consumed him by day, and the frost by night, and the sleep departed from his eyes,” in watching *Laban’s* flocks, Gen. xxxi. 40; and at last he was forced to steal away, and was only protected from *Laban’s* vengeance, (as afterwards from *Esau’s*,) by Divine interposition. Add to these his domestic troubles and misfortunes; the impatience of his favourite wife—“*Give me children, or I die!*”—her death in bearing her second son, *Benjamin*; the rape of his daughter *Dinah*; the perfidy and cruelty of her brothers, *Simeon* and *Levi*, to the *Sechemites*; the misbehaviour of *Reuben*: the supposed death of *Joseph*, his favourite and most deserving son; were, all together, sufficient to have “*brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to his grave!*” had he not been divinely supported and encouraged throughout the whole of his pilgrimage.

JACOB’S MARRIAGES.

Whether *Jacob* married at the beginning or the end of his first seven years of stipulated service for *Rachel*, is a question which has divided and embarrassed chronologers. *Demetrius* and *Josephus*, followed by *Petavius*, *Jackson*, *Kennicot*, &c. suppose the latter; founding their opinion on *Jacob’s* declaration to *Laban*, “*Give me my wife, for my days are fulfilled,*” &c. Gen. xxix. 21. On the other hand, *Usher*, *Lloyd*, *Clayton*, &c. contend that his marriage with *Leah* took place about a month after his arrival at *Charran*, at the beginning of the seven years; and his marriage with *Rachel* the week after. And this is the more probable opinion, For, 1. *Jacob’s* demand, “*Give me my wife, for my days are fulfilled,*” Gen. xxix. 21, seems rather to

relate to the expiration of the days of *courtship*, which, by a decorous usage, were a *month*: during which a bride, though betrothed, might put off the consummation of her marriage. This privilege was extended by the *Mosaic* law afterwards, even to a female *captive*, who was granted this respite before her marriage, "to bewail her father and mother," Deut. xxxi. 13. And when *Saul* promised his daughter *Michal* to *David* in marriage, requiring as a dowry, the fore-skins of a hundred *Philistines*, *David*, in his impatience "to be the king's son-in-law," furnished double the amount required, "in full tale, *before the days were fulfilled*," or "*expired*," 1 Sam. xviii. 25—27. For the phrase in the original is precisely the same in both cases; but in the latter, it can only relate to the days of courtship, which in *Jacob's* case were included in *Laban's* agreeing to *Jacob's* proposal, after he had spent a *month* with him, of serving him seven years for *Rachel*. "*It is better that I should give her to thee than to another: Abide with me*," verse 19. The next verse, ("So *Jacob* served seven years for *Rachel*; and they seemed to him but *one year*, for the love he bare unto her,") is plainly parenthetical, stating, by anticipation, the performance of the agreement: then naturally follows *Jacob's* demand, in the 21st verse, "*Give me my wife*," &c.

2. It is admitted, that the second seven years were subsequent to his marriage with *Rachel*; and why not the first seven years subsequent to his marriage with *Leah*? which was only a week earlier than *Rachel's*.

3. Is it to be imagined, that *Jacob*, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, as we have seen, when he went to *Charran*, would have patiently waited seven years before he married? And would not the policy of the selfish *Laban* have rather wished to secure his attachment and his services, by a speedy connexion with his family?

4. That he married at the beginning of the first seven years of service, is demonstrated by the birth of his third son, *Levi*, in his eighty-second year, as rightly stated by *Abulfaragi*, or in the fifth year of his service.

The following Table gives the birth of *Jacob's* children, by his wives and concubines.

JACOB'S CHILDREN.

	Y.	B. C.
1. <i>Reuben</i>	78	1915
2. <i>Simeon</i>	80	1913
3. <i>Levi</i> <i>Leah</i> ...	82	1911
4. <i>Judah</i>	83	1910
5. <i>Dan</i>	84	1909
6. <i>Nephtali</i> <i>Bilhah</i> ..	85	1908
7. <i>Gad</i> <i>Zilpah</i> ..	86	1907
8. <i>Asher</i>	87	1906
9. <i>Issachar</i>	88	1905
10. <i>Zebulon</i> <i>Leah</i> ...	89	1904
11. <i>Dinah</i>	90	1903
12. <i>Joseph</i>	91	1902
13. <i>Benjamin</i> <i>Rachel</i> ..	104	1889

This table of the years of *Jacob*, at the birth of each, is constructed from the date of *Jacob's* marriages, in his seventy-seventh year, soon after his arrival in *Charran*; from the birth of *Levi*, in his eighty-second year; and of *Joseph*, in his ninety-first, at the end of his fourteen years of service. Compare Gen. xxx. 25, xxxi. 41. For by these known dates, those of the intermediate births are easily adjusted from the history, in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters. The birth of *Benjamin*, the youngest, followed the rape of *Dinah*, when she was about her fifteenth year, according to the *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs*, *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 131, and probably in the same year; for *Jacob* was obliged to remove from *Shalem*, where he had resided for some years, after his return from *Charran*, in consequence of the massacre of the *Shechemites* by his sons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 30, xxxv. 1. And *Rachel* died on the journey, near *Bethlehem*, after being delivered of *Benjamin*, xxxv. 16—20. And her monument is still subsisting, about three miles from *Bethlehem*, midway between it and *Jerusalem*, according to *Hasselquist*. It was surnamed *Ephrath*, or *Ephratah*, from *Caleb's* wife, 1 Chron. ii. 19—50. She called him, when dying, *Ben-Oni*, “*Son of my sorrow*;” but *Jacob* called him *Ben-jamin*, “*Son of days*,” in the Syriac dialect; because he was “*the son of his old age*,” Gen. xxxvii. 3, xlv. 20.

Isaac survived *Jacob's* return home to *Hebron*, sixteen years; and died at the advanced age of 180 years; five years older

than his father *Abraham*: and was buried by his sons *Esau* and *Jacob*, Gen. xxxv. 27—29.

JOSEPH.

The history of this illustrious Patriarch, is one of the most interesting and instructive recorded in ancient history, and is inimitably told by *Moses*.

When he was seventeen years old, his father's partiality for him above all his children, indiscreetly dressed him in a gaudy coat of *many colours*. This excited the *jealousy* and *hatred* of his brethren in general, so that they "could not speak peaceably to him;"—and he had particularly offended the sons of *Bilhah* and *Zilpah*, "by reporting to his father their evil discourse," Gen. xxxvii. 2—4.

In addition to these causes of dislike and hatred, two remarkable dreams, signifying his dominion over them, and over his whole family, not only increased their hatred, but the latter especially, drew on him a rebuke from his father:—"Shall *I*, and *thy mother*, and *thy brethren*, indeed come to *bow ourselves to thee to the earth*?" for so his father interpreted the obeisance of the *sun*, *moon*, and eleven *stars*, (or constellations of the *zodiac*) to him, the twelfth. "And his *brethren envied* him, but *his father observed the saying*," verses 5—11.

To defeat the accomplishment of his dreams a convenient opportunity soon offered, when *Joseph* was sent by his father to enquire after the welfare of his brothers, and their flocks. As soon as he came in sight, they resolved to kill him, but were prevented by *Reuben*, who wished to deliver him out of their hands; and persuaded them to cast him into an empty pit. Afterwards, by the advice of *Judah*, they sold him to a company of *Ishmaelitish* and *Midianitish* merchants, going to Egypt, for twenty pieces of silver; who again sold him to *Potiphar*, captain of the guard to the king of Egypt. *Pharaoh*, in Egyptian, signifies "*king*," verses 12—36.

After he had served *Potiphar*, with great fidelity, for ten years, and had obtained his unbounded confidence; upon a false accusation of his lustful mistress, who solicited him in vain, and whom he nobly and piously repulsed, alleging that he could not *violate his trust*, nor *sin against God*; he was thrown into prison by his master, and remained there for three

years; whence he was unexpectedly liberated, at the age of thirty years, and raised to the rank of governor, or regent, of the kingdom of Egypt, in reward for his interpretation of two remarkable dreams, which *Pharaoh* dreamed, signifying seven years of plenty to be succeeded by seven years of famine. And *Pharaoh* called *Joseph*, *Zaphnath Paaneah*, signifying, in the Egyptian dialect, “a revealer of secrets* :” and gave him to wife *Asenath*, the daughter of *Potipherah*, priest of *On*, in order to ennoble him, by the highest alliance in the kingdom, Gen. xli. 1—46.

During the seven years of plenty, this enlightened statesman, justifying the wise choice of the king and his council, providently stored up all the redundant provisions of the country, in the *cities* adjacent, Gen. xli. 48; and when the famine began, he opened all the storehouses, and sold to the *Egyptians* and to *all countries*, for it was universal, xli. 54—57.

In the second year of the famine, when the money and the cattle of the *Egyptians* failed, *Joseph*, by their own desire, bought all their *lands* for the Crown, in return for supplying themselves with provisions, and he then removed the people into *the cities*, from one end of the borders of Egypt even to the other, xlvii. 15—21. That is, he brought the people, who were scattered throughout the open country, into the cities wherein the provisions were stored, for the greater ease of distribution: he did not, as idly imagined by some, transplant the people to cities remote from their residence; but consulting their convenience, only to the cities adjacent: the people round about every store-city, brought he into that city; and this he did throughout the whole extent of the country. And the lands thus voluntarily sold, he farmed to the occupiers again, at the moderate and fixed crown rent of a *fifth* part of the produce. Thus did he provide for the liberty and independence of the people, while he strengthened the authority of the King, by rendering him sole proprietor of the lands. And to secure the people from further exaction, “*Joseph* made it a law over the land of *Egypt*, that *Pharaoh* should have only the fifth part;” which law subsisted to the time of *Moses*, xlvii. 21—26. By this wise regulation, the people had four-fifths of the produce of the lands for their

* Derived from the Hebrew, סָפַן, (*Saphan*,) “*Texit*,” and פָּנָה, (*Panah*,) “*Aspexit*.”

own use; and were exempted from any further taxes; the King being bound to support his civil and military establishment out of the crown rents. Whereas, by the original constitution, settled by *Menes* and his prime minister, *Thoth*, or *Hermes*; (as we learn from *Diodorus*,) the lands had been all divided between the *King*, the *Priesthood*, and the *Soldiery*; who possessed each a separate third part, to support their respective establishments. The revenues of the crown, therefore, were rather abridged than increased by this regulation; while *Joseph* respected the primitive usage, and bought not “the lands of the *priests* ;” but during the continuance of the famine, he fed them at the King’s expence: so that by the royal bounty, “they sold not their lands.” Thus was this consummate statesman so truly “wise and discreet,” because he was guided by the SPIRIT OF GOD,—“a father to *Pharaoh*” and his people, and a blessing to the world; whom GOD, in kindness, raised up, to preserve life to *many nations*, by a great deliverance! beside his *own family*, as he piously observed, xlv. 5—7.

How totally groundless then, is the censure of *Larcher* :—“When *Pharaoh*, king of Egypt, possessed himself of the *money*, *cattle*, and *lands* of his subjects, by the *barbarous counsel of a stranger*, whom he had made his minister, and who had espoused the daughter of the high priest of the *sun*; he touched not the possessions of the *priests*: and while *the people* chose rather to make *themselves slaves*, than perish with famine; the *ministers of the altars* felt nothing of the public miseries, and were furnished with corn in abundance!” *Herodote*, Tom. II. p. 237, first edit.

And how different from this *barbarous criticism* of a professed *Christian*, is the character of this matchless prime minister, drawn by an unprejudiced *Heathen*, *Justin*, in his *General History*, lib. xxxvi. 2.

“*Joseph* was very dear (*percarus*) to the king himself: for he was most sagacious in explaining prodigies, and first framed the interpretation of dreams, and nothing in divine and human jurisprudence, seemed to be unknown to him. Insomuch that he even foresaw a barrenness of the grounds, many years before it happened; and all *Egypt* would have perished with famine, had not the king, by his counsel, ordered the fruits to be preserved for several years. And so excellent were his regulations, (*tantaque experimenta ejus fuerunt*,) that they seemed rather

to be *oracular responses* (*responsa*) not given by *man*, but by *GOD*."

Among the many who were fed by the provident stores of *Joseph*, his brethren, all but *Benjamin*, came down to *Egypt*, to buy corn, in the first year of the famine, or the eighth of his reGENCY. And here, at their first interview, they fulfilled those dreams which they vainly endeavoured to frustrate: for "*they bowed themselves before him with their faces to the earth*," not knowing him in his present dignity, though he knew them perfectly. Not seeing his own brother, *Benjamin*, among them, and apprehending, perhaps, that they had destroyed him also, out of jealousy, because he was his father's remaining favourite; and "*remembering his dreams*," and their cruelty in consequence of them, "*he spake roughly to them*," and charged them with being "*spies, come to see the nakedness of the land*."

To conceive the full force and heinousness of this charge, it is necessary to state briefly the situation of *Egypt* at the time.

In the reign of *Tirmaus*, or *Thamuz*, about B.C. 2159, *Egypt* had been invaded and subdued by a tribe of *Cushite* shepherds, from *Arabia*, who cruelly enslaved the whole country, under a dynasty of six kings, until, at length, the native princes, weary of their tyranny, rebelled, and after a long war of thirty years, shook off the yoke, and expelled the *shepherds* to *Palestine*, where they became the *Philistines*; (from *Pallisthan*, "the shepherd land," in the Sanscrit, or primitive Syriac.) about B.C. 1899, or twenty-seven years before *Joseph's* administration. But the memory of their tyranny was still fresh in the minds of the *Egyptians*; so that "*every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians*," Gen. xlvi. 34; and "*they could not endure to eat bread with the Hebrews*," because they were shepherds, and came from the neighbourhood of *Palestine*. And they were justly apprehensive, that the *Philistines*, who were a warlike people, might attempt to regain a footing in *Egypt*, weakened, as it had been, by so long a war; and when the land of *Goshen*, which had been their principal settlement, the best pasture land in *Egypt*, was now in great measure waste; as will be shewn more fully in the ensuing analysis of *Egyptian Chronology*.

Such a charge, to strangers especially, coming from a suspicious quarter, was natural and well contrived; and when in their anxiety to repel it, they entered into a particular detail of the circumstances of their family, and observed that their

youngest brother was at home with their father, the policy of *Joseph* made his appearance the test of their sincerity.—“Hereby shall ye be *proved*: By the life of *Pharaoh*, ye shall not go from hence, except your *youngest brother* come hither. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother; and ye shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether there be truth in you: or else, by the life of *Pharaoh*, surely ye are spies.”—These repeated asseverations indicated strong emotions of resentment, at the remembrance of their cruelty; and his conduct at the time proved it, for “he put them all together into ward, three days.”—He made them taste, for three days, the sufferings he had undergone for three years, and probably in the very same state prison!

But the third day his anger cooled, and he reversed the former sentence; and dismissed them all but one, *Simeon*, whom he kept as a hostage, for the appearance of *Benjamin*; and “bound before their eyes.” From the tried cruelty of *Simeon*’s disposition in the perfidious massacre of the *Shechemites*, he had probably been the most active against *Joseph* himself.

The remorse of conscience, and compunction of mind, which they felt on this occasion, and not only felt, but expressed in his hearing, interpreting this procedure into a divine judgment for their ill-treatment of himself, disarmed *Joseph*’s resentment.—“And they said one to another, *We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear: therefore is this distress come upon us! And Reuben* answered them saying, *Spake I not unto you saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear! therefore behold also his blood is required!—And he turned about from them and wept;*” and as a delicate token of his good-will, privily restored their money in their sacks, and also gave them provision for the way.

Their artless relation of what had befallen them to their father, his refusal at first to send *Benjamin*; his reluctant consent to let him go, at length, in the second year of the famine, after blaming his sons, “*Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me as to tell the man that ye had yet a brother?*”—the offer of *Judah* to be responsible for his return; the tenderness of *Jacob* at their departure, and of *Joseph* at their meeting, *when his bowels did yearn upon his brother Benjamin*; his ingenious contrivance to prove their attachment to *Benjamin*, by offering to keep the

person in whose sack his cup should be found, and to dismiss the rest; their speechless grief at the detection; *Judah's* noble and generous offer to be a bondman in his stead—*Joseph's* disclosure of himself to his brethren, and his kind endeavours to relieve their confusion—" *I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for GOD did send me before you to preserve life.*"—*Jacob's* disbelief of the news, that "*Joseph was alive, and governor over all the land of Egypt,*" through excess of joy,—the revival of his spirit at the sight of "*the waggons sent to convey him;*" his alacrity to go and see *Joseph*;—the tenderness of their meeting;—the settlement of his family in the vacant land of *Goshen*, providentially prepared for their reception, and best accommodated to their profession as shepherds; all together furnish a *dramatic* composition of the most unrivalled excellence, whether we consider the chaste simplicity of the language, the accurate description of manners, the appropriate delineation of character, the conduct and development of the plot, and the fortunate and gratifying issue of the catastrophe; all under the guidance and direction of PROVIDENCE; adopting this chosen family to be "*a peculiar treasure to himself,*" and "*the repository of his oracles,*" when the whole world beside had become immersed in the corruptions of *polytheism*, and abominations of *idolatry*.

And the policy of the *Egyptian* court in giving "*a possession,*" or establishment, to *Jacob's* family in the land of *Goshen* especially, was wise and liberal. This country stretched along the *Bubastic* or *Pelusiatic* branch of the *Nile*, and formed the eastern barrier of *Egypt*, towards *Palestine* and *Arabia*, the quarters from which they most dreaded invasion: whose "*nakedness*" was now covered, in a short time, by a numerous, a brave, and an industrious people; amply repaying, by the additional security and resources which they gave to *Egypt*, their hospitable reception and *naturalization*.

JACOB'S HOUSEHOLD IN EGYPT.

There is a numerical difficulty in the account of *Jacob's* household which settled in *Egypt*. The *Old Testament* mentions seventy souls; Gen. xlv. 27, the *New* seventy-five souls, Acts vii. 14. The difference, however, is only apparent, and

they can be satisfactorily reconciled together by critical comparison of both passages.

Moses states, that "all the souls that came with *Jacob* into Egypt, which issued from his loins, (except his sons' wives,) were sixty-six souls," Gen. xlv. 26, and this number is thus collected :

<i>Jacob's</i> children, eleven sons and one daughter.....	12
<i>Reuben's</i> sons	4
<i>Simeon's</i> sons	6
<i>Levi's</i> sons	3
<i>Judah's</i> three sons and two grandsons	5
<i>Issachar's</i> sons	4
<i>Zebulun's</i> sons.....	3
<i>Gad's</i> sons	7
<i>Asher's</i> four sons and one daughter, and two grandsons...	7
<i>Dan's</i> son.....	1
<i>Naphthali's</i> sons.....	4
<i>Benjamin's</i> sons	10
	—
	66
	—

If to these sixty-six children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, we add *Jacob* himself, and his two sons born in Egypt, or four more, the amount is seventy, the whole number of *Jacob's* family which settled in Egypt.

In this statement, the *wives* of *Jacob's* sons, who formed part of the household, are omitted; but they amounted to nine: for of the twelve wives of the twelve sons, *Judah's* wife was dead, Gen. xxxviii. 12, and *Simeon's* also, as we may collect from his youngest son, *Shaul*, "by a *Canaanitess*," xlv. 10; and *Joseph's* wife was already in Egypt. These nine wives, therefore, added to the sixty-six, gave seventy-five souls, the whole amount of *Jacob's household* that went down with him to Egypt: critically corresponding with the statement in the New Testament, that "*Joseph* sent for his father *Jacob*, and all his kindred, amounting to seventy-five souls." The expression "all his kindred," including the wives, who were *Joseph's* kindred not only by affinity, but also by consanguinity; being probably of the families of *Esau*, *Ishmael*, or *Keturah*. Thus does the New Testament furnish an admirable comment on the Old.

From this list, compared with that of the births of *Jacob's* sons, it appears that some of them must have married remarkably early.

Judah was about forty-seven years old when *Jacob's* family settled in Egypt. He could not, therefore, have been more than fifteen at the birth of his eldest son, *Err*; nor *Err* more than fifteen at his marriage with *Thamar*; nor could it be more than two years after *Err's* death, till the birth of *Judah's* twin sons, by his daughter-in-law, *Thamar*; nor could *Pharez*, one of them, be more than fifteen, at the birth of his sons, *Hezron* and *Hamul*, supposing they were twins, born just before the departure from *Canaan*. For the aggregate of these numbers, $15 + 15 + 2 + 15 = 47$ years, gives the age of *Judah*. Compare chap. xxxviii with xli. 12.

Asher was about forty-three years at that time. He therefore must have married under twenty, and his fourth son, *Beriah*, also, under twenty, (supposing him to be the youngest,) in order that the latter should then have two sons.

Benjamin was about twenty-six years at that time. And he could not have married later than fifteen, to have had then ten sons, unless some of them were twins.

Joseph's sons and grandsons must also have married early. He lived eighty years after his marriage, and, before his death, saw *Ephraim's* children of the third generation, and *Manasseh's* children of the second, Gen. l. 23. *Ephraim*, therefore, the younger brother, who was born during the seven years of plenty, and probably near their end, Gen. xli. 50; his sons, and his grandsons, could not have been much above twenty when they married, in order that he should have great-grand-children, in the course of seventy-three years*.

From such early marriages, in a fruitful country, finely watered, and a warm climate, like *Egypt*, joined to the prolific blessing of Providence, the children of *Israel*, in the course of 215 years, till their exode, multiplied exceedingly; insomuch that the men above twenty years old then amounted to 600,000, beside women and children, Exod. xii. 37, Numb. i. 3. And supposing the men able to bear arms in a given district, amount to about a fourth part of the whole community, (according to *Templeman's* Tables, and *Rennel's Herod.* p. 400, note,) the whole

* How rapidly the tribe of *Ephraim* increased in its population, we may judge from the pedigree of *Joshua*, 1 Chron. vii. 20—27, who was in the tenth generation; and was born about B.C. 1692, or 270 years after the settlement of *Jacob's* family in Egypt, which gives twenty-seven years to a generation.

of the *Israelites* who went out of *Egypt*, must have exceeded two millions. A prodigious increase.

In the list of *Jacob's* family, it is remarkable that there were only two women; his daughter *Dinah*, and *Asher's* daughter, *Sarah*. Providence, by this deviation from the ordinary course of nature, in which the equality of males and females is nearly preserved, laying the seeds of an immense population, in so extraordinary a stock of males, as went down to *Egypt*. It is further observable, that at the first muster in the wilderness, the number of the tribe of *Benjamin*, from ten sons, was 35,400 men, the least of all; and that of the tribe of *Dan*, from one son, 62,700; the greatest of all, next to *Judah*, 74,600; as if on purpose to confound the calculations of *political arithmeticians*, and the speculations of human reason. GOD'S ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts! Numb. i. 17—46; and at the second muster, thirty-nine years after, while these tribes had increased, the tribes of *Reuben* and *Simeon* had dwindled; and the whole amount diminished, about 200,000 men. Compare Numb. xxvi. 1—51. This may be accounted for by their rebellions and chastisements in the wilderness, which fell heaviest on the *Reubenites*, in the rebellion of *Korah*, Numb. xvi. 1; and on the *Simeonites*, in the whoredoms of *Shittim*, Numb. xxv. 1.

The tribe of *Dan*, at first so flourishing, was one of the first to fall into idolatry, soon after *Joshua's* death, Judges xviii. It is, therefore, we may presume, omitted in the general registry of the first nine chapters of *Chronicles*. And not one of that tribe are represented as sealed among the 144,000 true *Israelites*! Rev. vii. 3. *Ephraim* also, the head of the northern tribes, which led the revolt of the ten tribes under *Jeroboam*, is likewise excluded from the *Apocalypse*, for its earlier idolatries, Judges xvii. Their places are supplied by the true *Israelites* of the tribes of *Levi* and *Joseph* in general, Rev. vii. 7, 8.

Another remarkable instance of the adoption of the younger son in preference to the elder, so frequent in Scripture, was shewn in *Jacob's* election of *Ephraim*, the younger, before *Manasseh*, the elder of *Joseph's* sons; when, as his eldest son by *Rachel*, he invested *Joseph* with the double prerogative of furnishing two tribes; thus putting *Ephraim* on a footing with *Judah*, the prerogative tribe of *Leah's* sons, in consequence

of the forfeiture of his three elder brothers, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, and *Levi*, for their misconduct, Gen. xlviii. 1—20. To *Joseph*, also, the most deserving of all his sons, he left an additional portion of land above his brethren, Gen. xlviii. 22.

JACOB'S BLESSING, OR PROPHECIES.

At the close of his life, after he had lived seventeen years in the land of Egypt, and was 147 years old, Gen. xlvii. 28, *Jacob* assembled his sons, to tell them “ what should befall them or their tribes, in the *last days* ;” or to foretel their future fortunes, by Divine inspiration, Gen. xlix. 1.

XLIX. 2. Gather yourselves together and hear, ye sons of *Jacob*,
And hearken unto *Israel* your father.

3. *Reuben*, thou art my first born,
My might, and the beginning of my strength,
Excelling in dignity and excelling in power ;

4. Unstable as waters, thou shalt not excel,
Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed,
Then in going up, thou didst defile my couch.

5. *Simeon* and *Levi* are brethren,
They accomplished the iniquity of their purpose,

6. O my soul, enter not into their privy council,
Mine honour be not united to their assembly ;
For in their anger, they slew an [honourable] *man*,
And in their wilfulness, they destroyed a *prince* !

7. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce,
And their wrath, for it was cruel :
I will divide them in *Jacob*,
And will scatter them in *Israel*.

8. *Judah* art thou ; thy brethren shall “ *praise* ” thee,
Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies :
The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.

9. *Judah* is a *lion's* whelp,
From the prey, my son, art thou come up—
He lieth down, as a *lion*,
He coucheth as a *lioness* ;
Who shall rouse him up ?

10. The *Sceptre* shall not depart from *Judah*,
Nor a *Teacher* of his offspring ;
Until *SHILOH* shall come ;
And [until] to Him, a congregation of peoples * ;

* In this 10th verse, there is an alternation, frequent in *Hebrew* poetry ; of the first and third, and of the second and fourth lines ; which should be read thus :

The *Sceptre* shall not depart from *Judah*,
Until *SHILOH* shall come ;
Nor a *Teacher* of his offspring,
[Until] to Him, a *congregation of peoples* :

11. [HE,] binding his *fole* to the vine,
Even his *asses colt* to the [choice] vine of *Sorek*,
Shall wash his garments in *wine*,
And his clothes in *the blood of grapes* ;
12. His eyes shall be red with *wine*,
And his teeth, white with *milk*.
13. *Zebulon* shall dwell at the haven of the sea,
And shall be for a haven of ships,
And his border shall be unto *Zidon*.
14. *Issachar* is a strong *ass*,
Couching between two burdens,
15. And he saw that the resting place was good,
And that the land was pleasant,
And he inclined his shoulder to the load,
And became a servant to tribute.
16. *Dan* shall "judge" his people,
As one of the tribes of *Israel*.
17. *Dan* shall be a *serpent* by the way,
An *adder* by the path,
That shall bite the horse-heels,
And his rider shall fall backwards.
18. *I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!*—
19. A "troop" shall invade *Gad*,
But he shall invade their rear.
20. *Asher's* bread shall be fat,
And he shall yield royal dainties.
21. *Naphtali* is a spreading *oak*,
Which produceth goodly branches.
22. *Joseph* is a fruitful plant [*vine*],
A fruitful plant beside a well,
His branches spread over the wall ;
23. The *archers* sorely grieved him,
They shot at him, and hated him ;
24. But his *bow* remained in strength,
And his hands bended its arms ;
By the hands of the mighty [GOD] of *Jacob*,
By the name of THE SHEPHERD, the ROCK OF *Israel*,
25. By the GOD of thy *Father*, who helped thee,
By the ALMIGHTY, who blessed thee.
May the blessings of heaven from above,
The blessings of the deep lying beneath,
The blessings of the breasts and of the womb,
26. (The blessings of thy father *) prevail,
Unto the blessings of the eternal mountains,
The desirable things of the everlasting hills ;
May they be on the head of *Joseph*,
Even on the crown of the head of the *prince* of his brethren !
Benjamin is a ravening *wolf* ;
In the morning he shall devour the prey,
And in the evening he shall divide the spoil."

* See the blessing of *Jacob*, Gen. xxvii, 28, 29.

In this sublime, but highly figurative and obscure prophecy *, (the translation of which I have endeavoured to amend in some places, where the *Samaritan* text, the ancient versions, and parallel passages furnish various readings, more eligible than those of the present *Masorete* text,) *Jacob* begins with his eldest son,

REUBEN.

After stating his privileges as such, he proceeds to the offence for which he lost them, Gen. xxxv. 22. And accordingly, the tribe of *Reuben* never rose to eminence, and with the other *transjordanite* tribes, was the first that was carried into cap-

* When *Joseph* told his remarkable dream of the *sun*, *moon*, and *eleven stars*, or constellations of the *Zodiac*, bowing down to him, the twelfth; it is said that "his father observed the saying," Gen. xxxvii. 11; and the learned *Origen* supposed that he alluded thereto in his predictions on this occasion:—Legite in *tabulis cæli*, quæcunque accident vobis et filiis vestris. "Read, in the *cæstrial tables*, the fortunes of yourselves and of your children." My respected antiquarian friend, Gen. *Vallancey*, has endeavoured to trace the analogy, in his *Collectanea*, Vol. VI. Part ii. p. 344, from which the following scheme is taken, with some alteration:

1. *Reuben*—"Unstable as waters,"—*Aquarius*.
2. *Simeon* and *Levi*—"Brethren,"—*Gemini*.
3. *Judah*—"A lion,"—*Leo*.
4. *Asher*—"His bread shall be fat,"—*Virgo* and her ears of corn.
5. *Issachar*—"A strong ass," or an *ox*, both used in husbandry,—*Taurus*.
- 6, 7. *Dan*—"An adder biting the horse-heels,"—*Scorpio*.

N. B. On the celestial sphere, the *Scorpion* is actually represented as biting the heel of the horse of the archer *Sagittarius*. And *Chelæ*, "his claws," originally occupied the space of *Libra*.

8. *Joseph*—"His bow remained in strength,"—*Sagittarius*.
9. *Naphtali*—By a play on his name, תֵּלֶחַ, *Teleh*, the latter part of it signifies the constellation *Aries*. See *Buxtorf's* *Rabbinisms*.
10. *Zebulon*—"A haven for ships,"—*Cancer*.
11. *Gad*—"A troop." The name also reversed, *Dag*, signifies "a fish,"—*Pisces*.
12. *Benjamin*—"A ravening wolf,"—*Capricornus*;—which, on the *Egyptian* sphere was represented by a *goat*, led by *Pan*, with a *wolf's* head.

In Gen. *Vallancey's* scheme, *Asher* and *Gad* are omitted; he thinks that *Joseph* is likened to *Virgo*, with her ears of corn, as an elegant allegory of his chastity, and of his care of *Egypt*, p. 347. But *Virgo* corresponds better to *Asher*, and *Sagittarius* exclusively to *Joseph*, to whom and his persecutors he assigns both signs.

"This knowledge of the *Zodiac*," says he, "might have descended in the family of *Abraham*, who dwelt in *Chaldea*." And to strengthen this conjecture, it is highly probable that the primitive *Zodiac* was invented in *Chaldea*, prior to the dispersion of the families of *Noah's* sons, and that the *Asterisms* were formed to record the leading events from the creation to the deluge. See Vol. I. p. 204, &c.

In addition to the six *Asterisms* there explained, we may, perhaps, reckon two more, *Scorpio* and *Sagittarius*, as recording the first covenant made after the fall of our first parents, Gen. iii. 15.

tivity, 1 Chron. v. 26. His birth-right, or double portion, was given to *Joseph*, Gen. xlviii. 49; 1 Chron. v. 1.

SIMEON AND LEVI.

These "brethren," in disposition as well as in blood, are next excluded for their cruelty and treachery in the matter of *Shechem*, who was "prince of the country," and "more honourable than all the house of his father," Gen. xxxiv. 2—19. And the tribe of *Simeon* was always inconsiderable, lying on the outskirts of the promised land, and an appendage to *Judah*, until the revolt of the ten tribes. The tribe of *Levi*, though it afterwards recovered its character by its zeal for the Lord, and was honoured with the exclusive privilege of the priesthood, had no landed portion, but was scattered throughout the tribes of *Israel* and *Judah*, and thus the two tribes were as remarkably separated from each other, as their heads had been united in conspiracy.

JUDAH,

The fourth son of *Leah*, by the misconduct of his elder brothers, and by his own merit, in generously offering to redeem *Benjamin* by his own captivity, was set over their heads, and honoured with the high distinction of being the ancestor of CHRIST: "*Judah prevailed above his brethren*, for out of him came He that was to be LEADER," (דָּוִד, εἰς ἡγούμενον, *Sept.*) 1 Chron. v. ii. Compare Micah v. 2, Matt. ii. 6.

The prophecy begins with his name, *Judah*, signifying "the praise of THE LORD," which was given to him at his birth by his mother *Leah*, Gen. xxix. 35. It then describes the warlike character of this tribe, to which, by the divine appointment, was assigned the first lot of the promised land, which was conquered accordingly by the pious and heroic *Caleb*, the first who "laid hand on the necks of his enemies," and routed and subdued them, (*Josh.* xiv. 11; xv. 1; *Judges* i. 1, 2,) and led the way for their total subjugation under *David*, who, in allusion to this prediction, "*praises GOD*," and says, "Thou hast given me *the necks* of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me," Psalm xviii. 40. In the different stages of its strength, this tribe is compared to a *lion's whelp*, to a full grown *lion*, and to a nursing *lioness*, the fiercest of all. Hence a *lion* was the standard of *Judah*. Compare *Numb.* ii. 3; *Ezek.* i. 10. The

city of *David*, where he reposed himself after his conquests, secure in the terror of his name, 1 Chron. xiv. 17, was called *Ariel*, “*the Lion of GOD*,” Isa. xxix. 1. And OUR LORD himself, his most illustrious descendant, “*the Lion of the tribe of Judah*,” Rev. v. 5.

The duration of the power of this famous tribe is next determined:—“*The sceptre of dominion*,” as it is understood, Esth. viii. 4, Isai. xiv. 5, &c. or its *civil* government, was not to cease, or depart from *Judah*, until the birth or coming of SHILOH, (signifying “*THE APOSTLE*,” as CHRIST is styled, Heb. iii. 1,) nor was the native *lawgiver*, or *expounder of the law*, “*teacher*, or *scribe* *,” intimating their *ecclesiastical* polity, to cease until SHILOH should have “*a congregation of peoples*,” or religious followers, attached to him.

And how accurately was this fulfilled in both respects!

1. Shortly before the birth of CHRIST, a decree was issued by *Augustus Cæsar*, that all the land of *Judea* and *Galilee* should be *enrolled*, or a registry of persons taken, in which CHRIST was included, Luke ii. 1—7; whence *Julian* the apostate unwittingly objected to his title of CHRIST, or KING, that “*He was born a subject of Cæsar!*” About eleven years after, *Judea* was made a *Roman* province, attached to *Syria*, on the deposal and banishment of *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod* the great, for mal-administration; and an *assessment* of properties, or “*taxing*,” was carried into effect by *Cyrenius*, then governor of *Syria*; the same who before, as the Emperor’s Procurator, had made the enrolment, Luke ii. 2, Acts v. 37; and thenceforth *Judea* was governed by a *Roman* deputy, and the *judicial* power of life or death taken away from the *Jews*, John xviii. 31.

2. Their *ecclesiastical* polity ceased with the destruction of their city and temple by the *Romans*, A.D. 70, at which time the GOSPEL had been preached throughout the known world by the *Apostles*, “*his witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth*,” Matt. xxiv. 14; Acts ii. 8; Rom. x. 18; and a vast congregation of *Christians* then formed, both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

Our Lord’s triumphant entry into *Jerusalem*, before his crucifixion, “*riding on an ass, even a colt, the foal of an ass*,” which, by his direction, his disciples brought to him for this purpose—

* See the *Chaldee Paraphrase* and the *Targums of Jerusalem and Jonathan*.

“Go into the village over against you, and presently ye shall find an *ass tied*, and a *colt* with her, *loose* them, and bring them unto me,” Matt. xxi. 2—5, (remarkably fulfilling the prophecy of *Zechariah*, ix. 9,) is no less a fulfilment of this prophecy of *Shiloh*, “binding, or tying, his *foal* to the *vine*, even his *asses colt* to the *choice vine*.” In ancient times, to ride upon white *asses*, or *ass colts*, was the privilege of persons of high rank, *Princes, Judges, and Prophets*, Judges v. 10; x. 4; Numb. xxii. 22. And as the children of *Israel* were symbolized by the *vine*, Psalm lxxx. 8, Hosea x. 1, “and the men of *Judah*” by “the [*choice*] *vine* of *Sorek* *,” in the original, both here and in the beautiful allegory of *Isaiah*, v. 1—7; adopted by *Jeremiah*, ii. 21, and by OUR LORD, Matt. xxi. 31, who styled himself “the *true vine*,” John xv. 1; so, the union of both these images signified our *Lord’s* assumption, as the promised *SHILOH*, of the dignity of *King of the Jews*; not in a *temporal*, but a spiritual sense, as he declared to *Pilate*, John xviii. 36, as a prelude to his second coming in glory, “to restore again the kingdom to *Israel*,” Matt. xxvi. 64, Acts i. 6.

The *vengeance* to be then inflicted on all the enemies of his Church, or “congregation” of faithful *Christians*, is expressed by the symbolical imagery of “washing his garments in *wine*, and his clothes in the *blood of grapes*,” which, to understand literally, would be incongruous, and unusual any where; while it aptly represents his garments crimsoned in the blood of his foes, and their immense slaughter, an imagery frequently adopted in the *prophetic* Scriptures. Thus, the evangelical prophet *Isaiah* foretels the triumphant inauguration of the Messiah, and the subsequent slaughter of his foes, after “the divine proclamation to the ends of the earth,” announcing his coming :

LXII. 11. “Say ye to the daughter of *Sion*,
 LO, THY SAVIOUR † cometh,
 Lo, his reward is with Him,
 And his work, before Him.”

* The valley of *Sorek*, Judg. xvi. 4, was in the district of *Judah*, near *Eshcol*, whence the spies sent by *Moses*, brought that extraordinary cluster of grapes, which was borne by two men, on a staff, between them, to *Kadesh Barnea*. Numb. xiii. 23.

† Here יְשׁוּעָה, (*Iesha*), “*salvation*,” is rendered, by all the versions, “*Saviour* ;” put for יְשׁוּעָה, (*Ieshuah*), as frequently elsewhere; compare Isa. xvii. 10, &c. with Deut. xxxii. 15, &c. From this latter *Jesus* is formed: “For he shall save his people from their sins,” Matt. i. 21.

- LXIII. 1. " Who is this, coming from *Edom* * ?
 With *dyed* garments from *Bosrah* ?
 This, who is glorious in his apparel ;
 Advancing in the greatness of his strength ?
 [' It is] I, *speaking in righteousness*,
 [Who am] *mighty to save*.'
 2. " Wherefore is thy apparel *red*,
 And thy garments as one treading *the wine-vat* ?
 3. ' *I have trodden the wine-vat alone*,
 And of the peoples there was not a man with me,
 And I trod them in mine *anger*,
 And trampled them in mine *indignation*,
And their blood was sprinkled upon my garments,
And I have stained all my apparel.
 4. For the *day of vengeance* was in my heart,
 And the year of *my Redeemed* was come.
 5. And I looked, and there was none to help ;
 And I wondered that there was none to uphold ;
 Therefore my own arm wrought salvation for me,
 And my indignation itself sustained me.
 6. *And I trod down the peoples in my anger*,
And spilled their blood upon the ground.' "

And such are the representations of CHRIST'S second coming, in the *Apocalypse*, evidently alluding hereunto.

" Lo, I come quickly,
 And *my reward is with me*,
 To give to every one according to his work †."——Rev. xxii. 12.

" Lo, a *white horse*, and his rider having a *bow* ;
 And a *crown* was given him, and he went forth
Conquering and to conquer."——vi. 2.

" And He was clad in a *garment dipt in blood*.—
 And himself treadeth the *wine-vat of the wrath*
And indignation of ALMIGHTY GOD."——xix. 11—15.

" And the *vat was trodden without the city*,
 And there came blood out of the vat, even to
 the horses' bridles, for 1600 furlongs."——xiv. 20.

The strength and wholesomeness of *Shiloh's* doctrine are next represented, by having "his eyes red with *wine*, and his teeth white with *milk*." And thus the evangelical prophet, in similar strains, invites the world to embrace the GOSPEL :

" Ho every one that *thirsteth*, come to the *waters*,
 And he that hath no money, come, buy and eat :

* *Edom* is put for the land of unbelievers, or infidels, who had been chastised.

† This explains the foregoing obscure passage, "*And his work before Him*," Isaiah lxii. 11.

Yea, come buy *wine* and *milk*,
Without money and without price."——Isa. lv. i.

On the last day of the feast of *Tabernacles*, it was customary among the *Jews*, for the priests to bring water from the fountain of *Siloah*, or *Siloam*, which they poured upon the altar, singing the words of *Isaiah*, xii. 3. "*With joy shall ye draw water from the fountain of salvation ;*" which the Targum interprets, "*With joy shall ye receive a new doctrine, from the Elect of THE JUST ONE.*" And the feast itself was also called *Hosanna*. ("*Save, we beseech Thee.*") And *Isaiah* has also described the *apostacy* of the *Jews*, from their tutelar God, *IMMANUEL*, under the corresponding imagery of their "rejecting the gently flowing waters of *Siloah.*" *Isaiah* viii. 6—8.

Hence *OUR LORD*, on the last day of the feast, significantly invited the *Jews* to come unto Him, as "the true and living fountain of waters," Jer. ii. 13. "*If any thirst, let him come to ME, and drink,*" John vii. 37. He also compared his doctrine to *new wine*, which required to be put into *new bottles*, made of skins strong enough to contain it, Matt. ix. 17, while *THE GOSPEL* is repeatedly represented as affording "*milk* for babes," or "the first principles of the Oracles of God," for novices in the faith, as well as *strong meat* [and *strong wine*] for "masters in *CHRIST*," or adepts, Matt. xiii. 11 ; Heb. v. 12—14.

And our Lord's most significant miracle was wrought at this fountain, when he gave sight to a man of forty years old, blind from his birth, by sending him, after he had *anointed* his eyes with moistened clay, to wash in the pool of *Siloam*, (which is the Greek pronunciation of the Hebrew שִׁלּוֹחַ, *Siloah*, or *Siloh*, Isa. viii. 6, where the Septuagint Version reads Σιλωαμ;) signifying, according to the Evangelist, ἀπεσταλμενος, "*sent forth*;" and consequently, derived from שִׁלּוֹחַ, *Shalahh*, "*to send*," John ix. 7. *OUR LORD* thus assuming to himself his two leading titles of *MESSIAH*, signifying "*anointed*," and *SHILOH*, "*sent forth*," or delegated from *GOD* ; as he had done before, at the opening of his mission :—

"*THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD* is upon me, because He hath *anointed* Me to preach the Gospel to the poor ; He hath *sent* Me *forth*, (ἀπεσταλκε,) to heal the broken-hearted," &c. Luke iv. 18.

And in the course of it he declared, "I was not *sent forth*

(ἀπεσταλην,) but unto the *lost sheep* of the house of *Israel*," Matt. xv. 24, by a two-fold reference to his character in *Jacob's* prophecy of *SHILOH*, and *SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL*, Gen. xlix. 10—24;—"This is life eternal, to know Thee, *THE ONLY TRUE GOD*, and *JESUS CHRIST*, whom Thou *sentest forth*," (ἀπεστειλας,) to instruct and save *mankind*, John xvii. 3; and He thus distinguishes his own superior mission, from his commission to his Apostles: "AS *THE FATHER hath sent forth Me*, so I *send you*," (ἀπεσταλκε με—πεμπω υμας,) John xx. 21.

Whence *St. Paul* expressly styles "JESUS CHRIST the *Apostle*, (ὁ αποστολος,) and *High Priest* of our profession," Heb. iii. 1. And by an elaborate argument, shews the superiority of his *mission*, above that of *Moses*, and of his *Priesthood* above that of *Aaron*, in the sequel of the Epistle. His *Priesthood* was foretold by *David*, to be a *Royal Priesthood*, after the order of *Melchizedek*, Psalm cx. 4; but where shall we find his *Mission* or *Apostleship* foretold, except in *Jacob's* prophecy of *Shiloh*? which was evidently so understood by *Moses*, when God offered to *send* him as His ambassador to *Pharaoh*, and he declined, at first, the arduous mission: "O MY LORD, send, I pray thee, by the hand of *Him whom Thou wilt send*," or by the promised *Shiloh*, Exod. iii. 10, iv. 13, by whom, in his last blessing to the *Israelites*, parallel to that of *Jacob*, he prayed that "GOD would bring back *Judah* to his people," from captivity, Deut. xxxiii. 7.

Here, then, we find the true meaning and derivation of the much-disputed term, *Shiloh**, in this prophecy of *Jacob*, which

* Instead of שלה, *Shilohh*, ending with ה, *Hheth*, the present *Masorete* text reads שילה; and in the most correct MSS. שלה, ending with ה, *He**: which might easily have been corrupted from the former, by the erosions of age, changing ה, *Hheth*, into ה, *He*; or by the mistake of transcribers, confounding these similar letters, in some early copies.

Of the various derivations of the present reading the most approved by lexicographers and commentators, *Buxtorf*, *Leigh*, the *Robinsons*, *Parkhurst*, *Mede*, &c. is from שלה, *Shalah*, "to be peaceable, quiet, or tranquil." But however applicable this may be to CHRIST after his second coming, as "the *Prince of Peace*," Isai. ix. 6: when peace and harmony will universally prevail; OUR LORD himself rather disclaimed the title at his first coming: "Think ye, that I came to give peace upon earth? I tell you nay, but rather *division*," Luke xii. 51, or "the sword," Matt. x. 34; "I came to cast fire

* See *Kennicott* and *De Rossi's* Collations on the place; and especially in the latter, the *Appendix*, Vol. IV. p. 217, where the rejection of the second letter, ה *Iod*, seems to be fully established.

is fortunately preserved by the Vulgate rendering, *Qui mittendus est*, "He that is to be sent;" and also by a Rabbinical comment on Deut. xxii. 7, "If you keep this precept, you hasten the coming of the MESSIAH, who is called SENT."

This important prophecy concerning *Judah*, intimates, 1. the warlike character and conquests of this tribe. 2. The cessation of their civil and ecclesiastical polity, at the first coming of *Shiloh*. 3. His meek and lowly inauguration at that time, as spiritual *King of the Jews*, riding on an *ass*, like the ancient *Judges* and *Prophets*. 4. His second coming, as a warrior, to trample upon all his foes; and 5. to save and instruct his faithful people.

ZEBULON.

The fortune of *Zebulon* is next foretold, not only that he should be a maritime tribe, but that his border should reach to the territory of *Zidon*. This is a remarkably minute *local* prophecy, so many years before the conquest and division of the promised land.

ISSACHAR.

The lot of this tribe was to be in a pleasant land. It is compared to the *ass*, patient of labour, and submissive to tribute; and was the least warlike of all the tribes. They made no attempts to drive out the ancient inhabitants of the land, but settled among them, and submitted to their rule. This may be collected from the silence of the sacred historian respecting *Issachar*, where he records the wars of the other eight and half tribes on the west side of *Jordan*, to subdue the natives, *Judah*, *Simeon*, *Benjamin*, *Ephraim*, *Manasseh*, *Zebulon*, *Asher*, *Nephthali*, and *Dan*, in the first chapter of *Judges*.

upon the earth, and what will I, if it be already kindled?" Luke xii. 49.—"OUR GOD is a consuming fire," Heb. xii. 29. "His fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor; He will gather the *wheat*, (the *good*,) into his garner, but he will burn the *chaff*, (the *bad*,) with unquenchable fire," Matt. iii. 12.—And surely *the sword of THE LORD*, which formerly desolated *Judea*, for the rebellions of the Jews, and their rejection and crucifixion of the Lord of Life, is now going through *Christendom*, to punish the lukewarmness and apostasy of the Christian Churches, in this declining age of *faith*, foretold by our Lord: "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh [again] will he find *faith* upon the earth?" or Christianity any where established in purity.—*The signs of the times* are tremendous, and threaten the subversion of all religious establishments!

DAN.

Dan was the elder of *Jacob's* sons by *Rachel's* maid. From his name, signifying "*Judge*," he promises him an equal rank among the tribes of *Leah's* and *Rachel's* sons. This was a very numerous and warlike tribe, "A lion's whelp," Deut. xxxiii. 22, which, from the craft and stratagems they should use against their enemies, he compares to a *serpent*, biting the horse-heels of the passengers.—When straitened for room, they sent spies to discover what part of their enemies' land was weakest, and most exposed to their attack, and thus surprised and destroyed the careless and secure inhabitants of *Laish*, or *Leshem*, Josh. xix. 47, Judg. xviii. And *Samson*, the Judge, destroyed the *Philistines* by stratagem, Judg. xvi. 30.

A remarkable ejaculation is here introduced by the venerable Prophet.

"I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!"

It was perhaps suggested by the preceding image of the *serpent* biting the heels of the horse, and throwing his rider; which might have reminded him of the *old serpent* bruising the heel of the *blessed Seed* of the woman, or CHRIST, who is frequently represented in Scripture as a *horseman*, going to battle against his enemies, Psalm xlv. 3—5, &c. Rev. vi. 2, xix. 11. And the contemplation of his grand victory over the serpent, "by bruising his head," or finally destroying him and his power, foretold to our first parents, and now more fully unfolded to the Patriarch, in the foregoing signal prophecy of *Shiloh*, near the close of his days, after he had long waited for a clearer disclosure of this mysterious mode of salvation, would naturally have produced such an ejaculation: which was afterwards adopted by the pious *Simeon*, when he actually saw the LORD'S CHRIST, Luke ii. 25—32.

And in this sense it is also understood by the ancient Jewish *Targums* of *Jonathan* and *Jerusalem*, which thus paraphrase it, recording the sense of the primitive *Jewish Church*.

T. *Jonathan.*

“I wait not for the salvation of *Gideon*; I expect not the salvation of *Samson*, because their salvation was a *temporal* salvation; but I wait for and expect thy salvation, O Lord, because thy salvation is an *everlasting* salvation.”

T. *Jerusalem.*

“My soul waits not for the salvation of *Gideon*, son of *Joash*, which is temporal; nor the salvation of *Samson*, which is a transitory salvation; but the salvation which thou saidst by THY WORD should come to thy people, the children of *Israel*: my soul waits for this thy salvation.”

GAD.

The prediction concerning this tribe bears an affinity to the foregoing, in the allusion to the name, “a *troop*,” and the mode of deliverance. This was a valiant tribe, and with the *Reubenites* and half tribe of *Manasseh*, settled in the conquered territories of *Sion*, *Og*, and the *Moabites*, on the east side of *Jordan*.

ASHER,

Whose name signifies “happiness,” was fortunate in his lot, which abounded in *oil*, Deut. xxxiii. 24, choice wines, aromatic shrubs, balms, perfumes, &c. “a place where there was no want of any thing that is on the earth,” Judg. xviii. 10.

NEPHTHALI.

This tribe was to possess a rich and fertile land*; see *Moses*' description in the parallel place, Deut. xxxiii. 23. When *David* was crowned king of all Israel at *Hebron*, this and the neighbouring tribes supplied meat, meal, cakes of figs, bunches of raisins, wine, oil, oxen, and sheep, for the entertainment, 1 Chron. xii. 40. It bordered on *Lebanon*, so celebrated for its *beauty* and *fertility*, and especially for its *wine*, Hosea xiv. 5—7.

* *Nephthali* is compared to a “*hind*,” in our English Bible, but אילה also signifies “an oak,” as well as אלה; see Isa. i. 29, lxi. 3, lxvii. 5, and שלוח is “a shoot.”

JOSEPH.

Jacob having now come to his favourite son, by his beloved wife, and the most deserving of all his children, dwells on him with peculiar tenderness and affection. He compares him to “a fruitful plant;” according to the interpretation of the Rabbins *Jonas* and *Jehuda*, (deriving the word פֶּרֶת from פֶּאֵר,) meaning thereby “the vine,” according to the Targums of *Jonathan* and *Jerusalem*; which is usually planted against a wall, or other prop, Psalm cxxviii. 3. And accordingly, the two tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, flourished exceedingly, were settled in the finest part of the land of promise, and spread on both sides of the river *Jordan*, to the *Mediterranean* sea, westwards, and eastwards towards the wilderness of *Kedemoth*. See the *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 422. He next recounts his sufferings from his brethren, “who hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him,” Gen. xxxvii. 4; but “shot out their arrows, even bitter words;” and “laid snares for him,” and persecuted him, Psalm lxiv. 2—5, and then his deliverance by the mighty God of *Jacob*; for “his bow remained in strength, and his hands bended its arms;” when he retorted their own policy against them, and charged them with being spies, &c. And “GOD suddenly shot at them with an arrow, and they were wounded; so that their own tongue fell upon themselves,” Psalm lxiv. 7, 8. when their conscience smote them, and “they said, *we are verily guilty concerning our brother*,” &c. Gen. xlii. 21. His repeated deliverances in *Egypt* from his mistress, and from prison, and his advancement to the regency, are next aptly represented, I conceive, by the three-fold repetition of the divine titles, “by the name of the SHEPHERD, the ROCK * of *Israel*,” &c. (supposing these to relate, as they do most naturally, to the preceding, rather than to the following sentence; and that מִשֶׁם, should be rendered “by the name †,” rather than “from thence,” which easily connects them therewith) and his multiplied blessings form the conclusion: these were, 1. a fertile and extensive country, stretching to the mountains which formed their northern and eastern

* This title of the “stone,” or “rock,” which is frequent in the poetical Scriptures, was probably borrowed from *Jacob's* pillow, Gen. xxviii. 12, 13.

† Instead of מִשֶׁם, the Syriac Translator reads, מִשֶׁם.

barriers; 2. a *numerous progeny* to possess it; which in the joint population of the house of *Joseph*, or two tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, considerably exceeded any other tribe; so that they complained to *Joshua*, "Why hast thou given me but one lot and one portion to inherit, seeing I am a great people; because THE LORD hath blessed me hitherto?" Josh. xviii. 14. And 3. *superior authority* * over his brethren. Besides *Joshua*, the successor of *Moses*, *five* of the twelve succeeding *judges* were of the tribe of *Ephraim*, as expressly stated; and probably two of the others, *Deborah* and *Abdon*, Judg. iv. 5, xii. 15. And though the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah* furnished the three first kings, *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*; after the revolt of the ten tribes, on the accession of *Rehoboam*, *Jeroboam* the *Ephraimite*, was made king of *Israel*, and the crown remained for some generations in his family; and the tribe of *Ephraim* held the lead, until the *Assyrian* captivity. These conclusions seem to be supported by the parallel blessing of *Joseph*, in *Moses*' prophecy; on which the alterations of the translation of this last clause are principally founded, Deut. xxxiii. 13—16.

BENJAMIN.

The last tribe is compared to a *wolf*, for its ferocious and martial disposition, such as was evinced in their contest with all the other tribes, in which, after two victories, they were almost exterminated, Judg. xix. and xx. Its union with the tribe of *Judah* seems to be intimated in their joint conquests, expressed nearly in the same terms; "*Judah* went up from the *prey*;"—"*Benjamin* devoured the *prey*." *Moses*, in his parallel prophecy, confirms this, by signifying that the *Sanctuary* should be fixed in his lot; and that He should continue as long as the existence of the Temple itself.

"THE BELOVED OF THE LORD shall dwell with him in safety,
And shall cover him *all the day long*;
And shall dwell between his shoulders.—Deut. xxxiii. 12.

* The word נָזִיר, (*Nazir*), applied to *Joseph* both by *Jacob* and *Moses*, signifies "separated," or "distinguished" by superior eminence and dignity. In *Persia*, at present, *Nazir* is the title of the first officer of state, or superintendent of all the demesnes.—*Sir John Chardin*.

This wondrous chain of prophecies, stretching so far into futurity, and including a train of events, as minute and circumstantial, in some particulars, as they are important in others, prove, all together, by their exact accomplishment, that this highly-gifted Prophet spake as “THE SPIRIT gave him utterance;” unfolding, especially, in a surprising degree, the fortunes of the *Jewish* nation, still fulfilling; and a more distinct and extensive view of the two-fold character of “the blessed SEED,” as an *Apostle* and a *Conqueror*, than had been vouchsafed to any of the preceding Prophets.

Abraham and *Moses* excepted, none of the Prophets appear to have been favoured with such frequent communications with the *angelic* host, and with GOD himself, as *Jacob*, Gen. xxviii. 12—17, xxxii. 1, 2, xxxv. 1—15, &c. But most astonishing was his “*wrestling* with GOD, in a human form, *face to face*,”—when he meditated flight from his offended brother *Esau*; a *symbolical* mode of instruction, to support his spirits, by yielding, as it were, to his might, when his divine antagonist “prevailed not against him” in the struggle; and to disable him from flight, by an unequivocal proof of divine power, in touching and dislocating his thigh, so that he halted thereon; and also to encourage him, by the new name of *Israel*, given to him in consequence of this significant transaction:—“Thy name shall no more be called *Jacob*,” (“*the supplanter*,” a term of reproach,) but *Israel*: for as a *prince* hast thou power with GOD; and with *men* shalt thou prevail*.” And from this high title, his posterity were denominated “children of *Israel*,” rather than of *Jacob*, Gen. xxxii. 22—32, xxxv. 1—10; Hosea xii. 4.

JOSEPH’S PROPHECY.

The inspired *Joseph* also, before his death, comforted his brethren with the prospect of the future accomplishment of the divine promises.—“God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land, unto the land which he swore unto *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*.”—The Apostle cites this as an evidence of his *faith*, Heb. xi. 22. With the death of *Joseph*, at the age of 110 years, the book of *Genesis* ends.

* This is the excellent reading of the *Septuagint*: ὅτι ἐνισχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός ἐσθ, the former is an exact translation of שְׂרִית עִם אֱלֹהִים, whence יִשְׂרָאֵל, *Israel* is derived; the latter is rightly rendered in the future tense, to denote his ensuing success with *Esau*, *Pharaoh*, &c.

EGYPTIAN BONDAGE.

The extraordinary increase of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, is expressed by a remarkable amplification of terms: and “they were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them,” Exod. i. 7.

The prodigious increase of their numbers and power, excited the jealousy and apprehension of the court of *Egypt*, when “a new king arose, who knew not Joseph,” or regarded not his great and important services to the state; and who, in violation of their charter, as a free people, naturalized in the country, in order to check their population, and exhaust their strength, put them to works of hard labour, “and made them serve with rigour, and made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field,” Exod. i. 9—14.

Beside “the store cities of *Pithon* * and *Raampses* †,” which they built for *Pharaoh*, on the confines of the desert of *Arabia*, *Josephus* mentions that they were employed in making canals and embankments, to prevent the overflowing of the river, and also in building pyramids. Perhaps the principal *brick* pyramids found in *Egypt*, were their work.

The Bible chronology, following *Usher*, dates the commencement of their bondage immediately from *Joseph's* death, or seventy-one years after their settlement in *Egypt*: but this seems to be too soon for the *Egyptians* to forget *Joseph*, and for the *Israelites* to increase to such a degree. We may, therefore, reasonably date it about thirty years, or one generation later, or about a century after their settlement.

The more the *Israelites* were oppressed, the more they multiplied and grew, and the more were the *Egyptians* alarmed; finding, therefore, this expedient insufficient to check their increase, the *Hebrew* midwives were ordered to destroy all the male children that should be born, but they disobeyed the command; alleging that the *Hebrew* women were more lively than

* פתן, or *Pith-on*, or *Beth-on*, “the house of *On*,” or the Sun; was a second *Helio-polis*, near *Babylon*; both built upon the confines of *Arabia*, according to *Ptolomy*.—*Bryant, Plagues of Egypt*, p. 318.

† Instead of *Raampses*, the Sept. reads *Ramesses*; and *Eusebius* says, that *Ramesses*, which gave name to that district of the land of *Goshen*, Gen. xlvii. 11, was built by the *Israelites*.

the *Egyptian*, and did not require their assistance ; upon which that cruel edict was issued by the king, that all the male infants should be destroyed, Exod. i. 12—22.

This decree was in force at the birth of *Moses*, sixty-four years after the death of *Joseph* ; and was probably enacted soon after the birth of his elder brother, *Aaron*, three years earlier, who was not subject to the decree. We may date it, therefore, about the thirty-second year of their bondage, and about 133 years after their settlement.

MOSES.

This illustrious legislator of the *Israelites* was of the tribe of *Levi*, in the line of *Kohath* and of *Amram*, whose son he was, and therefore, in the fourth generation after the settlement of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*. The time of his birth is ascertained by the exode of the *Israelites*, when *Moses* was eighty years old, Exod. vii. 7.

By a singular Providence, the infant *Moses*, when exposed on the river *Nile*, through fear of the royal decree, after his mother had hid him three months, because he was a goodly child, was taken up and adopted by *Pharaoh's* daughter, and nursed by his own mother, whom she hired, at the suggestion of his sister *Miriam*. Thus did he find an asylum in the very palace of his intended destroyer ;—while his intercourse with his own family and nation was still most naturally, though unexpectedly, maintained ; so mysterious are the ways of Heaven.—And while he was instructed “ in all the *wisdom* of the Egyptians,” and bred up in the midst of a luxurious court, he acquired at home the knowledge of the promised *redemption* of Israel ; and “ by faith in the REDEEMER CHRIST, refused to be called the son of *Pharaoh's* daughter ; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to have enjoyment of sinful pleasures for a season, esteeming the reproach of CHRIST, (or persecution for CHRIST'S sake,) greater wealth than the treasure of Egypt : for *he had respect to the* [future] *recompence of reward,*” Exod. ii. 1—10 ; Acts vii. 20—22 ; Heb. xi. 23—26 ; or looked forward to a future state.

When *Moses* was grown to manhood, and was full forty years old, he was moved by a divine impulse, as it seems, to undertake the deliverance of his countrymen, “ for he supposed that

his brethren would have understood how that GOD, *by his hand, would give them deliverance*, but they understood not."—For when, in the excess of his zeal to redress their grievances, he slew an *Egyptian*, who injured one of them, and afterwards endeavoured to reconcile two of them that were at variance, they rejected his mediation, and "the man who had done wrong said, *Who made thee a judge and a ruler over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?*"—So *Moses*, finding it was known, and that *Pharaoh* sought to slay him, fled for his life to the land of *Midian*, in *Arabia Petraea*, where he married *Zipporah*, the daughter of *Jethro*, or *Reuel*, prince and priest of *Midian*, and as a shepherd, kept his flocks in the vicinity of Mount *Horeb*, or *Sinai*, for forty years, *Exod.* ii. 11—21; iii. 1; xviii. 5; *Numb.* x. 29; *Acts* vii. 23—30.

During this long exile, *Moses* was trained in the school of adversity, for that arduous mission which he had prematurely anticipated, and instead of the flaming zeal which at first actuated him, at length became "*very meek*, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth," *Numb.* xii. 3. And no man indeed had greater trials, or more occasion for meekness, and his *humility* was equal thereto. His backwardness afterwards to undertake that mission, for which he was destined from the womb, was no less remarkable than his forwardness before, *Exod.* iv. 10—13.

At length, when the oppression of the *Israelites* was come to the full, and they cried to GOD for succour, and the king was dead, and all the men in *Egypt* that sought his life, "the God of glory" appeared to *Moses*, in a flame of fire, from the midst of a bush, and announced himself as "the God of *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, and of *Jacob*," under the titles of *JAHOH* and *ÆHJEH*, expressive of his *unity* and *sameness**, and commissioned him first to make known to the *Israelites* the divine will for their deliverance; and next, to go with the elders of Israel to *Pharaoh*, requiring him, in the name of "*THE LORD*, the God of the *Hebrews*, to suffer the people to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to sacrifice unto the Lord their God,"—after such sacrifices had been long intermitted during their bondage, when the *Egyptians* had sunk into bestial polytheism, and would have stoned them had they attempted to sacrifice their principal

* See the sixth Dissertation on the *primitive names of the Deity*, in the volume of *Dissertations on the prophetic character of our Lord*.

divinities, the *Apis*, or *Bull*, &c. in the land itself. Foretelling also the opposition they would meet from the king, the mighty signs and wonders that would finally compel his assent, and their spoiling of the *Egyptians*, by *asking**, or *demanding* of them (not *borrowing*) jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, (by way of wages or compensation for their services,) as originally foretold to *Abraham*, that "they should go out from thence with *great substance*," Gen. xv. 14; Exod. ii. 23—25; iii. 2—22; viii. 25, 26.

To vouch his divine commission to the *Israelites*, God enabled him to work three signal miracles: 1. turning his *rod* into a *serpent*, and restoring it again; 2. making his hand *leprous* as snow, when he first drew it out of his bosom, and restoring it sound as before when he next drew it out; and 3. turning the water of the river into *blood*. And the people believed the signs, and the promised deliverance, and worshipped.

To assist him also in his arduous mission, when *Moses* had represented that "he was not eloquent, but slow of speech," and of a slow or stammering tongue, GOD inspired *Aaron*, his elder brother, to go and meet *Moses* in the wilderness, to be his *spokesman* to the people, Exod. iv. 1—31, and his *prophet* to *Pharaoh*, while *Moses* was to be a *God* to both, as speaking to them in the name, or by the authority of God himself, Exod. vii. 1, 2.

At their first interview with *Pharaoh*, they declared: "Thus saith THE LORD, the GOD OF ISRAEL, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness." And *Pharaoh* said, "*Who is THE LORD*, that I should obey his voice to let *Israel* go? I know not [or regard not] THE LORD, neither will I let *Israel* go."

In answer to this haughty tyrant, they styled the LORD by a more ancient title, which the *Egyptians* ought to have known

* In this prophecy, and in its performance afterwards, Exod. xii. 35, 36, the verb לָשָׁא, in the conjugation *Kal*, is improperly rendered to "*borrow*," instead of to "*ask*," or "*demand*," which is its usual signification; and in *Hiphil*, to "*lend*," instead of to "*give freely*;" as in a parallel passage, where "*Hannah freely gave*," or consecrated to THE LORD her first born son, whom she had "*asked*," or prayed for, in obedience to the law of *Moses* respecting the first born, 1 Sam. i. 28; Exod. xiii. 2.—On the present mis-translation has been grafted a calumny against the *Israelites*, as if they cheated the *Egyptians*; whereas "THE LORD gave them favour in the sight of the *Egyptians*," who freely gave what they as freely asked.

and respected, from *Abraham's* days, when He plagued them in the matter of *Sarah* :

“THE GOD OF THE HEBREWS hath met with us: Let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God, lest He fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword.” Plainly intimating to *Pharaoh* also, not to incur his indignation, by refusing to comply with his desire.—But the king not only refused, but increased the burdens of the people, *Exod. v. 1—19.* And the people murmured and hearkened not unto *Moses*, when he repeated from THE LORD His assurances of deliverance and protection, for anguish of spirit, and for cruel bondage, *Exod. v. 20—23, vi. 1—9.*

At their second interview with *Pharaoh*, in obedience to the divine command, again requiring him to let the children of *Israel* go out of his land; *Pharaoh*, as foretold, demanded of them to shew a miracle for themselves, in proof of their commission, when *Aaron* cast down his rod, and it became a serpent, before *Pharaoh*, and before his servants, or officers of his court.

The king then called upon his *wise men* and *magicians*, to know if they could do as much by the power of their gods, “and they did so with their *enchantments*; for they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents, but *Aaron's* rod swallowed up their serpents.”

Here the original phrase ויעשו כן, “and they did so,” or “in like manner,” may only indicate the attempt*, and not the deed; as afterwards, in the plague of lice, “when they did so with their *enchantments*, but could not,” *Exod. viii. 18.* And indeed, the original term, להטיהם, rendered “their *enchantments*,” as derived from the root לאט, or לוט, to *hide* or *cover*, fitly expresses the secret deceptions of *legerdemain*, or “sleight of hand,” to impose on spectators. And the remark of the magicians, when unable to imitate the production of lice, which was beyond their skill and dexterity, on account of their minuteness,—“this is the finger of a God!”—seems to strengthen the supposition; especially as the *Egyptians* were famous for *legerdemain*, and for charming serpents; and the magicians, having had notice of the miracle they were expected to imitate, they might make provision

* *Apuleius*, speaking of a juggler, describes his tricks as if they were realities; as “swallowing a sharp-pointed spear, and plunging a lance into his belly.”—*Circulatoreum aspexi equestrem, spatham præacutam mucrone infesto devorasse; ac mox eundem venatoriam lanceam—in ima viscera condidisse.* *Metam. lib. i.*

accordingly, and bring live serpents, which they might have substituted for their rods. And though *Aaron's* serpent swallowed up their serpents, shewing the superiority of the *true miracle* over the *false*, 2 Thess. ii. 9, it might only lead the king to conclude, that *Moses* and *Aaron* were more expert jugglers than *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who opposed them, 2 Tim. iii. 8. And *the heart of Pharaoh was hardened**, so that he "hearkened not unto them, as THE LORD had said," or foretold, Exod. vi. 10, 11; vii. 8—13.

The incredulity of *Pharaoh* on this occasion, only resembled the incredulity of the *Israelites* themselves, when the same miracle was wrought before them; and it was not considered as decisive, even by THE LORD, when he supposed that they might not be convinced till the third miraculous sign, as was actually the case, iv. 8, 9, compared with iv. 30, 31. In both cases, therefore, the reality of the transformation might have been doubted by *Pharaoh* as well as by the *Israelites*, on the supposition that it might have been the effect of legerdemain.

After this miracle, the rod was restored, as before, vii. 15.

THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

The design of these visitations, growing more awful and tremendous in their progress, was to make *Pharaoh know*, and confess, that the GOD OF THE HEBREWS, was THE SUPREME LORD; and to exhibit his power and his justice, in the strongest light, to *all the nations of the earth*, Exod. ix. 16, 1 Sam. iv. 8, &c. to execute judgment upon the *Egyptians*, and upon *all their gods*, inanimate and bestial, for their cruelty to the *Israelites*, and for their grovelling *polytheism* and *idolatry*, vii. 14—17, xii. 12.

The season of the year, and the commencement of the plagues, is no where specified, but both may be collected from the his-

* The original is so rendered by all the ancient Versions, without exception, and by the most judicious modern translators, *Coverdale*, the *Geneva Bible*, *Le Chais*, &c. Our last Translators incorrectly render, "And HE hardened *Pharaoh's* heart," inconsistently with their rendering of the same phrase afterwards, Exod. vii. 22, viii. 19, ix. 7, as above; for *Pharaoh hardened his own heart* several times before GOD began to harden it. They seem to have been led into this mischievous error, by the expression, "as THE LORD had said;" referring to the foregoing; "And I will harden his heart," iv. 21; and "I will harden *Pharaoh's* heart," vii. 3; but this did not take place till *Pharaoh* became obdurate and incorrigible, ix. 12.

tory. The exode of the *Israelites*, after the tenth and last plague, was about the vernal equinox, or beginning of April, on the fifteenth day of the first month, *Abib*, *Exod.* xii. 6 ; but by the seventh plague of *hail*, the *barley* was smitten, but not the *wheat* and *rye* of later growth. For according to the report of modern travellers, *Egmont*, *Hayman*, and *Hasselquist*, the barley harvest in Egypt is reaped in *March*, and the wheat in *April* ; and *Le Brun* found the whole to be over at *Cairo* upon the nineteenth of *April*. This agrees with the account of *Moses*, that “ *the barley was in the ear,*” though not yet fit for reaping ; but the “ *wheat and the rye were not grown up,*” ix. 31, 32. This judgment, therefore, must have happened about a month before the exode, or in the beginning of *March*, before the *barley* harvest, so early as to leave room for the three succeeding plagues ; and if we count backwards two months, by the same analogy, for the six first plagues, it will bring the first about the beginning of *January*, or commencement of the winter season ; at which time the river *Nile* was lowest, and its waters clearest* : as evidently indicated by

THE FIRST PLAGUE.

The *Nile* was the principal divinity of the *Egyptians*.—According to *Heliodorus*, “ they paid divine honours to this river, and revered it as the first of their gods. They declared him to be the *rival of heaven*, since he watered the country without the aid of clouds and rain,” *Ethiop.* B. IX. And the priests told *Herodotus*, that one of the kings of Egypt, *Pheron*, the son of *Sesostris*, was struck blind by the *river-god*, for an act of impiety : “ That at a time when the inundation had risen to the extraordinary height of more than eighteen cubits, a violent storm of wind having arisen, which greatly agitated the waters, the king, with a foolish temerity, took a javelin in his hand, and flung it into the midst of the foaming billows, for which he was immediately seized with a pain in his eyes, which made him blind for ten years,” B. II. § 111. This proves how excessive was their superstitious adoration of their river. His principal festival was at the summer solstice, when the inundation commenced ; at which season, in the *dog-days*, by a cruel idolatrous rite, they sacrificed red-haired persons, principally foreigners, to

* See the account of the annual inundation of the *Nile*, Vol. I. p. 33.

Typhon, or the power that presided over tempests, at *Busiris**, *Heliopolis*, &c. by burning them alive, and scattering their ashes in the air, for the good of the people; as we learn from *Plutarch, Isis et Osir.* Vol. I. p. 380. Hence *Bryant* infers the probability, that these victims were chosen from among the *Israelites*, during their residence in *Egypt.* *Plagues, &c.* p. 117.

The judgment then inflicted upon the river, and all the waters of *Egypt*, in the presence of *Pharaoh* and of his servants, as foretold, when as soon as *Aaron* had smitten the waters of the river, they were turned into *blood*, and continued in that state for *seven days*, so that all the *fish* died, and the *Egyptians* could not drink of the waters of the river, in which they delighted, as the most wholesome of all waters; but were forced to dig wells for pure water to drink; was a significant sign of *GOD's* displeasure for their senseless idolatry, in worshipping the river, and its fish; and also "a manifest reproof of that bloody edict, whereby the infants were slain," *Wisd. xi. 7*, and a punishment on themselves; in which also the *Israelites* shared, who had been infected with their idolatries.

The *magicians* imitated this miracle also, with their enchantments. And *Pharaoh's heart was hardened* a second time; "neither did he *set his heart* to this also," as soon as the river was restored, *Exod. vii. 15—25.*

SECOND PLAGUE.

In the plague of *frogs*, their sacred river itself was made an active instrument of their punishment, together with another of their gods. The *frog* was one of their sacred animals, consecrated to the *sun*, and considered as an emblem of divine inspiration in its inflations †.

This was a severe chastisement; for the frogs came up from the rivers, and covered the land of *Egypt*: they penetrated every where, polluting and defiling every thing they touched,

* *Quis illaudati nescit Busiridis aras? Virg. Georg. iii. 5.*

*Cum Thrasius Busirin adit, monstatque piari
Hospitis effuso sanguine, posse Jovem. Ovid. Art. Am. I. 649.*

† In the symbolical imagery of the *Apocalypse*, three *unclean* or *demoniacal* spirits, *doing signs*, or proposing miracles, like *frogs*, are represented as issuing from the mouths of the *dragon*, the *beast*, and the *false prophet*, *Rev. xvi. 13.* It is singular, that the ancient arms of *France* were *three frogs!* *Comment on Nostradamus, p. 251. edit. 1672.*

their beds, ovens, and kneading-troughs. In this plague also, the *Israelites* were involved. The *magicians* imitated this miracle also. *Pharaoh*, however, began to be humbled; he sent for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and said, "Intreat THE LORD, that He may take away the frogs from me, and from my people; and I will let the people go, that they may sacrifice to the Lord."—But when the plague was removed, and precisely at the time he had appointed himself—"to-morrow;" and *Pharaoh* saw that there was respite, he hardened his heart, a third time, and broke his promise, viii. 1—15.

THIRD PLAGUE.

This plague of *lice*, which was produced without any previous intimation to *Pharaoh*, was peculiarly offensive to a people so superstitiously nice and cleanly as the *Egyptians*; and above all, to their *priests*, "who used to shave their whole body every third day, that neither *louse*, nor any other vermin, might be found upon them, while they were employed in serving their gods," as we learn from *Herodotus*, B. II. § 37. And *Plutarch* informs us, that "they never wore *woollen* garments, but *linen* only, because linen is least apt to produce *lice*." *De Isid. et Osir.* Vol. II. p. 352. This plague, therefore, was particularly disgraceful to the *magicians* themselves, and when they tried to imitate it, but failed, on account of the minuteness of the objects, (not like *serpents*, *water*, or *frogs*, of a sensible bulk that could be handled,) they were forced to confess, that this was no *human* feat of legerdemain, but rather, "the finger of a God," or wrought by the supernatural agency of some *demon*. For they gave not the glory to THE ONLY TRUE GOD; nor "the honour due unto his name," as the GOD OF THE HEBREWS. This we may collect from their continuing to withstand *Moses*, until the sixth plague of the *boil*, which they shared in common with the *Egyptians*; after which we hear no more of them. Thus were the "*illusions of art magic* put down, and their vaunting in *wisdom* reprov'd with *disgrace*," *Wisd.* xvii. 7. "*Their folly was manifest unto all men*," in absurdly and wickedly attempting at first to place the feats of human art on a level with the stupendous operations of divine power, in the two first plagues: and being foiled in the third, by shamefully miscarrying, they exposed themselves to the contempt of their

admirers*. And the Apostle imputes their *folly*, in “*withstanding the truth*,” to their being men of a “*corrupt mind, reprobate, [or undiscerning]*” concerning the FAITH,” or belief in the ONE TRUE LORD OF ALL, 2 Tim. iii. 8.

Philo, the Jew, has a fine observation on the plagues of *Egypt*: “Some, perhaps, may enquire, why did God punish the country by such minute and contemptible animals [as *frogs, lice, flies,*] rather than by *bears, lions, leopards,* or other kinds of savage beasts, which prey on human flesh? or if not by these, [why not] by the Egyptian *asp*, whose bite is instant death? But let him learn, if he be ignorant, first, that GOD chose rather to *correct* than to *destroy* the inhabitants: for if He desired to annihilate them utterly, he had no need to have made use of *animals* as his auxiliaries, but of the divinely inflicted evils of *famine* and *pestilence*. Next, let him further learn that lesson so necessary for every state of life, namely, that *men*, when they war, seek the most powerful aid to supply their own weakness; but GOD, the highest and the greatest power, who stands in need of nothing, if at any time He chooses to employ *instruments*, as it were, to inflict chastisement, chooses not the strongest and greatest, disregarding their strength, but rather the mean and the minute, whom He indues with invincible and irresistible power to chastise offenders.”

Notwithstanding the declaration of the *magicians*, “the *heart of Pharaoh was hardened*, a fourth time, and he hearkened not unto them [*Moses and Aaron,*] as the Lord had said,” viii. 16—19.

The first three plagues were common to the *Egyptians* and the *Israelites*, to convince both that “there was *none like THE LORD* ;” and to wean the latter from their *Egyptian* idolatries, and induce them to return to the Lord their God. And when this end was answered, the *Israelites* were exempted from the ensuing plagues; for the LORD “*severed the land of Goshen*” from the rest of *Egypt*; whence the ensuing plagues, confined to the latter, more plainly appeared to have been inflicted by THE GOD OF THE HEBREWS, viii. 20—23. To convince both, more clearly, of “the *goodness and severity of GOD*,” Rom. xi.

* *Numenius*, the Pythagorean philosopher, says that “*Jannes and Jambres* were inferior to none in magic skill; and for that reason, chosen, by common consent, to oppose *Musæus*,” [or *Moses*.] *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. ix. cap. 8.* See also *Pliny, Hist. Nat. Lib. xxx. c. 1.*

22. "That great plagues remain for the *ungodly*, but mercy embraceth the *righteous* on every side," Psalm xxxii. 11.

FOURTH PLAGUE.

This visitation of *flies*, of the *gad-fly*, or *hornet*, was more intolerable than any of the preceding. By this, his minute, but "mighty army," GOD afterwards drove out some of the devoted nations of *Canaan*, before *Joshua*; Exod. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20, Josh. xxiv. 12. This insect was worshipped in *Palestine* and elsewhere, under the title of *Baal-zebul*, "Lord of the Gad fly," 2 Kings i. 1, 2. *Egypt*, we learn from *Herodotus*, abounded with prodigious swarms of *flies* or *gnats*: but this was in the heat of summer, during the *dog-days*; whence this fly is called by the Sept. *κννομυια*, "*the dog-fly*." But the appointed time of this plague was in the middle of winter; and, accordingly, this plague extorted *Pharaoh's* partial consent: "Go ye, sacrifice to *your GOD*, but in *the land*;" and when *Moses* and *Aaron* objected the offence they would give to the *Egyptians*, who would *stone* them for sacrificing "*the abomination of the Egyptians*," viz. animal sacrifices*; he reluctantly consented;—"only ye shall not go *very far away*;"—for he was apprehensive of their flight, like his predecessor, who first enslaved the *Israelites*, Exod. i. 10; and he again desired them to "*intreat* for him." But he again "*dealt deceitfully*;" and after the flies were removed so effectually that "*not one* was left," when *Moses* "*intreated THE LORD*, *Pharaoh hardened his heart* this fifth time also, neither would he let the people go," viii. 24—32.

This confirms the foregoing conjecture, that the *Israelites* were debarred from the exercise of their religious rites during their slavery.—Their minds were enslaved still more than their bodies, by the cruellest of all despotisms, to render them incapable of the enjoyment of *rational liberty*, as moderated by *religion, pure and undefiled*.

FIFTH PLAGUE.

This second breach of promise on the part of *Pharaoh*, drew down a plague of a more deadly description than the preceding.

* *Tacitus* has remarked the opposition between the customs of the *Jews* and *Egyptians*: "*Judæi, cæso ariete, velut in contumeliam Ammonis; bos quoque immolatur, quem Egyptii Apim colunt.*"

The fifth plague of *murrain* destroyed all the cattle of *Egypt*, but of “the cattle of the *Israelites* died not one.” It was immediately inflicted by GOD himself, after previous notification, and without the agency of *Moses* or *Aaron*, to manifest the divine indignation at *Pharaoh’s* falsehood. And though the king sent, and found, that not one of the *Israelites* was dead, yet *his heart was hardened* this sixth time also, and he would not let the people go, ix. 1—7.

SIXTH PLAGUE.

At length, after *Pharaoh* had repeatedly abused the gracious respites and warnings vouchsafed to him and his servants, a sorer set of plagues, affecting themselves, began to be inflicted.—And *Moses*, now for the first time, appears as the executioner of divine vengeance; for in the presence of *Pharaoh*, by the divine command, he sprinkled *ashes of the furnace* towards heaven, and it became a *boil*, breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast. And the *magicians* could not stand before *Moses*, because of the boil, which affected them and all the Egyptians, ix. 8—11.

This was a very significant plague: “the furnace” from which the ashes were taken, aptly represented “the *iron furnace*” of Egyptian bondage, Deut. iv. 20; and the scattering of the ashes in the air, might have referred to the usage of the *Egyptians* in their *Typhonian* sacrifices of human victims; while it converted another of the elements, and of their gods, the *air*, or *æther*, into an instrument of their chastisement.

And now “THE LORD, for the first time, *hardened the heart of Pharaoh*,” after he had so repeatedly hardened it himself, “and he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had foretold unto *Moses*,” ix. 12. Though *Pharaoh* probably felt the scourge of the *boil*, as well as his people, it did not soften nor humble his heart. And when he wilfully and obstinately turned away from the light, and shut his eyes against the luminous evidences vouchsafed to him of the *supremacy* of the GOD OF THE HEBREWS, and had twice broken his promise, when he was indulged with a respite, and dealt *deceitfully*, he became a just object of punishment; and GOD now began to encrease the hardness or obduracy of his heart. And such is the usual and the righteous course of his Providence: when nations or individuals despise the warnings of heaven, abuse their best gifts, and

resist the means of grace, "GOD then delivers them over to a *reprobate* or *undiscerning* mind, to work all uncleanness with greediness," Rom. i. 28. In the emblematical plagues of the *Apocalypse*, when the fifth vial is poured out upon the *air*, the throne of the beast, the sufferers blaspheme the God of heaven, in consequence of their pains and their *ulcers*, and repent not of their works, Rev. xvi. 10, 11.

SEVENTH PLAGUE.

In the tremendous plague of *hail*, the united elements of *air*, *water*, and *fire*, were employed to terrify and punish the *Egyptians*, by their principal divinities. This plague was formally announced to *Pharaoh* and his people :

"I will, at this season, send *all my plagues* upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, that thou mayest know that there is *none like ME* in all the earth. For now I could stretch out my hand, and smite thee and thy people with *pestilence*, [or destroy thee at once, like thy cattle with the *murrain*,] and thou shouldst be cut off from the earth : but in truth, for this cause have I sustained thee, that *I might manifest in thee my power*, and that *my name might be declared throughout the whole earth*," ix. 13—16. This rendering of the passage is more conformable to the context, the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and to the foregoing observation of *Philo*, alluding thereto, than the received translation,—“ For now, *I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence.*” —For surely *Pharaoh* and his people were not smitten with pestilence ; and “ they were preserved ” or kept from *immediate* destruction, according to the Sept. (διετηρηθησιν,) “ to manifest the divine power,” by the *number* and *variety* of their plagues.

Still, however, in the midst of *judgment* God remembered *mercy* ; He gave a gracious warning to the *Egyptians*, to avoid, if they chose, the threatened calamity. “ Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field : every man and beast that shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the *hail* shall come down upon them, and they shall die.”

And this warning had some effect : “ He that feared the word of the Lord among the servants of *Pharaoh*, made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses ; and he that regarded not

the word of the Lord, left his servants and his cattle in the field," ix. 17—21.

But it may be asked, If *all* the cattle of the *Egyptians* were destroyed by the foregoing plague of *murrain*, as asserted, ix. 6. how came there to be any cattle left?—Surely the *Egyptians* might have recruited their stock from the land of *Goshen*, where "not one of the cattle of the *Israelites* died."—And this justifies the supposition, that there was some "*respite*," or interval, between the several plagues, and confirms the conjecture of the duration of the whole, about a quarter of a year. And that the warning, in this case, was respected by many of the *Egyptians*, we may infer from the number of *chariots* and *horsemen* that went in pursuit of the *Israelites* afterwards.

This was foretold to be "a *very grievous hail*, such as had not been in *Egypt* since the foundation thereof;—and the Lord sent *thunder* and *hail*, and the *fire* ran along the ground.—And the hail smote throughout all the land of *Egypt* all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. Only in the land of *Goshen*, where the children of *Israel* were, was there no hail."

The effect of such a tremendous hurricane, in a country where it seldom rains or thunders, insomuch that *Herodotus* represents rain at *Thebes*, in upper *Egypt*, as an *alarming event*, (*αναρσιον προημα*.) B. III. 10; and its universality; whereas hurricanes are usually partial; and the total exemption of *Goshen*, in the heart of *Egypt*, altogether moved the obdurate heart of *Pharaoh*, so that he sent and called for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and said unto them "I have sinned this time; the LORD is *righteous*, and I and my people are *wicked*. Intreat THE LORD, (for it is enough,) that there might be no more mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer."—But when there was respite, *Pharaoh* "*sinned yet more*, and hardened his heart, he and his servants—neither would he let the people go," Exod. ix. 27—35.

In this instance, there is a remarkable suspension of the *judicial infatuation*. *Pharaoh* had humbled himself, and acknowledged his own and his people's guilt, and the justice of the divine plague. The Lord, therefore, forebore this time to harden his heart. But he abused the *long-sufferance* of God, and this additional respite; he *sinned yet more*, because he now *sinned wilfully*, after he had received information of the truth; he re-

lapsed, and *hardened his own heart*, a seventh time. He became, therefore, “a vessel of *wrath* fitted for *destruction*,” Heb. x. 26; Rom. ix. 22.

The state of such a *relapsed penitent* is awfully described by our LORD: “when the *impure spirit* is gone out of a *man*, [expelled, for a time, by some divine judgment or visitation in mercy,] it walketh through desert places, seeking rest, but findeth none: Then it saith, I will return to my house [the man’s heart,] from whence I went out, and having come, [thither,] findeth it vacant, swept, and garnished, [disposed and prepared for re-occupation]. Then it goeth, and taketh with it *seven other spirits more wicked than itself*, and they enter in and dwell there. So, *the last state of that man is worse than the first*,” Matt. xii. 43. Compare 2 Pet. ii. 20.

From this awakening passage, compared with other parts of Scripture, may we not venture to collect, that when GOD is said to *harden Pharaoh’s heart*, it was in reality hardened by *diabolical influence*, or *demoniacal possession*. The cases of *David* and *Ahab* are precisely in point: in one passage it is said, “The anger of THE LORD was kindled against *Israel*, and HE moved *David* against them, [to say to his captains,] Go, number *Israel* and *Judah*,” 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. But the parallel passage states, that “*Satan* stood up against *Israel*, and provoked *David* to number *Israel*,” 1 Chron. xxi. 1. And in *Ahab’s* case, “THE LORD, in his council, commissioned a *lying spirit* to persuade *Ahab* to his destruction, by fighting the *Syrians* at *Ramoth Gilead*,” 2 Kings xxii. 19. See the foregoing analysis of the book of *Job*.

And surely the distinction between *Pharaoh’s hardening his heart*, at first, and GOD afterwards, is too strongly marked, to resolve the latter, with most expositors, merely into “*divine dereliction* ;” as if God only left *Pharaoh* to himself, to follow his own inventions or imaginations, unrestrained by preventing grace. *Pharaoh’s* situation in the latter case, after his relapse, exactly resembled that of *Eli’s* sons; who “were sons of *Belial*, [or the *Devil*, 2 Cor. vi. 15, 1 Cor. x. 21,] they *knew not* THE LORD:—and they hearkened not unto the [warning] voice of their father, because THE LORD *willed to slay them*,” 1 Sam. ii. 12—25. Their destruction is here expressly ascribed to THE LORD; which implies something more than a bare negation, or desertion, on his part; it implies the active operation of divine

wrath.—Like them, *Pharaoh* was “a son of *Belial*,” and the *magicians* of his court were like *Elymas* the sorcerer, who withstood the Apostles, and endeavoured to pervert *Sergius Paulus* from the faith of CHRIST; whom *Paul*, “filled with the Holy Spirit,” called “a son of the *Devil*, and an enemy of all righteousness;” and struck with a temporary blindness, Acts xiii. 6—12.

THE EIGHTH PLAGUE.

The design of this and the ensuing plagues, was to confirm the faith of the *Israelites*.—“That thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son’s son, what I have wrought in *Egypt*, and my signs which I have done among them: that ye may know how that I am THE LORD.”

This plague of *locusts*, inflicted on the now devoted *Egyptians* and their king, completed the havoc begun by the *hail*; by this “the *wheat* and *rye* were destroyed, and every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any verdure in the trees, nor in the herbs of the field, throughout the land of *Egypt*.”—“Very grievous were they; before them there were no such *locusts* as they, neither after them shall there be such,” Exod. x. 3—15.

Though *locusts* are common in *Arabia*, they are seldom found in *Egypt*; the *Red Sea* forming a barrier against them, as they are not formed for crossing seas, or for long flights. The winds, also, blow there six months from the north, and six from the south: so that “the strong easterly wind” that enabled them to cross it, was evidently præternatural. Such was the powerful operation of this plague, that “*Pharaoh* called for *Moses* and *Aaron* in haste, and said, I have sinned against THE LORD YOUR GOD, and against you: Now, therefore, forgive I pray thee, my sins, only this once, and intreat the Lord your God, that he may take away from me this death only.”—“And the Lord turned a mighty strong sea wind,” (which blew from the *Mediterranean Sea*, or in a north-westerly* direction,) “and carried away the *locusts*, and cast them into the *Red Sea*,” so completely, that there remained not one locust in all the coasts of *Egypt*. But THE LORD hardened the heart of *Pharaoh*, so that he would not let the children of Israel go, with their

* See Vol. I. p. 377.

families and *flocks*, as *Moses* demanded, though he had reluctantly consented to let the *men* go, before the infliction of this plague, on the remonstrance of his servants: "How long shall this man be a snare unto us? Let the men go, that they may serve the Lord their God: knowest thou not yet that *Egypt* is destroyed?" Exod. x. 7—20.

THE NINTH PLAGUE.

This most awful plague of *darkness* over all the land of *Egypt*, for three days, "a *thick* darkness, *which might be felt*," in the emphatic language of Scripture, was inflicted on the *Egyptians*, and their chief god, the *sun*; and was, indeed, a most significant sign of the divine displeasure, and of that *mental* darkness under which they now laboured. Their consternation thereat is strongly represented by their total inaction: *neither rose any from his place for three days*, petrified, as they were, with horror. They were also "scared with *strange apparitions* and *visions*, while a heavy night was spread over them, *an image of that darkness which should afterwards receive them*. But yet, *they were unto themselves more grievous than that darkness!*" Wisd. xvii. 3—21. See Psalm lxxviii. 49. The same prodigy, but of shorter continuance, three hours, attended our Lord's crucifixion, when *there was darkness over all the land from the sixth hour till the ninth hour*, when he expired, Matt. xvii. 45, &c.; emblematical, likewise, of that darkness and destruction which awaited his murderers. That it was miraculous in both cases, see Vol. I. p. 69.

This terrific and horrible plague compelled *Pharaoh* to relax: he offered to let the *men* and their *families* go, but he wished to keep the *flocks* and *herds* as security for their return. But *Moses* peremptorily declared, that "not a *hoof* should be left behind"—Again,—"**THE LORD** *hardened Pharaoh's heart*, so that he would not let them go," x. 21—27. "And the **LORD** said unto *Moses*, *Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you*, that my wonders may be *multiplied* in the land of *Egypt*. And *Moses* and *Aaron* did all these wonders before *Pharaoh*; and **THE LORD** [ultimately] *hardened Pharaoh's heart*, so that he would not let the children of *Israel* go out of his land," xi. 9, 10. This passage forms the conclusion to the nine plagues, and should properly follow the preceding: for the result of the tenth and

last plague was foretold—that Pharaoh should not only *let them go*, but *surely thrust them out altogether*, xi. 1.

THE TENTH PLAGUE.

This plague was announced to *Pharaoh* with much solemnity—“ Thus saith THE LORD : About *midnight* will I go out into the midst of *Egypt*, and *all the first born in the land of Egypt shall die*, from the first born of *Pharaoh* that sitteth upon his throne, even to the first born of the *maid servant* that is behind the mill ; and all the first born of *cattle*. And *there shall be a great cry throughout the land of Egypt*, such as there was none like it, nor shall be any more.”——

“ But against any of the *children of Israel* shall not a dog move his tongue against man or beast ; that ye may *know*, how that THE LORD doth make a difference between the *Egyptians* and *Israel*. And *all these thy servants* shall come down unto me, and bow themselves unto me, saying, *Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee*. And after that, I will go out,” xi. 4—8.

Such a threat, delivered in so high a tone, both in the name of the *God of Israel* and of *Moses*, did not fail to exasperate the infatuated *Pharaoh*, and he said, “ *Get thee from me ; take heed to thyself ; see my face no more : for in the day thou seest my face, thou shalt die*. And *Moses* said, [Be it] so, [as] thou hast spoken : *I will see thy face again no more*,”——“ and he went out from *Pharaoh* in great anger,” x. 28, 29, xi. 8.

The two last verses of the tenth chapter are evidently out of their place ; they properly belong to the last interview, and are therefore here inserted, in the eighth verse of the eleventh chapter.

INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER.

This solemn rite was ordained for a perpetual memorial of the deliverance of the Israelites from the *destroying angel*, when he *passed over*, or spared the houses of the *Israelites*, but destroyed the first born of the *Egyptians*, Exod. xii. 27.

Each family had been previously required, at the beginning of the month *Abib*, (which, from henceforth, was made the first month of the sacred year, retrieving the original beginning of the year, in *spring*, about the vernal equinox*,) to take a *lamb*

* See Vol. I. p. 33.

without spot or blemish, upon the *tenth* day of the month, to keep it up, and to kill it on the *fourteenth*, *between the two evenings**, (the former of which began at the ninth hour, the latter at the twelfth, or sunset.) They were to roast it whole, and to eat it in *haste*, *not breaking a bone of it*, with *bitter herbs* and *unleavened bread*, *standing*, with *their loins girded*, *their shoes on their feet*, and *their staves in their hands*, after the manner and posture of distressed *pilgrims*, who were setting out instantly upon a long journey, through a dreary wilderness, towards a pleasant land, where their toil and travel was to cease. And they were also required to sprinkle the blood of the *pascal* lamb, with a bunch of hyssop dipped therein, upon the lintel, or head post, and upon the two side posts of the doors of their houses, to save them from the destroyer, who, seeing this token, would *pass over* their houses, without entering to smite hem.

“ And the people bowed the head and worshipped, and went away, and did as the LORD had commanded ;” and waited in their houses for the catastrophe that was to work their deliverance.

“ And at *midnight* the Lord smote all the first born in the land of Egypt—and there was a great cry in Egypt, for there was not a house where there was not one dead,” xii. 1—30.

This last tremendous judgment is described with much sublimity, in the book of *Wisdom*, xviii. 14—18.

“ For when all things were wrapt in still silence,
 And Night, in her proper speed, holding her mid-course,
 THY ALL POWERFUL ORACLE † leapt down from heaven,
 Out of the royal throne, a *fierce warrior*,
 Into the midst of the land of destruction,
 Wielding a *sharp sword*—thine unfeigned command—
 And standing up, he filled the whole with death,
 He touched the heavens indeed, but trode upon the earth !”

And *Pharaoh* rose up *in the night*, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians—“ And he called for [or sent to] *Moses* and *Aaron by night*, and said, *Get you forth from among my people*, both *ye* and the children of *Israel* ; and go serve THE LORD, as ye said ; take also your *flocks* and your *herds*, and be gone ; and bless me also”—And the *Egyptians* also were urgent upon the people to send them out of the land *in haste* ; for they said, “ *we shall all be dead.*”

* See Vol. I. p. 15.

† Ὁ παντοδυναμος Σου Λογος.

It is evident from the extreme urgency of the occasion, when all the Egyptians apprehended *total* destruction, if the departure of the *Israelites* was delayed any longer, that *Pharaoh* had no *personal* interview with *Moses* and *Aaron*, which would have wasted time, and was quite unnecessary: he only sent them a peremptory mandate to *be gone*, on their own terms*.

“And the children of *Israel* did according to the word of *Moses*, and they *asked* of the *Egyptians* jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment. And THE LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the *Egyptians*, so that they *freely gave* [what they required,] and they spoiled the *Egyptians*,” Exod. xii. 31—36, as originally foretold to *Abraham*, Gen. xv. 14; and to *Moses* before the plagues began.

This, as observed before, was an act of perfect retributive justice, to make the *Egyptians* pay for the long and laborious services of the *Israelites*, whom they had unjustly enslaved, in violation of their charter.

EXODE OF THE ISRAELITES.

“Now the sojourning of the children of *Israel*, [and of their *fathers*,] which they sojourned in the land of *Egypt*, [and in the land of *Canaan*,] was 430 years. And it came to pass, at the end of the 430 years, (even the self-same day, it came to pass,) that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of *Egypt*,” Exod. xii. 40, 41. This period of 430 years included the whole time from *Abraham’s* migration to “*Canaan*,” during the sojourning of “*their fathers*” there, for 215 years; and “*their own*, in *Egypt*,” for 215 years more. The foregoing insertions, therefore, in the *Masorete* text, warranted by the *Samaritan*, and by the *Septuagint* version, are absolutely necessary to adjust the chronology of this period.

The *Israelites* were thrust out of *Egypt* on the fifteenth day of the first month; “about six hundred thousand [men] on foot, besides [women] and children. And a *mixed multitude* † went up also with them: and flocks and herds, even very much cattle,” Exod. xii. 37—39, Numb. xi. 4, xxxiii. 3.

And “they went out with a high hand;” for THE LORD went

* Listen to the misrepresentation of *Gibbon*: “A *tenfold* repetition of *prodigies* were scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but the *flight* of *six hundred thousand* of the children of *Israel*!” *Hist. Decline and Fall*, &c. Vol. IX. 418.

† These were the offspring of *Israelites* and *Egyptians*, Levit. xxiv. 10.

before them by day, in a *pillar of a cloud*,* to lead them the way; and by night in a *pillar of fire*, to give them light, to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people," Exod. xiii. 20, Numb. ix. 15—23. And the motion or rest of this divine guide, regulated their marches, and their stations or encampments, during the whole of their route, Numb. x. 33—36. See the *Table of Stations*, &c. Vol. I. p. 397.

After they set out from *Rameses*, in the land of *Goshen*, in the neighbourhood of *Cairo*, their first encampment was at *Succoth*, signifying "booths," or an "enclosure for cattle," after a stage of about thirty miles; their second at *Etham*, or *Adsjerud*, on "the edge of the wilderness," about 60 miles further; "for the Lord led them not by the way of the land of the *Philistines*, although that was near: for GOD said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: but God led the people about by the way of the wilderness of the red sea;" or by a circuitous route to the land of promise, in order "to train them and instruct them," in the solitudes of *Arabia Petræa*, Exod. xiii. 17—20. Deut. xxxii. 10.

Instead of proceeding from *Etham*, round the head of the *Red Sea*, and coasting along its eastern shore, the Lord made them "turn" southwards along its western shore, and after a stage of about twenty or thirty miles*, to "encamp" in the valley of *Bedeä*, where there was an opening in the great chain of mountains that line the western coast, called *Pi-ha-hiroth*, "the mouth of the ridge," between "*Migdol*" westwards, "and the sea" eastwards, "over against *Baal zephon*," on the eastern coast: to tempt *Pharaoh*, whose heart He finally hardened, to pursue them when they were "*intangled in the land*," and "*shut in by the wilderness*" on their rear and flanks, and by the sea in their front.—The leading motive with "*Pharaoh* and his *servants*," was to bring back the *Israelites* to bondage, and of the *Egyptians* in general, to recover the treasures of which they had been spoiled, Exod. xiv. 1—5. See Vol. I. p. 396.

So *Pharaoh* pursued the *Israelites* by the direct way of *Migdol*, with six hundred chariots, his horsemen, and his army, and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside *Pihahiroth*, over

* The *Red Sea*, anciently, extended a good way northwards of *Suez*; so that the length of the way, after they turned, cannot be exactly ascertained.

against *Baal zephon*. And when the children of Israel beheld Pharaoh marching after them, they were sore afraid, and disposed to submit, without resistance, to their oppressors,—*Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians!* justifying the wise precaution of Providence, that would not expose them to warfare with the *Philistine*, when their spirits were depressed and debased by bondage, xiv. 6—15.

PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

When their destruction, or their return to bondage, seemed to be inevitable, the Lord interposed, and “fought for *Israel*.” He opened for them a passage across the *Red Sea*, where it was about twelve miles wide, and brought them through in safety; while he drowned the *Egyptians*, who blindly followed them to their own destruction, Psalm lxxvii. 18, &c. See the place, and miraculous nature of the transit ascertained, Vol. I. p. 389.

On this memorable deliverance, *Moses* composed a thanksgiving, which he and the *Israelites* sang unto the Lord. It is also a sublime prophecy, foretelling the powerful effect of this tremendous judgment, on the neighbouring nations of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Palestine*, and *Canaan*, the future settlement of the *Israelites* in the promised land; and the erection of the Temple and Sanctuary on Mount *Sion*; and the perpetuity of the dominion and worship of God.

MOSES' THANKSGIVING.

- XV. 1. Let us sing unto THE LORD, for He hath triumphed gloriously.
The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea.
2. IAH is my strength and my song,
And hath become my salvation.
He is MY GOD (ÆLI) and I will build Him a *tabernacle*,
THE GOD OF MY FATHER, (ÆLOHI) and I will exalt Him.
3. IAHOH is a *man of war*, IAHOH is his name.
4. *Pharaoh's* chariots and host, He plunged in the sea,
His chosen captains are drowned in the *weedy** sea;
5. The depths covered them, they sank to the bottom, as a stone.
6. Thy right hand, O LORD, is glorified in might,
Thy right hand, O LORD, hath crushed the enemy:
7. In the greatness of thy power hast thou overthrown thine adversaries;
Thou sentest forth thy wrath, it consumed them as stubble.

* See Vol. I. p. 396.

8. With the blast of thy nostrils were the waters condensed,
The floods stood collected, as a heap,
The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.
9. The enemy said,
' *I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil,
My desire shall be fulfilled upon them,
I will unsheath my sword, my hand shall destroy them.*'
10. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea overwhelmed them,
They sank as lead, in the deep waters.
11. Who, among *the Gods* (*Ælim*) is like thee, O LORD,
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,
Awful in praises, doing wonders !
12. Thou didst stretch forth thy right hand,
The earth swallowed them.
13. Thou, in thy mercy, dost conduct this thy people
Whom thou hast redeemed ;
Thou dost guide them, in thy strength, towards thy *holy settlement*.
14. The *nations* shall hear [this] they shall tremble,
Sorrow shall seize the inhabitants of *Palestine*.
15. Then the dukes of *Edom* shall be amazed,
Dismay shall possess the princes of *Moab*,
The inhabitants of *Canaan* shall melt away.
16. Fear and terror shall fall upon them,
By the greatness of thine arm, they shall be petrified,
Till thy people pass over [*Jordan*] O LORD,
Till the people pass over, whom Thou hast redeemed.
17. Thou shalt introduce them, and plant them,
In the *mount of thine inheritance* [*Sion*]
The *place of thy residence*, O LORD,
The *Sanctuary*, O LORD, which thy hands have established.
18. " THE LORD shall reign for ever and ever." —
20. " And *Miriam*, the prophetess, the sister of *Aaron*, took a timbrel in her
hand, and all the women went out after her, with timbrels and dances ;
21. And *Miriam* answered them, (the Chorus of *Men*, perhaps.)
" Let us sing unto THE LORD, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Thus repeating the burden of *Moses*' thanksgiving ; according to the reading of the ancient versions, in the first person plural ; " Let us, &c." which is most suitable to the occasion.

We shall now proceed to notice the principal stations and occurrences in the wilderness ; referring the reader to the *table of stations*, &c. Vol. I. p. 397.

MARAH.

At this station (7) the third after the passage of the *Red Sea*, the people murmured against *Moses*, because the waters were " bitter," whence the place took its name ; and the LORD shewed

him a tree, by casting which into the waters they were healed, or made sweet, xv. 23—25.

DESERT OF SIN.

To this station (10) the people came exactly a month after they left *Egypt*. And here again they murmured for “the *bread* and the *flesh* pots of *Egypt*.” So the Lord gave them *quails* for a day, and *manna* for forty years, till they came to the borders of *Canaan*.

On this occasion the institution of the *Sabbath* was revived, as a day of rest, which had been intermitted during their Egyptian bondage. On this day there fell no *manna*, but on the preceding they were directed to gather two days’ provision thereof. To perpetuate the memorial of “this *bread* from heaven” to future generations, a *pot* of *manna*, which was preserved fresh, by a standing miracle, was ordered to be laid up beside the ark of the covenant, in the sanctuary, Exod. xvi. 1—25.

REPHIDIM.

At this station, adjoining to Mount *Horeb*, (13) the people again murmured for want of water ; and they chid *Moses*, saying, “give us water that we may drink.” And “they tempted THE LORD, saying, is THE LORD among us or not ?” *Moses* therefore, to convince them that he was, by a more obvious miracle than at *Marah*, smote the rock with his rod, by the divine command, and brought water out of it for the people to drink. Wherefore, he called the place *Meribah*, “chiding,” and the rock *Massah*, “temptation.” See the description of it, Vol. I. p. 407.

On their way to *Rephidim*, the *Amalekites*, the original inhabitants of the country, who are noticed in *Abraham’s* days, Gen. xiv. 7, not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor regarding the judgments recently inflicted on the *Egyptians*, attacked the rear of the *Israelites* when they were faint and weary ; but were defeated by a chosen party, under the command of *Joshua*, the faithful servant of *Moses*, who is first noticed on this occasion, and even then pointed out by THE LORD, as his successor. This victory was miraculous ; for, while *Moses* held up his hand, *Israel* prevailed, but when he let it down *Amalek* prevailed. So *Aaron* and *Hur*, (the husband of *Miriam*, according to *Jose-*

phus,) held up both his hands steadily till sun set, and thereby gave a decided victory to *Israel*. This unprovoked aggression of the *Amalekites*, drew down upon them from THE LORD, the sentence of "war from generation to generation," between them and the *Israelites*, and of final extermination; which was commanded to be written or registered in a book, for a memorial to *Joshua* and his successors, the judges and kings of *Israel*; and was carried into execution by *Saul*, 1 Sam. xv. 8; by *David*, 1 Sam. xxx. 17; and finally accomplished by the *Simeonites* in *Hezekiah's* reign, 1 Chron. iv. 43, Exod. xvii. 8—13, Deut. xxv. 17.

While the *Israelites* were encamped at *Rephidim*, on the western side of *Horeb*, the Mount of God, *Jethro*, the father in law of *Moses*, who lived in that neighbourhood, and was priest and prince of *Midian*, came to visit him, with his wife *Zipporah*, and his two sons, *Eleazar* and *Gershom*, who had accompanied him part of the way to *Egypt*, but returned home again; and they rejoiced with him "for all the goodness which the Lord had done for *Israel*, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the *Egyptians*;" and upon this occasion, *Jethro*, as "a priest of the most high God," of the order of *Melchizedek*, "offered a burnt offering, and sacrifices of thanksgiving to GOD, at which *Aaron*, and all the elders of *Israel*, ate bread with *Jethro* before God;" by a repetition of the Eucharistic feast upon a sacrifice, which *Melchizedek* formerly administered to *Abraham*, Gen. xiv. 18, Exod. xviii. 1—12.

Thus was fulfilled the prophetic "sign," which THE LORD had given to *Moses*, when he first appeared to him in the burning bush. "This shall be a token unto thee that I have sent thee: When thou hast brought forth the people out of *Egypt*, ye shall serve GOD upon this mountain," Exod. iii. 12. The speedy accomplishment, therefore, of this sign, at the beginning of their journey, was well calculated to strengthen their faith, or reliance on the divine protection throughout.

Jethro appears to have been distinguished, not only for his piety, but also for his political wisdom. By his advice, which also was approved by THE LORD, *Moses*, to relieve himself from the fatigue of administering justice to the people, the whole day, from morning until evening, instituted inferior judges or magistrates, over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and

tens*, as his deputies; who were to relieve him from the burden of judging the smaller causes, but to refer the greater, or more difficult, to *Moses*, for his decision.

SINAI.

To this remarkable station, (14) on the southern side of *Horeb*, the *Israelites* came on “the *new moon*,” [or first day] of “the *third*” [month,] on the forty-fifth day after they had left *Egypt*, *Exod.* xix. 1.

On the second of the month, or the next day, *Moses* went up to converse with GOD on Mount *Sinai*, the highest summit of *Horeb*, (see Vol. I. p. 407.) And, on his return, communicated to the people God’s gracious promise of taking them under his peculiar protection, as “*his people*,” provided they would be obedient unto Him, as “*their GOD*.” To which they all agreed unanimously. “*All that THE LORD speaketh, we will do.*”

And *Moses* repeated their answer unto THE LORD, xix. 3—9.

On the third day THE LORD commanded the people to *sanctify*, or purify themselves, and to *wash their clothes* on that day and the following, preparatory to his appearance in glory, the day after, upon Mount *Sinai*, in the sight of all the people, to deliver the law to them in person, xix. 10—25.

Accordingly, on the fifth day of the month, and the fiftieth after their departure from *Egypt*, The *ten commandments* were delivered with a loud voice, in the hearing of all the people, from the mouth of THE GOD OF ISRAEL: but they saw no similitude, they only heard a voice speaking out of the midst of the fire, and smoke, and thick darkness, in which the top of the mountain was enveloped; accompanied with thunderings and lightnings, and a great earthquake. So awful and tremendous, indeed, was the scene, that all the people, and even *Moses* himself, exceedingly feared and trembled, *Exod.* xx. 1—18, *Deut.* iv. 11—15; v. 2—22, *Heb.* xii. 18—21.

When THE LORD had spoken the Ten Commandments, with a great voice, and then ceased, “for he added no more,” the people said unto *Moses*, “speak thou with us, and we will hear, but let not God speak with us, lest we die.”—“Go thou near,

* Lord Bacon thinks, in his *Essay on English Government*, P. I. p. 70, that *Alfred* the Great took from hence his idea of the old *Saxon* constitution of *sheriffs* in counties; *hundredors* or *centgraves*, in hundreds; and *deciners* in decennaries or tythings; who were a sort of *justices of peace* in their respective divisions.

and hear all that THE LORD OUR GOD will say ; and speak thou unto us all that THE LORD OUR GOD shall speak unto thee, and we will hear, and do it," Exod. xx. 19, Deut. v. 27, xviii. 16.

And the Lord approved of the people's proposal :

" I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee : they have well said all that they have spoken." " *O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear Me, and keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them and with their children for ever !*" Deut. v. 28, 29 ; xviii. 17.

After this tender ejaculation, worthy indeed of the tutelar GOD OF ISRAEL, He required *Moses* to stand by him on the Mount, which he did, for forty days, while THE LORD communicated to him the fundamental laws and institutions of the government, by which the people were in future to be governed, Exod. xxiv. 18, Deut. v. 31—33. See the two last articles of this period.

THE PROPHET LIKE MOSES.

On this occasion THE LORD was pleased to signify to the people, the coming of a future legislator and prophet, like *Moses*, whom they had desired to mediate between them and God.

" I will raise them up a *prophet* from *among their brethren*, like unto *thee*, and will put my words in his mouth ; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him : and it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him,"—which *Moses* communicated to the people :

" THE LORD THY GOD will raise up unto thee a *prophet*, from the *midst of thee*, of *thy brethren*, like unto *me* : unto Him shall *ye hearken*," Deut. xviii. 15—19.

This prophet like unto *Moses* was OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, who was by birth a *Jew*, of the *middle* class of the people, and resembled his predecessor, in *personal intercourse with GOD*, *miracles* and *legislation*, which no other prophet did, Deut. xxxiv. 10—12. And to whom, GOD, at his transfiguration, required the world " *to hearken*," Matt. xvii. 5. Whence OUR LORD'S frequent admonition to the *Jewish Church*, " *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*," Matt. xiii. 9, &c. Addressed also, " by THE SPIRIT, to the *Christian Churches*" of *Asia*

Minor, Rev. iii. 22.—“ The *lamps*” of both have been extinguished for their apostacy, according to the tremendous denunciations of prophecy, Rev. ii. 5.—Heaven avert the omen from the “ *lukewarm*” Churches of *Europe*, in this their day of trial ! Rev. iii. 15, 16.

THE GOLDEN CALF.

This first apostacy of the *Israelites*, and relapse into the idolatry of *Egypt*, specially prohibited by the second commandment, happened during *Moses*' stay in the Mount for the first forty days. Impatient of the delay, and wishing to return to *Egypt*, they applied to *Aaron* and *Hur*, who had been left in the regency by *Moses* ; “ Up, make us a *god* to go before us, for as for this *Moses*, the man who brought us up out of the land of *Egypt*, we know not what is become of him,” Exod. xxxii. 1, Nehem. ix. 18, Acts vii. 39, 40.

Aaron, accordingly, by a criminal compliance with their importunity, and fearing perhaps for his life, for they threatened to “ stone him,” made a *golden calf* of their ear rings, which he required them to contribute for the purpose, and set it up as an *Egyptian* emblem of the true God :—“ *This is thy God, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*” And he proclaimed a feast unto THE LORD on the morrow ; and a great majority of the people offered *burnt* offerings and *peace* offerings on the altar which he had made ; and after the unhallowed sacrifice, rose up to wanton play, singing and dancing, according to the obscene *Egyptian* rites by which *Aaron* “ made them naked to their shame.”

Moses then, by the divine command, descended from the Mount—THE LORD, as “ a *jealous* God,” for their spiritual adultery, now disclaiming them as his people : “ Go, get thee down, for *thy people*, whom thou broughtest out of the land of *Egypt*, have corrupted themselves,” &c.

And when *Moses* drew nigh, and saw their proceedings, his anger waxed hot, and he cast away the tables of the covenant, or stone tablets on which were engraven the ten commandments by the finger of God himself, and brake them beneath the Mount, in the presence of the people ; in token that the covenant between God and them was now rescinded on his part, in consequence of their transgression.

He then took the *golden calf* and burnt it in the fire, and

ground it to powder, and mixed it with water, and made the children of *Israel* drink of it.

After thus destroying their idol, he inflicted punishment on the idolaters themselves, for he summoned all that were on THE LORD'S side to attend him, and all the *Levites* having obeyed the call, he sent them, in the name of the Lord, to slay all the idolaters, from one end of the camp to the other, without favour or affection, either to their neighbour or to their brother; and they slew about 3000 men. And THE LORD also plagued the people for their idolatry, *Exod.* xxxii. 2—35.

On this occasion *Moses* gave a signal proof of his love for his people, by interceding for them with THE LORD, and of his own disinterestedness, in refusing the tempting offer of THE ALMIGHTY to adopt his family in their room, and make of them "*a great nation.*" He prayed that God would *blot him out of his book*, or take away his life, if He would not forgive "the great sin of his people," and prevailed with GOD to alter his determination of withdrawing his presence from them, and sending an inferior *angel* to conduct them to the land of promise.

And can we have a stronger proof of his veracity and strict fidelity as an historian, than his recording a fact so disgraceful to his people, whom he loved so tenderly? A fact which the Jewish historian, *Josephus*, has passed over in total silence; as he has also that other of the *brazen serpent*, so expressive of the *crucified SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.*

RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT.

When the Lord had pardoned the people, and taken them again into favour, He commanded *Moses* to hew two tablets of stone, like the former, which were broken, and to present them to Him on the top of the Mount. And on these the LORD wrote again the Ten Commandments, for a renewal of the covenant between Him and his people.

To reward and strengthen the faith of *Moses*, GOD was pleased, at his request, to grant him a fuller view of the divine *glory*, or *presence*, than he had hitherto; and, to confirm his authority with the people on his return, after the second conference of forty days, He imparted to him a portion of that glory; for the face of *Moses* shone so, that *Aaron* and all the people were afraid to come nigh him, until he had put a vail on his

face to hide its brightness. This was an honour never vouchsafed to mortal before, nor afterwards, till CHRIST, the Prophet like *Moses*, in his *transfiguration* also, appeared; when *Moses* again beheld the glory of the LORD, ministering thereto in a glorified form himself, Exod. xxxiv. 1—35; Matt. xvii. 1—8.

PLAGUE AT KIBROTH HATAAVAH.

After nearly a year's stay at *Sinai*, from the first of the third month after they left *Egypt*, until the twentieth day of the second month in the following year, when the constitution of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the United States of *Israel* was completed, in that sequestered wilderness, their host set forward, under the guidance of the divine presence, towards the promised land, Numb. x. 11, 12.

Not long after, when they reached the third station from thence, *Kibroth Hataavah*, or *Tophel* (No. 17), the whole multitude grew tired of the *manna*, and longed for the flesh, the fish, and the vegetables of *Egypt*, Numb. xi. 4—9.

On this occasion *Moses* himself betrayed a degree of impatience and incredulity that is surprising. Unable to bear the importunities of the people, he prayed for death to put an end to his wretchedness; and when the Lord promised a supply of flesh for a month for all the people, even to satiety, he expressed a doubt of the possibility: "*The people among whom I am are 600,000 footmen, and Thou hast said, I will give them flesh to eat for a whole month: Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them? And THE LORD said unto Moses, Is the hand of the Lord waxed short? Thou shalt see now whether my word shall come to pass or not.*" Verses 10—23. And accordingly the LORD sent a prodigious flight of *quails*, which the people were employed in gathering two entire days, and dried afterwards in the sun; and at the end of the month, the Lord smote the people with a very great plague; whence the place derived its name, signifying "*the graves of lust **," ver. 31—35.

With this miracle, we may parallel OUR LORD'S signal miracle of feeding the 5000 men, besides women and children, in

* See the account of this miracle, and determination of the site of this station, Vol. I. p. 403.

the wilderness, with a few barley loaves and fishes, recorded by all the Evangelists; which satisfied the multitude that JESUS was indeed “*the prophet like unto Moses* ;” insomuch that they wanted to take him by force and make him *King*, or *Messiah*. On that occasion too, the same incredulity was shewn by OUR LORD’S disciples: when, “to *prove* them,” (as THE LORD proved *Moses*,) he said, “*Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat? Philip answered, Two hundred pennyworth of bread would not be sufficient that each of them should take a little. And Andrew said, There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two small fishes; but what are they among so many?*” John vi. 5—15.

MIRIAM’S LEPROSY.

At the very next station of *Hazereth* (No. 18), the spirit of opposition to *Moses* broke out in his own family, for *Miriam*, his sister, and *Aaron*, his brother, spake against his wife *Zipporah*, contemptuously styling her “a *Cushite*,” or “*Ethiopian woman*,” and against himself, “Hath THE LORD indeed spoken only by *Moses*? Hath He not also spoken by *us*?” Numb. xii. 1, 2. *Miriam* probably was jealous of the respect paid to the wife of *Moses*, which she before had enjoyed without a rival, when, as a “*prophetess*,” she joined with *Moses* in his triumphant hymn, on the destruction of the *Egyptians* in the *Red Sea*, and led the women with timbrels and dances, Exod. xv. 20. And *Aaron* was “the *prophet* of *Moses*,” by the Lord’s appointment, Exod. vii. 1, 2. That *Miriam*, however, was the principal offender, we may conclude from *Aaron*’s not being involved in her punishment, and from her being cured of her leprosy, on his humble intercession to *Moses*, and confession of their joint offence: “*Alas my Lord, lay not, I beseech thee, the sin upon us, wherein we have done foolishly, and wherein we have sinned. Let her not be as the untimely fruit of the womb,*” &c. And *Moses*, “the *meekest* of mankind,” and the most forgiving, besought the Lord, “*Heal her now, O God, I beseech thee,*” &c.

REBELLION AT KADESH BARNEA.

At this next disastrous station (No. 19), on their way to the promised land, *Moses* encouraged them to proceed: “*Behold, the Lord thy God hath set the land before thee; Go up and*

possess it, as the Lord God of thy fathers hath said unto you : Fear not, neither be discouraged," Deut. i. 19—21.

But the people betrayed a diffidence, for they, "*every one,*" proposed to *Moses* to send spies to search out the land, and point out to them the way they should enter, and the course they should take. And the proposal "*pleased him well,*" and with the consent of the LORD, he sent twelve men, one out of each tribe, to spy out the land. Compare Deut. i. 22, 23, with Numb. xiii. 1—20.

Forty days after* they returned from searching the land; but all the spies, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, brought an "*evil report*" of the amazing number and size of the inhabitants, and of the strength of their cities, "*walled up to heaven,*" which so discouraged all the people, that they murmured against *Moses* and against *Aaron*, and said unto them, "*Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt; or would God that we had died in the wilderness! And wherefore hath THE LORD brought us unto this land to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children shall be a prey! Were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and return into Egypt.*" They even went so far as to propose to stone *Joshua* and *Caleb*, because they exhorted the people not to rebel against the Lord, nor to fear the people of the land, Numb. xiv. 1—10; Deut. i. 26—28.

Still more meritorious was the intercession of *Moses* again for this stiff-necked and revolting people. He again rejected the divine offer to disinherit the *Israelites*, and make of him, or his family, a "*greater and mightier nation than they.*" He urged the most persuasive motives with their offended God, not to destroy them with the threatened pestilence, lest the Heathen might say, *that THE LORD was not able to bring them into the land which he swore unto them.* He powerfully appealed to the long-tried mercies and forgivenesses they had experienced ever since their departure from *Egypt*; and much availed his energetic supplication: the Lord graciously said, "*I have pardoned, according to thy word:—But verily, as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord; or shall adore Him for his righteous judgments: For all these men which have seen*

* From the bunch of *ripe grapes*, which they brought back, it appears that they returned about the seventh month, near the vintage.

my glory and my miracles which I did in Egypt, and in the wilderness, and have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened to my voice, surely shall not see the land which I swore unto their fathers: neither shall any of them that provoked me see it.—As ye have spoken in my ears, so will I do unto you, [by a righteous retaliation.] *Your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness. But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in; and they shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms—after the number of the days in which ye searched the land, each day for a year;—until your carcasses be wasted in the wilderness.*” And immediately after this sentence, as the first fruits, all the spies, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, were cut off, and died by the plague before the Lord, Numb. xiv. 11—37; Deut. i. 34—39.

The people now, to repair their fault, contrary to the advice of *Moses*, presumptuously went to invade the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* of Mount *Seir*, or *Hor*, who defeated them, and chased them as bees to *Hormah*, Numb. xiv. 39—45; Deut. i. 41—44.

On the morrow, they were ordered to *turn* away from the promised land, and to take their journey south-westwards, towards the way of the *Red Sea*. And they abode in the wilderness of *Kadesh many days*, or years, Numb. xiv. 25; Deut. i. 40—46. See an account of their stations from the time they left *Kadesh* (*Barnea*, son of wandering,) No. 19, till their return thither again, No. 38, thirty-eight years after, Vol. I. p. 401, 403, &c.

REBELLION OF KORAH, &c.

The ill success of the expedition against the *Amalekites*, according to *Josephus*, occasioned this rebellion, which broke out shortly after, against *Moses* and *Aaron*, with greater violence than any of the foregoing, under *Korah*, the ringleader, who drew into it *Dathan* and *Abiram*, the heads of the senior tribe of *Reuben*, and two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, among whom were even several of the *Levites*. *Korah* himself was the cousin-german of *Moses* and *Aaron**, of the tribe of *Levi*; and he and his company disputed the exclusive right of *Moses* to the regency, and of *Aaron* to the priesthood.—“*Ye*

* *Moses* and *Aaron* were the sons of *Amram*, the eldest son of *Kohath*, the son of *Levi*, Exod. vi. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 2; and *Korah* was the son of *Izhar*, the second son of *Kohath*, Numb. xvi. 1.

take too much upon you, [*Moses and Aaron,*] seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: Wherefore, then, lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of THE LORD?"

Struck with so alarming a rebellion, "*Moses, when he heard this, fell on his face*" [before THE LORD,] to supplicate his aid, and to receive his directions. And then, addressing himself to "*Korah and all his company,*" and to the *Levites* in particular, he reminded them of their ingratitude to the God of *Israel*, for separating them for the service of the Tabernacle, and their ambition in seeking the *priesthood* also—*ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi*; and he directed them to appear before the Lord on the morrow, with their censers, and *Aaron* with his censer; when the Lord would decide who were *his*, and whom, as *holy*, he chose to come near to him as *high priest*; representing also the inoffensiveness of *Aaron*, "*And what hath Aaron done, that ye murmur against him?*"

He next sent for *Dathan and Abiram*, to expostulate with them; but they refused to obey his authority; "*Is it a small thing, that thou hast brought us up, [from Egypt,] a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us?—Moreover, thou hast not brought us [according to promise] into a land that floweth with milk and honey, or given us inheritance of fields and vineyards: wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? [or blind the understandings of the people by false hopes,] we will not come up.*"—Filled with indignation at this unfounded charge, *Moses* also asserted his own inoffensiveness, "*I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them,*" ver. 12—17.

To punish this daring rebellion, when *Korah* and his party of 250 men came, with their censers, to the door of the Tabernacle, along with *Moses* and *Aaron*, and offered incense as well as *Aaron*; the LORD said unto *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Separate yourselves from among this congregation, that I may consume them in a moment.* And they fell upon their faces, and said, O GOD, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?—which *Korah* had gathered against *Moses* and *Aaron*, to the door of the Tabernacle of the congregation, ver. 17—22.

GOD then was pleased to separate the innocent from the

guilty. And *Moses*, by his desire, warned the congregation to depart from the assembly of *Korah*, [and from the tents of] *Dathan* and *Abiram*, under pain of being consumed in the sins of the former, and swallowed up with all that appertained to the latter.—“ So they gat up from the assembly of *Korah*, [and from the tents of] *Dathan* and *Abiram*, on every side.” But *Dathan* and *Abiram* contumaciously came out, and stood in the door of their tents, and their wives, and their sons, and their little children, as if in defiance of the threat. And when *Moses* had made an end of speaking, they, and their tents, and all their goods, were swallowed up by the earth cleaving asunder under them, and closing upon them, so that they perished from among the congregation. And there also came out a fire from THE LORD, and consumed *Korah* and the 250 men that stood with *Aaron*, and offered incense at the door of the Tabernacle, ver. 23—35*.

That “ the children of *Korah* died not” in the sin of their father, is expressly asserted afterwards, Numb. xxvi. 11 ; and *Heman*, the singer in *David’s* time, was a descendant of his, 1 Chron. vi. 33—38.

The Royal Psalmist has thus recorded this transaction, cvi. 16.

“ They envied *Moses* also in the camp,
And *Aaron*, the saint of the LORD:
The earth opened, and swallowed up *Dathan*,
And covered the company of *Abiram*:
And a fire was kindled in their company,
The flame burnt up the wicked [*Korah*, &c.]”

The censers of these *sinner*s against their own souls, by the command of THE LORD, were converted into broad plates for a covering of the altar: “ to be a memorial unto the children of *Israel*, that no *stranger*, not of the seed of *Aaron*, should usurp the office of the priests, to offer incense before the Lord ; that he be not punished as *Korah* and his company,” ver. 36—40.

* There is an apparent confusion in the account of this judgment in the English Bible ; which, at first sight, seems to involve the tents and family of *Korah*, in the same destruction with those of *Dathan* and *Abiram*. But it may be removed ; 1. by rendering the original, ver. 24, with the Septuagint, της συναγωγης Κορε, “ the assembly or company of *Korah* ;” and by a parenthesis, ver. 32, “ and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up and their houses, (and all the men that [adhered] to *Korah*,) and their goods.” The parenthesis is more fully expressed, Numb. xxvi. 10,— (together with *Korah* : when that company died, at the time that the fire devoured the two hundred and fifty men.)

Although “all *Israel* round about had fled at the cry of the devoted families of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for fear that the earth should swallow them up also;” yet strange to tell, on the morrow they returned to their rebellious spirit, and murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron*, saying, *Ye have killed the people of THE LORD!*—When THE LORD again threatened to consume them as in a moment, but on the intercession of *Moses*, only smote them with a plague; which was stayed by an atonement made by *Aaron*, after the destruction of fourteen thousand seven hundred souls, ver. 41—50.

AARON'S ROD.

And to silence for ever any future claims to the *priesthood*, by any but the chosen family of *Aaron*, the Lord commanded the twelve princes, who were heads of the twelve tribes, (including *Aaron*, as head of the tribe of *Levi*,) to present twelve rods, one for each, marked with their names, before the Lord, in the Tabernacle, before the ark of the testimony. And on the morrow, *Moses* brought them forth to the people, when *Aaron's* rod alone appeared in all the different stages of vegetation, for it brought forth *buds*, and bloomed *blossoms*, and yielded *almonds*.

To record this miraculous decision, in *Aaron's* favour, this rod was commanded to be laid up before the ark of the testimony in the inner sanctuary, along with the pot of *manna*; both being miraculously preserved in the same state, the former as a token against the rebels; the latter as a witness of God's providential provision for the Israelites in the wilderness.

This astonishing miracle silenced all murmurings in future, and established the authority of *Moses* in the regency, and of *Aaron* in the priesthood, without any further opposition. And now the congregation, from the one extreme of stubborn and presumptuous rebellion, ran into the opposite, of abject and slavish fear, and a superstitious dread of approaching the Tabernacle at all.—“*Behold, we die! we perish! we all perish! Whosoever approacheth the Tabernacle of the Lord shall die. Shall we all be consumed?*” Numb. xvii. 1—13.

THE OFFENCE OF MOSES AND AARON.

On the return of the *Israelites*, after so many years wandering, to the same disastrous station of *Kadesh Barnea*, even *Moses* himself was guilty of an offence, in which his brother *Aaron*

was involved, and for which both were excluded, as a punishment, from entering the promised land.

At *Meribah Kadesh* the congregation murmured against *Moses*, for bringing them into a barren wilderness without water; when THE LORD commanded *Moses* to take his rod, which had been laid up before the Lord, and with *Aaron*, to assemble the congregation together, and to *speak* to the rock before their eyes; which should supply water for the congregation and their cattle.

“ But *Moses* said unto the congregation, when they were assembled, *Hear now, ye rebels, must we fetch you water out of this rock?* and he smote the rock twice with his rod, and the water came out abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their cattle also*.

“ And THE LORD spake unto *Moses* and *Aaron*, Because ye believed me not, to sanctify Me in the eyes of the children of Israel: therefore ye shall not bring this congregation unto the land which I have given them,” Numb. xx. 1—13; and afterwards in stronger terms: “ because ye rebelled against my commandment,” &c. xxvii. 14.

The offence of *Moses*, as far as may be collected from this concise account, seems to have been, 1. He distrusted or *disbelieved*, that water could be produced from the rock, only by *speaking* to it; which was a higher miracle than he had performed before at *Rephidim*, Exod. xvii. 6. 2. He unnecessarily smote the rock twice; thereby betraying an unwarrantable impatience; 3. He did not ascribe the glory of the miracle to GOD, but rather to himself and his brother; “ Must we fetch you water out of this rock;” and he denominated them “ *rebels*” against his and his brother’s authority; which was an implied act of rebellion against GOD: for he ought to have added, as on a former occasion, “ ye have been *rebels against THE LORD*, from the day that I knew you,” Deut. ix. 24, which he spake without blame; but for want of that restriction on this occasion, “ he spake *unadvisedly* with his lips, because they *provoked* his spirit,” Psalm cvi. 33.

Thus “ was GOD sanctified at the waters of *Meribah*, where the children of *Israel* ‘ *strove*’ with THE LORD,” by this signal miracle to relieve their wants, rebellious as they were; and by

* See the account of this rock, Vol. I. p. 406.

his impartial justice, in punishing his greatest favourites when they did amiss, Numb. xx. 13.

How severely *Moses* felt his deprivation, appears from his humble, and it should seem, *repeated* supplications to the Lord to reverse the sentence;

“O LORD OF GODS, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand; for what God is there in heaven or in earth that can do according to thy works, and according to thy might? I pray thee let me go over and see the good land beyond *Jordan*, even that goodly mountain *Lebanon*, [or the whole breadth of the land.] But THE LORD was wroth with me *for your sakes*, and would not hear me: and He said unto me, *Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto Me of this matter.* Get thee up unto the top of *Pisgah*, and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes: *for thou shalt not go over this Jordan,*” Deut. iii. 23—27.

The apostle *Paul*, with equal impartiality, has recorded the refusal of THE LORD, after he had besought him thrice, to remove a *thorn in the flesh*, or some bodily infirmity, under which he laboured, 2 Cor. xii. 7—9.

It was reserved for a greater than *Moses* or *Paul*, that perfect model of *patience in tribulation*, to teach his disciples how to pray on such occasions: “O MY FATHER, if it be possible, let this cup [of affliction] pass from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt!” Matt. xxvi. 39.

The remainder of the route of the *Israelites* from *Kadesh Barnea* again, to the plains of *Moab*, eastward of the river *Jordan*; and the leading occurrences of the history, till the death of *Moses*, are detailed in the *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 402—409, &c.

BALAAAM'S PROPHECIES.

Balaam was a celebrated *Chaldean* diviner, who dwelt in “*Aram Naharaim*, in the mountains of the east,” or in the eastern part of *Mesopotamia*, “at *Peth-or*,” or *Beth-ur**, probably the original residence of *Abraham's* family, “beside the

* The *Alexandrian* Version renders the Syriac, פתורה, *Peth-ur-ah*, by the Hebrew, Βαθ-ουρ-α, the ה, or α, being the local affix, “At *Peth-ur*,” or *Beth-ur*, signifying the “*House of Light* ;” where was probably a temple of the sun.

river" *Tigris*: whither *Balak*, king of *Moab*, the descendant of *Lot*, "sent messengers to the land of the children of his people," or of his ancestors, to invite *Balaam* to come to him, in order to curse, or devote to destruction, the *Israelites*, who had encamped in his territories, on their way from *Egypt* to the promised land; and whom he was afraid to attack with open hostility, Numb. xxii. 1—6, xxiii. 7, Deut. xxiii. 4.

This mercenary diviner, who "loved the wages of unrighteousness," and earned them to his own destruction, was notwithstanding, a highly gifted prophet, and favoured with signal communications with God, in visions and dreams; and his fame had spread to distant countries: "*I know*," says *Balak*, "that *he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed*."

How well acquainted he was with the *theory of religion*, and what just notions he entertained of the *spiritual* worship of the Deity, appears from a curious conversation between him and *Balak*, omitted by *Moses*, but fortunately recorded by the prophet *Micah*, vi. 5—8.

Balak enquires,

"Wherewith shall I come before THE LORD,
And bow myself before THE HIGH GOD?
Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings,
With calves of a year old?
Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams,
With ten thousands of rivers of oil?
Shall I give my first born for my transgression,
The fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"

Balaam answers,

"HE hath shewed thee, O man, what is good:
And what doth THE LORD require of thee,
But to do justice, and to love mercy,
And to walk humbly with THY GOD?"

This is an advantageous specimen of the purity of the *Patriarchal* religion, even amidst the reigning corruptions of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*. It shews the insufficiency of the most numerous, most costly, and most precious burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin, to please GOD, without the love of GOD and *our neighbour*; as remarked by the *Jewish* doctor, Mark xii. 33, and confirmed by our LORD in the weightier matters of the law, "*mercy and justice*," towards man, "and *faith*" towards "God," Matt. xxiii. 23; both approving and sanctioning the doctrine of

Balaam, as containing the *cardinal* virtues of the LAW and of the GOSPEL; and the means of attaining *the kingdom of heaven*, Mark xii. 34.

And yet, this prophet, so well instructed in his duty to God and man, and so competent to instruct others, furnishes a deplorable and alarming instance of the *deceitfulness of the human heart*.—He could not forego “the rewards of divination,” and the allurements of ambition: he first sought permission to go to *Balak*, wishing to gratify that *prince*, even after he had been refused by GOD, and told expressly, “*Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people: for they are blessed,*” Numb. xxii. 7—12. And he tempted GOD, who afterwards permitted him to go in his anger*, by seeking to prevail on him, by solicitations and sacrifices, to alter his purpose, Deut. xxiii. 5; though he inconsistently declared, when under the influence of the Spirit,

“GOD is not a man, that He should lie;
Nor a son of man, that He should repent.
Hath He said, and shall He not do?
Hath He spoken, and shall He not perform?
Lo, I am commanded to bless,
And HE hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it,” Numb. xxiii. 19, 20.

* Though GOD permitted *Balaam* to go with the second embassy of *Balak*, because the prophet himself wished it, He gave him manifest tokens of his “*anger, because he went,*” in order to put him the more on his guard: 1. in sending his *destroying angel*, as *Satan*, “an adversary,” to withstand him in the way; as he withstood *Moses*, Exod. iv. 24; 2. in enduing the *ass* which he rode, with the power of speech, to rebuke the prophet’s impatience and furious anger; in which he still persisted, unawed by this stupendous miracle, “*I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee!*”—when THE LORD opened his eyes, to see his own danger, from *Satan*, with *his sword drawn in his hand*, Numb. xxii. 22—35. And in this sense it appears to be understood by the apostle *Peter*:—“*Balaam*, the son of *Bosor*, who loved the wages of iniquity; but was rebuked for his own transgression: the *dumb beast*, speaking with a human voice, forbad the phrenzy of the prophet,” (παραφρονας,) 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16.

Philo suppresses this transaction in his life of *Moses*, and *Maimonides* supposes it happened only in vision. But its reality is evidently admitted by the apostle. And for the design of the miracle, it has been well observed, “that if *Satan* inspired the mute *serpent* to speak to and beguile our first parents, why should it be thought incredible, that the DIVINE POWER should give human speech to the *dumb ass*, in order to shut the mouth of this other instrument of *Satan*, who wanted to curse his people?” *Wogan*, on the proper Lessons, Vol. III.—The express mention of *Satan* here, and here only in the Pentateuch, seems, indeed, to indicate the analogy between the two miracles. Hence, the *Pythagorean* precept, recommending precaution in attempting a difficult undertaking: *Stop, without attempting to pass further, where your ass couches.*—The Pagan fables of the ass of *Bacchus* that spoke, the horses of *Achilles*, &c. seem to be taken from this.

And when these failed, and he had thrice *blessed* the people, after three solemn sacrifices, in different places, which *Balak* offered at his desire, he sinned yet more against the whole meaning, end, and design of the prohibition against the *spirit* of it, which no consideration in the world could prevail with him to go against the *letter* of. For surely, that mischievous counsel which he gave *Balak*, to send the daughters of *Moab* to seduce the *Israelites* into *idolatry*, was, in fact, a greater piece of wickedness and impiety, than if he had formally cursed them in words. Still, however, his partial regards to his duty seem to have quieted his conscience, and kept him from despair, when he could so far impose on himself, as to utter that pious wish :

*Let me die the death of the righteous !
And let my end be like his !*

How otherwise could he expect, that while “*he did not live the life of the righteous,*” he could be entitled to his peaceful death, and joyful resurrection?

And accordingly his ill-founded wish was frustrated, for he was cut off by the avenging sword of the *Israelites*, in reward for his pernicious counsels, along with his licentious abettors, and perished in the slaughter of the *Moabites*, Numb. xxxi. 8 ; Josh. xiii. 22 ; Rev. ii. 14. And his end furnishes an awful and alarming example, that extraordinary “*gifts of THE SPIRIT*” are not always accompanied by the genuine “*fruits of THE SPIRIT,*” in the hearts and lives of the possessors ; and that without *charity*, the rarest gifts and endowments are nothing worth, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2 ; Matt. vii. 22.

Still the prophecies of *Balaam* are most curious and important ; they seem to be dictated by the same spirit as those of *Jacob*, of which they furnish the continuation and development, and thereby prove, that the gift of prophecy was by no means confined to the chosen seed, as the *Jews* boast*.

THE FIRST PROPHECY.

XXIII. 7. “*Balak*, the king of *Moab*, hath brought me from *Aram*,
Out of the mountains of the east : [saying]
Come, curse me Jacob,
And come, defy Israel.”

* “I am confident to assert,” says *David Levi*, “that the gift of prophecy was entirely confined to the chosen seed, as may be clearly perceived from the whole tenor of the Old Testament.” Proph. Vol. I. p. 2.

8. How shall I curse, whom GOD hath not cursed ?
Or how shall I defy, whom THE LORD hath not defied ?
9. For from the tops of the rocks I see Him,
And from the hills I behold Him.
*Lo, the people shall dwell alone [or separate],
And shall not be reckoned among the nations.*
10. Who can count the dust of *Jacob* ;
Even the number of a quarter of *Israel*.
*Let me die the death of the righteous,
And let my end be like his,"* Numb. xxiii. 7—10.

The divine command to *Balaam*, "not to curse the people, for they are blessed," which he pleads in opposition to *Balak's* wishes, refers to the blessing of *Abraham*, Gen. xii. 3, renewed to *Jacob*, Gen. xxvii. 29. He next remarks the separation of the *Israelites* from the *Heathen* nations, to be God's peculiar people, nearly in the language of *Moses*, in his last blessing to the tribes, Deut. xxxiii. 27—29.

"The eternal God is thy refuge.—
Israel shall dwell in safety alone.—
Happy art thou O *Israel* ;
Who is like thee, O people, saved by THE LORD,
The shield of thy help,
And the sword of thy excellency !"

"The dust of *Jacob*" intimates the amazing populousness of the *Israelites*, which was compared to "*the dust of the earth*," in the Divine promise to *Abraham*, Gen. xiii. 16 ; renewed to *Jacob*, Gen. xlviii. 4 ; which, by a beautiful amplification, is extended even to one of the four divisions of their encampment : the standard of *Judah* eastward ; of *Reuben* southward ; of *Ephraim* westward ; and of *Dan* northward, Numb. ii. 2—25 ; each of which was thus foretold to be as numerous as a great nation. And then the contemplation of the prosperity of *Jeshurun*, or "*righteous Israel*," and the spiritual blessings reserved as the future reward of obedience in the next life, leads to that rapturous wish respecting himself. The term אַחֲרִית, *Aharith*, "*end*," literally signifying "*hereafter*," denotes a *future state*, in the parallel passage of *Moses*, Deut. xxxii. 29 ; corresponding to אַחֲרוֹן, "*the last day*," in *Job*, xix. 25.

THE SECOND PROPHECY.

The conclusion of the second, pointedly refers to *Jacob's* prophecy respecting *Judah* ; ascribing their national prosperity

to their righteousness, and obedience to the divine law under the *theocracy*.

- XXIII. 21. " HE hath not beheld iniquity in *Jacob*,
 Nor seen perverseness in *Israel* :
 THE LORD HIS GOD is with him,
 And the shout of their KING * is amongst them.
22. GOD brought them out of *Egypt* ;
 HE is to them as the strength of a unicorn :
23. For no *enchantment* [shall avail] against *Jacob*,
 And no *divination* against *Israel*.
 In [due] season it shall be said of *Jacob* and of *Israel*,
What hath God wrought !
24. Lo, the people shall rise up as a *lioness*,
 And lift up himself as a *lion*,
 He shall not lie down till he devour the prey,
 And drink the blood of the slain." Numb. xxiii. 21—24.

THE THIRD PROPHECY.

This remarkably unfolds the prophecy of *Shiloh*, and the future fortunes of the *Jews*.

- XXIV. 5 " How goodly are thy tents, O *Jacob*,
 And thy tabernacles, O *Israel* !
6. As streams do they spread forth ;
 As gardens, by the river side ;
 As sandal trees which THE LORD planted ;
 As cedar trees beside the waters.
7. *There shall come forth a man of his seed*,
And shall rule over many nations :
 And his King shall be higher than *Gog* †,
 And his kingdom shall be exalted.

* So *Moses* styles the God of *Israel* :

" And HE was KING in *Jeshurun*,
 When the heads of the people, even of the tribes,
 Were gathered together." Deut. xxxiii. 5.

† The rendering of this seventh verse, in our English Bible, from the present *Masoretic* text, is this :

" *He shall pour the water out of his buckets*,
And his seed shall be in many waters,
 And his king shall be higher than *Agag*.

Instead of which, I have adopted the widely different rendering furnished by the venerable *Septuagint* Version ; whose genuineness is supported by the context, and by the joint testimonies of *Philo* and *Josephus*, the *Syriac* Version, the *Samaritan* text, the *Chaldee Targums* of *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, and *Jerusalem*, *Cyprian*, and the early Fathers ; either in the whole or in part.

Εξέλυσεται ανθρωπος εκ του σπερματος αυτου,
 Και κυριενσει εθνων πολλων
 Και υψωθησεται η Γωγ [βασιλεια] βασιλευς αυτου.

8. (God brought him forth out of *Egypt*,
He is to him as the strength of a unicorn.)
He shall devour the nations his enemies,
And shall break their bones,
And pierce them through with his arrows.
9. He lieth down as a *lion*,
He coucheth as a *lioness*,
Who shall rouse him !
Blessed is he that blesseth thee,
And cursed is he that curseth thee."

From all the various sources of emendation, and from the present *Masorete* text, we may collect the genuine *Hebrew* text, from which the *Septuagint* Version was made :

PRESENT TEXT.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| יזל מים מדליו | 1. " There shall flow water from his buckets, |
| וזרעו במים רבים | 2. And his seed, in waters many |
| וירם מאגג מלכו | 3. And higher than <i>Agag</i> shall be his king, |
| ותנשא מלכותו | 4. And his kingdom shall be exalted." |

REFORMED TEXT.

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| יצא איש מילדיו | 1. " There shall come forth a man of his children, |
| * וזרועו בעמים רבים | 2. And his arm *, on peoples many : |
| וירום מוגג מלכו | 3. And higher than <i>Gog</i> , shall be his king, |
| ותתנשא מלכותו. | 4. And his kingdom shall be exalted." |

The adulteration of the original text, probably took place about A.D. 130, about the time that *Aquila* published his *Greek* Version of the *Old Testament*, in order to supersede the *Septuagint*, and first mutilated the chronology thereof, by curtailing the generations of the patriarchs, in the *Hebrew* text, according to the system of the *Seder Olam Rabba*. For about this time, there might be a great destruction of the *Hebrew* copies of the *Old Testament*, in *Adrian's* war, and the disastrous issue of *Barchocab's* rebellion, founded on *Balaam's* prophecies, Numb. xxiv. 7—17, might make the adulteration in the remaining copies more feasible, and might tempt the *Jewish Rabbis* to pervert that fatal prophecy in particular, which brought such desolation upon their nation. See Vol. I. p. 218—224.

The facility of the adulteration is obvious on comparison :

In the first line, יצא, (*Iatsa*), the term applied to *CHRIST's* birth, in the signal prophecy of *Micah*, v. 2, was easily changed into יזל, (*Iazal*), resembling it in sound: and איש, (*Aish*), into מים, (*Maim*;) and מילדיו, (*Mildiv*), into מדליו, (*Midliv*) by expunging the first *yod*, and transposing the two following letters.

In the second, זרועו, (*Zarūhu*), into זרעו, (*Zarahu*), by erasing the middle *Vau*; and בעמים, (*Baamim*), into במים, (*Bemaim*), by erasing the second letter *Ain*.

In the third, גוג, (*Gog*), into אגג, (*Agag*.) This, and the fuller readings in the fourth line, are warranted by the *Samaritan* text.

See an *Attempt to restore the Original Hebrew Text*, &c. in the *first* Dissertation of the volume of *Dissertations on the prophetic Character of JESUS CHRIST*, where this subject is fully discussed.

* זרועו, (*Zarahu*.) " Arm," frequently signifies "power," or "rule," *Exod.* xv. 16, *Isai.* liii. 1, li. 9, lxiii. 5, *Luke* i. 57, &c.

Here SHILOH is expressly declared to be “ a man of *Jacob's* seed,” who shall subdue many nations, and set up a kingdom higher than that of *Gog**, or the fierce nations of the north, who are the subject of succeeding prophecies, in *Ezekiel*, xxxviii. 1—17; and in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xvi. 14—16, xx. 7—10. And are here threatened to be destroyed with “ *arrows*,” their own weapons. See Vol. I. p. 353, and see the following article of the *Jewish feasts*, especially the feast of *Tabernacles*, when this immense slaughter is to take place, in the valley of *Hamon Gog*, Ezek. xxxix. 1—22; or *Armageddon*, Rev. xvi. 16.

In the ninth verse there is a repeated allusion to the ferocious, warlike disposition of the tribe of *Judah*, intimated in the prophecy of *Jacob*, under the same imagery as in the preceding; and the conclusion is a repetition of the original blessing to *Abraham*, Gen. xii. 3; renewed to *Jacob*, Gen. xxvii. 29.

These remarkable references to former prophecies, with which *Balaam*, from his situation, in *Mesopotamia*, can scarcely be conceived to have been acquainted, at such a distance from the time and place in which they were originally communicated to *Abraham* and to *Jacob*, in the land of *Canaan*, seem to furnish decisive proof that he was no more than a vehicle of the divine oracles; and spake only as the Spirit gave him utterance.

THE FOURTH PROPHECY.

This last completes the preceding, and unfolds more fully the remote and distant period of the *Messiah's* coming; the future subjugation of the *Transjordanite* nations, the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, and *Kenites*; the *Assyrian* captivity of these nations; the *Roman* conquests of the *Assyrians* and *Hebrews*; and the destruction of the conquerors themselves at last.

“ Come now, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do unto thy people in *the end of the days*.”

* *David Levi*, endeavouring to support the present *Masorete* reading, מִיָּאָג, contends, that the præposition מִ, put for מִן, (*Min*), does not properly form the comparative degree, “ *higher than Agag* ;” but denotes time; so that the meaning should be—“ His king shall begin to be exalted, *from the time of Agag* :” that is, from the time of *Saul*, the first king of *Israel*, who overcame *Agag*; and that his kingdom should be still more exalted, during the prosperous reigns of *David* and *Solomon*,” p. 7. But *Agag* was a petty prince; and most unfortunately for his argument, *Saul's* sparing him was the cause of his own downfall, not rise, or exaltation.

*I see Him, but not now ;
I behold Him, but not nigh * ;
A star shall proceed from Jacob,
And a sceptre shall arise from Israel,
And shall smite the corners of Moab,
And the pate of all the sons of Seth, [or tumult †,]*

* This is well explained by *David Levi*, Proph. Vol. I. p. 8.

“*Balaam* here shews that his *visions* were *real prophecies*. And although he was so far overpowered by the force of the vision, that his *corporeal* faculties were deprived of their proper functions, yet his *intellectual* powers were in full force ; which he beautifully describes by his *falling down in a trance, but having his eyes open*. And as he clearly saw the vision with his intellectual eye, he makes use of that image to shew the nature of his prophecy ; and therefore observes, “*I see him, but not now ! I view him, but not nigh.*” That is, I plainly see the thing I foretel, although it doth not yet exist ; and I have a clear view of it, although *it is to be at such a distance of time*. — *Asher* shall come forth,” &c.

Blinded, however, by his *Jewish* prejudices, *Levi* afterwards objects : “*Balaam*, in this last prophecy, clearly points out the restoration of the *Jews*, and the destruction of their enemies, at the coming of THE MESSIAH ; but nothing of this kind took place at the coming of *Jesus* : for at that time *no star* came forth from *Jacob*, nor did a *sceptre* rise out of *Israel* which smote the corners of *Moab*, and broke down the walls of all the children of *Seth*, i. e. brought the whole world into subjection,” p. 25. — *Levi* could not distinguish between the first and nearer coming of the MESSIAH in humiliation, and his second and *remoter* coming in triumph, to which the prophecy alludes, by his own explication, and by *Balaam's* limitation, *in the end of the days*.

† The prophet *Jeremiah* has imitated this passage in the following, xlvi. 45.

“ There shall go forth a fire from *Heshbon*,
And a flame from the midst of *Sihon*,
And it shall devour the corner of *Moab*,
And the *pate* of the sons of tumult.”

The imagery here is somewhat different : instead of “ a *sceptre* to smite,” we read “ a *flame* to devour :” which seems to be borrowed from the popular song of the conquest of *Moab*, at first by *Sihon*, king of the *Amorites* :

“ There is a fire gone out of *Heshbon*,
A flame from the city of *Sihon*,
It hath consumed *Ar* [‘ the city’] of *Moab*,
And the lords of the high places of *Arnon*,” Numb. xxi. 23.

See Vol. I. p. 409.

“ The corner of *Moab*” to be smitten, or consumed, is the same in both prophets, *Balaam* and *Jeremiah* ; whence we may collect, that the succeeding line in each, signifies the same. We seem, therefore, to be warranted, by the rules of *comparative criticism*, to substitute for קרקר, *Karkar*, a scarce word of doubtful signification, in *Balaam's* prophecy, קדקד, *Kadkad*, in *Jeremiah*, which so nearly resembles it, signifying “ the crown of the head,” or “ the pate ;” and is actually the reading of the *Samaritan* text, in this prophecy of *Balaam* ; and is also strongly supported by other imitations.

“ GOD shall smite the head of his enemies,
And the hairy pate of him that walketh in wickedness,” Psalm lxviii. 21.

“ GOD shall smite with a scab
The pate of the daughters of *Sion*,” Isai. iii. 17.

And *Edom* shall be a possession for his enemies,
Seir also shall be a possession,
 And *Israel* shall do valiantly.
 And [a man] shall rule out of *Jacob*,
 And shall destroy the remnant of the city.

And he beheld *Amalek*, and said,
Amalek was the head of the nations :
 But his end [is doomed] to destruction.

And he beheld the *Kenites*—and said,
 Strong is thy habitation, and
 Thou puttest thy nest in a rock ;
 Nevertheless, the *Kenite* shall be wasted,
 Until the *Assyrian* shall carry thee away captive.

And ships shall come from the coast of *Chittim*,
 And shall afflict the *Assyrians*,
 And shall afflict the *Hebrews*,
 But he also, [the invader, is doomed] to destruction.

Numb. xxiv. 17—24.

Balaam here, in prophetic vision, describes the remote coming of *SHILOH*, under the imagery of a *star* and a *sceptre*, or an illustrious prince. Though it was foretold that “the *sceptre* should depart from *Judah* at his coming,” this prophecy confirms to him a proper *sceptre* of his own. And our Lord claimed it when he avowed himself “a *king*” to *Pilate* ; but declared that “*his kingdom was not of this world*,” John xviii. 37, 38.

This branch of the prophecy was fulfilled about 1600 years after ; when, at the birth of Christ, “the *Magi* from the east,” (who are supposed by *Theophylact* to have been the posterity of *Balaam*,) came to *Jerusalem*, saying, “Where is the [true] born *King of the Jews* ? for we have seen *his star*, at its rising, and are come to worship Him,” Matt. ii. 1, 2. See Vol. I. p. 92.

The foregoing restoration of the original prophecy, from the Septuagint Version, Numb. xxiv. 7, “*There shall come forth a man of his seed*,” &c. is supported also by verse 19, “*And [a man] shall rule out of Jacob ; and shall destroy the remnant of the city* ;” the city here referred to, seems to be “*Ar**, of

Which latter, the *Septuagint* excellently translates, Καὶ ταπεινωσεί ὁ Θεὸς ἀρχουσὰς θυγατέρας Σιών. “And God shall *humble* the *imperious* daughters of *Sion*.”

By the same analogy, “the sons of *Seth*,” in *Balaam*, correspond to “the sons of *tumult*,” in *Jeremiah*. But we learn from *Plutarch*, that “*Seth* was a name given by the *Egyptians* to *Typhon*, or the power which overturns all things, and overleaps all bounds.” De Isid. et Osir. p. 351, 357.—And τυφών, signifies a “*whirlwind*,” or “*hurricane*”—*Hesychius*, *Suidas*.

* The original עֵר, is written by the Sept. Ηρ, abridged from עֵיר, *Ir* ; signifying,

Moab," whose destruction was noticed, Numb. xxi. 15—28, corresponding to *Bozrah*, "a fortress," from the destruction of which THE SAVIOUR is represented as coming by *Isaiah*, lxiii. 1. See the foregoing article of *Jacob's prophecy of Judah*.

The doom of *Amalek*, which had been first foretold by *Moses*, is here repeated by *Balaam*, with the additional circumstance of the preservation of the tribe of the *Kenites*, for *Jethro's* sake, the father-in-law of *Moses*, who is called a *Kenite*, Judg. i. 16, whom *Saul* spared in the destruction of the *Amalekites*, 1 Sam. xv. 6. Still the *Kenites* were "wasted," or reduced in strength, after their separation from *Amalek*, until they shared the general fate of these *Transjordanite* nations, and were swept away into captivity by the *Assyrians*, 1 Chron. v. 26; and afterwards by the *Babylonians*, Jer. xxv. 9—11. The woeful prospect of these captivities, drew from the prophet that passionate exclamation,

Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!

As a source of consolation, however, to these nations, he notices the future retaliation of vengeance on their enslavers, the *Assyrians* and the *Hebrews*, (who appear to be meant by *Asher* and *Heber*, in the Original, retained in our English Bible,) by naval invasions from *Chittim*, or the northern coasts of the *Mediterranean* Sea; at first by the *Macedo-Grecians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*; (as afterwards more fully unfolded by *Moses* and *Daniel*,) concluding with the final doom of these last invaders, in their turn.

MOSES' PROPHECIES.

These may be considered as supplementary to those of *Jacob* and *Balaam*; furnishing a more detailed account of the fortunes of the *Israelites*, and afterwards of the *Jews*. His predictions of the corruptions of his people, after his death, of their subsequent calamities under the *judicial* and *regal* states; of the horrors of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian*, and afterwards of the *Roman* captivities; are delivered with such plainness and precision, that they seem rather to be *historical* narratives of past transactions, than *prophecies* of future. In this respect they differ from all others, excepting those of OUR LORD himself:

"a city;" which in the plural, ערים, *Irim*, "cities," frequently drops the intermediate *Vau*, Numb. xxv. 2, &c. and also in regimen ערי, *Iri*, Numb. xxxii. 36.

the predictions of the rest being generally delivered in a figurative and highly poetical style, very concise, and very obscure.

When *Moses* had written and finished "*the Book of the Law*," he commanded the *Levites* to put the copy, written by himself, beside the Ark of the Covenant, in the Sanctuary, that it might be preserved there, "for a witness against the people:" "*For I know*," said he to them, "*thy rebellion, and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord: and how much more after my death?* Gather to me all the elders of your tribes, that I may speak all these words in their ears, and call heaven and earth to record against them. *For I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you: and evil will befall you in the latter days, because ye will do evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke Him to anger through the work of your hands,*" Deut. xxxi. 24—30.

This original copy, written by *Moses*, was afterwards found by *Hilkiah* the priest, in the reign of *Josiah*, when the temple of *Solomon* was repaired, shortly before the *Babylonian* captivity, and the denunciations contained therein, were read before the king, 2 Kings xxii. 8—10.

These denunciations are chiefly contained in the 26th chapter of *Leviticus*, delivered by *Moses* to the *Israelites* at Mount *Sinai*; and repeated thirty-nine years after to their children, on the plains of *Moab*, in the 28th chapter of *Deuteronomy*.

After specifying the *blessings* attached to their obedience, Levit. xxvi. 3—13; Deut. xxviii. 1—11; and the *curses* to their disobedience in their own land, Levit. xxvi. 14—26; Deut. xxviii. 15—31; the enlightened prophet proceeds to delineate their *captivities* in foreign lands.

I. *Of the Assyrian and Babylonish Captivities.*

Deut. xxviii. 32. "Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given to *another people*, and thine eyes shall look, and fail with longing for them all the day long: and there shall be no might in thy hand.

33. "The fruit of thy land, and all thy labours, shall a *nation which thou knowest not*, eat up; and thou shalt only be oppressed and crushed away.

36. "THE LORD shall lead thee, and *thy king which thou*

shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou *serve other gods*, wood and stone.

37. "And thou shalt become an *astonishment*, a *proverb*, and a *bye word* among all nations whither THE LORD shall lead thee.

47. "Because *thou servedst not* THE LORD THY GOD with joyfulness and gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things:

48. "Therefore shalt *thou serve thine enemies*, which the Lord thy God shall send against thee, in hunger, and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things: and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he have destroyed thee." Compare Levit. xxvi. 23—34.

"And they that are left of you shall pine away in *their iniquity*, in your enemies' land; and also in the *iniquities of their fathers*, shall they pine away with them," Levit. xxvi. 39.

These passages are remarkably descriptive of the captivities of the ten tribes carried away by the *Assyrians*, and transplanted in *Media*, and the remotest parts of the empire; and of the two remaining tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, by the *Babylonians*. These captivities were not to take place until their rejection of the primitive constitution of *Judges*, and rebellious choice of kings, during their *regal* state, which is here foretold; and also that these captivities were to be *by land*; as marked in the original expression יָלַךְ, (*Iolech*,) "THE LORD shall cause thee to walk," or, "shall lead thee on foot," ver. 36.

"The true import of these passages is determined by the prophet *Jeremiah*, in the following summary.

"Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of *Israel*, saith THE LORD: a *mighty nation*, an *ancient nation*, a nation whose *language thou knowest not*, neither understandest what they say: their *quiver* is an open sepulchre; they are all mighty men. And they shall eat up thy harvest, and thy bread which thy sons and daughters should eat: they shall eat up thy flocks and thy herds; they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig-trees; they shall impoverish thy fenced cities with the sword," Jer. v. 15—17.

The remoteness of the *Babylonians* is noticed, Isa. v. 26; and the antiquity of "the land of *Nimrod*," Micah v. 6; the *Syriac* language was not understood by the *Jews*, 2 Kings xviii. 26. And their arms were chiefly *bows* and *arrows*, Jer. vi. 23, xlix. 45; Isa. lxvi. 19.

II. OF THE ROMAN CAPTIVITY.

Deut. xxviii. 49. "THE LORD shall bring a nation upon thee from *far*, from the *end of the earth*, [swift] as the *eagle* flieth, a nation whose *tongue thou shalt not understand*,

50. "A nation of *fierce countenance**, which shall not *respect the person of the old*, nor *pity the young*.

51. "And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy land, until thou be destroyed: he shall not leave thee corn, wine, or oil, the increase of thy kine, nor flocks of thy sheep, until he have destroyed thee.

* How singularly applicable this characteristic of a *fierce countenance*, was to the *Romans*, may appear from the following instances.

In a war which broke out between the *Romans* and *Samnites*, U.C. 412; the latter attributed their defeat, after a long and obstinate engagement, to the *fierce looks* of the *Romans*, when they were called upon to account for it. They said, "that *the eyes* of the *Romans* *seemed to be on fire*, *their countenances were wild*, and *their looks furious*; and that this excited *more terror* in them than any thing else," (*oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos aiebant, vesanosque vultus et furentia ora: inde plus quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum.*) Liv. VIII. 33.

Horace describes *Attilius Regulus*, returning to surrender himself to the *Carthaginians*, as their captive, and rejecting the caresses of his wife and children, wishing to detain him, as "*sternly fixing his manly countenance on the ground.*"

———— et virilem

Torvus humi posuisse vultum. —Od. III. 5.

Plutarch thus represents *C. Marcius Coriolanus*; 'Ο γαρ ην (ὡσπερ ηξίου τον στρατιωτην ὁ Κατων) ου χειρι και πληγγ μονου, αλλα και τουφ φωνης και οψει προσωπου φοβερος εντυχειν, which is admirably translated by *Shakspeare*, in his play of *Coriolanus*:

" ————— Thou wast a soldier [*Marcius*]
Even to *Cato's* wish: not *fierce* and *terrible*
Only in strokes; but *with thy grim looks*, and
The thunder-like percussion of thy sounds,
Thou mad'st thine enemies shake."

Horace describes *Cato*, the *Censor*, as "*fierce with stern countenance*," (*vultu torvo ferus*,) Epist. I. 19, 12; and *Plutarch*, more particularly:

When a *Cimbrian* soldier undertook to put *C. Marius* to death, in prison, he was so daunted by the lustre of *Marius's* eyes, naturally vivid, but now heightened into *flame*, (*φλογα*.) by the great emotion of body and mind, with which he uttered these words, "*Darest thou kill C. Marius!*" that he thought he saw and heard a *god*; and casting away his sword, fled affrighted, crying out through the city, "*I cannot kill C. Marius.*" See *Plutarch* and *Strabo*.

Tacitus describes an impostor, who personated *Nero*, as "*remarkable for his eyes and hair, and sternness of countenance*," (*corpus insigne oculis comaque, et torvitate vultus.*) Hist. 2, 9.

See *Zouch's Enquiry into the prophetic character of the Romans*, 1792, 8vo. whence these instances are selected.

52. " And he shall *besiege* thee in *all thy gates*, until thy high and fenced walls come down wherein thou trustedst, throughout thy whole land :—

53. " And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters (which the Lord thy God hath given thee) in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee.

54. " The *man* that is tender and very delicate among you, his eyes shall be evil [or grudging] toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward *the remnant of his children which he shall leave* :

55. " So that he will not give to any of them [share] of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat : because he hath nothing left him in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates.

56. " The tender and delicate *woman* among you, which would not venture to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil [or grudging] toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter,

57. " And toward her young infant, and toward her children which she shall bear : for she shall eat them, for want of all things, *secretly*, in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.

58. " If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of THIS LAW, (written in this book, that *thou mayest fear this glorious and awful name*, THE LORD THY GOD :)

59. " Then THE LORD *will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed : great plagues and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses and of long continuance.*

62. " And ye shall be left *few in number*, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitudes, because thou wouldest not obey the voice of THE LORD THY GOD.

63. " And it shall come to pass, that as the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you, so shall the Lord rejoice over you to destroy you, and to bring you to nought ; and ye shall be *plucked from off the land*, whither thou goest to possess.

64. " And THE LORD *will scatter thee among all people*, from the one end of the earth even unto the other : and there *thou shalt serve other gods*, which neither thou nor thy fathers have known, wood and stone.

65. "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; but THE LORD shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind :

66. "And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have no assurance of thy life.

67. "In the morning thou shalt say, *Would God it were even!* and at even thou shalt say, *Would God it were morning!* for the fear of thy heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.

68. "And the Lord shall bring thee into *Egypt* [or captivity] again, *in ships*, by the way whereof I spake unto thee; thou shalt see [thy land] no more again: and there ye shall be *sold* unto your enemies for bond men and bond women: *and no man shall buy,*" [the market being overstocked with slaves.]

How exactly was this minute and circumstantial prophecy fulfilled in all its branches, by the *Roman* captivity, and is still fulfilling at this very day! Its accomplishment, indeed, is for "*a sign*" of their rebellion against GOD, and "*a wonder*" of their preservation amidst all those dreadful calamities which they have suffered for so many hundred years, Deut. xxviii. 46, according to the interpretation of *David Levi*, who has furnished an affecting commentary thereon, in the *Introduction* to his *Dissertation on the Prophecies*, 2 vols. 8vo.

1. The *Romans* are here described, with the most characteristic precision, above eight hundred years before their existence as a nation, First, by their *country*, "*far*" to the westward of Palestine; from "*the end of the earth,*" or shores of the *Atlantic* ocean; and it is remarkable, that the armies of *Titus* and *Adrian*, were principally composed of *Gauls*, *Britons*, and *Spaniards*. Second, by the rapidity of their marches, "*swift as the eagle flieth,*"—and their ensigns too, were eagles, expressive thereof; Third, by their language, *Latin*, which was not understood by the *Jews*, though *Greek* was, from the time of *Alexander's* conquests in *Asia*; Fourth, by their *fierce countenance*, for which the *Romans* were distinguished, from the early periods of their republic; and, fifth, by their ferocity, or merciless disposition in war. By an over-refinement, perhaps, *Manasseh ben Israel* traces, in the repetition of the word "*nation,*" thrice, the three principal expeditions of the *Romans* against *Judea*; the first under *Pompey*, the second under *Sosius*, in support of *Herod*

the Great against *Antigonus*, the third under *Titus*, when the city was destroyed.

2. *Josephus*, whose *Jewish war* is the best commentary on this prophecy, relates the devastation of the country by the *Romans*, that, *in their rage*, “*they ceased not day nor night from ravaging the lands, plundering the goods, slaying all that were of the military age, and taking the weaker captives,*” Lib. III. 4, 1. He relates the sieges of the principal towns taken by the *Romans*, *Jotapata*, *Gadara*, *Joppa*, *Tiberias*, *Tarichea*, and *Gamala*; at which last town in particular, after a long and obstinate defence, “*above 5000 persons precipitated themselves from the walls into a deep valley beneath; and the Romans spared not even the infants, but slung them in numbers (εσφενδωνων) from the citadel.*” Lib. IV. 1, 10.

3. The horrors of the siege of *Jerusalem*, aggravated by an intestine war in the city itself, by the three factions who occupied it, headed by *Eleazar*, *Simon*, and *John*, are related in the most lively colours by the *Jewish* historian, and especially the miseries of famine,—“*when wives snatched the food from their husbands, children from their parents, and what was most lamentable, mothers, even from the mouths of their infants; while they themselves were not allowed in quiet to devour the prey, for the seditious broke into any houses which they saw shut, suspecting that provisions were concealed therein, and tore the morsels from their very jaws. The old men were beaten while grasping the food, the women dragged by the hair, while hiding it in their hands. There was no pity for grey hairs nor infants; the children, clinging to the pieces of food, were lifted up, and dashed against the ground.*” Lib. V. 10, 3.

4. The following deed, “*horrible to relate, and incredible to hear,*” occurred near the end of the siege.

“*Mary*, the daughter of *Eleazar*, a woman of distinguished rank and fortune, at the breaking out of the troubles, had fled to *Jerusalem* from *Bethesob*, the place of her residence, beyond *Jordan*, with the relicks of her fortune, and whatever stock of provision she could procure. But of these she was plundered every day, in the domiciliary visits of the soldiers. Provoked at this, she often endeavoured to exasperate the plunderers, by reproaches and imprecations, to kill her; but in vain. Being reduced at length to absolute want, she was driven by pressing

hunger to kill her suckling babe, and when she had dressed it, she eat the half of it, and kept the remainder covered up. Immediately the *seditions* came to her, and attracted by the scent, threatened to slay her instantly, unless she produced the provision which she had prepared. Accordingly, she uncovered what was left of her son, telling them that *she had reserved a good share for them*.—Struck with horror and amazement at the spectacle, they departed, trembling, and, with reluctance, left the remains to the wretched mother.” Lib. VI. 3, 4.

5. The *sack* of the temple quarter of the city is thus described, in the following terms, by *Josephus*; himself an eye-witness of the heart-rending spectacle :

“Whilst the TEMPLE was burning [to which one of the *Roman* soldiers, moved by a *divine impulse*, set fire (*δαμονιῆ ὄρητι χρωμενος*), contrary to the wishes and the orders of *Titus*,] the sack of that quarter began, and the slaughter of those whom the soldiers found was immense. *There was no pity shewn to age, no respect to dignity, but young and old*, the profane vulgar, and the sacred priesthood, were put to death alike. And the battle involved and invaded every sort, confounding the suppliants with the defendants; and the crackling of the wide-spreading flames resounded along with the groans of the falling. And by reason of the height of the Mount, and the greatness of the flaming pile, you would have thought that the whole city was on fire, and nothing can be conceived grander nor more terrible than that noise; for there was a shouting of the *Roman* ranks coming to close engagement, and a cry of the *seditions*, hemmed in by fire and sword. And the people who were left in the *upper city*, turned with dismay toward the enemy, and groaned at the catastrophe, while the cry of the multitude in the *lower city*, conspired with those on the Mount. And now many of those that were famishing with hunger, and their lips closed, when they saw the *Temple on fire*, recovered full strength for wailings and moans. These again were echoed from the *suburbs*, and from the *surrounding mountains*, making the impression still deeper on the mind, while the havoc increased the horror of the tumult. You would have thought that the *Temple Mount was burnt up from the very roots*, it was so loaded with fire throughout. And yet the blood was still more abundant than the fire, and the slaughtered more than the slayers,

for the ground was no where clear of the dead ; and the soldiers, mounting on heaps of carcasses, rushed upon the fugitives, flying in every direction." Lib. VI. 5, 5, and VI. 6, 1.

6. *Josephus* reckons that eleven hundred thousand souls perished during the siege of *Jerusalem* by the sword, pestilence, or famine, besides ninety-seven thousand whom they took captives. The greater part of these were of the same nation, but not of the same country, for they had assembled from all parts to celebrate the feast of the *Passover*, and were suddenly surrounded by the *Romans*, and the whole of this vast multitude, composing the whole nation, shut up as it were in an enclosure by destiny.

7. Of the *captives*, above seventeen years of age, some were sent to *Egypt* in chains, to work in the mines ; the greater part were distributed through the provinces, to be destroyed in the theatres, by the sword, and by wild beasts ; the rest, under seventeen, were sold for slaves, and that for a trifling sum, on account of the numbers to be sold, and the scarcity of buyers. Lib. VI. 8, 2 ; IX. 2—4. So that at length the prophecy of *Moses* was fulfilled—"and no man shall buy."—The part that was reserved to grace the triumph of *Vespasian* and *Titus* at *Rome*, chosen out of the most comely, were probably transported to *Italy* "in ships," or by sea, to avoid a prodigious land-journey thither, through *Asia* and *Greece* ; a circumstance which distinguished this invasion and captivity from the preceding, by the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, which were solely by land. In the ensuing rebellion, a part of the captives were sent by sea to *Egypt*, and several of the ships were wrecked on the coast.

8. In the ensuing rebellion, excited by the impostor *Barchocab*, signifying "son of the star," or CHRIST, so denominated in *Balaam's* prophecy, *Julius Severus*, the general of *Adrian*, according to *Dio*, destroyed five hundred and eighty thousand *Jews* in the public combats, besides an innumerable multitude which perished by famine, misery, and fire ; so that very few of them escaped this war, in which were plundered and burnt fifty fortified castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five towns, flourishing and populous ; and so general was the massacre of the inhabitants, that all *Judea* was, in some measure, left desolate, and converted into a desert. *Dio Cassius*, Lib. LXIX.

9. The dispersion of the *Jews* into all countries, from the

rising to the setting sun, and the “*very long continuance* of their plagues,” or sufferings, in this captivity, intimated in the repetition, ver. 59, and now subsisting upwards of 1700 years; during which they have still been preserved a distinct people, though every where despised and persecuted, exhibit a *standing miracle* and *fulfilment of prophecy*, the most extraordinary and convincing. The different fortunes of the *ten tribes*, and of the *Jews*, are distinguishable in the *Divine Ode*, or prophetic poem, called *Moses’ Song*, according to the following ingenious remark of *David Levi*, Proph. Vol. I. p. 21.

“*Moses*, in his prophetic poem, hath also clearly pointed out the mercy of God in the preservation of *Israel*, and the means taken by Providence to effect it; for in Deut. xxxii. 26, he says, I said *I would drive them into one corner, and [consequently] I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men.*—This hath really been the case of the *ten tribes*, whom the king of *Assyria* carried captive to *Halah* and *Habor*, by the river *Gozan*, and of whom we have not, to this hour, any certain or authentic account as to their real place of abode*. And this would have been the fate of the rest of the nation, had they been carried to one spot. The prophet therefore proceeds thus, ‘*Were it not that the wrath of the enemy would be collected?*’ The sense of which is, that if they were all in one place, under one prince, and the wrath of the enemy should arise against them, it would be more collected, and consequently operate with a greater force to effect their destruction. But GOD, in his infinite mercy, *scattered them among all nations*, (Deut. iv. 27, xxviii. 62,) and thereby prevented their annihilation; for if one prince persecutes them, they retire to some of their brethren, who live under the dominion of another that favours them, as history clearly evinces. And although they are but *few*, (Deut. xxviii. 62,) in comparison to what they were, owing to the numberless persecutions and massacres which they have suffered in the different kingdoms of *Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Poland, England, &c.* at various periods; yet had they all been in one kingdom, they most likely would have been annihilated. But *their dispersion among different nations was the very*

* The ingenuity and skill of Major *Rennel*, has probably discovered those places, in the district of *Media*. See the foregoing *Elements of Geography*, Vol. I. p. 461. And the *Afghans* seem to be an *Israelitish* colony. See *Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 67—76.

means of their preservation ; for the interests of the various princes were so opposed to each other, that when one persecuted, another favoured, and granted them an asylum. Hence it is manifest, that their dispersion among so many nations is not a sign that God hath cast them off entirely, but, on the contrary, is the strongest apparent proof, that *they are under the immediate providence of God*, who carefully watches over and preserves them, amidst the numerous enemies that surround them, till the coming of the TRUE MESSIAH, when they will be all gathered together, and return to their own land, where they will serve God in truth and sincerity, as written in the law which God commanded his servant *Moses*. This testimony of a learned and pious *Jew* is curious and valuable. And we have only to regret, that he was unable to distinguish “THE TRUE MESSIAH” in the person of OUR LORD JESUS, between his first advent in *humiliation and suffering*, and his next, in *triumph and glory*, as foretold by *Moses* and *all the prophets*, Luke xxiv. 25—27.—May this work, under GOD, contribute to open the eyes of his nation !

III. OF THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

This also is clearly foretold by *Moses*.

Levit. xxvi. 44. “ Nevertheless for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, *I will not cast them away*, nor will I abhor them to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them : for *I am THE LORD THEIR GOD*,” &c.

Deut. xxx. 1. “ And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee, and *thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee*,

2. “ *And shalt return unto the LORD THY GOD, and shalt obey his voice*, according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thy heart and with all thy soul ;

3. “ That then THE LORD THY GOD *will turn thy captivity* and have compassion upon thee ; and will return and *gather thee from all the nations whither THE LORD THY GOD hath scattered thee* :

4. “ If any of thine be driven out unto the uttermost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will He fetch thee.

5. “ *And THE LORD THY GOD will bring thee unto the land*

which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it : and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers.

6. "And THE LORD THY GOD will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the LORD THY GOD with all thy heart, and with all thy soul : THAT THOU MAYEST LIVE" [or inherit *eternal life*,] Luke x. 25.

Here the restoration of the *Jews* to their own country is plainly predicted, at the destined end of their captivity. But it should seem, that their *conversion to CHRIST*, is to be the preliminary condition of their acceptance with GOD, for so long as their nation continues in a state of rebellion against CHRIST, they are not worthy to be redeemed.—And in conformity with *Moses*, OUR LORD declared to the unbelieving *Jews*, "Lo, your house [OF THE LORD] is left unto you desolate : for I say unto you, ye shall not see ME henceforth, until ye can say, [with hearty repentance and true faith,] Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the LORD," Matt. xxiii. 38, 39.

The following reflections, from an excellent French work, *Principes de la Foy Chretienne*, Tom. I. c. 16, are selected from a copious extract, translated by *West*, in his *evidences of our Lord's resurrection*, p. 402.

"The *Jews*, punished and dispersed, bear witness to JESUS CHRIST. The *Jews*, recalled and converted, will render Him a testimony still more awful and striking. The *Jews*, preserved by a *continual miracle*, that they may preserve to JESUS CHRIST the stock and succession of those who shall one day believe in HIM, bear witness to Him continually.

"Had they been only punished, they would have proved his *justice* only : had they been only preserved, they could have proved nothing but his *power* : had they not been reserved to worship Him one day, they could not have proved his *mercy* and *veracity*, nor have made Him any reparation for their outrageous crimes [in rejecting and crucifying Him.]

"Their dispersion proves that He is come, but they have rejected Him : their preservation demonstrates that He hath not rejected them for ever, and that they shall one day believe in Him ; and they declare by both, that He is the *Messiah* and the promised SAVIOUR : that their miseries proceed from their not having *known* him ; and that the only hope they have left, is, that they shall one day come to the knowledge of Him."

"The change will be in their persons, and not in his religion ,

that will remain what it is, but they will then begin to see it. JESUS CHRIST will take away the veil that is upon their eyes, but He will be the same: He will cure their deafness, but He will speak the same things:" but as *Moses* himself foretold, "GOD hath not yet given them a *heart to perceive*, and *eyes to see*, and *ears to hear*, to this day," Deut. xxix. 4. And the observation of *Paul* is still true, that "*partial blindness hath befallen Israel*; nor shall it be entirely removed till the *fulness of the Gentiles* shall come in," with their conversion, Rom. xi. 25.

IV. OF THE PUNISHMENT OF THEIR FOES.

Jacob, in his prophecy, figuratively foretold the retaliation of divine vengeance upon the persecutors of the *Jews*, Gen. xlix. 11. *Balaam* concisely foretold it, in his last prophecy, Numb. xxiv. 24; and *Moses* more plainly:

Deut. xxx. 7. "And THE LORD THY GOD will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and upon them that hate thee, which persecuted thee.

8. "And thou shalt return* [from thy captivity] and obey the voice of the Lord, and do all his commandments, which I command thee this day."

But it was reserved for the ensuing Ode, to describe these judgments in all their terrors.

V. THE DIVINE ODE, OR MOSES' SONG.

These *historical* prophecies of *Moses*, growing clearer and brighter towards the close of his life, are crowned by a *poetical* composition of the most transcendent excellence; worthy indeed

* *Jeremiah* appears to have unfolded this prophecy in the following:

"Fear not thou, my servant *Jacob*,
Neither be dismayed, *Israel*:
For lo, I will bring thee safe from far,
And thy seed from the land of their captivity,
And *Jacob* shall return, and be at rest;
He shall be secure, and none shall make him afraid.

"Fear not then, my servant *Jacob*,
Saith the Lord; for I am with thee:
Wherefore I will make a full end of all the nations
Whither I have driven thee;
But I will not make a full end of thee,
But will correct thee in measure,
And not make thee altogether desolate," Jer. xlvi. 27, 28.

of its author, THE GOD OF ISRAEL: who dictated it to *Moses*, shortly before his death, and commanded him to teach it to the children of Israel, “*That it might be a witness for HIM against them,*” in future times, “*when many evils and troubles should befall them, for breaking his covenant:*” “*For,*” added THE LORD, “*It shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed.*”—“*Moses, therefore, wrote this song the same day, and taught it the children of Israel:*” By whom it is still rehearsed, above three thousand years since; and shall be to the end of time, Deut. xxxi. 16—22.

- XXXII. 1. Give ear, *O heavens*, and I will speak,
Hearken, *O Earth*, to the words of my mouth * ;
2. My doctrine shall drop as the rain,
My speech shall distil as the dew ;
As the showers upon the tender herb,
As the mists upon the grass ;
3. While I declare the name of THE LORD :
Ascribe ye greatness to OUR GOD.—
4. He is THE CREATOR †, his work is perfect,
For all his ways are judgment ;
THE GOD OF TRUTH, and not of iniquity,
He is *just* and *upright* :
5. *Their own iniquity* hath corrupted his children, [now] *not his* † ;
A perverse and crooked generation !

* *Isaiah* has imitated concisely this noble exordium :

“Hear, *O Heavens*, and give ear, *O Earth*,
For THE LORD speaketh.—
I have begotten and brought up children,
And they have rebelled against Me,” *Isai. i. 2.*

† The original, צור, (*Tsur*), usually signifies a *rock*, and is figuratively applied to GOD, as expressing his stability and immutability, and the security of those who are under his protection, as in verses 15 and 37, so finely expressed by *Isaiah*,

“Trust ye in THE LORD for ever,
For in ONE AND THE SAME LORD is the *rock* of ages,” *Isai. xxvi. 4.*

But it is here, and ver. 18, rendered “*the Creator,*” by the Arabic Version, and κτιστην, by the Septuagint Version of 2 Sam. xxii. 32, and by *Theodotion* here πλαστην, of the same import: which agrees better with the context. In this sense it may be derived from the verb צר, which signifies to “*cast,*” 1 Kings vii. 15; or to “*form,*” Jer. i. 5. The Septuagint Version here, and ver. 18, renders it “*God,*” (Θεον,) which I have substituted, ver. 31.

‡ This translation is supported by the various reading of the *Samaritan Text*, which gives, “*they have sinned [they are] not his, sons of corruption,*” and which was evidently the reading of the *Septuagint*, rendering ἡμαρτωσαν, ουκ αυτω, τεκνα μωμητα. Doctor *Kennicott*, in the *General Dissertation* to his *Collations of Hebrew MSS.* Vol. II. p. 31, § 72, has shewn how the present *Masorete* was easily derived from the *Samaritan*, by transposition of letters; from which it does not differ materially in this translation.

- II. 6. Do ye thus requite THE LORD,
O people foolish and not wise!
Is not He THY FATHER, who got thee,
Who made thee, and who formed thee?
7. Remember the days of old,
Consider the years of [past] generations,
Ask thy father, and he will shew thee,
Thy elders, and they will tell thee.—
8. When THE MOST HIGH divided to *the nations* their settlements,
When He separated the sons of *Adam* ;
He assigned the boundaries of *the peoples* [of *Israel* *]
According to the number of the sons of *Israel* :
9. For the portion of THE LORD is *His people*,
Jacob, the lot of His inheritance.—
10. He found him in a desert land,
In a waste howling wilderness ;
He led him about, He instructed him,
He kept him, as the apple of His eye.
11. As *the eagle* † stirreth up his nestlings,
Hovereth about his brood,
Spreadeth about his wings,
Taket them up,
Carrieth them upon his shoulder ;
12. [So] THE LORD alone did lead him,
And with HIM was no *strange God* [coadjutor.]
13. He made him mount upon the heights of the land,
To eat the produce of the fields ;
He made him suck honey out of the rock,
And oil, out of the flinty stone.
14. Butter of kine, and milk of sheep,
With the fat of lambs, and of rams,
Of *Basan's* breed, and of goats :

* This insertion of the parenthetical words [of *Israel*,] derived from the succeeding verse, furnishes a plain and rational sense of one of the most embarrassed and most contested passages in the whole poem; signifying, that the promised land was allotted to the *twelve* tribes of *Israel*, as being descended from his twelve sons; each of which, from their extraordinary population, might be considered as “a *people*” in itself; (and so the *Ephraimites* represented themselves to *Joshua*, xvii. 14—17;) while the aggregate composed “*his people*,” the most highly favoured of all the *nations* of the earth, with whom they are contrasted.

† This admirable similitude of the parent eagle training his young *nestlings* to fly; first “*stirring them up*,” or rousing them from the nest; then “*hovering about them*,” to watch and encourage their timid efforts: “*spreading abroad his wings*,” to receive them when drooping; “*taking them up, carrying them on his shoulder*,” to ease them; when wearied and exhausted by unusual efforts, is probably painted from the life, with so much circumstantial imagery, from the scenes which *Moses* might often have witnessed in the deserts of *Arabia Petraea*.

This description of the *Hebrew* bard, far exceeds in simplicity, the classical, of the training of the young *Alpine* eagle, to which *Horace* elaborately compares the education of young *Drusus*, (*Livia's Son*,) by *Augustus*; *Qualem Ministrum*, &c. Od. IV. 4.

- With the finest flour of wheat *—
Thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape.—
- III. 15. But *Jeshurun* waxed fat, and spurned;
Thou art waxed fat, and gross, and sleek!—
 He forsook THE GOD who made him;
 And slighted the Rock of his salvation.
16. They made HIM jealous with *strange gods*,
 They provoked Him with abominations;
17. They sacrificed to [*false*] gods † not to THE [TRUE] GOD,
 To gods whom they knew not;
 To new [*gods*] that came from the neighbourhoods
 Whom your fathers feared not:
18. *Of THE CREATOR who begat thee art thou unmindful,*
And hast forgotten THE GOD who bore thee!—
- IV. 19. And THE LORD saw, and was wroth,
 For the provocation of His sons and of His daughters,
20. And He said, *I will hide my face from them,*
I will see what will be their end;
For they are a froward generation,
Faithless children:
21. *They have made Me jealous by what is not God,*
They have provoked Me with their vain idols;
And I will make them jealous by what is not a people,
I will provoke them with a foolish nation.—
22. *For a fire is kindled in mine anger,*
And it shall burn to the lower Hades;
It shall consume the land and her increase,
And set on fire the foundations of the mountains.
23. *I will heap mischiefs upon them,*
I will spend mine arrows upon them;
24. *I will send upon them the raging of famine,*
The burning of ulcers, the bitterness of pestilence,
And the teeth of wild beasts, with the poison of serpents.
25. *The sword from without, and the terror from within,*
Shall destroy both the young man, and the maiden,

* The imagery of the original is uncommonly bold: “with the fat of kidneys of wheat:” it has been adopted by the Psalmist twice, who speaks of “the fat of wheat,” Psalm lxxx. 16, cxlvii. 14; where our translation judiciously renders, “with the finest wheat;” though it has retained the original expression in this place. But uniformity of rendering, unfortunately, was not sufficiently attended to by our Bible translators, however excellent their version in the main.

† These gods, in the original, are שָׂדִים, (*Sadim*), signifying “Almighties,” Gen. xvii. 1, and like the plural, אֱלֹהִים, (*Elohim*), “Gods,” applied to the false gods of the Heathens. These seem to have been the local gods of the neighbourhood; from whom the vale of הַשְּׂדִים, (*Ha-Sidim*, or *Ha-Sadim*), “the Almightyies” near *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, was denominated, Gen. xiv. 3, whose idolatrous abominations, under the imagery of bitter grapes and poisonous wines, are noticed afterwards, verses 32, 33. These false gods are opposed to אֱלֹהֵי, (*ÆLOH,*) THE GOD, THE ONE TRUE GOD.

The suckling, with the man of grey hairs *.—

- V. 26. I said, *I would drive them into a corner,
I would make their memory cease from among men ;*
27. *Were it not, that the wrath of the enemy would be collected [against them,]
Lest their adversaries should magnify themselves,
Lest they should say, Our hand is high,
And THE LORD hath not wrought all this. —*
28. *For they are a nation void of counsel,
And there is no understanding in them :*
29. *O that they were wise, that they understood this,
That they would consider their end ! —*
30. *How should one, chase a thousand [of them]
And two, put ten thousand, to flight,
Unless THEIR GOD had sold them,
And THE LORD had shut them up ! —*
31. *(Yet, their God, is not as OUR GOD,
Our enemies themselves being judges :*
32. *Yet, their vine is of the vine of Sodom,
And of the fields of Gomorrah,
Their grapes are grapes of gall,
Their clusters are bitter,*
33. *Their wine, the poison of dragons,
And the cruel venom of asps.)*
34. *Is not THIS laid up in store with Me,
Sealed up among my treasures. —*
35. *Vengeance is mine ; I will repay †,
In the time that their foot shall slide :
For the day of their calamity is at hand,
And [the judgments] prepared for them, hasten.*
VI. 36. *Nevertheless, THE LORD will plead the cause of his people,
And will have pity on his servants ‡,*

* There is a beautiful alternate parallelism in this 25th verse, which may be read thus :

*The sword from without, shall destroy the young man,
And the terror from within, the maiden,
The suckling, with the man of grey hairs.*

† Instead of the present reading, **וְשָׁלַם**, “*and recompence* ;” the *Sept. Vulg. Syr.* and *Chald.* all read **אֲשַׁלֵּם**, “*I will repay, or recompense* ;” which is established by *St. Paul*, citing the passage, *Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω*. “*Vengeance is mine, I will repay,*” *Rom. xii. 19*, corresponding also more exactly to the construction of the ensuing verse :

41. *I will render vengeance to mine enemies,
And will repay them that hate Me.*

‡ The particle **כִּי**, *chi*, which introduces the last part, frequently signifies “*nevertheless,*” or “*notwithstanding,*” *Isai. ix. 1, 2 Sam. xxiii. 5, &c.* THE LORD will “*judge,*” or *plead the cause* of his people, as a righteous *judge* ; and deliver them from the oppressions of their enemies : as the verb **יָדַן** is understood, *Gen. xlix. 16, Psalm ix. 4—8, xxii. 2, xcvi. 10, cxl. 13, &c.* “*And will repent himself* for his servants,”—or will revisit them with mercy, as the phrase is understood, *Psalm xc. 13, cvi. 45, Jer. xviii. 8, Jonah iii. 10.*—“*When He seeth that their strength is spent,*” as foretold, *Levit. xxvi.*

- When He seeth that their strength is spent,
And that none is spared nor left.
37. And He shall say, *Where are their gods,
Their rock in whom they trusted,*
38. *Which ate the fat of their sacrifices,
And drank the wine of their libations : —
Let them arise and help you,
Let them be your protection.*
39. See now, that I am HE,
And that there is no God with Me :
I kill, and I make alive,
I wound, and I heal,
And none can deliver out of my hand.
40. Therefore, I lift up my hand to heaven, and say—
(I AM LIVING FOR EVERMORE.)
41. *That when I whet my glittering sword,
Even my hand shall exercise judgment ;
[Then] I will render vengeance to mine enemies,
And will repay them that hate me :*
42. *I will make mine arrows drunk with blood,
With the blood of the slain and of the captives,
And my sword shall devour flesh,
From the hairy head of the enemy*.*
43. Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people :
For HE will avenge the blood of his servants,
And will render vengeance to his adversaries,
And will purify both his land, and his people.”

“ And Moses spake in the ears of all the congregation of *Israel*, the words of this song, until they were ended,” Deut. xxxi. 30.

This majestic vindication of the Tutelar God of *Israel* with his chosen people, and with their persecutors, which I have attempted to render more closely and intelligibly, though still at

20 ; and “ that none is *shut up*, [spared] or *left* ;” a proverbial saying, 2 Kings xiv. 26, to denote the depth of distress.

* In the original forty-second verse, there is an alternate parallelism of the first and third lines, and of the second and fourth, which is here adjusted. Instead of the received translation of the last line, “ *From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy*,” until their final completion ; in which the rendering of פְּרָעוֹת, “ *revenges*,” is unsupported by any of the ancient versions ; I render it “ *hairy* ;” for the words פָּרַע שֵׁר, are rendered “ *locks of hair*,” Numb. vi. 5, and the expression here, ראש פְּרָעוֹת, “ *head of locks*,” remarkably corresponds to קַדְקַד שֵׁר, “ *scalp of hair*,” or “ *hairy pate*,” in the following parallel passage :

“ God shall wound *the head* of his enemies,
And the *hairy pate* of him that walketh in his sins. Psalm lxviii. 21.

Compare *Balaam's* last prophecy, Numb. xxiv. 17, and Jer. xlvi. 15.

infinite distance from the inimitable energy and conciseness of the original, consists of six parts.

The first opens with an animated summons to the inhabitants of heaven and earth, to *angels* and *men*, or the whole rational creation, to listen to the prophet's wholesome and refreshing discourse, contrasting the *veracity* and *justice* of GOD, with the *iniquity* and *ingratitude* of his people. This forms the prefatory introduction to the whole poem, ver. 1—5.

The second recapitulates GOD'S parental care and fostering protection of the *Israelites*, from their earliest origin to their complete settlement in the rich and fertile land of promise: whose twelve *tribes* are called "*peoples*," from the numerous population of each; while the aggregate composed "*His people*," the most highly favoured of all the *nations* of the earth, from whom they are thus distinguished. This part contains the admirable imagery, so sublimely beautiful, and yet so simple and natural, of the parent Eagle, training *his* young brood to fly; which *Moses* might often have witnessed in the deserts of *Arabia Petraea*. The affixes in the original, are all masculine; corresponding to GOD himself, who had been pleased to adopt this comparison;—"I bare you on *eagles* wings," Exod. xix. 4, ver. 6—14.

The third part describes the usual but ungenerous effect of prosperity, upon *Jeshurun*, or "*righteous Israel*" heretofore, in their adoption of the *false gods* of the neighbouring nations, and forgetfulness of the true God their Creator and Protector. This is expressed in the most animated and glowing *apostrophes*, (or changes of person,) in which this most highly wrought *Lyric* composition abounds; uniting all the fire and richness of oriental eloquence, with the close and accurate reasoning of occidental composition:—"Thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape!"—"Thou art waxed fat," &c.—"Thou art unmindful," &c. ver. 15—18.

The fourth expresses the indignation of the LORD, and his denunciations, that He would reject apostate *Israel*, and adopt in their room the believing *Gentiles*; according to the interpretation of St. *Paul*, Rom. x. 19, citing ver. 21, and the parallel prophecy of *Isaiah*, lxxv. 1, 2, and describes, in the glowing colours of the preceding prophecies, all the calamities of the *Babylonian* and *Roman* captivities, ver. 19—25.

The fifth part states the wise and gracious reasons of the dis-

persion of the *Jews* into all lands, rather than their confinement to one corner, as in the *Assyrian* captivity ; both for their preservation from the collected force of their enemies, and to prevent the boasts of the latter, ascribing to themselves their destruction. It next states the true reason of the timidity of the *Israelites*, so that a thousand would fly from one enemy ; as GOD had warned them repeatedly before, in even stronger terms ; “ I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your enemies ; they that hate you shall conquer you, and ye shall flee, when none pursueth you.”—“ And upon them that are left alive of you, I will send a faintness into their hearts, in the lands of their enemies, and the sound of a leaf shall chase them ; and they shall flee, as fleeing from a sword : and they shall fall when none pursueth,” Levit. xxvi. 17—36.—“ THE LORD shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies : thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them,” Deut. xxviii. 25. Then follows a parenthetical observation of *Moses* himself, introduced incidentally into the divine speech, stating the superiority of the God of *Israel* over the gods of their enemies, even by their own confession. Thus *Jethro* acknowledged it, Exod. xviii. 11 ; the *Egyptians* confessed it, Exod. xiv. 25 ; *Balaam*, Numb. xxiii. 19—23 ; the *Canaanites*, Josh. ii. 11 ; the *Gibeonites*, Josh. ix. 9—24 ; the *Philistines*, 1 Sam. iv. 7 ; *Nebuchadnezzar*, the haughty king of *Babylon*, Dan. iii. 29, iv. 37 ; *Darius* the Mede, Dan. vi. 26, 27 ; *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, Ezra i. 3 ; *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, Ezra vii. 23. And *Philostratus* has preserved a remarkable declaration of *Titus*, modestly attributing his conquest of the *Jews* to the divine assistance ; “ That he was only an instrument in the hand of GOD, whose wrath had been so signally manifested against them.”

The prophet next proceeds to state, that the enemies of the *Jews* had no claim to the divine assistance, from any superior merits of their own ; for that on the contrary, their idolatries and corruptions were still more abominable than those of the *Jews* ; not only compelling them in their captivities to serve their gods, by the most dreadful persecutions, such as those of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Dan. iii. 8—28 ; of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, 1 Macc. i. 41—64 ; of the *Romans*, &c. Dan. xi. 35, xii. 1 ; but corrupting the whole world by their mischievous example and influence. Thus *Babylon* is represented as making “ all the nations of the

earth drunken and mad with the *wine* of her idolatrous fornication," Jer. li. 8; and the mystical *Babylon*, or *Rome Imperial* and *Papal*, likewise, Rev. xvii. 2, xviii. 3. The bitter and poisonous ingredients of which, are here emphatically described. Of all these, God declares in the sequel, that He will keep an account, or registry, and severely punish them in the day of vengeance. The delay of which, is thus excellently explained by *David Levi*, Vol. I. p. 47. "Although the *Gentiles* have, according to their *evil doings*, and their *corrupt religious tenets*, long deserved exemplary punishment; yet is GOD pleased to defer his wrath, so long as the *Jews* remain unworthy of being redeemed, and have not *repented*; or received *the full measure of their punishment*," ver. 26—35.

The sixth and last part rehearses the consolation of *Israel*, and signal punishment of their foes. It begins with *God's* expostulation with his people, when reduced to their lowest state of desolation, referring them for relief, ironically, to the *vain idols* in which they had trusted, and to which they had sacrificed, as He did afterwards, Judg. x. 14. The Psalmist, citing this passage, thus describes the idols themselves, and their votaries:

" They are [but] silver and gold, the work of men's hands,
They have mouths, but speak not,
They have eyes, but see not,
They have ears, but hear not,
Neither is there any breath in their mouths.
They that make them are like them,
And so are all that trust in them," Psalm cxxxv. 14—18.

By an admirable contrast to which, the LORD describes his own self-existence, as *living for evermore*; and his sole and exclusive power "to *kill*," and "to *make alive*," "to *wound* and to *heal*."—Hence the captivity is called "the *wound of Israel*," which is to be "*healed*" at the restoration of *Israel*, Isa. xxx. 26, while his power to *kill*, or destroy his adversaries, as a mighty warrior, with *sword* and *arrows*, or by the miseries of war, (as in the present awful "*days of vengeance*," perhaps, Luke xxi. 22,) forms the conclusion of it.

The last verse, 43, terminates the whole, with the joint exultation of the *Gentile* with the *Jewish* converts to Christianity, arising from the prospect of the approaching judgments of *God* to be inflicted both upon his adversaries and the persecutors of his servants. *St. Paul* has cited this verse to prove the future con-

version of the *Jews* and of the *Gentiles* to CHRIST, Rom. xv. 10—12, supported by the parallel prophecies of Psalm cxvii. 1; Isa. xi. 1—10.

Theodoret has well paraphrased the last verse; “The *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, the people of GOD, might well rejoice together; for even among the *Jews* there were many myriads who believed [early] in CHRIST, (Acts xxi. 20,) as well as by far the greatest part of the *Gentile* world. But the *Heathens* were indebted to the *Jewish* believers for their knowledge, and received the principles and precepts of the Christian religion solely from them: for the holy *Apostles* were *Jews*. The prophet, therefore, enjoying a clear view of this great period, exults, “*Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people,*” [the converted *Heathens* with the believing *Jews*.]

Such was the extensive range of prophetic vision vouchsafed to the great law-giver of the *Jews*, comprising the whole fortunes of their state, from the first redemption, after the *Egyptian* bondage, until the last, on their final return to their own land, after the long continued *Roman* desolation, which it is the business of the succeeding *prophets*, under the former dispensation, and of OUR LORD and his *apostles*, under the new, to unfold more explicitly and circumstantially.

THE SPIRIT OF THE MOSAICAL LAW.

Moses was mighty both in *words* and *deeds*, Acts vii. 22. He excelled in *miracles* and *prophecies*, and still more in *legislation*. His laws and institutions have been admired and adopted by the wisest sages of antiquity. And upon the closest scrutiny, they breathe a spirit of the most exalted piety, the most extensive benevolence, and the most enlightened policy; worthy, indeed, of the TUTELAR GOD OF ISRAEL, by whom they were dictated to this most highly favoured *man of GOD*, because most *faithful servant of THE LORD*, Deut. xxiii. 1; Numb. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2; with whom God conversed *face to face*, or familiarly, as *a man with his friend*, Exod. xxxiii. 11.

The calling of the *Israelites*, and their separation from the *Gentiles*, to be “a holy people, and a peculiar treasure unto God above all nations,” took place in the fulness of time, when the apostacy from the pure *patriarchal* religion was become universal, and *polytheism* and *idolatry* had pervaded the most polished nations of the earth, the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Phæ-*

nicians, Canaanites, and Egyptians; and pure and undefiled religion would soon have been exterminated and lost, every where, had not the *Israelites*, themselves a degraded and enslaved people, “been borne on eagles’ wings,” from the house of bondage in *Egypt*, and brought by their gracious REDEEMER unto Himself, to his holy mountain, in the solitary deserts of *Arabia Petraea*; where they were at first instructed by the voice of GOD himself, pronouncing the Ten Commandments, with an audible voice, from the summit of *Sinai*; and were afterwards trained up to religion and virtue, during forty years of wandering “in the waste howling wilderness;” until *Jeshurun*, or “righteous *Israel*,” were qualified to enter the land of promise, and replace the devoted nations of *Canaan*.

The idolatry of the Heathens in general, and of the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* in particular, consisted not only in worshipping *false gods*, such as the *sun, moon, stars, winds, elements*, &c. Deut. iv. 19, which they supposed to be animated, and actuated by some intelligences residing in them, and exerting their beneficial or noxious powers to the advantage or detriment of mankind; but also in framing certain symbolical or figurative representations of THE TRUE GOD, under the forms of *beasts, birds, and fishes*, expressive of their peculiar excellencies, or powers; as the horns or strength of the *bull*, the milk or nourishment of the *cow*, the swiftness and sharp-sightedness of the *eagle* or *hawk*, the wisdom or cunning of the *serpent*, &c. until, at length, the symbols were forgotten, or perverted by the vulgar, into the most grovelling and senseless materialism, on the one hand, or bestial idolatry on the other.

Under the *Theocracy*, therefore, or divine government of the *Israelites*, the *fundamental* laws were the *first* and *second* commandments, peculiarly levelled against the reigning corruptions of *polytheism* and *idolatry*; the first, prohibiting the worship of any but THE ONE TRUE GOD, and LORD of the universe; the second, the worship even of the true God, under any *animal* or *sensible* representation of bird, beast, or fish.

The reason assigned for these prohibitions, is, that “the Lord their God was a *jealous God*,” who would not bear the spiritual *adultery* of his espoused people, Numb. xiv. 33, and “neither give his glory to *another*, nor his praise to *graven images*,” Isa. xlii. 8, not brooking a rival or associate in his worship, “with whom was *no strange god*,” Deut. xxxii. 12.

And these fundamental laws were sanctioned with powerful *national* sanctions of punishment and reward, to be administered by GOD himself, as their KING and their JUDGE. "The *haters* of GOD," or the disobedient, were threatened with temporal calamities, extending to "the *third* or *fourth* generation * of their children;" but "the *lovers* of GOD," or the obedient, who should keep "these his commandments," were encouraged by the promise, that God would shew mercy unto their children to the *thousandth* [generation †,] or to the remotest ages. Thus the idolatries of the *Jewish* nation drew down on themselves and on their children, the *Babylonish* captivity of seventy years, including the third and fourth generation of the offenders: while the righteous posterity of the true *Israelites*, in the *regeneration*, will flourish till the end of the world.—How infinitely does the *goodness* transcend the *severity* of GOD!

This penalty of "visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children," was reserved to GOD himself, as the SUPREME JUDGE: for no magistrate was allowed, in ordinary cases, to punish the innocent for the guilty; "the *fathers* shall not be put to death for the *children*, nor the *children* for the *fathers*: every man shall be put to death for his own sin," Deut. xxiv. 16; compare Ezek. xviii. 4—20. But the sin of *idolatry*, here meant, was the greatest *national* crime that could be committed; it was *high treason* against the supreme majesty of the state, during the THEOCRACY; the offenders, therefore, and even enticers to idolatry, whether *cities* or *individuals*, by the municipal law, were to be utterly destroyed, or stoned to death; or any one that sacrificed to a *strange god*. Exod. xxii. 20; Levit. xx. 2; Deut. xiii. 1—16; Josh. xxii. 22. And in cases of *high treason*, do not human lawgivers punish the children or families of the delinquents with confiscation of property, and legal disabilities, that parents may be deterred from disturbing the public peace, and be more strongly attached to the existing government, from regard to their offspring?—*Cicero* commends the policy of

* Men seldom live to see more than the third or fourth generation of their offspring, Gen. i. 23. So far, therefore, parental affection may naturally be supposed to extend; and the fear of involving the children in the punishment of the fathers, operate as a restraint.

† This is the judicious rendering of the *Syriac* Version and *Chaldee* Paraphrase of Exod. xx. 5; supported by the parallel passages, Deut. vii. 9; 1 Chron. xvi. 15; Psalm cv. 8.

such penalties?—*Hoc præclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes Reipublicæ redderet.* Epist. ad Brut.

The characteristic excellence of the *Mosaical* law, consists in the inward principle upon which obedience thereto was founded, namely, the LOVE OF GOD, as noticed in the second commandment, and more fully unfolded afterwards, in the admirable commentary upon the *Decalogue*, furnished in the remainder of the *Pentateuch*.

Its nature and degree is thus specified :

“Thou shalt *love* the LORD THY GOD with all thy *heart*, and with all thy *soul*, and with all thy *strength* : and these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy *heart*,” Deut. vi. 5, 6. .

And the grounds of it also :

“For THE LORD, THE LORD OF GODS, is *merciful* and *gracious*, *long suffering*, and *abundant in mercy and truth* ; *keeping mercy for a thousand* [generations,] forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, [upon repentance,] but by no means clearing [the impenitent:] visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children’s children, unto the third and fourth [generation,]” Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, Numb. xiv. 17, 18.

The *love of GOD* was, therefore, necessarily accompanied with the *fear of GOD* :

“For THE LORD YOUR GOD is GOD OF GODS, and LORD OF LORDS, a *great*, a *mighty*, and a *terrible* GOD, who *regardeth not persons*, nor *taketh reward*.”—“Thou shalt *fear* THE LORD THY GOD, Him shalt thou *serve*, and to Him shalt thou *cleave*,” Deut. x. 17—20. “And now, *Israel*, what doth the LORD THY GOD require of thee, but to *fear* the Lord thy God, to *walk in all his ways*, and to *love* Him, and to *serve* the Lord thy God with all thy *heart*, and with all thy *soul*, to *keep the commandments* of THE LORD, and *his statutes*, which I command thee this day, FOR THY GOOD,” Deut. x. 12, 13.

The greatness, the majesty, and justice of GOD, necessarily render him an object of *fear* and *awe* ; while his disinterested goodness, and free bounties, naturally tend to excite *love* and *gratitude* in the receivers ; and both together, a hearty desire, and sincere endeavour, to obey his will in all things*.

* The genuine *love of GOD* includes all those mingled sentiments of *fear*, *awe*, *admi-*

This *love of GOD*, therefore, is made the ruling principle of the *love of our neighbour*, or of benevolence to mankind.

“Thou shalt not *hate* thy brother in thy *heart*; thou shalt not *avenge* nor bear any *grudge* against the children of thy people; but *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*: I AM THE LORD,” Levit. xix. 17, 18. This emphatic conclusion intimating that they were bound to do so, for THE LORD’S SAKE.

Nor was it to be confined merely to their *neighbour*, or their own countrymen: it was to extend to *strangers* and even to *enemies*: “THE LORD YOUR GOD—loveth the *stranger* in giving him food and raiment: *Love ye therefore the stranger*, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt,” Deut. x. 17—19. They were warned, therefore, “not to abhor the *Edomite*, nor even the *Egyptian*,” their most inveterate foes or oppressors, Deut. xxiii. 7. They were even required to do them acts of kindness, “to bring back the stray ox or ass of their *enemy*, and to help his ass when lying under a burden,” Exod. xxiii. 4, 5.

The law of *Moses* softened the horrors of war in the treatment of *female captives* especially, whom it protected from the insolence and brutality of the conquerors.

“When thou goest forth to war against thine *enemies*, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive; if thou seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife; then shalt thou bring her home to thy house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails, and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and *bewail her father and mother a full month*; and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife,” Deut. xxi. 10—13.

Philo justly commends this as an admirable ordinance: on the one side, far from tolerating that licentiousness which the laws of war tolerated among other nations, it kept the soldier in a state of constraint for thirty days; during this interval, shewing him his captive, unattired and unadorned, and giving time for the first impulse of his passion to cool. On the other side, it humanely respected the captive’s grief, at being torn from her

ration, veneration, gratitude, and love, which the contemplation of such a perfect character as that of the DEITY, naturally and necessarily suggests. See Bishop *Butler’s* sublime and beautiful Sermons on the LOVE OF GOD.

parents, if a maid, and not indulged with a husband of her own choice.

But, proceeds the law, “if it shall happen that she shall not please thee, then thou shalt let her depart, whither she will: and thou shalt neither sell her for money, nor make traffic of her, *because thou hast humbled her*,” Deut. xxi. 13, 14.

The liberation of the captive in this case, was a just punishment on the captor for his fickleness, and a consolatory recompense to her for the affront of being rejected as his wife, after the humiliation of cutting off her hair, a principal ornament of her sex; and the design of the law, according to R. *Bechai*, was, “that the camp of the *Israelites* should be holy, and free from the fornications and abominations usually committed in the camps of the Heathens,” with whom it was customary not only to offer violence to their female captives, but when tired of them, either to sell them, or give them to their slaves*.

The case of slaves, indeed, was truly deplorable among the most polished nations of antiquity, the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. Their slavery was perpetual, and they were deprived of all civil rights and immunities, and might be tortured, put to death, or starved, at the will of their merciless masters. The last was practised by old *Cato* the censor, so admired for his virtue, when his slaves grew old and past their labour!

How different were the humane and equitable regulations of the *Hebrew* legislator:

The *hired servant*, or day-labourer, was to be paid his wages in the evening, after his work was over; payment was not to be deferred till the next morning, Levit. xix. 13.

The *bought servant*, or household slave, was to be freed at the end of seven years' service, in the *sabbatical* year, Exod. xxi. 2, Levit. xxv. 39—43, Deut. xv. 12—18, unless he refused his freedom, and chose to continue in his master's service; in which case his ear was to be bored with an awl to the door of

* Thus *Andromache*, the wife of *Hector*, complains of the violence offered to her by *Pyrrhus*, the son of *Achilles*, who, after she had borne him a child, gave her away to his servant *Helenu*.

Stirpis Achilleæ fastus, juvenemque superbum

Servitio enixæ tulimus: qui deinde secutus

Ledeam Hermionem, Lacedæmoniosque Hymenæos,

Me famulam famuloque Heleno transmisit habendam. Æneid. iii. 326.

his master's house; signifying his attachment thereto for the rest of his life, Deut. xxi. 5, 6.

Servants of any description were not to be treated harshly. The master could not beat them unmercifully, the number of stripes for offences was limited by law to forty, and the reason assigned is liberal: "*lest thy brother should seem vile unto thee, if beaten with many stripes,*" Deut. xxv. 1—3. Hence, not to run the risk of violating the law, they never inflicted the full number, but at the utmost, *forty stripes save one*, 2 Cor. xi. 24. If a master beat his servant to death, he was surely to be punished with death; if he struck out his or her eye, or even a tooth, he was bound to let him go free, for his eye or his tooth's sake, Exod. xxi. 20—27.

The *stranger*, the *orphan*, and the *widow*, were not to be vexed or oppressed, under pain of incurring the divine displeasure, Exod. xxii. 21—24; and the gleanings of the vineyards and of the harvests, were enjoined to be left for the use of them and of the *poor* in general, Levit. xix. 9—11, Deut. xxiv. 19—22. The lands during the *sabbatical* year were to be left free for the *poor*, and for the *cattle*, Exod. xxiii. 10, 11. The tythes of the third year were reserved for the *poor*, Deut. xxvi. 12.

This merciful code was no less attentive to the animal creation. The *ox* and the *ass* were not to be yoked together in the plough; ill matched in size and strength, Deut. xxii. 10; the *ox* was not to be muzzled, or prevented from eating, while he trode out the corn, Deut. xxiv. 4. The *kid* was not to be boiled in its mother's milk*; a law thrice repeated, Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, Deut. xiv. 21. The *bird* in the nest, sitting on her eggs or her young, was required to be let go, when they were taken; and the reward of obedience to this seemingly "least of the commandments," was the same as was attached even to the greatest; "*that it may go well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days,*" Deut. xxii. 6, 7, upon the principle assigned by OUR LORD, "*He that is faithful in the least, is faithful also in much,*" Luke xvi. 10.

Thus the *love of GOD*, in the Mosaical law, is made throughout the basis of the *love of our neighbour*, of all mankind, and even of the animal creation, for his sake. Accordingly, our blessed Saviour declares, that *the love of GOD* is the first and

* This was practised in *magical* ceremonies and incantations, according to *Spencer*.

great commandment of the law ; and that the second, *the love of our neighbour as ourselves*, is like it in principle, as being derived from it, and regulated thereby. And in the instructive parable of the *good Samaritan*, he has enlarged the meaning of the word *neighbour* to all of every sect, religion, or country, with whom we happen to be connected in the ordinary intercourse of society, or who stand in need of our good offices, in the true spirit of the Mosaical law, which under the term "*brother*," includes a *stranger* or *sojourner* in want, Levit. xxv. 35. — "*On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets*," or the whole *religion* and *morality* of the OLD TESTAMENT, Matt. xxii. 36—40. They evidently coincide, therefore, with the evangelical virtue of LOVE, or CHRISTIAN CHARITY, so well explained by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. and which may accordingly be defined,

A divine virtue, by which we love GOD above all things for his own sake, and our neighbours as ourselves, for the love of God.*

For it is only in this comprehensive sense that *charity* is "greater" than the virtues of *faith* and *hope*, 1 Cor. xiii. 13. It is usually, but injudiciously, confined to *the love of our neighbour*, to *philanthropy*, *good nature*, and *alms-giving*, which is only considered in Scripture as the *test* of our *love of GOD*, 1 John iv. 20, 21.

The *tenth* commandment, prohibiting *covetousness* in any shape, is thrown as a fence around the whole *moral* law, comprised in the second table, controuling not only overt *acts* and *words*, but even the inward *thoughts* and *desires* that might lead thereto by criminal indulgence. It stamps, indeed, the seal of DIVINITY upon the Mosaical code, of which the decalogue is the summary. No such restriction is to be found in the ordinances of *Lycurgus* or *Solon*, the *twelve tables*, or the institutes of *Justinian*, because the thoughts and desires of the heart are not cognizable by human tribunals. This was a case reserved only for HIM, who both *can* and "*will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil*," Eccl. xii. 14 ; because "*HE is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart*," 1 Sam. xvi. 7 ; Heb. iv. 12.

The LAW, therefore, "*was our schoolmaster to bring us to*

* This is the excellent definition of the *Romish Catechisms*.

CHRIST, who in his GOSPEL has so finely commented on the tenth commandment in particular, Matt. v. 28—30, and who inculcates obedience to all his laws, from an inward principle; requiring us *to shew the work of the law written in our hearts,*" Rom. ii. 15.

A SKETCH OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE HEBREW GOVERNMENT.

THE THEOCRACY.

The form of government in the united states of *Israel* was properly a THEOCRACY, in which the Supreme Legislative power was vested solely in GOD or his ORACLE, who only could enact or repeal laws: "Whatsoever I command you," said THE LORD, "observe to do it; thou shalt not *add* thereto, nor *diminish* from it," Deut. iv. 2; repeated xii. 32. The same prohibition is repeated in the GOSPEL, under the penalty of incurring *temporal* plagues, and also of exclusion from the *book of life*, Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

THE JUDGES.

Hence the *judges*, and afterwards the *kings*, were no more than GOD'S viceroys; for the LORD was KING in *Jeshurun*, (or righteous *Israel*,) Deut. xxxiii. 5; as acknowledged even by the Heathen prophet, *Balaam*: "THE LORD HIS GOD is with him, and the shout of a KING is among them," Numb. xxiii. 21; whence the pious *David* styles the Lord, "my GOD and KING," Psalm lxviii. 24; and "the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL, OUR KING," Psalm lxxxix. 18; and declares that his son *Solomon* "was chosen to sit upon the throne of the KINGDOM OF THE LORD over *Israel*," 1 Chron. xxviii. 5. It was typical, therefore, of the spiritual KINGDOM OF CHRIST in the GOSPEL, John xviii. 36.

The *judge*, or *king*, was the first executive magistrate of the state. He was to command the army in war, to summon and preside in the *sanhedrim*, *senate*, or council of the princes and elders, and in the general assembly of the commons, or congregation of *Israel*, and to propose public matters for the deliberation of the former, and ratification of the latter. "*He was to go in and out before the congregation of the LORD, to lead them*

out, and bring them in, that they might not be as sheep without a shepherd," Numb. xxvii. 15—17.

THE SANHEDRIM, OR COUNCIL.

This consisted of seventy princes or elders of *Israel*, instituted at the request of *Moses*, to assist him with their advice, and to lighten the burden of government, that he might not bear it himself alone, Numb. xi. 4—25. The same, probably, who attended *Moses*, *Aaron*, and his two sons to the mount of God, where they were permitted to see the glory of the GOD OF ISRAEL, Exod. xxiv. 1—11.

They were, probably, thus elected: twelve princes, or heads of tribes, who were usually the first born* of the eldest son's families in each, and fifty-eight heads of families † in the twelve tribes, according to the last muster in the plains of *Moab*, Numb. xxvi. 1—51, taken from the sons of the patriarchs.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OR CONGREGATION OF ISRAEL.

During the administration of *Moses*, this was probably an assembly of all the people, collected together in the encampment. Thus, when he summoned them to recognize the LORD as their GOD, and their LAW-GIVER, "He called for *the elders of the people*, and laid before their faces all these words which THE LORD commanded him;" and when they had communicated them to the congregation, "*all the people together* answered and said, *all that THE LORD speaketh, we will do*. And *Moses* returned *the words of the people* unto THE LORD," Exod. xix. 1—9. At this primary convention was settled the *magna charta* of the constitution, or the original compact between GOD and *his people*; communicated by him as SOVEREIGN to the *judge*; proposed to the *sanhedrim*, and ratified by the *congregation*.

When *Joshua* afterwards made a league with the *Gibeonites*, confirmed by the oath of the *princes* of the congregation, the

* *Naashon*, prince of *Judah*, was not the heir male of *Judah*, for he was descended from *Pharez*, the younger son of *Judah*. He might have been elected for his extraordinary merit among "the *renowned* of the congregation," in preference to the elder branches, Numb. i. 16; and so might the fifty-eight heads of families.

† This number was thus collected: *Reuben* 4, *Simeon* 5, *Gad* 7, *Judah* 5, *Issachar* 4, *Zabulon* 3, *Manasseh* 8, *Ephraim* 4, *Benjamin* 8, *Dan* 1, *Asher* 5, and *Nephtali* 4, Numb. xxvi. 1—54. This seems to be a more probable account of the constitution of this celebrated council, than that of the *Rabbins*. See *Lowman* on the *Hebrew Government*, p. 76, 168.

people murmured at the fraud of the *Gibeonites*; but the princes recommended to the general assembly to ratify the league, from regard to the oath; "*lest wrath be upon us*," for violating it, Josh. ix. 15—20. *Joshua*, however, and the princes, acted rather precipitately on this occasion; for they ought to have first consulted THE ORACLE, before they entered into any treaty with strangers whom they knew not.

THE ORACLE.

The Inner Sanctuary, within the vail of the Tabernacle, or Most Holy Place, was called the ORACLE, 1 Kings vi. 15, because there THE LORD communed with *Moses*, face to face, and gave him instructions in cases of legal difficulty or sudden emergency, Exod. xxv. 22; Numb. vii. 89; ix. 8; xii. 8; Exod. xxxiii. 11; a high privilege, granted to none of his successors.

THE URIM AND THUMMIM.

After the death of *Moses*, a different mode was appointed for consulting THE ORACLE, by the High Priest. He put on "the breast plate of judgment," a principal part of the pontifical dress, on which were inscribed the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, signifying "lights and perfections," emblematical of divine illumination; as the inscription on his mitre, "*Holiness to the Lord*" was of sanctification, Exod. xxviii. 30—37; Levit. viii. 8. Thus prepared, he presented himself before THE LORD to ask counsel on public matters, not in the inner sanctuary, which he presumed not to enter, but on the great day of national atonement, but without the vail, with his face towards the ark of the covenant, inside; and behind him, at some distance, without the Sanctuary, stood *Joshua*, the *judge*, or person who wanted the response, which seems to have been given with an audible voice, from within the vail, Numb. xxvii, 21, as in the case of *Joshua*, vi. 6—15; of the *Israelites* during the civil war with *Benjamin*, Judges xx. 27, 28; on the appointment of *Saul* to be king, when he hid himself, 1 Sam. x. 22—24; of *David*, 1 Sam. xxii. 10; xxiii. 2—12; xxx. 8; 2 Sam. v. 23, 24; of *Saul*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

This mode of consultation subsisted under the Tabernacle, erected by *Moses* in the wilderness, and until the building of *Solomon's Temple*: after which we find no instances of it. The *Oracles* of THE LORD were thenceforth delivered by the *pro-*

phets : as by *Ahijah* to *Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xi. 29 ; by *Shemaiah* to *Rehoboam*, 1 Kings xii. 22 ; by *Elijah* to *Ahab*, 1 Kings xvii. 1, xxi. 17—29 ; by *Michaiah* to *Ahab* and *Jehoshaphat*, 1 Kings xxii. 7 ; by *Elisha* to *Jehoshaphat* and *Jehoram*, 2 Kings iii. 11—14 ; by *Isaiah* to *Hezekiah*, 2 Kings xix. 6—34, xx. 1—11 ; by *Huldah* to *Josiah*, 2 Kings xxii. 13—20 ; by *Jeremiah* to *Zedekiah*, Jer. xxxii. 3—5, &c.

After the *Babylonish* captivity, and the last of the prophets, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, the ORACLE ceased ; but its revival was foretold by *Ezra*, ii. 63 ; and accomplished by JESUS CHRIST, who was himself THE ORACLE, both under the old and new covenants, Gen. xv. 1, &c. John i. 1, &c.

REDEMPTION OF THE FIRST BORN OF THE ISRAELITES.

Immediately after the last and sorest plague of the destruction of the first born of the *Egyptians*, the Lord commanded that all the first born of the *Israelites*, both of man and beast, should be consecrated or devoted to his service, in memory of his sparing them on that occasion, Exod. xiii. 1, Numb. iii. 13.

About fourteen months after, they were allowed to be redeemed, and the children of the *Levites* were accepted as a compensation, to minister unto THE LORD in their stead ; probably on account of their zeal for the LORD in punishing the worshippers of the *golden calf*, Numb. iii. 12, Exod. xxxiii. 26—29.

On numbering all the males of the tribe of *Levi*, from a month old to thirty years of age, Numb. iii. 34, iv. 3, they were found to amount to 22,000 *. And all the first born males of the other tribes to 22,273. The surplus of the latter, namely 273, which could not be redeemed by the children of the *Levites*, were allowed to be redeemed at the rate of five shekels a head ; and the amount 1375 shekels of the sanctuary, to be given to *Aaron* the high priest, and his sons the priests, for sacred uses, Numb. iii. 14—51.

* By an error in the *Masorete* text, the males of the family of *Gershom*, the son of *Levi*, are reckoned 7500, instead of 7200 ; which *Kennicott* has ingeniously accounted for, from the similitude of the Hebrew numerals, ך, *Caph final*, 500, and ך, *Resh*, 200. Diss. Vol. I. p. 100. The latter is the genuine reading, because with the family of *Kohath*, 8600, and of *Merari*, 6200, it exactly makes the amount 22,000.

FUNCTIONS OF THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

The priesthood was exclusively appropriated to the family of *Aaron*, the eldest son of *Kohath*, the son of *Levi*, *Exod.* xxviii. 1—43; and he and his sons were consecrated at *Sinai*, *Levit.* viii. 6—36.

Their functions were 1. to offer sacrifices for themselves and for the people, *Levit.* ix. 1—21 : 2. to bless the people. See the form of blessing prescribed, *Numb.* vi. 24—26, which bears a remarkable analogy to the Christian blessing, *2 Cor.* xiii. 14. 3. They and the *Levites* were bound to attend the high priest in the service of the Tabernacle, *Deut.* x. 8, *Numb.* iv. 1—49; and both *priests* and *Levites* were to instruct the people in the law, *Levit.* x. 11, *Deut.* xxxiii. 10.

The wise and salutary institution of public teachers for the religious instruction of the people, was peculiar to the *Mosaical* law. They were supported at the public charge by *tythes*, not by *lands*, for the *Levites* had no inheritance among their brethren; that they might devote themselves solely to their sacred functions. But they were dispersed throughout all the tribes, in the forty-eight *sacerdotal* and *Levitical* cities, that they might be most conveniently stationed for the discharge of their duties.

Moses, in his last blessing, marks the functions of the *Levites*, and the meritorious service by which they redeemed the curse of *Levi*, in *Jacob's* prophecy; which, it is remarkable, took place in the time of *Moses* and *Aaron*, who were “the *third* generation” from *Levi*, by the mother's side; and “the *fourth*,” by their father's, *Exod.* vi. 16—20.

And he said of *Levi* :

Let thy *Thummim* and thy *Urim* be with thy *Saint* *,
Whom thou didst prove at *Massah*,
And with whom thou didst strive at the waters of *Meribah*.
Who said to his father and mother,
I have not seen you,
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren,
Nor know his own children.
For they observed thy word,
And kept thy covenant.

* *Aaron* is styled “the saint of the Lord,” *Psalm* cvi. 16. He and his successors wore the breast-plate of judgment. The failings of *Aaron* are here first recorded, and afterwards the meritorious zeal of the *Levites*, and their consecration to God's service.

They shall teach *Jacob* thy judgments,
 And *Israel* thy law ;
 They shall offer incense before thee,
 And whole burnt sacrifice upon thine altar, Deut. xxxiii. 8—10.

THE PRIESTS' MAINTENANCE.

The provision made for the priests was considerable :

1. A share of the *sin-offerings*, *heave-offerings*, and *first-fruits* of the whole congregation, Numb. xviii. 8—13.
2. Things or persons separated or devoted to the Lord by vow, Levit. xxvii. 1, Numb. xviii. 14.
3. The redemption fees of the first born of men and cattle : which were five shekels a head for the former. Part, however, was reserved for sacred uses, or the service of the Tabernacle, Numb. iii. 51.
4. The tenth of the *Levites* tythes of every kind, Levit. xxvii. 21—28.
5. A share of the tythe of the spoils taken in war, Numb. xxxi. 28—41.
6. The skins of the burnt-offerings, with some exceptions ; and other small articles, Levit. vii. 8.

Thus were the priests wisely exempted from the cares of agriculture, and the avocations of a landed property, that they might have leisure to attend wholly to their sacred functions ; while their political influence arising from their sacred station, and superior learning and information, was checked, by rendering them dependent on the people for their daily bread.

THE TABERNACLE AND ARK.

This was a portable tent, built by *Moses* at *Sinai*, by the command of the LORD, and after a model furnished by Him, which was to contain the *Sanctuary* for the LORD, to “ dwell ” visibly, as the *Shechinah*, or divine glory, among his people. It was composed of planks of *shittim* wood, (supposed to have been either *cedar* or *acacia*,) curiously jointed together, so as to be easily taken asunder, and put up again, on their journeys and stations. The length of it was thirty cubits, and the breadth and height ten cubits. It was divided into two parts ; the outer called the *holy place*, or *sanctuary* in general, was twenty cubits long ; the *inner sanctuary*, called the *most holy place*, was an exact cube of ten cubits ; divided from the outer by a rich embroidered vail or curtain, which hung upon four pillars of *shittim*

wood, plated with gold. The inside of the Tabernacle was also plated with gold, and the outside covered with a casing of ram skins dyed red; forming altogether a splendid and magnificent structure, befitting the majesty of the GOD OF ISRAEL, Exod. xxv. 8, 9.

In the outer sanctuary were deposited the table of *shew bread*, the golden *candlestick*, and the golden *altar of incense*; in the inner, the *ark* of the covenant, which contained nothing but the two stone tables of the decalogue, written with the finger of God, over which was the *mercy seat*, between the cherubims, or throne of the GOD OF ISRAEL, and the residence of his glory; where he personally communed with *Moses*, 1 Kings viii. 9, Exod. xxv. 22.

The *ark* itself was a chest of *shittim* wood, two cubits and half in length, and a cubit and half in breadth and height, made to hold the two tables of the covenant. It was overlaid with pure gold, both within and without, with a crown, or circular rim of gold round about it.

This was the most holy of all the sacred furniture. None but the priests were allowed to touch it; and only the *Kohathites*, the sacerdotal family, to carry it, with poles of *shittim* wood, overlaid also with gold, inserted in two golden rings at each end, 1 Kings viii. 8. Hence *Uzzah*, the *Levite*, was punished with death for touching it, 2 Sam. vi. 7.

THE FESTIVALS.

1. Of these, the primary was the *passover*. This was instituted on the night before the exode, for a perpetual memorial of the signal deliverance of the *Israelites*, when the LORD, or his destroying angel *passed over*, or spared the houses of the *Israelites*, while he smote the first born of the *Egyptians*. It was ordained to be celebrated on the same day, *the fourteenth of the first month, at even*, and in the same circumstances.

This was an indispensable rite, to be observed by every *Israelite*, except in particular cases of pollution or defilement, or absence in foreign countries, under pain of death, Numb. ix. 1—13. No uncircumcised person was to eat thereof.

2. The second was that of *weeks*, or *Pentecost*. It was appointed on the fiftieth day after the *wave sheaf*, or first fruits of the barley harvest was offered, on the second day of the paschal

week, Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, in order to commemorate the promulgation of the *Decalogue* on Mount *Sinai*, and also to offer unto THE LORD the first fruits of the wheat harvest. See the form of thanksgiving, Deut. xxvi. 5—10.

3. The third was that of *tabernacles*. It was instituted in memory of the *booths* formed of branches of trees, in which the *Israelites* sojourned on their departure from *Egypt*; and was to be held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the vintage and ingathering of fruits, Levit. xxiii. 34—43.

Each of these grand festivals was to last a week, during which they were bound to rejoice before THE LORD for all his deliverances and mercies, Deut. xvi. 11—15.

Each of these festivals had also a further *typical* reference or analogy to the *Gospel* dispensation.

1. A bone of the *paschal lamb*, or *passover*, was not to be broken, Exod. xii. 46, Numb. ix. 12. This singular injunction was fulfilled in CHRIST, our *passover*, who was sacrificed for us, 1 Cor. v. 7; and yet not a bone of him was broken, as foretold by *David*, Psalm xxxiv. 21, and recorded as accomplished, John xix. 36.

2. *Pentecost* was equally significant of the effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT upon the *apostles* and *first fruits* of the Christian Church, on *Pentecost* or *Whitsunday*, the fiftieth day after our Lord's resurrection, Acts ii. 1—40.

3. The feast of *tabernacles* was celebrated with greater joy at the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity, by *Ezra*, iii. 4; and by *Nehemiah*, viii. 14—17; and was evidently considered by the *Jews* in OUR SAVIOUR'S time, as typical of future deliverance, at his triumphal entry into *Jerusalem* from *Bethany*, at his last passover, in which they carried branches of *palms* in procession. And according to the *Jewish* traditions founded on ancient prophecy, the grand defeat of *Gog* and *Magog*, the enemies of the Church, shall take place on the feast of *Tabernacles*, when the seven months' cleansing of the land shall expire, and the final restoration of the *Israelites* to their own land shall take place, Ezek. xxxix. 12; and they shall keep the feast, Zech. xiv. 16.

All the males of the united states were bound to attend these three grand festivals, Exod. xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16; and for their encouragement to do so, they were assured that "no man should desire their land," during their absence, Exod. xxxiv.

24; or that they should be secure from hostile invasion, during their attendance on their religious worship.

SACRIFICES.

These were of three kinds :

1. *Burnt-offerings*, or *holocausts*, free-will offerings devoted wholly to God, according to primitive *patriarchal* usage. The man himself was to kill them before the LORD, and cut them in pieces; while the priests were to sprinkle the blood of the victim upon the altar of burnt-offering, and the whole was to be burnt thereon, with the head and fat, for a sweet savour unto the Lord. The victim to be offered, was according to the person's ability, a *bullock* without blemish*; or a male of the *sheep* or *goats*; or a *turtle dove* or *pigeon*, Levit. i. 1—17.

If he was too poor to offer any of these, he was to bring a *minha*, or “bread offering,” of fine *wheat* flour, with oil and frankincense, as a memorial of God's goodness to him, and for a sweet savour unto THE LORD, equally acceptable as the more costly offerings †. It is even called “*the most holy of the offerings of THE LORD made by fire*,” Levit. ii. 1—10. This bears a remarkable analogy to the LORD's supper; that *peace offering*, foretold to be offered in the name of the Lord, “from the rising to the setting sun,” in the room of the Jewish *minha*, Mal. i. 11, 12.

2. *Peace offerings*. These also were free-will offerings, in token of peace or reconciliation between GOD and man: and were both of animals, or of bread or dough. If the former, part of them was burnt upon the altar, especially all the fat, as an offering unto the Lord; and the remainder was to be eaten by the priest and the offerer. The victims in these might be male or female, provided they were without blemish. The parts of

* *Homer* observes in his first *Iliad*, that the cattle sacrificed, were *τελειοι*, “without blemish;” and that after they were flayed, they were cut up with great *care*, *skill*, and *accuracy*, *εν, και περιφραδεως, and επισταμενως*. Hence, perhaps, *St. Paul* borrowed the technical expression, *ορθοτομειν*, to express the duty of the ministers of the Gospel, “*rightly to divide*” the word of truth, 2 Tim. ii. 15.

† This is well expressed by *Horace*.

Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia,
Mollibit aversos Penates,
Farre pio et saliente micá.—Od. III. 23, 17.

both appropriated to the priests and to the levites, were called *heave* or *wave-offerings*, because they were *heaved*, or lifted up, or *waved* to and fro, before they were eaten, in token of being first consecrated to THE LORD, Levit. iii. 1—6, Exod. xxix. 26, 27, Numb. xviii. 24—28.

Beside these that were voluntary, there were others that were indispensable.

3. *Sin-offerings*, for sins committed through *ignorance*, or wilfully, *against knowledge*. The offerings for sins of these kinds are specified; which in general consisted of a *sin-offering* to God; and a *burnt-offering*, or "*gift*," in token of acceptance; accompanied with *restitution* of damage, Levit. v. 2—19, xxv. 17, vi. 1—7. Conformably to which, our Lord requires previous reconciliation with an injured brother, including restitution, before the *burnt-offering* or gift would be acceptable to THE LORD, Matt. v. 23, 24.

4. *Purification of women* after child birth. The term of purification prescribed for a son was forty days, and for a daughter eighty, perhaps with reference to *Eve's* transgression, Gen. iii. 16, 1 Tim. ii. 14; after which the mother was required to offer a *sin-offering* for her purification, and a *burnt-offering* as a thanksgiving for her safe delivery. These were a *turtle dove* or *young pigeon* for the former, and a yearling *lamb* for the latter; if unable to afford a lamb, she was to offer two doves or pigeons; the one for the sin-offering, the other for the burnt-offering, Levit. xii. 1—8. Our Lord's mother presented the offering of the poor, Luke ii. 24, and her first born son unto THE LORD, Luke ii. 23, according to the law, Exod. xiii. 2, Numb. iii. 13; after he had been regularly circumcised on the eighth day, according to the law, Luke ii. 21, Levit. xii. 3.

5. *Purification of lepers* after their recovery. The signs of this horrible disease, and of its cure, are minutely described, Levit. xiii. for the information of the priests; after the cure, the priests were required to inspect and certify the fact, in order to readmit the patient into society. Among the sacrifices and ceremonies of his purification, minutely described, Levit. xiv. the following is remarkable.

The priest was required to take *two small birds*, (the Vulgate says *sparrows*;) to kill one of them over an earthen vessel filled with river water, so as that the blood might be mixed with the water; then to dip the other, or living bird, into the water; and

to sprinkle the leper therewith seven times, with a stick of cedar wood, upon the end of which a bunch of *hyssop* was tied with a scarlet thread. After which, the priest was to pronounce him purified, and let loose the living bird into the open air, Levit. xvi. 2—7.

This ceremony seems to be *typical* of the purification of our sins, by the sprinkling of the blood of JESUS CHRIST, Isai. lii. 15, 1 Pet. i. 2, which flowed out of his wounded side, mixed with water, John xix. 34, while the dismissal of the living bird resembles that of the *scape goat* into the wilderness, with the sins of the leper upon him. And OUR LORD expressly commanded the lepers whom he healed, to conform to the law, Matt. viii. 4, Mark i. 44, Luke v. 14, xvii. 14.

II. All these sacrifices were occasional, and regarded individuals; but there were others that were national and regular, *daily, monthly, and yearly.*

1. *The daily sacrifice.* This was a *burnt-offering* every day, morning and evening, at the third and ninth hours, of two *lambs* of the first year, one at each time; with a *bread offering* and a *drink offering* of strong wine, Levit. vi. 9—18, Numb. xxviii. 1—8.

2. *The weekly sacrifice,* on every *Sabbath-day*, equal, and added to the daily sacrifice, Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.

3. *The monthly sacrifice,* on every *new moon*, of two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs, with a suitable bread and drink offering, Numb. xxviii. 11—14.

4. *The yearly sacrifices :*

1. At the beginning of the sacred year, on the fifteenth day of the first month, or first day of the *paschal* week.

2. At the feast of *pentecost*, on the day of offering the first fruits of the wheat harvest. 3. On the new moon, or first day of the seventh month, or beginning of their civil year. In all which the *burnt offerings* were nearly the same as in the *monthly sacrifices.* 4. At the feast of *tabernacles*, or ingathering of the fruits and vintage, which was the most copious of all; these were to be offered every day of the week; on the first day, or fifteenth of the seventh month, thirteen young bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs; on the second, twelve bullocks, on the third, eleven, and so on decreasing, till the seventh day, seven bullocks, and on the eighth day, a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs. All these stated *burnt offerings* were to be accompanied with a sin

offering of a *goat*, to shew their insufficiency to make the comers thereto perfect, Numb. xxvii. 17—31, xxviii. 1—39, Heb. x. 1.

THE SACRIFICE OF ATONEMENT.

Of all the legal sacrifices, this was the most solemn and important, to be offered on the tenth day of the seventh month, by the high priest alone, for the sins of the whole nation.

On this day only, in the course of the year, was the high priest permitted to enter the sanctuary*, and not even then without due preparation, under pain of death; all others being excluded from the tabernacle during the whole ceremony, Levit. xvi. 2—17.

Preparatory thereto he was to wash himself in water, and to put on the holy linen garments, with the mitre; and to bring a young bullock into the outer sanctuary, and present it before the Lord to be a *sin offering* for *himself* and his household, including the *priests* and *Levites*, and a ram also for a *burnt offering*, xvi. 3, 4.

He was then to take two young goats, and present them before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, to be a *sin offering* for the whole congregation of Israel, and a ram also for a *burnt offering*, xvi. 5.

He was then to cast lots upon the two goats, which of them should be sacrificed as a *sin offering* to THE LORD, and which should be let go for a *scape goat* into the wilderness.

After this, he was first to sacrifice the bullock as a sin offering for himself and his household, and to take some of the blood into the inner sanctuary, bearing in his hand a censer with incense burning, kindled at the sacred fire on the altar, and to sprinkle the blood with his finger upon the mercy seat, and before it, seven times; to purify it from the pollution it might be supposed to have contracted from his sins and transgressions during the preceding year.

He was then to sacrifice the allotted goat, for the sins of the whole nation, and to enter the inner sanctuary a second time, and to sprinkle with blood as before, to purify it from the pollution of the people's sins and transgressions of the foregoing year. After which, he was to purify, in like manner, the tabernacle and the altar.

* When the Tabernacle was to be removed, and set up again, the inner Sanctuary might safely be entered, but not at other times.

He was next to bring the live goat, and lay both his hands upon his head, and confess over him all the iniquities, transgressions, and sins of the children of *Israel*, putting them upon the head of the goat; and then to send him away by the hand of a fit person into the wilderness, to bear away upon him all their iniquities to a land of separation, where they should be remembered no more.

After this atonement he was to put off his linen garments, and leave them in the sanctuary, and to wash himself again in water, and put on his usual garments; and then to offer *burnt offerings* for himself and for the people, at the evening sacrifice, Levit. xvi. 3—28.

The whole of this process seems to be *typical* or pre-figurative of the grand *atonement* to be made for the sins of the whole world by JESUS CHRIST, “the High Priest of our profession,” Heb. iii. 1, and a remarkable analogy thereto, may be traced in the course of OUR LORD’S ministry.

He began it with personal purification at his baptism, to “fulfil all *legal* righteousness,” Matt. iii. 13—15. Immediately after his baptism, he was led, by the impulse of the HOLY SPIRIT, into the wilderness, as the true *scape goat*, who “bore away our infirmities, and carried off our diseases,” Isai. liii. 4—6, Matt. viii. 17.

Immediately before his crucifixion, “he was afflicted,” and “his soul was exceeding sorrowful unto death,” when he was to be made a *sin offering*, like the allotted goat, Psalm xl. 12, Isai. liii. 7, Matt. xxvi. 38, 2 Cor. v. 21, Heb. i. 3; and “his sweat, as great drops of *blood* falling to the ground,” corresponded to the sprinkling of the mercy seat, Luke xxii. 44; and when to prepare for the sacrifice of himself, he consecrated himself in prayer to GOD, John xvii. 1—5, Matt. xxvi. 39—46; and then prayed for his household, his *apostles* and *disciples*, John xvii. 6—9, and for all *future believers* on Him, by their preaching, John xvii. 20—26. He put off his garments at his crucifixion, when he became the *sin offering*, Psalm xxii. 19, John xix. 23, 24; and as our spiritual high priest entered *once for all* into the most holy place, heaven, to make intercession with God for all his faithful followers, Heb. vii. 24—28, ix. 7—15; “who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification.” Rom. iv. 25.

THE BRAZEN SERPENT.

This crowns the whole of the *typical* references of the law to the sacrifice of Christ, instituted near the end of the journeyings of the *Israelites* in the wilderness, Numb. xxi. 6—9; the ultimate design of which, our Lord himself unfolded: "As *Moses* lifted up the [brazen] serpent [upon a pole] in the wilderness, [for the cure of all those bitten by the *fiery serpents*, who looked upon it with the eye of faith,] even so must the SON OF MAN be lifted up [upon the cross,] that every one who believeth on Him may not perish, but have eternal life," John iii. 14, 15. "And I, if I be lifted up [upon the cross,] will draw all men unto me," John xii. 36, or unto my standard, as foretold, Isai. xlix. 22, lix. 19, lxii. 10, as the Saviour of the world, Isai. lxii. 11, and he declared to the unbelieving Jews, "When ye shall lift up the SON OF MAN, then shall ye know that I am [HE,] John viii. 28. "They [the *Jews*,] shall look upon Him whom they pierced," Zech. xii. 10, John xix. 37, with the eye of contrition and faith, at his second coming in glory; "when after their long desolation, they can say, *Blessed is He that cometh in the name of THE LORD*," Matt. xxiii. 38, 39.

May that auspicious epoch come quickly! and may these *types* and *prophecies* of their own Scriptures, so remarkably and wonderfully fulfilled in CHRIST at his first coming, contribute to remove the *vail that is still over their hearts*, and to dispel that *partial blindness* which hath still befallen *Israel*, and prepare them for his approaching appearance, and their conversion!

DIVISION OF LANDS.

By the original constitution of the government, the promised land was to be divided among all the tribes except that of *Levi*, in proportion to the population of each.

The whole land, from north to south, was about 189 miles long, and from east to west about 130 miles broad, according to the mean computation; containing near fifteen millions of acres; but the number of adult males, above twenty years of age, at *Sinai*, and at their entrance into the promised land, was about 600,000, in round numbers; which would give each man, at an average, near twenty-two acres a piece, without reckoning near

four millions of acres reserved for public uses. See *Lowman* on the *Civil Government* of the *Hebrews*, p. 38, 39.

This was fully sufficient, with industry, to give each man a comfortable independence for himself and his family. The princes, however, and chiefs, had larger shares, to support their rank: thus the heroic *Caleb* got the mountain of *Hebron* for an inheritance, by a grant from *Joshua*, xiv. 6—13; *Phineas*, the priest, had land allotted to him for his public services, in Mount *Ephraim*, Numb. xxv. 11; Josh. xxiv. 33; and *Joshua* himself had a grant from the nation of the territory of *Timnath Serah*, in Mount *Ephraim*, Josh. xix. 49, 50, xxiv. 30.

Each of the proprietors held their lands by immediate tenure from GOD himself: “the land is *mine*, saith THE LORD, ye are *strangers* and *sojourners* with Me,” Levit. xxv. 23.

The yeomanry of *Israel* formed a national militia for the defence of the state; their lands were granted to them upon the condition of military service, when summoned by the government. Thus, when *Moses* granted to the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Half-Manasseh*, the conquered lands eastward of *Jordan*, they were bound to assist their brethren of the other tribes, in the conquest of the lands westward; and not to return to their own settlements until the war should be over; which they did, and were discharged at the end of it by *Joshua*, Numb. xxxii. 6—32; Josh. xxii. 1—9. And afterwards, during the civil war with the *Benjamites*, when the men of *Jabesh Gilead* did not attend the general summons to meet at *Mizpeh*, a chosen party of twelve thousand men was sent by the congregation, to put them all to the sword, men, women, and children, for a treasonable *desertion* of their duty, Judges xxi. 8—14.

The permanence of the original *division of lands* was secured by *Agrarian* laws, of the most profound wisdom and justice, which formed the sheet anchors of the state; 1. by preventing the accumulation of debts; no *Israelite* being allowed to lend money on *usury*, or interest, to any fellow-citizen, though they might to strangers, Levit. xxv. 36; Exod. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 20. 2. By regularly abolishing all debts, every seventh, or *sabbatical* year, Deut. xv. 1, 2. 3. By the reversion of all lands that had been sold or mortgaged, to the owners or their heirs, every *Jubilee*, or seventh sabbatical year. Being the Lord's property, the lands could not be sold for ever, or alienated, but subject to redemption, Levit. xxv. 10—24. While, 4. the

lands of each tribe were kept distinct, by the laws respecting *heiresses*; who were not permitted to marry out of their own tribe, Numb. xxvii. 1—9, xxxvi. 1—11. From the want of such admirable regulations, the states of *Greece* and *Rome*, who adopted equal divisions of land among their citizens, were exposed to great fluctuations and inequalities of property, which produced perpetual contests between the rich and the poor, the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, and finally overturned the state.

THE SABBATICAL YEAR.

The *sabbath*, or “rest,” ordained for *men* and *cattle* every seventh day, was graciously extended to the *land* itself, every seventh year; during which the owners were to let it lie fallow, and “the sabbath of the land,” or its spontaneous crop or harvest, was dedicated to charitable uses, to be enjoyed by the servants of the family, by the way-faring stranger, and by the cattle, Levit. xxv. 1—7.

To guard against famine on this and the ensuing year, the *Lord* was graciously pleased to promise a triple produce of the lands upon the sixth year, sufficient to supply the inhabitants till the fruits or harvest sown in the eighth year, were ripe, Levit. xxv. 2—20. This was a singular institution, peculiar to a *Theocracy*. And the breach of it was among the national sins that occasioned the captivity, that “*the land might enjoy her sabbaths*,” of which she had been defrauded by the rebellion of the inhabitants, Levit. xxvi. 34; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

This was also the year of release from personal slavery, Exod. xxi. 2, as well as of the abolition of debts, Deut. xv. 1, 2.

The commencement of the first *sabbatical* year, has been much disputed, and various years have been assigned by *Scaliger*, *Usher*, *Jackson*, &c. The following chronological determination will, perhaps, be found most probable.

The first division of the conquered lands in *Canaan*, took place in the sixth year of the war, B.C. 1602; the second division, probably six years after, B.C. 1596; the seventh year after that, B.C. 1589, was therefore, probably, the first general *sabbatical* year.

THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

The *Jubilee* was a more solemn sabbatical year, to be held

every seventh sabbatical year, at the end of forty-nine years, or the fiftieth current, Levit. xxv. 8—10.

It was to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, throughout the whole land, on the great day of *atonement*. All debts were to be abolished, all captives or slaves released, and every man authorized to return to his possession, that had been sold or mortgaged; and religious instruction to be given to the people, during the ensuing feast of *Tabernacles*, by the *Priests* and *Levites*.

That OUR LORD began his public ministry on a *Jubilee*, we may collect from his declaration; "THE LORD hath *anointed* me, (as THE CHRIST,) to preach the Gospel to the poor: He hath *sent* me (as SHILOH, "THE APOSTLE,") to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and restoration of sight to the blind; to set at liberty the bruised: to *proclaim the acceptable year* of THE LORD," Luke iv. 18, 19.

And it appears to have been a *jubilee* from the following *chronological* argument.

To the first general sabbatical year, B.C. 1589, add the year of our Lord's public ministry, A.D. 28; and divide the sum 1617 years, by the *jubilee* period, 49 years, it leaves no remainder. Therefore, A.D. 28, was the last year OF THE PERIOD, or a *jubilee* itself.

Great care was taken to prevent the probable operation of the laws of the *sabbatical* year, and of the *jubilee*, to check the feelings of compassion towards the indigent.

"If there be a *poor man* among you, or one of thy *brethren* within any of thy gates, in the land which the Lord thy God is to give thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother.—Beware lest there be a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, *the year of release is at hand*, and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord, and it be sin against thee: *Thou shalt surely give, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him*, because that for this thing THE LORD will bless thee in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. *For the poor shall never depart out of thy land*, therefore I command thee saying, *Thou shalt open thy hand wide to thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy in thy land*," Deut. xv. 7—11.

By this most humane law, *the poor* are represented as always

to continue in the land, in order to exercise the liberality of the rich, who are promised to be rewarded, in proportion to their liberality, with temporal blessings, by GOD himself, the supreme proprietor of their lands; while, on the other hand, by a necessary inference, the churlish or the niggardly were to be punished with a temporal curse. Never were *municipal* laws and institutions fenced with so complete and certain sanctions, both of reward and punishments, in this life.

Those also of the future, though not expressly enacted, are plainly understood or pre-supposed. The chief design of their gracious Lawgiver, was “to *humble* them, to *prove* them, and to *do them good*, at their *end*,”—that “they might *live*,” or “inherit *eternal life*,” Deut. viii. 16, xxx. 6; Luke x. 25. This is expressly intimated in *Moses*’ last solemn appeal :

“I call heaven and earth to record against you this day, that I have set before you *life* and *death*, *blessing* and *cursing*: therefore, choose *life*, that both thou and thy seed may *live*,” Deut. xxx. 19. “The *blessing* and *cursing*” include the temporal, and “*life* and *death*,” the spiritual sanctions of the law.

THE DEATH OF MOSES.

The faculties of this illustrious legislator, both of mind and body, were not impaired at the age of 120 years, when he died. “*His eye was not dim, nor his natural strength abated*,” Deut. xxxiv. 7. And the noblest of all his compositions was his *Song*, or the *Divine Ode*, which Bishop *Lowth* elegantly styles, *Cyanea Oratio*,—“the Dying Swan’s Oration.”

His death took place after THE LORD had shewn him, from the top of *Pisgah*, a distant view of the promised land, throughout its whole extent. “HE then buried his body in a valley opposite *Beth-peor*, in the land of *Moab*; but no man knoweth his sepulchre unto this day,” observes the sacred historian, who annexed the circumstances of his death to the book of *Deuteronomy*, xxxiv. 6. From an obscure passage in the NEW TESTAMENT, in which “*Michael* the archangel is said to have contended with the *Devil* about the body of *Moses*,” Jude 9, we may collect, that he was buried by the ministry of angels, near the scene of the idolatry of the *Israelites*; but that the spot was purposely concealed, lest his tomb might also be converted into an object of idolatrous worship among the *Israelites*, like the

Brazen Serpent. *Beth-peor* lay in the lot of the *Reubenites*, Josh. xiii. 20.

Josephus, who frequently attempts to embellish the simple narrative of Holy Writ, represents *Moses* as attended to the top of *Pisgah* by *Joshua*, his successor, *Eleazar* the high priest, and the whole senate; and that after he had dismissed the senate, while he was conversing with *Joshua* and *Eleazar*, and embracing them, a cloud suddenly came over and enveloped him, and he vanished from their sight, and was taken away to a certain valley. "In the sacred books," says he, "it is written, that he *died*: fearing to say, that on account of his transcendent virtue, he had departed to THE DEITY." Ant. IV. 8, 48.

The *Jewish* historian has here perhaps, imitated the account of OUR LORD'S *ascension*, furnished by the evangelist, Luke xxiv. 50, 51, Acts i. 9, wishing to raise *Moses* to a level with CHRIST. According to him, *Moses* departed on the new moon, or first day of the last month *Adar*. His death was announced by THE LORD himself to *Joshua*, "*Moses, my servant, is dead*," &c. Josh. i. 2, which decides the point, that there was no human witness of his decease; the account of which was probably added by *Joshua* from revelation.

The pre-eminence of his character is briefly described by the sacred historian, *Samuel* or *Ezra*: "And there arose not a *prophet* since, in *Israel*, like unto *Moses*, whom the LORD knew face to face; in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of *Egypt*, to *Pharaoh*, and all his servants, and all his land; and in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror, which *Moses* shewed in the sight of all *Israel*," Deut. xxxiv. 10—12.

The noblest trait in his moral character, was his *patriotic disinterestedness*. He twice refused the tempting offer of the aggrandizement of his own family, when God threatened to reject the *Israelites* for their rebellions, and make of him "a great nation" in their stead. And he left his sons without rank or patrimony, as private *Levites*, to subsist on the national bounty, in common with their brethren!—And, melancholy to relate, his grandson, "*Jonathan* the son of *Gershon*," and his family, became *idolatrous* priests to the *Danites*, until the capture of the ark by the *Philistines**, Judges xviii. 30; where the *Masorete*

* The original expression is, until "*the day of the captivity of the land*," which is thus paraphrased, Psalm lxxviii. 60, &c.

doctors, to hide the disgrace to his memory, changed “*Moses*” into “*Manasses*,” by interpolating the letter N in the present copies of the Hebrew text. The posterity of his son *Eleazar*, were numerous in *Solomon’s* time, and some of them high in office, 1 Chron. xxiii. 14—17, xxvi. 24, 25.

FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE ISRAELITES TO CANAAN,
UNTIL THE REGAL STATE, 498 YEARS.

JUDGES.

		Y.	B.C.
	1. <i>JOSHUA</i> and the <i>elders</i>	26	.. 1608
	First division of lands .....		.. 1602
	Second division of lands .....		.. 1596
	<i>Anarchy</i> or <i>Interregnum</i>	10	.. 1582
I.	<i>Servitude Mesopotam.</i>	8	.. 1572
	2. <i>Othniel</i>	40	.. 1564
II.	<i>Servit. Moab.</i>	18	.. 1524
	3. <i>Ehud</i> and <i>Shamgar</i>	80	.. 1506
III.	<i>Servit. Canaan</i>	20	.. 1426
	4. <i>Deborah</i> and <i>Barak</i> ..	40	.. 1406
IV.	<i>Servit. Midian</i>	7	.. 1366
	5. <i>Gideon</i>	40	.. 1359
	6. <i>Abimelech</i>	3	.. 1319
	7. <i>Tola</i>	23	.. 1316
	8. <i>Jair</i>	22	.. 1293
V.	<i>Servit. Ammon</i>	18	.. 1271
	9. <i>Jephthah</i>	6	.. 1253
	10. <i>Ibzan</i>	7	.. 1247
	11. <i>Elon</i>	10	.. 1240
	12. <i>Abdon</i>	8	.. 1230
VI.	<i>Servit. Philistin.</i>	40	} 20 .. 1222
	13. <i>Sampson</i> .....			} 20 .. 1202
	14. <i>Eli</i>	40	} 30 .. 1182
	<i>Samuel</i> called as a prophet .....			} 10 .. 1152
VII.	<i>Servit. Philistin.</i>	20	.. 1142
	15. <i>Samuel</i>	12	.. 1122
	<hr/> <i>Saul</i> elected king	498	.. 1110

“ So GOD forsook the tabernacle of *Shiloh*, the tent which He pitched among men : and delivered his *strength* into *captivity*, and his *glory* into the *enemies hand.*” Compare 1 Sam. iv. 22.

The correct length of this period is collected from the foregoing restoration of the Chronology of *Josephus*, in the *General Introduction*, Vol. I. p. 298. There it was shewn, that the interval from the Exode to the foundation of *Solomon's* temple, was 621 years: from which, subtracting 123 years, (namely, 40 years from the Exode to this return, 80 years for the two reigns of *Saul* and *David*, and the three first years of *Solomon*) the remainder is 498 years.

But although we are indebted to *Josephus* for this, and for supplying some material chasms or deficiencies in the sacred annals, such as, 1. The administration of *Joshua* and the *elders**, 25 years; 2. The ensuing anarchy, 18 years; 3. The administration of *Shamgar*, 1 year; and 4. of *Samuel*, 12 years: still his detail of the outline there given requires correction.

For, 1. The one year assigned to *Shamgar's* administration is too short, as is evident from *Deborah's* account, Judg. v. 6; I have, therefore, included it, with *David Ganz*, in *Ehud's* enormous administration of 80 years, and transferred the one year to *Joshua's*, making that 26 years. 2. I have restored *Abdon's* administration of 8 years, omitted by *Josephus*, and deducted it from the 18 years he assigns to the anarchy, thereby reducing the latter to its correct length of 10 years. 3. I have dated the first division of the conquered lands in the sixth year, which *Josephus* reckoned in the fifth year†; because *Caleb* was 40 years old when *Moses* sent him as one of the spies from *Kadesh Barnea*, in the second year after the *exode*: consequently, he was 39 years old at the *exode*; and therefore, 79 years old, 40 years after, at the arrival in *Canaan*; but he was 85 years old when he claimed and got the hill of *Hebron* for an inheritance; and therefore, $85 - 79 = 6$ years, after the arrival in *Canaan*. Compare Numb. x. 11, xiii. 6, with Josh. xiv. 6—15. 4. *Josephus* has omitted the date of *Samuel's* call to be a prophet, 1 Sam. iii. 1—19, which *St. Paul* reckons 450 years after the

* *Josephus* states, that *Eleazar*, the high-priest, died about the same time as *Joshua* (*θνήσκει κατ' αὐτον τον καιρον*) Ant. 5. 1, 29. And it is evident, that "the *elders*, who survived *Joshua*," died shortly after him, from Josh. xxiv. 29—33. *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar*, was high-priest during the anarchy, in the *Benjamite* war. Judg. xx. 28.

† *Josephus* states, that *Joshua* survived the first division of lands 20 years, and that his whole administration was 25 years, Antiq. v. 1. 28, 29; therefore, according to him, that division took place in his fifth year, or the fifth year of the war, Ant. v. 1. 19. The *Jewish Chronology* reckons his administration 27 years, Vol. I. p. 221. The mean, therefore, 26 years, is correct, agreeing with *Caleb's* age.

first division of lands, Act. xiii. 19, 20, and which, therefore, commenced with the 10 last years of *Eli's* administration of 40 years. This last most important chronological character from the *New Testament*, verifies the whole of this rectification, while it demonstrates the spuriousness of the period of 480 years in the present *Masorete* text of 1 Kings vi. 1, from the *exode* to the foundation of *Solomon's* temple, which was also proved in detail, Vol. I. p. 221, 222.

JOSHUA.

His original name was *Hoshea* or *Oshea*, Deut. xxxii. 44, which *Moses*, whose minister he was, Exod. xxiv. 13, changed into *Jehoshua*, Numb. xiii. 16, and by contraction, *Joshua*, or *Jeshua*, or *Jesus*, (according to the Greek pronunciation,) Acts vii. 45, Heb. iv. 8, signifying "*Saviour*." He therefore was a type of **CHRIST**, both in his name, and in his actions, as well as *Moses*.

The first notice of him is on occasion of the *Amalekite* war, Exod. xvii. 9, when he was appointed captain of a chosen party to repel their attack, at which time he was about 44 years of age, and was called a *young man*, Exod. xxxiii. 11. Even then he was pre-ordained by **THE LORD**, to put the *Israelites* in possession of the promised land, as appears from the injunction to *Moses*, to write the aggression of the *Amalekites*, and the decree of their extermination, in a book, and "to rehearse it in the ears of *Joshua*," as a memorial to him and the future Judges, Exod. xvii. 14. And **THE LORD** appointed him to succeed *Moses*, Numb. xxvii. 18, and, after his death, commanded *Joshua*, about the age of 84, to pass over *Jordan* with the people, and take possession of the promised land, Josh. i. 2, and inculcated the observance of the law of *Moses* in the following impressive terms:—

— "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate thereon day and night*, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein, for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success," Josh. i. 8. And how well *Joshua* profited by these instructions, we learn from his last solemn speech to the congregation of *Israel*, in which he recapitu-

* — Vos exemplaria Græca, [necnon Hebræa]
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

lates the divine mercies, and warns them to shun the idolatries of their forefathers, and of the neighbouring nations; declaring, on his own part,—“*As for me and my house, we will serve THE LORD,*” xxiv. 15.

The miraculous passage of the river *Jordan* was effected on the tenth day of the first month, Josh. iv. 19, wanting only five days to complete forty years from the day they left *Egypt*, on the fifteenth day of the first month, Numb. xxxiii. The circumstances of the passage are noticed, Vol. I. p. 412.

The day after the passage, by the divine command, the rite of circumcision, which had been intermitted from the time that they left *Egypt*, was renewed, and all the children of the circumcised generation that perished in the wilderness were circumcised at *Gilgal*. Thus were they taken into the *Abrahamic* covenant, and “the reproach of *Egypt* rolled away from them,” or the reproach of the circumcision, Gen. xxxiv. 14; Josh. v. 2—9. They were then qualified to sacrifice the *passover*, which had been intermitted from the second time of their observance of that rite at *Sinai*, in consequence of their rebellions, and they gave a signal proof of their faith, in submitting to that painful operation in the face of their enemies, relying on the Divine protection till they were healed, for *Gilgal* was only two miles from *Jericho*.

Accordingly, they celebrated this third *passover* on the fourteenth day of the month, at even, in the plains of *Jericho*; and next day, on the fifteenth, the long and miraculous supply of *manna* ceased, when they got a natural supply of provisions in the land, Josh. v. 10—12.

At this time *Joshua*, when surveying *Jericho*, was encouraged, by the appearance of the CAPTAIN OF THE LORD’S HOST with a drawn sword in his hand, the same who appeared to *Moses* in the bush at *Horeb*; as follows from the sameness of the injunction, “*Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy,*” v. 13—15.

And most signally did HE fight for *Israel*. 1. In the miraculous downfall of the walls of *Jericho*, v. 1—20. 2. In destroying the confederated southern nations with hailstones in their flight, x. 32. 3. In prolonging the day of battle to an unusual length, at *Joshua’s* petition, by making the sun and moon stand still about a whole day, x. 12—14. And 4. By driving out some of the northern nations by the *hornet*, or

gad-fly, xxiv. 12, as foretold by *Moses*, Exod. xxiii. 28 ; Deut. vii. 20.

DOWNFALL OF THE WALLS OF JERICHO.

This stupendous miracle, at the beginning of the war, was well calculated to terrify the devoted nations, and to encourage the *Israelites*, by shewing that the loftiest walls and strongest barriers afforded no protection against the Almighty God of *Israel*.

“ And *the Lord* said unto *Joshua*, Lo, I have given into thy hand *Jericho*, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour, and ye shall compass the city all ye men of war, and go round about the city once each day for six days, and seven priests shall bear before the ark [carried in procession] seven trumpets of rams’ horns, and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets ; and it shall come to pass, that when they make a long blast with the rams’ horns [the seventh time], and ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, and the people shall ascend up every man straight before him,” [and destroy the inhabitants with the sword, and burn the city.] Josh. vi. 2—5. Which was accordingly executed, and none spared but the hospitable *Rahab*, the harlot, and her family, ver. 6—25.

In the symbolical representations of the judgments to be inflicted upon the *apostate* nations of the earth, in “ the days of *vengeance*,” destined to precede the second advent of Christ, or his appearance in glory, the mysterious imagery of the *apocalypse* appears to be borrowed from this description : The seven angels, with seven trumpets, correspond to the seven priests ; and the seven vials, containing the last plagues, to the seven blasts of the trumpet on the last day. At the last of which, “ *the mystery of GOD is to be finished.*” Rev. viii. 2, &c. ; xv. 1, &c.

THE SUN AND MOON STAND STILL.

This miracle, like the former, is utterly impossible to account for on philosophical principles. It must be resolved wholly into the power of God, who hearkened to the voice of a man, to stop the luminaries in their *diurnal* courses (or rather, perhaps, the earth’s rotation), and by prolonging the day of battle, to make them fight for *Israel*.

From the circumstances of the narrative, however, we may collect the time of the day, and of the month that it happened—soon after sun-rise, and when the moon was rather past the full.

Joshua, when summoned by the *Gibeonites* to come to their succour against the confederate kings, “went up from *Gilgal* all night, and came suddenly” upon the enemy, we may conclude about *day-break*, whom he slew with great slaughter, and chased along the way from *Gibeon* to *Beth-horon* (“the house of fury”), in a westerly direction, THE LORD co-operating in their destruction by a tremendous shower of *great hail-stones*, which slew more than the sword of the *Israelites*, but did not touch the latter. In this situation, the sun appeared to rise over *Gibeon* eastward, and the moon to set over *Ajalon* westward, near the Mediterranean sea, in the tribe of *Dan*, when *Joshua*, moved by a divine impulse, uttered this invocation in the sight of *Israel*:—“*Sun*, stand thou still over *Gibeon*, and thou *Moon* in the valley of *Ajalon*.” “So the sun stood still in the hemisphere [at his rising], and hastened not to go down [at his setting] about a whole day,” which, in that climate, and shortly after the vernal equinox, might have been about thirteen hours long; thus giving him day-light for the destruction of his enemies for twenty-six hours, during which he took the city of *Makkedah*, and slew the five kings, who hid themselves in a cave near it, x. 1—28.

It is said, immediately after this miracle, ver. 15, “And *Joshua* returned, and all *Israel* with him, to *Gilgal*,” which he certainly did not, until the end of the expedition, ver. 43, where it is properly introduced. It is, therefore, either an interpolation, or must signify that *Joshua* *intended** to have returned, &c. but changed his resolution when he heard that the five kings had fled and hid themselves in a cave at *Makkedah*, ver. 16, 17. This is the solution of *Wells*.

THE HORNET.

By this scourge of GOD, he drove out two kings of the *Amorites* from before the *Israelites*, or compelled them to emigrate to other countries, Josh. xxiv. 12. One of these, according to

* So Balak, king of *Moab*, warred against *Israel*, Josh. xxiv. 9; i. e. “intended to war against.”

the Jewish commentaries of *R. Nachman*, was “the nation of the *Girgashites*, who retired into *Africa*, fearing the power of God.” And *Procopius*, in his history of the *Vandals*, mentions an ancient inscription in *Mauritania Tingitana*, stating, that “the inhabitants had fled thither from the face of *Joshua*, the son of *Nun*.” This account accords with Scripture, in which, though the *Girgashites* are included in the general list of the seven devoted nations either to be *driven out* or *destroyed* by the *Israelites*, Gen. xv. 20, 21; Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10; xxiv. 11; yet they are omitted in the list of those to be utterly destroyed, Deut. xx. 17; and among whom, in neglect of the divine decree, the *Israelites* lived, and intermarried, Judg. iii. 1—6. That the name of the *Girgashites*, however, was not extirpated, we may collect from the *Gergesenes*, in our Saviour’s time, inhabiting the same country, Matt. viii. 28.

Other tribes of the *Hivites*, *Canaanites*, and *Hittites*, were also expelled by the *Hornet* gradually; not in one year, lest the land should become desolate, and the wild beasts multiply to the prejudice of the *Israelites*, Exod. xxiii. 28—30.

Of these “fugitive tribes,” some appear to have fled beyond sea to *Italy*, where they became the *Aborigines**, or first colonists, so distinguished from the *Indigenæ*, or natives, as we learn from that profound antiquary *Virgil*:—

Hæc nemora indigenæ Fauni Nymphæque tenebant,
Gensque virûm truncis et duro robore nata;
Quis neque mos neque cultus erat, neque tangere tauros,
Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:
Sed *Rami*, atque asper victu *venatus* agebat.

Primus ab Ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul adeptis.
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,
Composuit, legesque dedit: *Latiumque* vocari
Maluit, his quoniam *latuisset* tutus in oris.—

Tum manus *Ausonia*, et gentes venere *Sicanæ*:
Sæpius et nomen posuit *Saturnia* tellus. ÆN. viii. 314—329.

1. From this curious passage, we learn, that the rude *native* settlers lived on fruits in the savage or *hunter* state. These were primitive *Javanians*, whose leader *Janus* gave name to the

* Αβορτ-γινεες, “*Gentes transfugæ*,” is rather derived from the Hebrew עבר (*Abar*) “*transivit* ;” and גוי (*Goi*) “*gens*,” which, in the Phœnician plural, gives גין (*Gin*) “*gentes* ;” than from the Latin, “*Primi que ab origine reges*.” Virg. ÆN. vii. 18.

hill *Janiculum*, at Rome, and was prior to *Saturn*, as we learn also from *Virgil*:—

Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris,
Reliquias, veterumque vides monumenta virorum :
Hanc *Janus pater*, hanc *Saturnus* condidit arcem ;
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat *Saturnia* nomen. ÆN. viii. 355—358.

2. *Saturn* was prior to the *Ausonian* and *Sicilian* colonists, and introduced civilization and laws in the *agricultural* state; and his name *Saturn* proves his oriental extraction, being evidently derived from סַתַר (*Satar*) *Latuit*, which *Virgil* accurately expresses, and describes him as “an *exile*, stript of his kingdom, flying from the east, from the arms of *JOVE* ;” than which, there cannot be a more suitable description of the expulsion of one of “the kings of the *Amorites*” before *Joshua*.

3. And these “arms of *JOVE*” were the *hornets* sent by the God of *Israel* IAHOH, or by contraction IO, to which *Virgil's* description of the *Asilus* exactly corresponds :

Plurimus—volitans, (cui nomen *Asilo*
Romanum est; οιστρον, Graii vertere vocantes)
Asper, acerba sonans, quo tota *exterrita* silvis
Diffugiunt *armenta*. Georg. III. 145.

The Latin *Asilus*, and Greek οιστρον, were probably only different pronunciations of the same oriental term, הצרעה *Ha-tsiraah**, as this fly is called by *Moses* and *Joshua*, Exod. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20, Josh. xxiv. 12.

That οιστρον was actually of Phœnician, not Latin descent, appears from *Æschylus*, who, in his *Prometheus*, thus introduces

* By an easy and usual interchange of the letters R and L, both in the east, and in the west, *Ha-tsiraah* might have been changed into *Ha-tsil-aah*, whence *A-sil-us*. Thus the dog-star, *Mazaroth*, Job xxxviii. 32, was also called in Syriac *Mazaloth*, 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where it is improperly rendered “planets.” And the shepherd's festival among the Romans was call *Parilia*, from *Paris*, “a shepherd,” by *Dionysius Hal. Cicero, Pliny*, &c. : but *Palilia*, from *Pales*, (and *Pali*, in the Sanscrit language, signifies “a shepherd,”) by the poets *Virgil, Ovid*, &c.

Te quoque magna *Pales*, et te, memorande, canemus,
Pastor ab *Amphryso*. Georg. III. 1.

And so, by transposition of the letters T and S, which compose the Hebrew *Tsade*, צ, *Ha-tsiraah* became *Ha-istr-aah*, whence Οιστρον.

The Phœnician term itself, without the *He* emphatic צרעה, may naturally be derived from the Hebrew, צרה, *Tsiraah* “clamavit,” expressive of its loud buzzing, *acerba sonans*.

Io, the daughter of *Inachus*, changed into a heifer, and persecuted by the *hornet*, through the jealousy of *Juno* :

————— Οιστροπληξ δ' εγω
Θειη μαστιγι, γην προ γης ελαυνομαι.

————— “Alas, I *hornet-struck*
By a *divine scourge*, from land to land am driven !”

And to this very passage *Virgil* alludes, after the foregoing description of the *Asilus* :

Hoc quondam *monstro*, horribiles exercuit iras,
Inachiæ, JUNO, pestem meditata *Juvenæ*. Vers. 153.

The vindictive power that presided over this dreadful scourge was worshipped at *Ekron*, in Palestine, through fear, the reigning motive of Pagan superstition, under the title of *Baal-zebub* *, “Master of the Hornet,” 2 Kings i. 2, whence *Beelzebub*, in the New Testament, “the prince of *Demons*,” Matt. xii. 24.

Bruce, in his travels in *Abyssinia*, has given an accurate description of this tremendous fly, which in Arabic is called *Zimb*, and by the Abyssinians *Tsalsal-ya* †, “the *cymbal* of THE LORD,” from its sonorous buzzing.

“This insect has not been described by any naturalist: it is in size very little larger than a *bee*, of a thicker proportion, and its wings, which are broader than those of a bee, placed separate like those of a fly; they are of pure gauze, without colour or spot upon them. The head is large; the upper jaw or lip is sharp, and has at the end of it a strong pointed hair of about a quarter of an inch long; the lower jaw has two of these pointed hairs; and this pencil of hairs, when joined together, makes a resistance to the finger nearly equal to that of a hog’s bristle. Its legs are serrated in the inside, and the whole covered with brown hair, or down.” Vol. II. p. 24.

And in his *Appendix*, Vol. VI. p. 234, Plate 48, he has given a drawing of this fly, magnified, for distinctness sake, something above twice the natural size. After which he observes, p. 237,

* זבוב, *Zebub*, the Phœnician title of this “*deadly*” fly, as it is styled, Eccl. x. 1, is probably derived from the Hebrew, סבב *Sabab*, “*circuivit*,” alluding to their *wheeling* flight. Thus the Psalmist describes his enemies: “They compassed me about (סבבני *Sabuni*) like bees.” Ps. cxviii. 12.

† *Isaiah*, denouncing “a woe” against *Abyssinia*, describes it as “the land of the *winged cymbal*,” (*Tsalsal canaphin*) xviii. 1. By the same analogy that *Tsalsal* signifies a *locust*, Deut. xxviii. 42;—“a *streperá* voce sic dictam.” R. *Salomo*.

“ He has no sting, though he seems to me to be rather of the *bee* kind ; but his motion is more *rapid* and *sudden* than that of the bee, [*volitans*] and resembles that of the *gad-fly* in England. There is something particular in the sound or buzzing of this insect : it is a *jarring* noise, together with a *humming*, [*acerba sonans*] which induces me to believe it proceeds, in part at least, from a vibration made with the three hairs at his snout.”

Bruce does not cite, or refer to *Virgil's* description, though his account furnishes the most critical and exact explanation of it. Such *undesigned coincidences* are most satisfactory and convincing ; they shew that the poet and the naturalist both copied from nature. And the terror impressed by this insect on all the cattle, *Quo tota exterrita sylvis diffugiunt*, according to *Virgil*, is thus illustrated by *Bruce* :

“ As soon as this *plague* appears, and their *buzzing* is heard, all the cattle forsake their food, and run wildly about the plain till they die, worn out with fatigue, fright, and hunger. No remedy remains but to leave the black earth, [where they breed] and hasten down to the sands of *Atbara* ; and there they remain while the [periodical] rains last, this *cruel* enemy [*asper*] never daring to pursue them farther.

“ The *camel*, emphatically called by the Arabs, *the ship of the desert*,—— though his size is immense as is his strength, and his body covered with a thick skin, defended with strong hair, still is not able to sustain the violent punctures the fly makes with his pointed proboscis. He must lose no time in removing to the sands of *Atbara* ; for when once attacked by this fly, his body, head, and legs, break out into large bosses, which swell, break, and putrify, to the certain destruction of the creature.

“ Even the *elephant* and *rhinoceros*, who, by reason of their enormous bulk, and the vast quantity of food and water which they daily need, cannot shift to desert and dry places, as the season may require, are obliged to roll themselves in mud and mire, which, when dry, coats them over like *armour*, and enables them to stand their ground against this *winged assassin* ; yet I have found some of these tubercles upon almost every elephant and rhinoceros that I have seen, and attribute them to this cause.

“ All the inhabitants of the sea-coast of *Melinda*, down to Cape *Gardefan*, to *Saba*, and the south coast of the *Red Sea*,

are obliged to put themselves in motion, and remove to the next sand, in the beginning of the rainy season, to prevent all their stock of cattle from being destroyed. This is not a partial emigration: the inhabitants of all the countries from the mountains of *Abyssinia*, to the confluence of the *Nile* and *Astaboras* northward, are once a year obliged to change their abode, and seek protection in the sands of *Beja*; nor is there any alternative, or means of avoiding this, though a hostile band was in the way, capable of spoiling them of half their substance, as was actually the case when we were at *Sennaar*." [See Vol. V. p. 196.] Vol. II. p. 24—26.

"Of such consequence is the weakest instrument in the hand of PROVIDENCE."

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

In his first campaign, *Joshua* reduced all the open country, and several of the towns in the southern division of the land of promise, which he describes by "the hill-country, the south, the vale, the springs; from *Kadesh Barnea* (eastwards) even unto *Gaza*, (westwards) and all the country of *Goshen*, (southwards) even unto *Gibeon*, (northwards.)" Josh. x. 40—42.

In the ensuing campaigns, he subdued the northern powers, who were assisted by the *Jebusites* of the hill-country, in the southern division, and reduced the rest of the land, as far as great *Zidon*, (northwards) and the valley of *Mizpeh*, (eastwards) except "the fenced cities, which stood still in their strength," or did not attack the Israelites; among which were *Gaza*, *Gath*, and *Ashdod*, (or *Azotus*, westwards) in the land of the Philistines.

"And *Joshua* made war a long time, with all these kings" of the south, and of the north, xi. 1—18. *Josephus* reckons that it lasted five years.

FIRST DIVISION OF LANDS.

In the sixth year, (as shewn from the age of *Caleb*) the first division of lands among the western tribes took place, when the tribes of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and *Half-Manasseh*, obtained their lots. These, added to the eastern tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Half-Manasseh*, settled in the lands of the *Amorites*, *Moabites*, and *Midianites*, conquered by *Moses*, completed the settlement of five of the tribes. The eastern are described, Josh. xiii. 15—32; the western, chap. xv. 16, 17.

SECOND DIVISION OF LANDS.

This did not take place till a good while after the former, as appears from *Joshua's* reproof of dilatoriness to the seven remaining tribes :—" *How long are ye slack to go to possess the land, which THE LORD, the God of your fathers, hath given you ?*" Josh. xviii. 2, 3. We are, therefore, warranted, from the analogy of expression between this and the duration of the war, "*a long time,*" to date the allotments of the seven remaining tribes of *Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Asher, Naphthali,* and *Dan,* six years after the former division. These are described, chap. xviii. and xix.

The arms of the *Israelites* prevailed every where, during the vigorous administrations of *Moses* and *Joshua*, who enforced obedience to the law ; but when the tribes began to be settled, they were so intent on the occupations of agriculture, and on their own separate concerns, that the stronger tribes neglected to assist the weaker in the reduction of the several "fenced cities," or fortresses, which still held out ; and so, by their divisions, they weakened the force of the whole nation. Hence the history of the *Judges*, is what might naturally be expected to follow from such neglect of the common interest. The native powers gradually recruited their strength, revolted, and, in their turn, subdued and oppressed the *Israelites*, either totally or partially. *Judges*, or leaders, with small undisciplined and mutinous armies, were occasionally raised up to repel them, according to the exigency of the times ; and though often warned and chastised, they would not depart from their *stubborn way*.

Still, however, under *Joshua's* administration, they prospered in the main, because they served the Lord, and were jealous to prevent the introduction of idolatry.

FAITH OF THE ISRAELITES.

Of this a remarkable proof was given, after the return of the *Trans-Jordanite* tribes to their settlements, where they built a great altar beside *Jordan*, near the passage of *Bethabara*, xxiv. 10.

This roused the indignation of the rest of the congregation westwards ; and they gathered themselves together at *Shiloh*, to go up to war against them ; and sent a deputation of ten princes with *Phineas* the priest, to threaten them with punishment for

their rebellion against the Lord, and against the congregation; or if they disliked the lands, as unclean, or not honoured with the residence of the Tabernacle of the Lord, which was then stationed at *Shiloh*, xviii. 1, to invite them to leave it, and share in their possession on the western side; reminding them of the punishments inflicted on the whole congregation, for their idolatry of *Baalpeor*, and the trespass of *Achan*.

The apology of the eastern tribes furnishes an advantageous specimen of the purity of their faith at that time, in the following strain of impassioned eloquence, interrupted by frequent parentheses, which may thus be more closely rendered:

“THE GOD OF GODS, THE LORD! THE GOD OF GODS, THE LORD! Himself knoweth, and *Israel* also shall know, whether [we have done this] through *rebellion*—(and if through transgression against THE LORD, save us not this day!)—to build us an altar in order to forsake THE LORD; (and if to offer thereon burnt-offering or oblation, or if, to offer thereon, peace-offering, let THE LORD himself judge!)—Or whether we have not [rather] done it, through a religious fear of this thing: that is to say, Lest your children might say *hereafter* unto our children, *What have ye to do with THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, ye children of Reuben and Gad? For THE LORD hath made Jordan a boundary between you and us; Ye have no share in THE LORD;* and so, your children might make our children cease from worshipping THE LORD: Therefore, we said, *Let us build ourselves an altar,*—neither for burnt-offerings nor for sacrifice, but for a *witness* between you and us, and our posterities—and for a *pattern*, &c.——GOD forbid that we should rebel against the Lord, and turn this day from following the Lord, to build an altar for burnt-offerings, for bread-offerings, or for sacrifices, beside the altar of the Lord our God, which is before his tabernacle.”——

“And these words pleased the children of Israel; and the children of Israel blessed God, and did not intend to go up against them in battle.—And the children of *Reuben*, and the children of *Gad*, [and the children of *Manasseh*,] called the altar *Ed*; for it shall be “witness” between us, that THE LORD is GOD,” xxii. 12—34.

Even in *Joshua's* time, however, the *Israelites* were not purged of the idolatries of their ancestors in *Mesopotamia*, which he warned them to put away; declaring the resolution

of himself and his family, to serve the LORD wholly, xxiv. 14, 15. And like *Moses*, he predicted their relapse into the idolatries of the *Amorites* and the surrounding Heathens;—"Ye cannot serve THE LORD, for He is a HOLY GOD, [and his ordinances are too pure for your observance.] He is a JEALOUS GOD, and will not forgive your transgressions and your sins," xxiv. 18. 20; and the two last chapters in general, contain an admirable and affectionate exhortation to obedience, and denunciations of the punishments of disobedience; in the true spirit of *Moses'* disciple.

THE ANARCHY OR INTERREGNUM.

During the short administration of *Eleazar*, the high priest, and the elders, who survived *Joshua*, the *Israelites* served THE LORD. But they soon fell into the idolatrous practices and abominations of the Heathen nations, among whom they settled and intermarried; instead of endeavouring to extirpate the devoted nations, as the Lord had commanded.

About this time, THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, who had appeared to *Joshua* at *Gilgal*, Josh. v. 13—15, now again appeared to the people assembled at *Shiloh*, the established place of the Tabernacle; and thus upbraided them for their rebellion:

"I made you go up out of Egypt, and brought you into the land which I sware unto your fathers. And I said, I will never break my covenant with you; And ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land, ye shall throw down their altars; but ye have not obeyed my voice: Why have ye done this?"

"Wherefore also I said, I will not drive them out from before you: but they shall be [as thorns] in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you."

This produced a temporary effect: at this authoritative rebuke and threat from their tutelar God, "the people lift up their voice and wept; and sacrificed there unto THE LORD!" whence the place was called *Bochim*, "weepers," Judges ii. 1—5. But they soon relapsed again; and the last five chapters of the book of Judges form an instructive appendix thereto, containing the gradual introduction and progress of idolatry in the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Dan*; the corruptions of a *Benjamite* city, *Gibeah*, resembling those of the men of *Sodom*; the refusal of the tribe of *Benjamin* to surrender the offenders to justice; the in-

testine war between them and the rest of the tribes, which ended nearly in the destruction of that tribe, during the ten years anarchy, while *Phineas* was high priest, xx. 28; and there was “no king in Israel, but every man did what was right in his own eyes*,” xvii. 6, xxi. 25. This *appendix* properly comes in between the second and third chapters.

THE SERVITUDES OF THE ISRAELITES.

To punish these disorders, the Lord, in his anger, brought on them an invasion from a distant and unexpected quarter, when *Chusan Rishathaim*, (“the wicked *Chusan*,”) from *Mesopotamia*, reduced them to servitude for eight years, until their repentance and deliverance by *Othniel*, Judges iii. 8, 9. This was succeeded at intervals, according as they relapsed into idolatry, by the *Moabite* for eighteen years, iii. 12; the *Canaanite* for twenty years, iv. 2, 3; the *Midianite* for seven years, vi. 1; the *Ammonite* for eighteen years, x. 7, 8; the two *Philistine*, for forty and for twenty years, xiii. 1, 1 Sam. iv. 1, vii. 2—13, according as the *Israelites* successively fell into the respective idolatries of these nations, in “serving *Baal* and *Ashtaroth*, the sun and moon, or *Baalim*, the gods of *Syria*, the gods of *Zidon*, the gods of *Moab*, and also of *Ammon*, and the gods of the *Philistines*,” in the order in which these idolatries are recapitulated, iii. 13, x. 6.

Thus this whole disastrous period was spent in a course of alternate sinning and repenting; of sinning in prosperity, and of repenting in adversity.

JUDGES.

Joshua deviated from the example of his illustrious predecessor, in not, like him, applying to the LORD to appoint a successor to “lead the people, that the congregation of THE LORD might not be as sheep without a shepherd,” Numb. xxvii. 17. What were his reasons for this remarkable omission, which made an essential breach in the constitution of the government, and led to all the disorders of the anarchy, are not noticed in Scripture, and can only be supplied by conjecture. Perhaps

* From this expression it is conjectured, that the book of *Judges* was written under the *regal* state, and probably by the prophet *Samuel*. It was written after the captivity of the ark, Judg. xviii. 30, Psalm lxxviii. 61, 1 Sam. iv. 11.

the rising jealousy and rivalry of the southern and northern states, headed by the tribes of *Judah* and *Ephraim*, could not be brought to unite in the choice of a judge for the common weal, looking only to their own aggrandizement, as likely to be impaired, if the judge were not of their own tribe, and so might have prevented them from concurring in such an application to THE LORD *; who might also have left them to themselves, to follow their imaginations, in politics as well as in religion, to *prove* them, and to *humble* their pride, and to *chastise* them for their good, as he left, for these wise purposes, the remnant of the devoted nations, and about a quarter of the land, unsubdued by *Joshua*, without driving them out hastily, Judges ii. 20—23, iii. 1—4.

For a vindication of the Divine procedure, in devoting the most idolatrous and corrupt of the *Canaanitish* nations to destruction by the sword of *Israel*, see Vol. I. p. 416, &c. See also *Dodd's* Reflections, subjoined to his Commentary on the 20th chapter of Deuteronomy; and *Greaves' Lectures* on the Pentateuch, Vol. II. p. 37—100; in which last the question is fully and ably discussed.

OTHNIEL.

When the children of *Israel* were oppressed during the *Mesopotamian* bondage, and cried to the Lord, he raised up a deliverer for them in *Othniel*, the nephew and son-in-law of the heroic *Caleb*, of the tribe of *Judah*, who had before signalized his valour in the capture of *Kiriath Sephir*, Josh. xv. 13—19, (repeated Judges i. 10—15,) and defeated *Chusan*, and gave “rest” or peace to the land for forty years, Judges iii. 9—11. “The Spirit of THE LORD,” by which he was said to be inspired, here and in most parts of the Old Testament, intimates the spirit of fortitude, or extraordinary courage, as opposed to “the spirit of fear,” or faintness of heart.

* In the *Benjamite* war, the tribes consulted the Lord, not whether they should go to war, that having been already determined on; but which tribe should go up first to battle. Hence they were twice defeated: at length, the third time, they asked that question, and succeeded, Judges xx. 18—28.

EHUD.

He was a *Benjamite*, and raised up to deliver his people from the *Moabite* yoke, under which the *Israelites* had groaned for eighteen years. This proves that the *Moabites*, notwithstanding the severe vengeance inflicted on them by *Moses* for the whoredoms of *Shittim*, were by no means extirpated, but on the contrary, in the course of eighty-four years, became a powerful people, and with the assistance of their confederates, the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites*, subdued the *Israelites*, and established a post at the "city of Palm trees," or *Jericho*, in the tribe of *Benjamin*, which cut off the communication between the eastern and western tribes, and kept both in awe. But *Ehud* got access to *Eglon*, king of *Moab*, under pretence of delivering him a message from God; and assassinated him with a dagger, concealed; and after his escape, defeated the *Moabites* at the ford of *Jordan*, and slew ten thousand chosen men of them, and totally reduced that nation, iii. 12—30. How far such an assassination was justifiable, we cannot presume to say; Scripture barely states the fact, without any comment.

SHAMGAR.

Ehud's administration of eighty years in the east, probably included *Shamgar's* in the west; who defeated the *Philistines*, and slew six hundred of them with an *ox-goad*, iii. 31. The *goad* of Palestine is of enormous size, and well calculated for a military offensive weapon, according to the description of the intelligent *Maundrell*; who in his diary, April 15, 1697, observes: "At *Kane Leban*, the country people were now every where at the plough in the fields, in order to sow cotton. 'Twas observable, that in ploughing they used goads of an extraordinary size: upon measuring of several, I found them about *eight foot* long, and at the bigger end *six inches* in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle, for driving the oxen; and at the other end with a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that encumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, that it was with such a goad as one of these, that

Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter*?—I am confident, that whoever should see one of these instruments, would judge it to be a weapon, not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a sword, for such an execution. Goads of this sort, I saw always used hereabouts, and also in *Syria*: and the reason is, because the same single person both drives the oxen, and also holds and manages the plough; which makes it necessary to use such a goad as is described above, to avoid the incumbrance of two instruments," p. 110. This place of *Kane Leban*, which was a day's journey from *Jerusalem*, might have been in the very neighbourhood of that where *Shamgar* fought the *Philistines*.

As *Shamgar's* administration might have been of some continuance, so this *Philistine* servitude, which is not noticed elsewhere, might have been of some duration, as may be incidentally collected from *Deborah's* thanksgiving, v. 6.

DEBORAH AND BARAK.

Deborah was a prophetess of Mount *Ephraim*, who, moved by a divine impulse, exhorted *Barak*, of the tribe of *Naphtali*, to undertake the deliverance of the northern tribes, with 10,000 infantry of the tribes of *Naphtali* and *Zebulon*, from the oppression of *Jabin*, king of *Canaan*, who had 900 war chariots of iron; which he accomplished, accompanied by her, when *Sisera*, the captain of the enemies' host, fell by "the hand of a woman," as remarkably foretold by *Deborah*. A circumstance which alone justifies *Jael* for that otherwise unaccountable breach of hospitality † to the fugitive *Sisera*, whom she had at first har-

* *Homer* mentions the same weapon employed for the same purpose by *Lycurgus*.

————— *ἡ π' ἀνδροφονοιο Λυκούργου*
Θεινομενας βουπληγι.—————

† The rites of hospitality are held so sacred among the *Arabs*, that a *bread and salt traitor*, who violates them, is the bitterest reproach that can be applied to any person in their language. After harbouring, therefore, and entertaining *Sisera* with so much kindness, *Jael* must have been influenced by some extraordinary and overruling impulse, not only to forego the natural softness and compassion of her sex, but to have been guilty of such an heinous outrage against the acknowledged rites of hospitality.

The moment a captive among the *Arabs* has obtained meat or drink from his captor, he is rendered secure of life. During a truce between the *Crusaders* and *Saracens*, in the Holy Land, *Arnold*, Lord of *Cracha*, cruelly pillaged and imprisoned the caravan going from *Mecca* to *Egypt*; adding insult to breach of faith—*Let your Mahomet deliver you!*

Fired with indignation thereat, *Saladin* the Sultan vowed to dispatch him *with his*

boured in her tent, and treated him with so much kindness, by ascribing her conduct in driving a *tent-pin* through his temples, and nailing his head to the ground, as he lay oppressed with sleep and weariness, solely to a divine impulse, making her the instrument of divine vengeance. But this and *Ehud's* are uncommon cases, and not to be judged by ordinary rules, nor drawn into precedent in these times.

Upon this occasion, *Deborah* composed a thanksgiving, like that of *Moses*, abounding in the richest ornaments of sacred oriental poetry. It is here attempted to be rendered more closely and intelligibly, amidst the difficulties and obscurities which cloud, but cannot hide its various beauties, arising from the local imagery, and reference to the history of the times, now lost, in which it also abounds.

DEBORAH'S THANKSGIVING.

V. 1. Then sang *Deborah*, and *Barak* son of Abinoam, on [the victory of] that day, on the avenging of wrongs in *Israel*; [and]

2. On the volunteering of the people: saying,

BLESS YE THE LORD!—

3. Hearken, O kings [of *Canaan*,]

Give ear, O princes [of the land:]

I, even I, will sing unto THE LORD,

I will chant to THE LORD, the GOD OF ISRAEL.

II. 4. O LORD, on thy going forth from *Seir*,

On thy marching from the land of *Edom*,

The earth quaked, the heavens dropped,

The clouds, I say, dropped water,

5. The mountains melted away

From the presence of THE LORD;

Even *Sinai*, himself, from the presence

OF THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL.

own hand, if he could ever make him prisoner. The fatal battle of *Hittyn*, in which the Crusaders were defeated, and their principal commanders taken, gave him that opportunity. He then ordered the captives into his presence, *Guy*, the king of *Jerusalem*, his brother *Geoffry*, and prince *Arnold*. *Saladin* presented *Guy*, who was nearly expiring for thirst, with a delicious cup cooled with snow, out of which the king drank; and then gave it to *Arnold*. *Observe*, said *Saladin*, it is *thou king*, and not *I*, who hast given the cup to this man.—After which, he said to *Arnold*,—*See me now act the part of Mahomet's avenger*. He then offered *Arnold* his life, on condition of embracing the *Mahometan* faith, which he refusing, the Sultan first struck him with his drawn scymetar, which breaking at the hilt, the rest of his attendants joined and dispatched him.—*Bohadin's Life of Saladin*.

- III. 6. From the days of *Shamgar* son of Anath,
To the days of *Jael*, [through fear of the enemy]
The highways were unfrequented,
And travellers walked through bye paths,
7 The villages were deserted;
They were deserted, till I *Deborah* arose,
Till I arose, [to be] a mother in *Israel*.
8. [The *Israelites*] had chosen *New Gods*,
Therefore, was war in their gates :
Was there a shield or spear to be seen
Among forty thousand in *Israel* !
- IV. 9. My heart is attached to the senators of *Israel*,
Who volunteered among the people.—
10. Bless ye THE LORD !
Ye that ride on white asses,
Ye that sit in [the gates of] judgment :
Extol [HIM] ye travellers,
11. [Now freed] from the noise of archers
At the watering places.
There shall they rehearse the righteousnesses
Of THE LORD, his righteousnesses
Toward the villages of *Israel*.
Now shall the people of THE LORD,
Go down to the gates [of judgment in safety.]
12. Awake, awake, *Deborah* ;
Awake, awake, utter a song [of praise :]
Arise, now, *Barak*, lead thy captivity captive,
Thou son of Abinoam.
13. For [GOD] made a remnant of the people
Triumph over the nobles [of the enemy]—
THE LORD made me triumph over the mighty.
14. From *Ephraim* unto *Amalek* was their root ; —
Next to thee [*Ephraim*] was *Benjamin*, among thy peoples ;
From *Machir* [*Manasseh*] came down the senators ;
And from *Zebulon*, they that write with the pen of the scribe ;
15. The princes in *Issachar* [were] with *Deborah*,
Even *Issachar*, as well as *Barak* [*Naphtali* :]
He was sent on foot into the valley.
- V. For the divisions of *Reuben*,
[I feel] great griefs of heart : —
16. Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds,
To hear the bleatings of the flock ? —
For the divisions of *Reuben*,
[I feel] great griefs of heart.
17. [Why] abode *Gilead* [*Gad*] beyond *Jordan* ;
And *Dan* remain in his ships ?
[Why did] *Asher* sit in his sea-ports,
And continue in his creeks ?
18. [While] the people of *Zebulon* hazarded their lives unto death,
And of *Naphtali*, in the heights of the field.
- VI. 19. The kings came, they fought ;
The kings of *Canaan* fought in *Taanah*,

- Near the waters of *Megiddo* ;
 But they gained no lucre [thereby :]
20. The stars of heaven fought in their courses,
 They fought against *Sisera*.
21. The torrent of *Kison* swept them away,
 The torrent of *Kedummin*,
 The torrent of *Kison*. — *O my soul,*
Thou hast trodden down strength ! —
22. Then were the horse-hoofs broken, by the gallopings,
 The gallopings of their great men. —
23. Curse ye *Meroz*, saith the angel of THE LORD,
 Bitterly curse her inhabitants ;
 Because they came not to the aid of THE LORD,
 To the aid of THE LORD, among the mighty.
- VII. 24. Blessed above women, be *Jael*,
 The wife of *Heber* the Kenite.
 Blessed be she above women, in the tent.
25. *He* asked water, and she gave him milk,
 She brought forth butter in a lordly bowl.
26. She put her hand to the nail,
 And her right hand to the workman's hammer,
 And she smote *Sisera* :
 She pierced his head, she penetrated,
 And she perforated his temples.
27. Between her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay,
 Between her feet he bowed, he fell,
 Where he bowed, there he fell down slain.
- VIII. 28. The mother of *Sisera* looked through the window,
 And exclaimed, through the lattice,
*Why is his chariot so long in coming * ?*
Why linger the steps of his steeds ?
29. Her wise ladies answered their mistress,
 Yea, she returned answer to herself :
30. *Have they not found,*
Have they not divided the spoil ?
To each, a damsel or two, apiece ;
To Sisera himself, a spoil of divers colours,
A spoil of divers colours, embroidered,
Of divers colours, embroidered on both sides,
A spoil for [adorning] his neck. —
31. *So perish all thine enemies, O LORD !*
 But let thy friends [rejoice]
 As the sun going forth in his strength.

The design of this beautiful ode, which breathes the characteristic softness and luxuriance of female composition, seems to be two-fold, *religious* and *political* : first, to thank GOD for the recent victory and deliverance of *Israel* from *Canaanitish* bondage and oppression ; and next, to celebrate the zeal and alacrity

* The original is highly figurative : “ *Why is his chariot ashamed to come ?* ”

with which some of the tribes volunteered their services against the common enemy ; and to censure the lukewarmness and apathy of others, who staid at home, and thus betrayed the public cause ; and by this contrast and exposure, to heal those fatal divisions among the tribes, so injurious to the common weal. The first verse, as a title, briefly recites the design or subject of the poem ; which consists of eight stanzas.

The first opens with a devout thanksgiving, to which she calls the attention of all, friends and foes.

The second describes, in the sublime imagery of *Moses*, the magnificent scenes at Mount *Sinai*, *Seir*, &c. in the deserts of *Arabia*, while they were led, by the divine power and presence, from Egypt to *Canaan*.

The third states their offending afterwards, by their apostacies, in serving *new gods*, as foretold by *Moses*, Deut. xxxii. 16, 17 ; and their consequent oppression by their enemies ; the insecurity of travelling, and desertion of the villages, during the twenty years that intervened from the death of *Shamgar*, till *Jael's* exploit, and till *Deborah* became judge ; while they were disarmed by the *Philistines* and *Canaanites*, and scarcely a sword or a spear to be seen in *Israel*. This policy was adopted by the *Philistines*, in *Saul's* time, 1 Sam. xiii. 19 ; and was probably introduced before, when *Shamgar*, for want of other weapons, had recourse to an *ox-goad* ; which only was left with them for the purposes of agriculture, 1 Sam. xiii. 21.

The fourth contrasts their present happy state of security, from the incursions and depredations of their foes, especially at the watering places, which were most exposed to attacks *, owing to the divine protection which crowned the victory, the zeal and exertions of “ a remnant of the people,” or a part of the tribes, against the enemy, under her conduct : these were the midland tribes of *Ephraim*, *Manasseh*, and *Benjamin*, including, perhaps, *Judah* and *Simeon*, which bordered on *Amalek* southward, and *Issachar*, *Zebulon*, and *Naphtali* northward.

The fifth censures the recreant tribes, *Reuben* and *Gad*, beyond *Jordan* eastward ; and *Dan* and *Asher*, on the Mediterranean sea westward ; who deserted the common cause, in consequence

* Dr. *Shaw* mentions a beautiful rill in *Barbary*, which is received into a large basin, called *Shrub we krub*, i. e. “ *Crink and away*,” for fear of meeting robbers and assassins there.

of their divisions and their paltry attachment to their own concerns.

The sixth records the miraculous defeat of the confederate kings of *Canaan*, who were swept away by the torrents issuing from the different springs of the river *Kishon*, swollen by uncommon rains. *Meroz* was probably a place in the neighbourhood.

The seventh contains a panegyric on *Jael*, who is here "blessed above women," for attempting an exploit above her sex to perform; and a picturesque description of her giving *Sisera butter milk* to drink; which is considered as a great treat at present among the *Arabs*. Then follows a minute and circumstantial description of her mode of slaying him.

The eighth affords an admirable representation of the impatience of the mother of *Sisera* at his delay in returning; her sanguine anticipation of his success; in which she dwells not upon the greatness of his exploits, or the slaughter of his enemies, but upon the circumstances most likely to engage a light female mind, such as captive damsels, and embroidered garments, as the spoils of victory, which she repeats and amplifies with much grace and elegance.

The abrupt and unexpected apostrophe which concludes the poem, *So perish all thine enemies, O LORD!*—tacitly insinuates the utter disappointment of their vain hopes of conquest and spoils, more fully and forcibly than any express declaration in words; while it marks the author's piety and sole reliance on the divine protection of his people, and the glorious prospect of a future and greater deliverance, perhaps by THE SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, Mal. iv. 2.

The signal victory of *Deborah* and *Barak* over the confederate kings of the *Canaanites*, freed the western tribes, for a long time, from invasion in that quarter, for the two succeeding servitudes of *Midian* and *Ammon* were from the east.

GIDEON.

The mode of warfare practised by the *Midianites*, and their confederates the *Amalekites*, and the *children of the east**, was

* *The children of the east* included the posterity of *Abraham's* sons by *Keturah*, of whom the *Midianites* were the principal, Gen. xxv. 6. It also included the *Ishmaelites*, Judges viii. 24, who were settled near the *Midianites*, Gen. xxxvii. 28, in the wilderness of *Paran*. Gen. xxi. 21.

peculiarly ruinous and destructive: for they ravaged and plundered the whole country, destroying the increase of the earth, and carrying off the cattle of every kind, as far as *Gaza* on the *Mediterranean* coast westward; so that they greatly impoverished *Israel* for seven years, Judges vi. 1—6.

Gideon, “a mighty man of valour,” a *Manassite*, westward of *Jordan*, was involved in the common calamity, and was threshing wheat, to hide it from the *Midianites*; when he was commissioned by THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, who now appeared to him, 223 years after his appearance at *Bochim*, to deliver his people, when they cried to Him, from their oppressors. To prove his divinity, and confirm the faith of *Gideon* and his family, THE LORD was pleased to work a succession of signal miracles before him, by setting fire to his sacrifice when he departed out of his sight, and afterwards by sending dew on the fleece of wool, and leaving the adjacent ground dry, and the reverse; miracles peculiarly adapted to wean them from the idolatrous worship of *Baal*, or the sun, whose altar had been set up by his father, at *Ophrah*, the town of his residence; this he was commanded to destroy, and to build an altar unto THE LORD on the rock where the Lord had accepted his sacrifice, as a memorial of the miracle, which he did.

Joash, the father of *Gideon*, was converted by this first miracle, as is evident from his noble and undaunted vindication of his son's conduct in throwing down the altar of *Baal*, for which the men of the city demanded *Gideon's* death; when *Joash* retorted the sentence of death against the idolaters themselves, for their apostacy:—“ [Why] should ye plead for *Baal*? [Why] should ye save him?—Whosoever will plead for him, let him [rather] be put to death in the morning—If he be a god, let him plead for himself, since his altar is pulled down,” verse 31. That is, If *Baal* be a god, he is able to vindicate his own cause, and punish the offender with death: if he be unable, (as appears to be the fact,) he is no God; and it is not only absurd in you to espouse his quarrel, but idolatrous; for which you deserve death, by the law of *Moses*, Deut. xvii. 2—6, appointed for individuals; and Deut. xiii. 12—16, for cities infected with idolatry. This unanswerable argument appears to have been followed by the conversion of the people: for when *Gideon* blew the trumpet to summon all the people to the war, “*Abiezer*, (his own district,) were gathered unto him;” and all *Manasseh*,

eastern and western, *Asher*, *Zebulon*, and *Naphtali*, obeyed his summons.

The Spirit of THE LORD, by which *Gideon* was animated to undertake the deliverance of his country, was a spirit of *fortitude* and of *prudence*, and of all the virtues requisite in a commander, Judges vi. 7—40.

The militia assembled on this occasion being too numerous, the LORD, “lest the people should vaunt themselves against him,” or ascribe the victory to their own numbers and prowess, directed him first to dismiss all the eastern *Manassites*, who came from Mount *Gilead*, and might possibly be more afraid of their neighbours, the *Midianites*, than the western tribes. The passage may thus be more correctly rendered, by a slight transposition of the English translation, vii. 3. “Whosoever, from Mount *Gilead*, is fearful and afraid, let him return [home] and depart early. So there returned [home] twenty-two thousand of the people.” See Vol. 1. p. 425.

THE LORD next dismissed all the people that stooped down to drink water with their mouth at the surface; and retained only 300 men that lapped, or took up water in the palm of their hand to drink; and with these three hundred only, *Gideon* defeated the *Midianites* by a curious stratagem: at the beginning of the second, or *middle watch*, at midnight, (see Vol. I. p. 13,) he divided his party into three companies of one hundred men each, furnished every one with a trumpet, a lamp, and a pitcher to hide the lamp; and he stationed them, in silence and darkness, on the outside of the enemy’s camp. Then, on a signal given by *Gideon*, the three companies blew their trumpets, broke their pitchers, shewed their lights, and shouted, *The sword of THE LORD, and of Gideon**, and stood every man in his place; as if they were the advanced guard of the whole army of *Israel*, whom they were lighting to attack the camp. And all the host of the enemy, “ran, and cried, and fled” through the openings between the three companies; and in their panic terror, put each other to the sword; and were pursued by the rest of the militia that had been dismissed; while the *Ephraimites*, by *Gideon’s* orders, secured all the passes or fords on the river

* This watch-word was taken from the interpretation of the *Midianites’* dream in the camp, to denote “*the sword of Gideon*,” vii. 14; to which *Gideon* piously prefixed, “*the sword of THE LORD*,” as the author of the stratagem, of the dream, and of its interpretation.

Jordan, from the lake of *Gennesareth* down to *Beth-bara*, or *Bethabara*, where *Joshua* had crossed it; and joined in the pursuit of the fugitives across the river; followed by *Gideon* and his chosen party; to whom they brought the heads of the two kings or leaders of the Midianites, *Oreb* and *Zeeb*, whom they had slain on the eastern, or "other side of *Jordan*," Judges vii. 1—25. In this destructive pursuit there fell, of all the hosts of the children of the east, no less than 120,000 that drew the sword, vii. 10.

The remnant of their mighty army, amounting to 15,000 men, were pursued by *Gideon*, who discomfited them, coming upon them by surprise, and slew their leaders, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and took away their golden ornaments, (*crests*,) that were about their camels' necks; and were, probably, consecrated to the *moon*, who was worshipped in that neighbourhood, before *Abraham's* days, under the title of *Ashtarothe Karnaim*, ("the shining cow two-horned,") Gen. xiv. 5. These *crests* are still in use among the *Arabs*, and even among the *Mahometans* in general, however scrupulous about images; being evidently a remnant of that ancient Pagan superstition of *Zabianism*, which too soon infected the extraneous posterity of the faithful *Abraham*, and even the *Israelites* themselves.

"Thus was *Midian*," which had been chastised before in the days of *Moses*, Numb. xxv. 17, 18, xxxi. 1—18, now subdued completely, "before the children of *Israel*; so that they lifted up their heads no more," Judges viii. 10—28.

Gideon was a consummate judge: he possessed all the qualifications requisite for that arduous station, among a contumacious, a divided, and a rebellious people.

When the haughty *Ephraimites* chid him sharply for not calling them, at first, to the *Midianite* war, he appeased their anger by a soft answer; modestly extenuating his own exploits, in comparison of theirs: "*Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim, better than the vintage of Abiezer?*" or their services at the end of the war, better than his at the beginning: "*GOD hath delivered into your hands the princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb; and what was I able to do in comparison of you?*" viii. 1—3.

When he and his 300 men in the pursuit of *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, and the remnant of the *Midianite* army, were faint, and asked a little refreshment from the men of *Succoth*, (a town in the

tribe of *Gad*, near *Jordan*, not far from the lake of *Gennesareth*, where it discharges itself into that river,) they inhospitably refused him, adding insult to the refusal: “*Is the palm of Zeba and Zalmunna yet in thine hand, that we should give bread to thine army?*” ridiculing his attempt to reduce the *Midianites* with so small a force; and he received a like refusal, in his progress, from the men of *Penuel*; instead of chastizing their rebellious spirit on the spot, he coolly told both, that he would do so on his return: which he did as he had promised: he scourged to death the princes and elders of *Succoth*; coming upon them by surprise, before the sun was up; and he beat down the tower of *Penuel*, and slew the men of the city, by a severe punishment, but a wholesome example, viii. 4—17.

When the men of *Israel* unanimously offered to make him king, and to continue the crown in his family, for this great deliverance, thus setting aside the *Theocracy*; he nobly and religiously refused the tempting offer: “*I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: THE LORD shall rule over you.*” viii. 22, 23.

Though *Gideon* refused to violate the civil constitution of the government, yet he made a material innovation in the religious establishment. He was probably induced, by the altar which the LORD required him to build at *Ophrah*, on the rock where he had accepted his sacrifice, to think that this might be the place which THE LORD so often declared in the law, that “He would choose for his *name*,” or his worship; and who often styled himself “THE ROCK;” especially after he had commissioned *Gideon* to throw down the altar of *Baal* there. And the *ephod* which *Gideon* made out of the golden ear-rings of the spoils of the *Ishmaelites*, willingly given him by his army, on his request; (not unlike *Aaron*, Exod. xxxii. 2,) seems to have included not only “the priests’ dress,” as the word signifies, but also a *sacerdotal* establishment in his own town, where sacrifices might be regularly performed, and for which purpose a considerable sum of money would be requisite, such as the amount of the offerings, 1700 shekels of gold; which at the rate of £1 16s. 6d. a piece, according to *Arbutnot’s* Tables, amounted to £3102 10s. sterling*.—And such establishments

* See the excellent tables of the *weights, measures, and coins* of Scripture, prefixed to the book of *Exodus*, in the second volume of *Bible de Chais*.

had been made elsewhere during the anarchy, by *Micah*, in Mount *Ephraim*, Judges xvii. 5—13; and by the *Danites* at *Laish*, or *Dan*, xviii. 29—31. This establishment, however, infringing on that at *Shiloh*, Josh. xviii. 1, proved a “snare to *Gideon* and his family,” or a seduction to idolatry, in worshipping the true God in an improper manner; and “all *Israel* went thither a *whoring* after it;” as they did after *Gideon’s* death, relapsing into the worship of false gods; when “they went a *whoring* after *Baalim*,” the celestial luminaries; “and made *Baal Berith* their god,” or, rather, “their goddess;” for the moon was worshipped in *Phœnicia*, under the title of Βηρουτ, *Beruth**, at *Berytus*, as we learn from *Sanchoniatho*.

There is, indeed, reason to think, that *Gideon* himself acted as a priest of this establishment; as he had formerly done, by the divine direction, when he sacrificed his father’s second bullock of seven years old, (coeval with the *Midianite* servitude,) upon the altar to THE LORD HIS GOD, built in the appointed place. For the title of *Jerubbaal*, given him by his father, (or by the people, in consequence of his father’s vindication,) signifying, “*Let Baal plead [against him,]* because he had thrown down his altar,” is afterwards in Scripture contemptuously parodied into *Jerubbeseth*; *Beseth* signifying “*shame*,” 2 Sam. xi. 21; as if *Gideon* had been the promoter of that “*shameful*” idolatry of *Baal*, which prevailed among the *Ephraimites*; censured by *Hosea*, ix. 10; and among the *Jews*, censured by *Jeremiah*, xi. 13. In both these passages *Beseth* is synonymous with, or set in apposition to *Baal*.

And this seems to be supported by Heathen testimony: for *Sanchoniatho*, the Phœnician historian, (who is said by *Eusebius* to have lived before the *Trojan* war, and who, therefore, might have been contemporary with *Gideon*, whose administration began 166 years before it,) is said by *Porphyry* to have drawn some of his materials “*from the commentaries furnished by Jerombal, the priest of the god, IAO.*” But *Jerombal* is easily formed from *Jerubbaal*, by changing the first B into M †; and

* “Among the Phœnicians there is a god called Ελιουν, (עליון,) ὑψιστος, “*most high*,” and a goddess called Βηρουτ, (ברות,) who lived about *Byblus*,” namely, at *Berytus*, which is midway between *Byblus* and *Sidon*. *Bochart*, Vol. I. p. 775.

† Thus, the name of the hornet, *zimb*, in Arabic, is evidently formed from the Hebrew *zebub*, *zebbub*, or *zemb-ub*; the various readings, *Raiphan*, or *Rephan*, gave *Remphan*, the dog-star, Acts vii. 43. *Sambuca*, a musical instrument, from the Syriac *Sabuca*, or the *Chaldee*, Dan. iii. 7, &c.

the commentaries in question might be the books of *Moses*, especially *Genesis*; which *Sanhoniatho* might have obtained from *Gideon*, his neighbour; and from which, he evidently borrowed, and metamorphosed his cosmogony. This is the ingenious conjecture of *Bochart*, Vol. I. p. 171, &c. *De Sanhoniathone*.

Gideon's administration lasted forty years.

ABIMELECH.

By his numerous wives, *Gideon* left seventy sons, and by his concubine of *Sichem*, (a city of *Ephraim*,) a spurious son, *Abimelech*, who artfully seduced his townsmen from their allegiance, and slew all his brethren, except the youngest, *Jotham*; having hired assassins, with money given him by the favourers of idolatry, out of the treasury of the temple of *Baal berith*:—"the *Sechemites* thus shewing no kindness to the house of *Gideon*, in return for all his goodness and his services to *Israel*," Judges viii. 35, ix. 1—6.

For this ingratitude they were indignantly upbraided in these animated terms by *Jotham*:—"My father fought for you, and ventured his life far, and delivered you out of the hand of *Midian*: And ye have risen up against my father's house, this day, and have slain his sons, threescore and ten persons, upon one stone; and have made *Abimelech* the son of his concubine, king over the men of *Sechem*, because he is your brother."—And in the oldest and most beautiful apologue of antiquity extant, *the trees chusing a king*; with the mild and unassuming dispositions of his pious and honourable brethren, declining, like their father, we may suppose, the crown, when offered to them, perhaps, successively; under the imagery of "the *olive tree*, the *fig tree*, and the *vine*;" he pointedly contrasts the upstart ambition and arrogance of the wicked and turbulent *Abimelech*, represented by the *bramble*; inviting his new and nobler subjects, the *cedars of Lebanon*, to put their trust in his pigmy shadow, which they did not want, and he was unable to afford them; but threatening them, imperiously, on their refusal, to send forth a fire from *himself* to devour those *cedars*: whereas the fire of the *bramble* was short and momentary, even to a proverb, Psalm lviii. 9, Eccl. vii. 6.

The application is thus given: "If ye have dealt truly and faithfully with *Jerubbaal* and his house, this day, then rejoice

ye in Abimelech,” or enjoy the benefits of his government ; and “ let him also rejoice in you,” and in your fidelity : *but if not*—if ye have dealt ungratefully and unfaithfully with the house of *Jerubbaal*,—*may fire come forth from Abimelech and devour the men of Sechem*, and their abettors, *and contrariwise* ; or let intestine war consume both parties !—The name *Jerubbaal* is well chosen here, to mark their deliverance from *Pagan* idolatry, by his means ; for which he got the title ; and the result verified the prophetic imprecation, in the total destruction, by *Abimelech*, of the city and tower, of *Shechem*, which had revolted from him ; and in his own destruction at the siege of *Thebez*, in its neighbourhood, when his skull was fractured by the blow of a *millstone*, let fall on him by a woman from the walls*.—“ Thus *God* retaliated the wickedness of *Abimelech* against his father, in slaying his seventy brethren ; and all the wickedness of the men of *Shechem* did *GOD* retaliate upon their heads. And upon them [both] came the curse of *Jotham* the son of *Jerubbaal*.”—It is remarkable, that a *stone* avenged the death of his brethren, slain upon “ *one stone*,”—the *rock*, perhaps, whereon *Gideon* had erected the altar to *THE LORD*.—And his usurpation was short, only three years ; “ the *LORD* sending an *evil spirit* between *Abimelech* and the men of *Shechem*,” for their mutual and speedier destruction, ix. 7—57.

TOLA AND JAIR.

Abimelech was succeeded by *Tola*, of the tribe of *Issachar*, who dwelt in Mount Ephraim ; who judged Israel twenty-three years ; and after him arose *Jair*, a *Gileadite*, [of eastern *Manasseh*,] who judged Israel twenty-two years, and was the first *Transjordanite* judge. His opulence is noticed, in having thirty sons who rode on young asses, Judges x. 1—5. The administration of these judges having been peaceable, is despatched in a few lines : the sacred historian designing principally to record the calamities which the *Israelites* drew on themselves by their apostacies to the idolatries of the neighbouring nations, and their providential deliverances upon their repentance and return to the Lord their God. After the calm of these administrations,

* “ And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech’s head, and *al-to*, (i. e. *altogether*, or *entirely*,) brake his skull.” Jud. ix. 53. The word *al-to*, is so used by Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton.

they multiplied their idolatries, which drew on them the *Ammonite* servitude, for eighteen years, which was particularly severe upon the *Transjordanite* tribes, x. 6—9.

The following admirable expostulation of THE LORD with his penitent people, and his tender compassion on their return to him, is conceived in the spirit of the DIVINE ODE, and furnishes the finest commentary thereon.

“Did not I deliver you from the *Egyptians*? and from the *Amorites*? and from the children of *Ammon*? and from the *Philistines*? the *Sidonians* also, and the *Amalekites*, and the *Maonites*, [perhaps *Midianites*,] oppressed you, and ye cried unto Me, and I delivered you out of their hand. Nevertheless, ye have forsaken ME, and served *other gods*: Wherefore I will deliver you no more.—

“Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen: Let them deliver you, in the time of your tribulation!

“And the children of *Israel* said unto THE LORD, *We have sinned: Do thou unto us whatsoever seemeth good in thine eyes: Only deliver us, we pray thee, this day:*

“And they put away the *strange gods* from among them, and served THE LORD.

“And HIS soul was grieved for the misery of *Israel*,” x. 10—16.

JEPHTHAH.

“This mighty man of valour,” endued with “the spirit of THE LORD,” like *Gideon*, was a *Gileadite*, raised up to be the deliverer of his country; who was elected captain in the war against *Ammon*, by the elders of *Gilead*.

After his election had been solemnly ratified before the Lord at *Mizpeh* of *Gilead**, he sent messengers to demand of the king of *Ammon* why he invaded his land? who answered, to recover the land taken from his ancestors by the *Israelites*, on their way from *Egypt*; of which, therefore, he required peaceable restitution. *Jephthah*, in his reply, refused to surrender them, upon the following grounds: 1. He denied the title of the *Ammonites* thereto; for that the *Israelites* took these lands

* This was “*Mizpeh* of *Moab*,” on the east side of *Jordan*, where probably there was an established altar of the Lord, 1 Sam. xxii. 3, as distinguished from the western *Mizpeh* of *Benjamin*, Josh. xviii. 26, Judg. xxi. 1, 1 Sam. vii. 5, x. 17, &c.

from the *Amorites*, after they, the *Amorites*, had conquered them from the *Ammonites*. 2. That the title of the *Israelites* was confirmed by a prescription of 300 years *, and upwards; during which, none of the kings of *Moab*, from *Balak's* time, nor of *Ammon*, ever reclaimed these lands; who had, at least, as good a right as the *Ammonites*, now; and 3. That the God of *Israel* was as well entitled to grant them the lands in question, as their god, *Chemosh*, in their opinion †, to grant the *Ammonites* what they occupied at present. Concluding, 4. with an appeal to heaven for the justice of his cause. Judges xi. 1—27.

The issue of this war was such as might be expected. *Jephthah* defeated the *Ammonites* with great slaughter; and subdued the nation, xi. 32, 33.

He also severely chastised the haughty and turbulent *Ephraimites*, who had refused to assist him at the beginning of the war; and had also insulted the *Gileadites*, calling them “fugitives of *Ephraim*,” and threatened to destroy him and his house with fire, because he had not invited them to the decisive battle;—“and there fell of the *Ephraimites* at that time, 42,000.” And he judged *Israel* six years, xii. 1—7.

HIS VOW.

When *Jephthah* went forth to battle against the *Ammonites*, “he vowed a vow unto THE LORD, and said, If thou wilt surely give the children of *Ammon* into my hand, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh out of the doors of my house, to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of *Ammon*, shall either be the Lord's, or, I will offer it up [for] a burnt-offering,” Judges xi. 30, 31.

* From the conquest of the lands of *Sihon* and *Og*, the kings of the eastern *Amorites*, to the election of *Jephthah*, was 356 years; which corresponds with the general statement of 300 years in round numbers; or as judiciously rendered by *Josephus*, ὑπερ τριακοσια ετη, “above 300 years.” Ant. v. 7, 9. This chronological character is inconsistent with the shorter chronology of the *Jews*, reckoning the interval 293 years; of *Usher*, 265 years, and of *Petavius* 238 years only.

† *Voltaire*, in his Treatise on Toleration, says, that “*Jephthah's* declaration, who was inspired by GOD, is an evident proof that GOD permitted the worship of *Chemosh*.”

This is a gross misrepresentation. *Jephthah* only argued with these idolaters upon their own principles; that all nations had a right to keep what their gods enabled them to possess, which is widely different from admitting the divinity and the worship of *Chemosh*. Nor does it appear that *Jephthah* was inspired at this time; the Spirit of THE LORD came upon him after this manifesto, xi. 29.

According to this rendering of the two conjunctions, ׀, *Vau*, in the last clause, “*either*,” “*or*,” which is justified by the *Hebrew* idiom *; (the paucity of connecting particles in that language, making it necessary that this conjunction should often be understood disjunctively,) the vow consisted of two parts: 1. that what *person* soever met him, should *be* THE LORD’S, or be dedicated to his service; and 2. that what *beast* soever met him, (if *clean*,) should be offered up for a *burnt-offering* unto THE LORD.

This rendering, and this interpretation, is warranted by the *Levitical* law about vows.

The נדר, *Neder*, or “*vow*,” in general, included either *persons*, *beasts*, or *things*, dedicated to the LORD for pious uses; which if it was a simple vow, was redeemable at certain prices; if the person repented of his vow, and wished to commute it for money, according to the age and sex of the person, Levit. xxvii. 1—8. This was a wise regulation to remedy rash vows.

But if the vow was accompanied with הרם, *Hherem*, “*devotement*,” it was irredeemable, as in the following case, Levit. xxvii. 28.

“Notwithstanding, no *devotement* which a man shall devote unto THE LORD, [either] of *man*, or of *beast*, or of *land* of his *own property*, shall be sold, or redeemed. Every thing devoted is most holy unto the Lord.”

Here the three ׀, *Vaus*, in the original, should necessarily be rendered disjunctively, *or*; (as the last actually is, in our public translation,) because there are three distinct subjects of devotion, to be applied to distinct uses: the *man* to be dedicated to the service of the Lord, as *Samuel*, by his mother *Hannah*; 1 Sam. i. 11; the *cattle*, if clean, such as *oxen*, *sheep*, *goats*, *turtle doves*, or *pigeons*, to be sacrificed; and if unclean, as *camels*, *horses*, *asses*, to be employed for carrying burdens in the service of the Tabernacle or Temple, and the *lands* to be sacred property.

This law, therefore, expressly applied, in its first branch, to *Jephthah’s* case: who had *devoted* his daughter to the Lord; or “*opened his mouth unto the Lord*, and therefore *could not go back* ;” as he declared in his grief, at seeing his daughter, and

* Thus, “He that curseth his father *and* his mother, shall surely be put to death,” Exod. xxi. 17, is necessarily rendered disjunctively, “his father, *or* his mother,” by the Sept. Vulg. Chald. and English, confirmed by Matt. xv. 4.

his only child, coming to meet him, with timbrels and dances, xi. 35. She was, therefore, necessarily devoted, but with her own consent, to perpetual "*virginity*," in the service of the Tabernacle, xi. 36, 37. And such service was customary: for in the division of the spoils taken in the first *Midianite* war, of the whole number of captive virgins, "*THE LORD'S tribute was thirty-two persons*," Numb. xxxi. 35—40. This instance appears to be decisive of the nature of her devotement.

Her father's extreme grief on the occasion, and her requisition of a respite of two months to *bewail her virginity*, are both perfectly natural; having no other issue, he could only look forward to the extinction of his name or family; and a state of celibacy, which is reproachful among women every where, was peculiarly so among the *Israelites*: and was therefore no ordinary sacrifice on her part, who, though she generously gave up, could not but regret the loss of becoming "*a mother in Israel*."—"And he did with her according to his vow which he had vowed, and she knew no man," or remained a virgin all her life, 34—39.

There was also another case of *devotement* which was irredeemable, and follows the former, Levit. xxvii. 29.

"No one *devoted*, who shall be devoted of *man*, shall be redeemed; but *shall surely be put to death*."

This case differs materially from the former:

1. It is confined to *persons* devoted, omitting *beasts* and *lands*; 2. It does not relate to *private property*, as in the foregoing; and 3. the subject of it was to be *utterly destroyed*, instead of being *most holy unto THE LORD*. This law, therefore, related to *aliens* or *public enemies* devoted to destruction, either by *GOD*, by the *people*, or by the *magistrate*.

Of all these we have instances in Scripture:

1. The *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* were devoted by *GOD* himself. *Saul* therefore was guilty of a breach of this law, for sparing *Agag*, the king of the *Amalekites*, as *Samuel* reproached him, 1 Sam. xv. 23; and "*Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord*," not as a *sacrifice*, according to *Voltaire*, but as a *criminal*, "*whose sword had made many women childless*."—By this law the *Midianite* women, who had been spared in battle, were slain, Numb. xxxi. 14—17.

2. In Mount *Hor*, when the *Israelites* were attacked by *Arad*, king of the southern *Canaanites*, who took some of them prisoners, they vowed a vow unto *THE LORD*, that they would utterly

destroy these *Canaanites*, and their *cities*, if the Lord should deliver them into their hand: which THE LORD ratified. Whence the place was called *Hhormah*; because the vow was accompanied by *Hherem*, or devotement to destruction, Numb. xxi. 1—3. And the vow was accomplished, Judges i. 17.

3. In the *Philistine* war, *Saul* adjured the people, and cursed any one that should taste food until the evening. His own son, *Jonathan*, inadvertently ate a honey-comb, not knowing of his father's oath, for which *Saul* sentenced him to die. But "*the people*" interposed, and "rescued him," for his public services; thus assuming the power of *dispensing*, in their collective capacity, with an unreasonable oath, 1 Sam. xiv. 24—45.

This latter case, therefore, is utterly irrelative to *Jephthah's* vow, which did not regard a foreign enemy, or a domestic transgressor, devoted to destruction; but on the contrary, was a vow of thanksgiving, and therefore properly came under the former case.

And that *Jephthah* could not possibly have sacrificed his daughter, (according to the vulgar opinion, founded on incorrect translation,) may appear from the following considerations:

1. The sacrifice of children to *Moloch* was an abomination to THE LORD, of which, in numberless passages, he expresses his detestation; and it was prohibited by an express law, under pain of death, as "*a defilement of God's sanctuary, and a profanation of his holy name,*" Levit. xx. 2, 3. Such a sacrifice, therefore, unto THE LORD himself, must be a still higher abomination. And there is no precedent of any such under the law, in the OLD TESTAMENT.

2. The case of *Isaac*, before the law, is irrelevant: for *Isaac* was not sacrificed; and it was only proposed for a trial of *Abraham's* faith.

3. No father, merely by his own authority, could put an offending (much less an innocent) child to death, upon any account, without the sentence of the magistrates, Deut. xxi. 18—21, and the consent of the people, as in *Jonathan's* case.

4. The *Mischna*, or traditional law of the Jews, is pointedly against it, ver. 212.

"If a Jew should devote his son or daughter, his man or maid servant, who are *Hebrews*, the devotement would be void: because no man can devote *what is not his own*, or *whose life he has not the absolute disposal of.*"

These arguments appear to be decisive against the sacrifice, and that *Jephthah* could not even have devoted his daughter to celibacy against her will, is evident from the history, and from the high estimation in which she was always held by the daughters of *Israel*, for her filial duty and her hapless fate, which they celebrated, by a regular anniversary commemoration, four days in the year, Judges xi. 40.

Jephthah was succeeded by *Ibzan*, of *Bethlehem* in *Ephraim*, for seven years. Then by *Elon*, a *Zebulonite*, for ten years. Then by *Abdon*, an *Ephraimite*, or *Pirathonite*, for eight years. During whose peaceable administrations, the *Israelites* again relapsed into idolatry, and drew down on themselves a rigorous servitude to their western foes, the *Philistines*, who had now recruited their strength, from the days of *Shamgar*, and oppressed the *Israelites* for forty years, Judges xii. 8—15; xiii. 1.

SAMPSON.

At the beginning of this servitude, THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, 137 years after his appearance to *Gideon*, appeared again to the wife of *Manoah*, a *Danite*, who had been barren, and promised her a son, who should be a *Nazarite*, or consecrated to God from the womb, and should begin to deliver *Israel* from the *Philistines*, a deliverance completed by *David*.

The woman then went and told her husband, saying, “A man of GOD [or a prophet] came unto me, and his countenance was like the countenance of an angel of God, very terrible, but I asked him not whence he was, neither told he me his name*,” xiii. 2—6.

And when he appeared again, at the prayer of *Manoah*, and repeated his directions for the woman’s treatment of herself, and of her future son, according to the law of the *Nazarites*, Numb. vi. 1—8, he refused to tell *Manoah* his name, on enquiry—“Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is WONDERFUL.”—And when *Manoah* offered a kid for a burnt-offering upon the rock, according to his directions, “the angel acted

* The *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions here assign a satisfactory reason why the woman did not ask the Angel’s name; viz. because she was greatly affrighted at his appearance. This will satisfactorily account for *Manoah’s* asking his name afterwards, which would rather be improper, if he had refused to tell it before, according to the now rejected rendering of the *Vulgate*, but would not be improper, if the Angel had only omitted it.

wondrously in the presence of *Manoah* and his wife; for [he] THE LORD, ascended up toward heaven in the flame of the altar," xiii. 8—20.

This was a significant sign to this pious couple, that "HE was THE ANGEL OF THE LORD himself*, ver. 16, who formerly had appeared to *Gideon*, and set fire to his sacrifice upon the rock, and now vanished in the flame, by a fuller manifestation of his divinity. His name, *wonderful* †, is repeated among the magnificent titles, applied in prophecy to the great Deliverer of the faithful, when his future birth was announced by *Isaiah*—"His name shall be called *wonderful*," &c. *Isai. ix. 6*, or "He shall be *great*;" as in the application of this prophecy to CHRIST, by the angel *Gabriel*, *Luke i. 32*, at the annunciation to the *Virgin Mary*. And from the fears of death expressed on seeing him by *Manoah*, ver. 22, and intimated by *Gideon* before, *Judges vi. 22, 23*, it appears that He was the same God who told *Moses*, "No man can see my face and live," *Exod. xxxiii. 20*; or THE SON OF GOD.

And "THE LORD blessed" this extraordinary child, whom his mother called *Sampson* ‡, and as he grew up, "the Spirit of THE LORD began to move him at times," which the Chaldee Paraphrast explains, "the spirit of fortitude from before THE LORD began to strengthen him," *Judges xiii. 24, 25*.

In the twentieth year of his age, and the twentieth also of the *Philistine* servitude, from which term, therefore, we are to date the commencement of his vindictive administration (*Judges xv. 20, xvi. 31*.) he was moved, by a divine impulse, to seek a wife among the *Philistines*, that it might furnish an occasion of quar-

* So the Hebrew should be rendered, instead of "that he was an angel of the Lord," ver. 16.

† So פלא is here rendered by the Septuagint and Vulg. θαυμαστον, mirabile; and also, *Isai. ix. 6*, in the *Alexandrian* copy, αγγελος θαυμαστος, referring to this passage.

‡ In the explanation of proper names in Scripture, subjoined to the last volumes of the *London Polyglott Bible*, and of *Calasio's Concordance*, *Romaine's* edit. and *Cruden's Concordance*, various etymologies are assigned of this name; the most probable seems to be שמשון, *Sampson*, a diminutive from שמש, *Shemesh*, or *Semes*, "the sun," signifying "a little sun;" alluding to the prediction that he should "begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines;" typical, perhaps, of that fuller deliverance expressed by *Deborah*, of "the sun going forth in his strength," *Judges v. 31*, or of "the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings, or rays," *Mal. iv. 2*; to be accomplished by that last and greatest *Nazarite*, the Man CHRIST JESUS, *Matt. ii. 23*, whose "countenance" is compared to "the sun shining in his strength," *Rev. i. 16*.

rel between them, and so that he might be made an instrument of their punishment, xiv. 1—4. On his way to *Timnath*, to propose for the woman in marriage, he gave the first indication of his prodigious strength, in tearing a young and fierce lion who attacked him, as easily as a kid, without any weapon in his hands; for “*the Spirit of THE LORD came mightily upon him,*” ver. 5, 6.

And he returned [*after the days of courtship were fulfilled* *] to take her to wife, and in his way, turned aside to see the carcass of the lion, which had speedily been devoured by *jackals*, or beasts of prey, and he found a swarm of bees and honey in the skeleton of the carcass, which suggested his riddle at the marriage feast: “*out of the eater came forth food, and out of the fierce came forth sweetness;*” which was answered as to the latter part, by the guests to whom he proposed it, “*What is sweeter than honey? what is fiercer than a lion?*” which shewed that they also understood the former; that the honey, which was “*the food*” meant, was taken out of the lion, “*the eater*” or devourer of other creatures, ver. 8—18. *Sampson* was filled with indignation against his wife, for betraying the secret of the riddle, which she had extorted from him by her importunity, to prevent the threatened destruction of her family by the guests, who could not otherwise expound it; and against them also for “*plowing with his heifer,*” or tampering with his wife; he therefore left her and went home, after he had slain thirty *Philistines* at *Ashkelon*, and given their garments, as his forfeit, to the guests, ver. 19.

Some time after, when his anger cooled, he returned to visit his wife, with a present of a kid, but found her married to *his friend*, who had been his brideman at the wedding. Fired at this insult, and rejecting her father’s offer of his youngest daughter in her stead, he considered himself as fully warranted in revenging it upon the *Philistines* in general; and he employed the singular stratagem of collecting three hundred *foxes* (or *jackals* †, which abound in that country), tying them by their

* The days of courtship, from proposal to marriage, were a month. See the cases of *Jacob*, Gen. xxix. 21, and *David*, 1 Sam. xviii. 26.

† The original term שׂוּעַל is nearly the same as *Sciagal*, or *Sciugal*, the Persian names for the *jackal*, which is evidently formed from thence. This creature is between a *wolf* and a *fox*, and according to *Beton*, *Sandys*, *Shaw*, *Morison*, &c. so abounds in *Palestine*, particularly about *Cæsarea*, that sometimes troops of two or three hundred

tails together, in pairs, so that by pulling against each other, they might not run into their holes, (Matt. viii. 20,) and then putting a fire-brand between the tails of every pair, he set the brands on fire, and turned them into the standing corn of the *Philistines*, which they burnt with fire, and also the shocks of corn, with the vineyards and olives, doing them great damage.

To appease *Sampson*, it should seem, the *Philistines* went up and burnt his wife and her father with fire, for the insult they had offered him, which provoked this hostility on his part against the nation; thus punishing them for that breach of faith, to which they were first led through fear of that very punishment! But this did not yet content *Sampson*: for "he smote them hip and thigh," or "heaps upon heaps," xv. 16, with a great slaughter: and after he had satisfied his vengeance, went and dwelt in the top of the strong rock *Etam*, in the tribe of *Simeon*, 1 Chron. iv. 32.

of them are to be seen, differing in this respect from the common fox, which is not gregarious. *Hasselquist* calls it the *little eastern fox*, and *Kempfer* thinks that it might not improperly be called the *wolf-fox*. Several places in Palestine were denominated from thence, as "the land of *Shual*," or the fox, 1 Sam. xiii. 17; *Hazar Shual*, "the fox's habitation," a city of *Judah* or *Simeon*, Josh. xv. 28, xix. 3. They are a bold ravenous animal, not afraid of a man, though not inclined to attack him, unless at a great disadvantage. Governor *Hastings* observes of them, in the East, that "he has known frequent instances of their attacking and devouring drunken men, whom they have found lying on the road, and heard that they will do the same by men that are sick and helpless, though they will not venture to touch a sleeping person (excepting infants) not affected by drunkenness or infirmity. He has seen many graves that have been opened by the *jackals*, and parts of the bodies pulled out by them,"—in a letter to Mr. *Merrick*.

Ovid mentions an annual custom observed at *Rome*, at the feast of the *vulpinalia*, in spring, in which they let go, in the circus, foxes with fire-brands tied to their tails, of which he inquires the origin:

Cur igitur missæ, junctis ardentia tædis
Terga ferant vulpes, causa docenda mihi. *Fasti*, Lib. IV. 681.

And prefixed to *Leland's* Collectanea, after p. lxx. is a copper-plate, representing a brick of the *Roman* make, found twenty-eight feet below a pavement, in London, about the year 1675, on which is exhibited, in basso relievo, the figure of a man driving into a field of corn two foxes with fire fastened to their tails.

This institution among the *Romans* was probably borrowed from the *Phœnicians*, who might have perpetuated the memory of *Sampson's* stratagem by one of a similar kind.

For further particulars of the *jackal*, see a curious and learned note on Psalm lxxiii. 10. "They shall fall by the sword, they shall be a portion for foxes,"—in *Merrick's* Annotations on the Psalms, p. 124, from whence this is principally extracted. See also *Cruden's* Concordance, Art. *Fox*.

The *Philistines* then came in force into the territory of *Judah*, near *Etam*, to demand that *Sampson* should be delivered up to them bound. And he consenting thereto, the men of *Judah* delivered him up to the *Philistines*, who shouted for joy on getting him into their power. But *the Spirit of THE LORD came mightily upon him*, and he brake the cords with which he was bound, as easily as flax burnt with fire; and with a fresh jaw bone of an ass, which he found there, he slew a *thousand* of the *Philistines*; thus fulfilling the prophecy of *Moses*, *Levit.* xxvi. 8, and that of *Joshua*, xxiii. 10, whence he called that place *Ramath Lehi*, “the lifting up of the jaw bone.” To quench his thirst, on *Sampson’s* prayer, “*THE LORD* clave a hollow place which was in *Lehi**, and water issued from it; and when he had drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived: wherefore he called its name *En hakore*, “the well of the caller [upon God] which is in *Lehi* unto this day,” *Judges* xv. 1—19.

The next exploit of *Sampson* was at *Gaza*, a city of the *Philistines*, who had recovered it, with *Askelon* and *Ekron*, from the tribe of *Judah*, *Judges* i. 18. There, blinded by that passion which *hath cast down many, wounded; yea, hath slain many strong men*, and himself at last; he exposed his life to the un-circumcised, wantonly and criminally, by visiting a harlot of the town; who probably betrayed his coming to the *Philistines*. The inhabitants, therefore, shut the gates to confine him, and stationed a guard there, waiting to surprise and kill him in the morning. But *Sampson* anticipated their plan, and rose at midnight, went to the gate boldly, and carried off the doors of it, with the posts, and bar, and all, upon his shoulders, to the top of a hill leading to *Hebron*. The guards probably being so astonished and panic struck, that they dared not oppose or pursue him, xvi. 1—3.

Not venturing any longer to indulge his ruling passion abroad, at such a risk, “he loved a woman” at home, in the valley of *Sorek*, and land of *Judah*, famous for its grapes, or vines; who probably was a *Jewess*, and a harlot, though *Josephus* thinks she was a *Philistine*; but her profession, which he records, was sufficient to render her mercenary.

* From a fondness for multiplying miracles, it should seem, several of the ancient versions, followed by the English translation, understand *Lehi* here, to denote “the jaw bone of the ass,” rather than “the place” so called; at variance with the sequel. The marginal rendering *Lehi*, is correct.

This treacherous *Dalilah* was tempted with the offer of eleven hundred pieces of silver, (or shekels * probably,) from each of the five lords of the Philistines, to discover the secret of his great strength, and to betray him into their hands, that they might bind him and afflict him.

After three unsuccessful attempts to draw the fatal secret from him, she worried him so with her daily reproaches and importunities, that "his soul was vexed to death, and he told her all his heart," or the whole truth; that he was a *Nazarite* from his mother's womb; and that if his hair was shaven, then he should lose his extraordinary strength. Accordingly she sent for the lords of the *Philistines*, "who came readily with the money in their hand," made him sleep upon her lap, and got a man to shave off the seven locks or tresses of his hair, and delivered him up to the Philistines; who put out his eyes, thus punishing him in the offending part, "*the lust of the eye †*," took him down to *Gaza*, and made him grind in the prison house, xvi. 4—21.

Sampson's strength, therefore, was evidently miraculous, and was withdrawn when THE LORD *forsook him* for his vices. But along with his repentance in adversity, and the growing of his hair, God was pleased to restore his strength.

At this juncture *Sampson* was brought forth from prison, on a day of public rejoicing and thanksgiving, by the lords of the Philistines, to the house or temple of *Dagon*, their god, or rather goddess, who was represented under the form of a *mermaid*, with a *woman's* head, body and hands, but a *fish's* tail ‡. Compare I Sam. v. 4.

And when the people saw him they praised their god, for they said, *Our god hath delivered into our hands our enemy, and the destroyer of our country, who slew many of us.* And *he made them sport*, or they mocked and insulted him. Wearied at length, he applied to the lad that led and held him by the hand, to let him lean, or rest himself upon the two central

* The silver shekel was worth about two shillings and sixpence, or half-a-crown; therefore 5500 shekels amounted to £577 10s. a considerable bribe.

† Might not OUR LORD have alluded to this? Matt. v. 29.

‡ *Dag* signifies a "fish," and as *fishes* are remarkable for their fecundity, this idol might have originally denoted the prolific powers of nature. She was, therefore, the Palestine *Venus*, and the prototype of the *Venus αναδυομενη* of the Greeks, "rising out of the sea." *Horace* perhaps alludes to this idol:

————— turpiter atrum

Desinat in pisces, mulier formosa superne. *De Art. Poet.* 3.

pillars which supported the roof of the temple, upon which three thousand men and women were collected to see the spectacle, and celebrate the sacrifice to *Dagon*. But the Lord, to punish their impious rejoicing in their god, converted it into a day of mourning and destruction to themselves and their god: for he endued *Sampson*, who had prayed to Him for vengeance, with such prodigious strength, that he bowed himself with all his might, broke the pillars, and pulled down the house upon himself and upon all the people assembled therein; and so slew more at his death than all that he had slain in his life; and delivered his country, for this time, from the *Philistine* yoke, xvi. 22—30.

This stupendous judgment was inflicted before *Sampson's* hair was fully grown; for it is evident from the context, that the sacrifice to *Dagon* was soon after his capture. The superstition of the lords, and the impatience of the people, both wishing to signalize their zeal for their god, would not certainly have admitted of a long delay, in that small state, when the nation could be so speedily assembled together.

It is remarkable, that the exploits of *Sampson* against the *Philistines*, were performed singly, and without any co-operation from his countrymen to vindicate their liberties. Whether it was that the arm of the Lord might be more visibly revealed in him, or that his countrymen were too much depressed by the severity of their servitude, to be animated by his example. They seem also to have feared him almost as much as they did the *Philistines*. Else why should three thousand men of *Judah* have gone to persuade him to surrender himself to the *Philistines*, when, with such a leader, they might naturally expect to have been invincible? or why, when he destroyed a thousand *Philistines* with so simple a weapon, did they not join in the pursuit of the rest? So true was the prediction of the Angel to his mother, that he should only *begin* to deliver *Israel*.

The case of *Sampson* furnishes also an instructive and awful example, that extraordinary *gifts* of the Spirit, are not always accompanied with corresponding graces, or *fruits* of the Spirit. *Manoah* and his wife appear to have been a pious couple, and likely to train up their son in the way that he should go, betimes, in the fear and nurture of the Lord. But so early as twenty years of age, against his parents' wishes and remonstrances, he seeks a wife among the *uncircumcised*, (as he him-

self contemptuously styled the Philistines) and after his disappointment in her, he spent the rest of his life in the company of strange and lewd women, which must have been a great grief of mind to his parents and friends, who, from their solicitude to inter his dead body, could not have been inattentive to, nor unconcerned at, his conduct when living. But he was stubborn and self-willed, and vain of his prodigious strength, infinitely surpassing any of the Philistine giants, or sons of *Anak*, Josh. xi. 22, who prided themselves on their strength and stature, 1 Sam. xvii. 4, &c.

Sampson died without issue; no notice, at least, is taken of any in Scripture. God, perhaps, thus punishing his incontinence in kind.

ELI.

He succeeded *Sampson* as judge, according to the judicious arrangement of *Josephus*, Ant. v. 9, 1. He was also the first high-priest of the line of *Ithamar*, the younger son of *Aaron*, that office having continued in the line of *Eleazar*, *Phineas*, and their successors, *Abishuah*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*, 1 Chron. vi. 4—6, when it was transferred to *Eli*, and continued in his family till *Abiathar*, who was deposed by *Solomon* for supporting *Adonijah's* pretensions to the throne, and *Zadok*, of *Eleazar's* line, appointed in his stead, 1 Kings ii. 22, Ant. v. 11, 5, as foretold to *Eli*, 1 Sam. ii. 35.

Eli was fifty-eight years of age when he began his administration, 1 Sam. iv. 15—18. In the course of it, *Hannah*, the wife of *Elkanah*, a Levite, of the family of *Kohath*, 1 Chron. vi. 22, 23, who lived at *Ramah**, in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 Sam. i. 1—19, not having children, was insulted thereupon, and fretted by another wife of *Elkanah*, who was fruitful, and in her affliction prayed to the Lord that he would grant her a son; and vowed that if her petition was heard, she would dedicate him as a *Nazarite* to the Lord all the days of his life, i. 6—11 †.

And the Lord granted her petition, and she bare a son, and

* At *Ramah* was a school of the prophets, called *Ramathaim Tsophim*, 1 Sam. i. 1, whence *Elkanah* is called by the Chaldee paraphrast, "a man of *Ramatha*, a disciple of the prophets." From the Hebrew *Tsophim*, was probably derived the Greek, *Σοφοι*, "wise men."

† The first book of *Samuel* was written by himself, as far as the twenty-fifth chapter; the remainder, and the second book, by *Nathan* and *Gad*, 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

called his name *Samuel*, signifying, “heard,” or “given of God*.”

On this joyful occasion, she composed the following Hymn of Praise to THE LORD :—

HANNAH'S THANKSGIVING.

- II. 1. My heart rejoiceth in THE LORD,
My horn is exalted in THE LORD,
My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies,
Because I rejoice in thy salvation.
2. There is none holy as THE LORD,
There is none beside Thee,
There is no rock like OUR GOD.
3. Boast not yourselves, talk not exceeding proudly,
Let not arrogancy come out of your mouth,
For the Lord is a God of knowledge,
And by Him actions are weighed.
4. The bows of the mighty are broken,
And the tottering are girt with strength.
5. They that were full, hire themselves for bread,
And they that were hungry, cease,
So that the barren hath borne seven,
And she that abounded in children is enfeebled.
6. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive,
He bringeth down to Hades, and lifteth up.
7. The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich,
He bringeth low, and lifteth up.
8. He raiseth the poor from the dust,
And exalteth the beggar from the dunghill,
To make them sit among princes,
And make them inherit the throne of glory.
For the pillars of the earth are the Lord's,
And He hath placed the world upon them.
9. He will keep the feet of his saints,
But the wicked shall be silent in darkness,
For by strength shall no man prevail.
10. The adversaries of the Lord shall be crushed,
Out of heaven shall he thunder upon them.
THE LORD shall judge the ends of the earth,
He shall give strength unto his KING,
And exalt the horn of his MESSIAH.

This admirable Hymn excels in simplicity of composition, closeness of connection, and uniformity of sentiment; breathing the pious effusions of a devout mind, deeply impressed with a conviction of God's mercies to herself in particular, and of his

* The original, שמואל, may be derived either from שמע, *audivit*, or from שום, *posuit*, and אל, *Deus*.

providential government of the world in general; exalting the poor in spirit, or the humble-minded, and abasing the rich and the arrogant, rewarding the righteous, and punishing the wicked.

Hannah was also a prophetess of the first class. Besides predicting her own fruitfulness, verse 7, (for she bore six children in all, ii. 21,) she foretold not only the more immediate judgments of God upon the *Philistines*, during her son's administration, vii. 10, but his remoter judgments, "upon the ends of the earth," verse 10, in the true spirit of the prophecies of *Jacob*, *Balaam*, and *Moses*. Like them, she describes the promised Saviour of the world, as a KING, before there was any king in Israel; and she first applied to him the remarkable epithet MESSIAH in Hebrew, CHRIST in Greek, and ANOINTED in English, which was adopted by *David*, *Nathan*, *Ethan*, *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, and the succeeding prophets of the Old Testament, and by the Apostles and inspired writers of the New. And the allusion thereto by *Zachariah*, the father of the Baptist, in his Hymn, Luke i. 69, where he calls CHRIST, "a horn of salvation;" and the beautiful imitation of it by the *Blessed Virgin* throughout in her Hymn, Luke i. 46—55, furnishing the finest commentary thereon, clearly prove, that *Hannah*, in her rejoicing, had respect to something higher than *Peninah*, her rival, or to the triumphs of *Samuel*, or even of *David* himself. The expressions are too magnificent and sublime to be confined to such objects. Indeed, the learned Rabbi, *David Kimchi*, was so struck with them, that he ingenuously confessed, that "the king, of whom *Hannah* speaks, is the MESSIAH; of whom she spake either by prophecy or tradition;" "for," continues he, "there was a tradition among the *Israelites*, that a great king should arise in Israel; and she seals up her song with celebrating this king, who was to deliver them from all their enemies." The tradition, as we have seen, was founded principally on *Balaam's* second and third prophecies, Numb. xxiv. 7—17; and we cannot but admire that gracious dispensation of spiritual gifts to *Hannah*, (whose name signifies grace) in ranking her among the prophets, who should first unfold a leading title of the *blessed Seed of the woman*.

SAMUEL.

The date of *Samuel's* birth, though not noticed in his book, is fortunately ascertained by the remark of *Josephus*, that *Samuel*, at the time of his prophetic call, was twelve years complete* ; but his call was 450 years after the first division of the conquered lands, Acts xiii. 20, and, therefore, happened in the thirty-first year of *Eli's* administration, and, consequently, his birth in the nineteenth year of it. He died about two years before *Saul*, and therefore lived about ninety-two years.

So early a call to the prophetic office is remarkable, but was not singular. *Jeremiah* was called about the same age, i. 6. In this respect, also, *Samuel* was a type of CHRIST, who visited the temple when he was twelve years old, Luke ii. 42, and called it, "HIS FATHER'S house," asserting his own divinity, Luke ii. 49.

The call of *Samuel* is prefaced with a remark, that "THE ORACLE OF THE LORD was precious [or scarce] in those days; there was no *open vision*," or manifestation of his presence, since that recorded to *Manoah* and his wife, seventy years before, 2 Sam. iii. 1. And the personification of THE ORACLE in this case is express; for "THE LORD came, and stood, and called, the third time, *Samuel, Samuel*," iii. 10, and denounced the destruction of *Eli's* house, for the iniquity of his sons, and of himself, "*because he restrained them not*," iii. 13, or only rebuked them mildly, when he should have punished them severely, for causing the people to *abhor the offering of the Lord*, by their rapacity in seizing their own share first, and in *making the Lord's people to transgress*, by their shameless fornications, ii. 12—25.

Eli, who appears to have been a religious man himself, but of too easy a disposition for a *judge*, or a "*watcher* appointed over the house of *Israel*," to warn and punish the wicked, under the awful responsibility of having their blood required at his hand, even though they die in their own sins, Ezek. iii. 17—21, bore the sentence of THE LORD with meekness and resignation: "*It is THE LORD himself; let him do what is good in his eyes*," iii. 18. Indeed, the sacred historian had offered some

* Σαμουηλ δε πεπληρωκως ετος ηδη δωδεκατον, προεφητευε. Ant. V. 10, 4.

extenuation of his offence, by stating that *Eli* was *very old* when he heard of all his sons' doings : he was then eighty-eight years old.

THE ARK TAKEN.

Ten years after, the threatened judgments began to be inflicted upon *Eli's* family, during which interval "THE LORD appeared again in *Shiloh*, and revealed himself to *Samuel* by the ORACLE OF THE LORD ;" and all *Israel*, from *Dan* even to *Beersheba*, knew that *Samuel* was established to be a prophet of the Lord, iii. 19—21.

Without consulting the Lord, the *Israelites* rashly embarked in a war with the *Philistines*, who, in the forty years since *Sampson's* death, had recruited their strength ; and when the *Israelites* were defeated in the first engagement, with the loss of 4000 men, they presumptuously sent for the ark of the covenant into the camp, to fight under its protection ; but GOD forsook them ; and though the *Philistines* were alarmed at the coming of the ark, the sacred symbol of the mighty God, that smote the *Egyptians* with all the plagues, yet they encouraged themselves to fight manfully, to avoid slavery, and slew 30,000 men of *Israel*, and the priests *Hophni* and *Phineas*, " in the flower of their age," as predicted, ii. 33, and took the ark of God. On the news of these accumulated disasters, *Eli*, whose heart trembled for the ark of God, which he had not the spirit or the power to prevent the sacrilegious profanation of, and who sat watching by the way-side, fell down backwards, and broke his neck, and died, when he was ninety-eight years old, and had judged *Israel* forty years, iv. 1—18.

When the *Philistines* had taken the ark of God, they brought it into the house of *Dagon*, their chief god, and set it beside *Dagon*, at *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, their capital city, as the proudest trophy of their victory ; and perhaps also to conciliate " the mighty God of *Israel*," by thus associating him with their own god. But " what fellowship hath CHRIST with *Belial* ?" He overthrew their idol twice, to prove his own superiority and disdain of such base alliance ; and also to convince them, that the *Israelites* were defeated not through his want of power to save, but through their own wickedness, which rendered them unworthy of his protection. To punish the *Philistines* also for their idolatry, and their fornications connected therewith, he

smote them with *hemorrhoids*, or ulcers in their secret parts, with a deadly destruction; and also with a plague of *mice* that marred the land, and compelled them to appease his wrath, and “give *glory* to the GOD OF ISRAEL,” by trespass-offerings, expressive of their plagues; and to send away the ark, after it had been seven months in their land; while He demonstrated that it was He himself who inflicted their plagues, by guiding the *milch kine*, who drew the cart on which the ark was laid, with the offerings in a coffer beside it, to quit their calves, and take the road straight to the land of Israel, and stop at *Bethshemesh*, in the tribe of *Judah*, Josh. xv. 10, and a city of the priests, Josh. xxi. 16, 1 Sam. iv. 1—12, v. 1—18.

The men of *Bethshemesh* also, for presuming to look into the ark, were smitten with a great slaughter of 5070 men*, which made them send to the neighbouring town of *Kiriath-jearim*, in the tribe of *Judah*, on the confines of the tribe of *Benjamin*, nine miles distant from *Jerusalem*, in the hill-country, “to come and fetch it up,” which they did, and brought it to the house of *Abinadab*, in the hill, who consecrated *Aminadab*, his son, to take care of it. There it abode twenty years, vii. 1, 2.

N.B. In this term we have included the sojournment of the ark among the Philistines for seven months, which *Josephus* reduces to four months. Ant. VI. 1, 4.

SAMUEL JUDGE.

At length, when “all the house of Israel lamented after the LORD,” or repented, during their servitude, and were disposed to return to their allegiance, by *Samuel’s* direction they put away their *strange gods*, and served THE LORD only, and held a solemn fast and humiliation for their sins, and “poured out water before THE LORD,” as expressive of their grief, 1 Sam. i. 15, Lam. ii. 19, or of their despondency, 2 Sam. xiv. 14; and being now elected judge, he interceded earnestly, and “cried unto THE LORD to save *Israel*” from the Philistines, who hearing of this convention at *Mizpeh* of *Benjamin*, were preparing to fight against them. “And THE LORD heard him, and thundered with a great thunder on the day of battle upon the

* This is the reading of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions; the present Masorete text, 50,070, is enormous; and that of *Josephus*, only 70, does not correspond with “a great slaughter.”

Philistines, and discomfited" and subdued them all the days of *Samuel's* administration, vii. 2—13.

This excellent judge, so powerful with God, administered justice regularly, in his annual circuit which he took through the land to *Bethel*, *Gilgal*, *Mizpeh*, [of *Gilead*,] and at his residence at *Ramah*, where he built an altar unto THE LORD; probably by the divine direction or permission at least for the present, GOD not yet having made any declaration where he would have the ark to be fixed. It continued, therefore, at *Kiriath-jearim*, until the tenth year of *David's* reign, for eighty-two years, when it was brought into the tabernacle which he had prepared for it in the city of *David*, 2 Sam. vi. 1—17. The tabernacle of the Lord, and the altar which *Moses* made, still remained at *Shiloh*, after the capture of the ark, until *Saul's* reign, when they were removed to *Nob*, in the tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 Sam. xxi. 1, probably on account of the destruction of *Shiloh* in the Philistine war, 1 Sam. xiv. 3, Jer. vii. 12—14, and were removed again from thence on account of the massacre of the priests by *Saul*, and the destruction of that town, 1 Sam. xxii. 9—19, to *Gibeon*, where it continued till *Solomon's* reign, 1 Chron. xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 3.

THE PEOPLE REQUIRE A KING.

The administration of *Samuel* as sole judge lasted twelve years, as we learn from *Josephus*, Antiq. VI. 13, 5, though he is mistaken in supposing that it commenced at the death of *Eli*, whereas it commenced at the end of the *Philistine* servitude of twenty years that ensued. Near the close of it, when he was *growing old* *, viii. 1, and *grey-headed*, xii. 2, he made his sons *Joel* and *Abiah* deputy judges in *Beersheba*, for the accommodation of the southern district. But they walked not in his ways; they turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment.

This misconduct of his sons, and his own age, furnished "all the elders of Israel," or the heads of the congregation, with a pretext for a change in the form of government, from *judicial* to *regal*, which they thus proposed to *Samuel*.

* The original כָּאִשְׁרֵי זֶקֶן, is well rendered, "*Cum senesceret*," by Houbigant; for *Samuel*, at the end of his administration, was sixty-four years old. This character of his age corresponds with the present rectification of the Chronology of this period, better than with the Bible Chronology of fifty-nine years.

“Behold, thou art *old*, and *thy sons* walk not in thy ways, now make us a *king* to judge us like all the nations.” But the true reason of this application, as he afterwards declared, was their apprehension of an invasion from *Nahash*, king of *Ammon*. They wanted a younger and more warlike leader than *Samuel* to oppose him, forgetting his intercession for them, and forgetting the arm of the Lord, so visibly exerted for them in subduing the *Philistines*, xii. 12. And their application was so understood by THE LORD, when He granted it, and “gave them a king in his anger:” “They have not rejected *thee*, but they have rejected ME, that I should not reign over them,” by thus shewing their distrust of the divine protection, viii. 6—8. And when *Samuel*, by the LORD’S desire, solemnly protested against their rebellious request, and forewarned them of the severe services and requisitions they and their children, and their substance, would be exposed to, from a *king*, instead of the mild and gentle service of THE LORD, “*the people*,” joining with their elders, said, “Nay, but we will have a *king* [to reign] over us, that we also may be *like the nations*, and that our king may *judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles*,” viii. 9—22. Thus relinquishing the glorious singularity of their government, the *theocracy*, under which they had hitherto “dwelt *alone*,” or detached from the *Gentile* nations; and shewing what sort of a king they wanted; not a *civil judge*, like *Samuel*, but a *military captain*, rejecting “THE CAPTAIN OF THE LORD’S HOST,” who had led them from the days of *Joshua*. After which, *Samuel* dismissed the people to their own cities, or dissolved the assembly.

About this time, probably, to chastise the people for their perverseness, and their rejection of THE LORD, thus wilfully and deliberately, they were again reduced under servitude by the *Philistines*. This may be collected from THE LORD’S private communication to *Samuel* the day before *Saul* came to enquire after his father’s asses which had strayed. “To-morrow, about this time, I will send thee a man out of the land of *Benjamin*, and thou shalt anoint him to be *captain* over my people *Israel*, that *he may save my people out of the hand of the Philistines*, for I have looked upon my people, *because their cry is come unto me*,” ix. 16; and mention is made, shortly after, of “a *garrison* of the *Philistines*,” x. 5; another at *Geba*, xiii. 3; and another at *Micmash*, xiii. 23.

Samuel's spirited justification of his conduct before all *Israel* is an admirable composition. He first challenges them to adduce any instance of oppression, fraud, or bribery, on his part, while he judged *Israel*; that he and his sons both stood before the tribunal of the public, ready to await their sentence; and when the people expressly acknowledged his integrity, he then reminded them of the servitudes they had incurred for *forgetting* or forsaking God; and the deliverers, whom God, on their repentance, occasionally raised up to them, such as *Jerubbaal*, or *Gideon*, [*Bedan*] *Barak* *, *Jephthah*, and [*Samuel*] *Samson* †. And he concluded by threatening them with the divine chastisements upon them and their king, whom the Lord had granted to them, if they should rebel any more against him; and to mark the divine displeasure at their proceedings, and also his own power with God, he called down *thunder* and *rain* from heaven at the unusual season of *wheat harvest*. “And when all the people greatly feared THE LORD, and *Samuel*,” his prophet, and besought him to intercede for them, that their lives might be spared, he kindly encouraged them to trust in the Lord, notwithstanding this additional crime of asking a king; and he still assured them of his intercession in their behalf, and of his services as their *civil* judge and teacher, for that the omission would be a sin on his own part:—“Moreover, as for me, God forbid that *I should sin against THE LORD in ceasing to pray for you*; but I will *teach you* still ‡ the *good* and the *right way*. Only fear the Lord, and consider what great things He hath done for you; but if ye shall do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both *ye* and your *king*,” xii. 1—25.

This illustrious prophet, like his predecessor *Moses*, was mighty to intercede for his backsliding people, and has placed the duty of *public intercession* on its firmest basis, the *sin* incurred by neglecting it on the part of the *ministers* of religion, and of the *guardians* of the state.

* בַּרַק, *Barak*, nearly resembles בְּדָן, *Bedan*, whose name is not found among the Judges, and was the reading of the Sept. Syr. and Ar. versions.

† שַׁמְשׁוֹן, *Samson*, resembles שְׁמוּאֵל, in three of its letters, and was the reading of the Syr. and Ar. and of Heb. xi. 32, and is confirmed by the indelicacy of *Samuel's* praising himself.

‡ And *Samuel* judged *Israel* [in a religious and civil capacity] all the days of his life, 1 Sam. vii. 15, while *Saul* acted in a military capacity. The people were summoned “to go forth after *Saul* and after *Samuel*” conjointly, 1 Sam. xi. 7.

And when the measure of the iniquities of the *Jews* came to the full, shortly before the *Babylonish* captivity, THE LORD declared by *Jeremiah*, "Though *Moses* and *Samuel* stood before me, yet should not my mind be towards this people: cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth!" Jer. xv. 1.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE REGAL STATE TO THE REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES, 120 YEARS.

KINGS.

	Y.	B. C.
1. <i>Saul</i>	} 40	} .. 1110
<i>Samuel</i> Judge ..		
<i>Saul</i> defeats the <i>Ammonites</i>		1110
— his first offence		1108
<i>Jonathan</i> defeats the <i>Philistines</i>		1106
<i>Saul's</i> second offence }	} 38	} 1100
<i>David</i> born		
— kills <i>Goliath</i>		1080
— marries <i>Michal</i>		1075
— first flight to <i>Gath</i>		1074
— second flight to <i>Gath</i>		1071
<i>Saul's</i> third offence		1070
2. <i>David</i>	40	1070
— takes <i>Jebus</i>		1063
<i>Philistine</i> war		1061
Ark brought home		1060
<i>Nathan's</i> prophecy of THE MESSIAH, the son of <i>David</i>		1055
<i>David's</i> first offence		1052
<i>Solomon</i> born		1050
<i>Absalom's</i> and <i>Sheba's</i> rebellions		1036
<i>David's</i> second offence		1032
<i>Adonijah's</i> rebellion		1030
3. <i>Solomon</i>	40	1030
Temple begun		1027
— finished		1020
<i>Tadmor</i> built		1006
Temples on the Mount of Corruption		996
The Revolt	120	990

The reigns of *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, were forty years

each, Acts xiii. 21, 2 Sam. v. 4, 1 Kings xi. 42, which determines the length of the period. But the dates of the detail are not noticed in Scripture. They may, however, be collected from incidental circumstances, and from the series of the events, to a considerable degree of exactness, not differing, perhaps, above a year, more or less, from the truth.

SAUL.

The first king granted by THE LORD to the importunity of the people, is described as a *choice young man*, of a *goodly* person, and *taller by the head and shoulders* than any of the people, ix. 2, qualifications likely to engage their admiration and respect, x. 24. He was a *Benjamite*, “of the smallest of the tribes of *Israel*, and his family the least of all the families of the tribe of *Benjamin*,” as he declared to *Samuel*, modestly stating his own insufficiency for the office to which he was called, ix. 21, xv. 17. And when the lot fell on him, he had actually hid himself to avoid being made king, x. 17—24. He was first proclaimed by the people; and about a month after, when he had defeated the *Ammonites*, “the kingdom was solemnly renewed,” or confirmed to him, by all the people before the Lord at *Gilgal*, xi. 1—15.

The smallness of the tribe of *Benjamin*, which had not yet recovered from the civil war, in which they had been nearly destroyed, and the insignificance of *Saul's* family in that tribe, might tend to compose the jealousies and rivalry of the two most powerful tribes of *Ephraim* and *Judah*, which all along were disposed to “*envy and vex* each other,” Isa. xi. 13, had the first king been elected from either. And it is not unlikely, that “the men of *Belial*,” or factious persons, who despised *Saul*, as too inconsiderable to save the state, were of the breed of those haughty and turbulent *Ephraimites*, who chid *Gideon* so sharply, and threatened to destroy *Jephthah*, representing his people as “fugitives from *Ephraim*.”

Saul therefore took no notice of their insults, but wisely “held his peace,” x. 27, and *Samuel* afterwards interposed to save their lives, when the people wanted to put them to death, not only as an ungracious act, on “a day” of victory, when “*God wrought salvation in Israel*,” but through policy, not to provoke the spirit of disaffection among the leading tribes, xi. 12, 13.

Saul's age, at the time of his election, seems to have been dropped from the original, xiii. 1, which, literally rendered, is "*Saul, a son of a year* *," (not "*Saul reigned one year*," as in the English Bible.) *Vignoles* reckons that he was then *forty* years old †, Chronol. Tom. I. p. 152, and certainly he could not have been much less; for, in the second year of his reign, *Jonathan*, his eldest son, had a separate military command, and smote the Philistine garrison in *Geba*, xiii. 2, 3; and the youngest of four of his sons, *Ishbosheth*, who succeeded him for a while, was born in the first year of his reign, 2 Sam. ii. 10.

It is worthy of observation, that "*the Spirit of THE LORD*, which came upon *Saul*, and turned him into *another man*," as foretold by *Samuel*, x. 6, by no means interfered with his free will, or free agency; he was still free "to act as occasion should serve," or require, x. 7; and accordingly, when his uncle wanted him to tell what the prophet had said unto him, he mentioned the finding of the asses, but "of the matter of the *kingdom*, whereof *Samuel* spoke, he told him not," x. 16. He followed the dictates of his own prudence on this occasion, as afterwards, in "holding his peace," when insulted by the seditious. But he was still at liberty to "*grieve the Spirit*," and even to "*quench the Spirit*," and to be possessed, on the contrary, with *an evil spirit from THE LORD*, when he lost that modesty and humility which first recommended him, and became envious, jealous, cruel, and tyrannical.

SAUL'S FIRST OFFENCE.

His first offence was an infringement of the directions and functions of his coadjutor *Samuel*, who had treated him all along with so much kindness, hospitality, and distinction, superior to envy, ix. 18—24, and to encourage him, gave him some remarkable signs, which accordingly came to pass, x. 1—13.

In the second year of his reign, and beginning of his long and "sore warfare with the *Philistines*, which lasted all his life," at intervals, xiv. 52, *Samuel* had appointed to meet him at *Gilgal*, in the course of seven days, to offer burnt offerings, and sacrifice sacrifices of peace-offerings, and to shew him what he

* Thus *Joseph* was "a son of seventeen years," or "seventeen years old," Gen. xxxvii. 2.

† *Origen*, in his *Hexapla*, inserts "thirty," (ὄλιος τριακοντα ετων Σαουλ.)

should do, both to propitiate THE LORD, (as formerly, vi. 9,) and to advise *Saul* how to act in carrying on the war, x. 8. But when *Samuel* came not within the time appointed, (on purpose, perhaps, to prove his faith and patience,) and that the people were scattered from him for fear of the Philistines, *Saul* ordered the burnt-offerings and sacrifices to be brought unto him, and offered the *burnt-offering** by his sole authority, not waiting any longer for *Samuel*, xiii. 8—10.

Before he had time to offer *the peace-offering*, of which he had rendered himself unworthy, *Samuel* came, and rebuked him for “acting foolishly,” and forewarned him that *his kingdom should not continue*, or remain in his family, for that THE LORD *would seek* † *him a man after his own heart*, or who should *faithfully do all his will*, as king or *captain over his people*. Compare 1 Sam. ii. 35.

He then left *Saul* to himself to prosecute the war by his own counsel, in which he had so inauspiciously embarked, “and *Samuel* arose and departed from *Gilgal*. [And the remnant of the people went up after *Saul* to meet the enemy, going from *Gilgal*] to *Gibeah* of Benjamin; and *Saul* numbered the people that were with him, about 600 men,” xiii. 15.

The Septuagint version has happily restored a chasm in the Masorete text (here inserted between brackets), which is supported by the Vulgate, and established by the context; for *Samuel* went home to *Ramah*, xv. 34, and *Saul* proceeded with his 600 men, towards the Philistines, to *Gibeah* of Benjamin, where he occupied a strong post at the foot of the celebrated rock *Rimmon* (signifying “a pomegranate-tree”), Judg. xx. 47, over against *Micmash* of *Ephraim*, northwards, where the *Philistines* had a garrison, and an encampment, xiii. 5—16; xiv. 1—5.

On the first invasion of the Philistines, with a prodigious host, some of the *Israelites* had hid themselves in caves and thickets, and rocks, and high places, and pits, while others fled over Jordan, into the land of *Gad*, and *Gilead*, or *Manasseh*; and the Philistines sent out, from their camp at *Micmash*, three

* *Saul* did not offer the sacrifices himself, he only directed the priests to do so. Thus *David* acted, 2 Sam. vi. 13, and *Solomon*, 1 Kings iii. 2—4.

† The Septuagint judiciously renders, “THE LORD *will seek*,” &c. (ζητησει) for *David*, who was meant, was not yet born.

companies of spoilers, throughout the land west of Jordan, and disarmed the rest of the inhabitants, all except *Saul* and *Jonathan's* party, and killed or removed all the *smiths* that were left, so that no more weapons could be made. And during this invasion, the people were compelled to go to the *Philistines*, or to their garrisons, to sharpen their instruments of husbandry, which proves that it must have lasted two or three years, but probably not more, as may be inferred from the sameness of *Saul's* force of 600 men, at the time of the miraculous defeat of the *Philistines* by *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer, assisted by a panic terror and a great earthquake, when *Saul* and his party, and the fugitive *Israelites*, and the *Hebrews**, joining in the pursuit, completed that destruction which they had begun by slaying each other, xiv. 6—23.

GOD gave the glory of this victory to *Jonathan* for his faith or trust in the divine protection. "Come, said he to his armour-bearer, and let us go over [across the valley] to the garrison of these uncircumcised: *it may be that THE LORD will work for us, for there is no restraint to THE LORD to save by many or by few.*"

Saul's conduct on this memorable day, in which THE LORD fought for *Israel*, was rash and impolitic in the extreme. Instead of trusting in THE LORD to avenge him of his enemies, like his pious son *Jonathan*, he cursed any of the people who would eat food until the evening, that nothing might interrupt the slaughter, but *he troubled the land thereby*, for the people grew faint, and unable to pursue the enemy; and in their hunger, he forced them to transgress, by eating ravenously of the cattle they had taken with the blood; and he would have put *Jonathan* to death for inadvertently incurring the curse, had not the people rescued him, or reversed his father's sentence, because "*he wrought with GOD that day.*" Still *Saul* was not deserted by THE LORD, for He answered his enquiries by the high priest, respecting the breach of his rash vow, by directing the lot to fall upon *Jonathan*.

"So *Saul* took the kingdom over *Israel*," or recovered it from the *Philistines*, xiv. 47.

* The *Hebrews* were those renegade *Israelites* who had submitted quietly to the *Philistine* yoke, and lived among them, xiv. 21.

SAUL'S WARS.

These were various: he fought against all his enemies, on every side, whenever they attempted any invasion; namely, against *Moab* and the children of *Ammon* eastward, and against *Edom* southward; and against the kings of *Zobah*, or *Syria*, northward; and against the *Philistines* westward; and whithersoever he turned himself, he *reved*, or harassed, but did not subdue them, xiv. 47.

These several expeditions, at intervals, took up a space of five or six years, until the *Amalekite* war, about the tenth or eleventh year of his reign, when *David* was now born, as may be collected from xv. 28*, compared with xiii. 14. The Bible Chronology dates this war in the sixteenth year of *Saul's* reign, and the French of *Chais* in the twenty-first year. Both seem rather less consistent with the long time that followed *Saul's* offence in this war, until the anointing of *David*, about the twenty-fifth year of his reign, during the "*long mourning of Samuel for Saul*," xvi. 1. *Samuel*, who spoke as the Spirit gave him utterance, did not then know who was "*the neighbour better than Saul*, chosen to succeed him," until he was commissioned to anoint him as "*the king provided by THE LORD among the sons of Jesse*." And *Saul's* decisive victory over the *Amalekites* would naturally give him a long rest from his hostile neighbours all around, during this interval of fifteen years.

SAUL'S SECOND OFFENCE.

Saul had still an opportunity afforded him of recovering the favour of THE LORD, if he had fully executed his commission against the *Amalekites*, delivered by the prophet in the name of the Lord:

"Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: I remember what *Amalek* did to *Israel*; how he laid wait for him, in the way when he came up from *Egypt*. Now go smite *Amalek*, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass," xv. 1—3.

* This denunciation is judiciously rendered by the Septuagint: "THE LORD hath rent the kingdom from thee this day, and will give it ($\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$) to a neighbour of thine better than thou."

The severity of this sentence has given offence to *infidels* and *false philanthropists*, but without any just ground. The *Amalekites* had all along shewn the most determined and inveterate hostility towards the *Israelites*; they had waylaid them at first, after crossing the Red Sea, when they were so visibly under the divine protection and guidance, so that they were guilty of fighting against the LORD OF HOSTS himself, Deut. xxv. 18, and for which they were then doomed to destruction, and their sentence recorded by direction of THE LORD, Exod. xvii. 8—16. They afterwards defeated the *Israelites* when prematurely attacked, Numb. xiv. 42—45, and joined the *Amorites* against them, Judges iii. 13, and also the *Midianites*, Judges vi. 3, and had recently spoiled the *Israelites*, 1 Sam. xiv. 48; and to crown all, they were *sinner*s themselves, 1 Sam. xv. 18, and were not cut off “until their iniquity had come to the full,” as was the case of the devoted nations in general, Gen. xv. 16; and therefore after a respite of 548 years from the time that their sentence was first pronounced*, of which they could not be ignorant, and which they might have averted by repentance, like the *Ninevites*; they were therefore fit objects of the vengeance of the RIGHTEOUS JUDGE OF ALL THE EARTH, to be inflicted by the sword of the *Israelites*, the executioners of his decrees.

Saul therefore, when he spared *Agag* the king, and the best of the cattle, because “he feared the people and obeyed their voice,” was guilty of *rebellion* against the LORD, and *stubbornness*, or contumacy, in persisting a second time in his disobedience, and therefore the kingdom was justly *rent* from his family, as *Samuel* pronounced, from the significant act of *Saul*'s rending the skirt of his mantle. And the sentence was now made absolute, and his successor actually appointed. Though still in the midst of judgment, God remembered mercy, and did not deprive *Saul* himself of the kingdom, when he confessed his sin, and besought *Samuel* to honour him before his people, and join him in worshipping the Lord.

Samuel probably “hewed *Agag* in pieces before THE LORD,” as a criminal whose “sword had made many childless;” as *Saul* offered burnt-offerings, not by himself, but by his officers. Nei-

* This affords an awful illustration of the Divine Government in general: that “present delay of punishment affords no presumption of final impunity,” Eccl. viii. 11. Butler's Analogy, p. 56.

ther his age nor his office were suitable to such an execution with his own hand, though it was practised by such a warrior as *Gideon*, Judges viii. 21.

After this, *Samuel* returned to his house at *Ramah*, and went no more to see *Saul* until the day of his death. Nevertheless *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*; and THE LORD repented that he had made *Saul* king over *Israel**, xv. 34, 35.

DAVID ANOINTED.

That *Samuel* still retained his authority as *judge*, notwithstanding his breach with *Saul*, is evident from the alarm his coming to *Bethlehem*, to anoint *David* as successor to the crown, excited in the elders; who “trembled” at his coming, for fear it should be in judgment, not “*peaceably*.”

This was a delicate commission, which if known, might provoke *Saul* to slay the prophet, as he apprehended; he therefore veiled it under the form of a public sacrifice, which he had a right to enjoin; and probably communicated his business to none but *Jesse* himself; when after the rejection of all the rest of his sons, *David*, the youngest son was chosen at length by the Lord, he anointed him, *in the midst of his brethren*, without *David* himself, who was then a boy about fifteen, knowing for what purpose he was anointed. This is the age assigned to him at the time by *Calmet*, and the most likely; *Josephus* reckons him only ten, which was too young to attend the sheep; *Abarbanel* and *Le Clerc*, twenty, and *Lightfoot* twenty-five; which are too old for the context. An interval of five years from thence, till he was of the military age of twenty, when he slew *Goliath*, critically corresponds with the gradual effect of the unction: “And the Spirit of the LORD came upon *David* from that day forward,” xvi. 1—13.

DAVID KILLS GOLIAH.

When the Philistines had recruited their strength in the course of sixteen years after their last overthrow at *Micmash*; and the

* This phrase cannot be understood rigorously: for “GOD is not a *man* that he should *lie*, nor the *son of man* that he should *repent*,” as *Balaam* had declared before, Numb. xxiii. 19; and *Samuel* repeated, xiv. 29, stating, that the Divine decrees are irreversible. It only signifies that he withdrew his grace from *Saul*, when he rendered himself unworthy of it.—*Deus interdum mutat opus; nunquam voluntatem.*

children at that time had come to manhood, they renewed the war with *Saul*, and invaded the neighbouring territory of *Judah*. About this time, we may suppose, *David*, like another *Sampson*, and at the same age, slew the *lion* and the *bear* that had taken each a lamb from the flock which he attended at home, while his three eldest brothers followed *Saul*; and this encouraged him to offer himself for the deliverance of his country, to fight the gigantic champion of the Philistines, who had challenged the whole Israelite army to fight him, and renewed the challenge for forty days, without any of the Israelites daring to accept his challenge; so much were they daunted at his size, and his armour and weapons.

The zeal which *David* first evinced on this occasion, against this uncircumcised Philistine, who *had defied the armies of the living God*; his noble confidence before *Saul*, in the divine protection—"The Lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion and the paw of the bear, *He will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine*"; his rejection of the king's arms, as too cumbersome, and trusting solely to his shepherd's sling; his *hasting* and *running* to meet the *Philistine*, when advancing to the combat, whose curse in the name of *his gods* he had retorted, in the name of the LORD OF HOSTS, THE GOD of the armies of *Israel*; foretelling the destruction of the Philistine, and that *he would cut off his head* [with his own sword—for there was no sword in the hand of *David*,]—*that all the world might know that there is a God in Israel; and that all the assembled hosts might know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear; for the victory is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands;*" altogether affords the finest illustration of the nature of that *Spirit of THE LORD*, by which *David* was then so fully actuated.

Accordingly, at the very first discharge of his sling, he hit the Philistine in the only vulnerable part that was not cased in armour, his forehead, and buried the stone in his brain; and then ran and cut off his head with his own sword, fulfilling his prediction, xvii. 1—51.

Saul, in his conversation with *David*, had omitted to ask whose son he was; but when he was going forth against the Philistine, he asked *Abner*; and when *Abner* could not tell, desired him to enquire whose son the *stripling* was? and afterwards learnt from *David* himself, when brought to him by *Abner*,

with the head of the Philistine in his hand, that he was the son of *Jesse* the Bethlehemite, xvii. 55—58.

So *Saul* took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house; and the valiant *Jonathan* contracted the "strongest friendship for him, and *loved him as his own soul*," and gave him presents that marked the highest consideration, for he "stripped himself of the robe that he wore, and gave it to *David*, and his garments, even to his sword, and his bow, and his girdle," xviii. 1—3, nor did the knowledge of *David's* succession to the throne, in exclusion of himself, when he learned it afterwards, ever blunt or abate the ardour of his generous and disinterested affection for his younger friend, but not his rival, or interrupt their sacred covenant of friendship, xx. 12—17. *Jonathan* and *David* indeed, "*were lovely in their lives, and in their death they were not divided*"—if kindred souls be re-united beyond the grave!

Widely different were the sentiments of his father, whose envy was first excited by the higher praises of *David*; "*Saul* hath slain his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands;" and then his jealousy—"what can he have more, but the kingdom!" and he eyed *David*, from that day and forward, xviii. 6—9. And *the Spirit of THE LORD* departed from *Saul*, and an *evil spirit* troubled him, xvi. 14. This was an anticipation, which in the order of time should be introduced here; though in the order of events it naturally followed the growth of the Spirit of the Lord in *David*, after his unction, xvi. 13, as contrasted therewith.

When *Saul's* malady and his jealousy increased, it is probable that he either sent *David* home, or that *David* himself prudently retired from court; where he had behaved himself so wisely or discreetly, as to gain favour in the sight of *Saul's* servants, xviii. 5.

Some time after, *Saul's* servants, or officers of his household, proposed to him to get a skilful player on the harp, to soothe his malady, when *the evil spirit from GOD* should be upon him; and one of them recommended "the son of *Jesse*," not only as "skilful in playing, but also as a *mighty valiant man*, and a *man of war*, and *prudent in counsel*, and a *comely person*, and that *THE LORD* was *with him*." *Saul* approving this, sent for *David*; and was refreshed by his musick, when he played before him on the harp, and, for a time, *loved him greatly*, and made him his *armour bearer*, xvi. 15—23.

But at length his jealousy returning, when the evil spirit from God came upon him, he *prophesied* in the midst of the house, or raved and roamed about; and while *David* was playing, *as at other times*, *Saul* cast his javelin at him, to smite him through, even to the wall, twice *, but *David* avoided out of his presence, xviii. 10, 11.

He then removed *David* from him; but still fearing him, because THE LORD was with *David*, and was departed from himself, he made him *captain over a thousand*, and set him over the men of war, xviii. 5—13.

In this public situation, “*David* behaved himself wisely in all his ways, and THE LORD was with him,” he therefore became extremely popular throughout the kingdom, for his attention to business: for “all *Israel* and *Judah* loved *David*, because he went and came in before them.” But the more his popularity increased, the more *Saul* feared him, xviii. 14—16.

DAVID'S MARRIAGE.

Wishing to destroy *David* rather by the hand of the *Philistines*, than by his own, *Saul* offered him his elder daughter, *Merab*, in marriage, on condition that “he should be valiant for him, and fight THE LORD'S battles.”—But he disappointed *David*, and married her to another. Finding, however, that his younger daughter, *Michal*, loved *David*, he promised her to him, requiring only as a dowry, the fore-skins of an hundred *Philistines*. Pleased to be the king's son-in-law, *David* brought double the number in full tale, before the days [of courtship] were expired, or within the month, xviii. 17—27.

The Bible chronology, with *Usher*, date this marriage the same year in which *David* slew *Goliath*. But this is evidently too soon. I have dated it five years after, in the thirty-fifth year of *Saul's* reign, and twenty-fifth of *David's* age, because that time seems to be requisite for the intervening events, and for the character of *David*, and his popularity to be established. In this year, *Mephibosheth*, the son of *Jonathan*, was born, 2 Sam. iv. 4. A circumstance to which *Jonathan* probably alluded, in his second covenant with *David*, soon after; “THE LORD be [witness] between me and thee, and between my seed and thy seed, for ever,” xx. 42. The five remaining years of *Saul's* reign afford time sufficient for the succeeding transactions.

* Including another attempt afterwards, xix. 10.

MICHAL'S STRATAGEM.

After *David's* marriage, “*Saul* saw and knew, that the Lord was with *David*, and that *Michal* loved him:” and he was still the more afraid of *David*, and became his enemy more and more: especially when *David* “behaved himself more wisely than all the servants of *Saul*, in repelling the princes of the *Philistines*,” who had endeavoured to revenge his late aggression, and the indignity offered to them. Insomuch, that he proposed to *Jonathan*, his son, and to all his servants, that they should kill *David*; but *Jonathan* nobly pleaded his cause, his public services, and his loyalty, and got *Saul* to swear, “*As THE LORD liveth, he shall not be slain.*” But when *David* came again into his presence, after a great defeat of the *Philistines*, and played as usual, he attempted a second time to slay him with his javelin; and then sent messengers to apprehend him, when he fled from his presence to his own house, who were deceived by *Michal's* stratagem of the *Teraphim*, or “image,” laid in the bed in his stead; while she let *David* down through a window, and he escaped to *Samuel* to *Ramah*, and told him all *Saul's* behaviour, xvi. 28—30, xviii. 1—18. *Saul*, in revenge, took away *Michal*, *David's* wife, and married her to another husband, xxv. 44. *David* afterwards recovered her, 2 Sam. iii. 14—16.

Hearing that *David* was with *Samuel*, *Saul* sent messengers to apprehend him; who, when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, or singing hymns, and *Samuel* presiding over them, became inspired, and prophesied; as did also a second, and a third party, sent by *Saul*, and at length, himself; when, filled with rage, and intending, probably, to destroy the venerable prophet also, for sheltering *David*; he also prophesied, before *Samuel*, in like manner, and lay in a trance or ecstasy, naked, or stript of his upper garment, all that day and night, xviii. 19—24.

On this occasion, *David's* succession to the crown was probably revealed to, and predicted by *Saul*. This may be collected from *Jonathan's* declaration, shortly after, to *David*: “*Thou shalt be king over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee: and that also, my father Saul knoweth,*” xxiii. 17; who hid nothing that he intended to do, great or small, from *Jonathan*, xx. 2. And *Saul* himself afterwards declared to *David*, “*I*

know well, that thou shalt surely be king, and that the kingdom of Israel shall be established in thy hand, [or family,]" xxiv. 20.

The folly and impiety of *Saul* in fighting against *GOD*, while he persisted in persecuting *David*; and his ingratitude to this faithful and loyal servant, after all his services, and after he had twice spared his life, when *David* had him in his power, *Saul* himself acknowledged: "*Thou art more righteous than I, for thou hast rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil!*" xxiv. 17; and again, "*I have sinned! return, my son David, for I will no more injure thee, because my life was precious in thine eyes this day. Lo! I have played the fool, and have done foolishly,*" xxvi. 21.

Such obstinate infatuation on the part of *Saul*, savours of something more than common phrenzy or madness; it strongly resembles *Pharaoh's* case, after he had resisted all the means of grace, when *THE LORD* at length *hardened his heart* to his destruction. The *evil spirit from THE LORD*, which actuated *Saul*, also strongly resembles the *demoniacal possessions* of the *NEW TESTAMENT*, in the foregoing symptoms; for they likewise raved and prophesied on several occasions. And we may judge what manner of spirit *Saul* was of, when he cast a javelin to smite his most deservedly favourite son *Jonathan*, because he presumed to plead for *David*, and assert his innocence; "*Wherefore shall he be slain? what hath he done?*" xx. 30—34. And when he afterwards committed that sacrilegious massacre of *Nob*, and slew *Ahimelech*, the high-priest, and eighty-five priests of *Eli's* house, "now cut off," 1 Sam. ii. 33, and smote both men and women, children and sucklings, oxen, asses, and sheep of the city, with the edge of the sword; because *Ahimelech*, not knowing of *Saul's* hatred to *David*, enquired of the Lord for him, and gave him victuals, and the sword of *Goliath*, xxi. 1—9, xxii. 9—19. Thus shewing less respect to God and his priests, and less mercy to his subjects, than he had done to *Agag* and the *Amalekites*, his devoted enemies. Such complicated and enormous crimes, were indeed worthy of a "son of *Belial*," or "child of the *Devil*," (who was a *liar* and *murderer* from the beginning,) and only wanted the additional sin of *witchcraft*, as *Samuel* foretold, to complete his *rebellion* against God, in his last offence, 1 Sam. xv. 23.

THE DEATH OF SAMUEL.

This venerable prophet, after his miraculous deliverance from *Saul's* fury, died about two years before him, at the advanced age of ninety-two years, 1 Sam. xxv. 1. The precise time is not noticed in Scripture, but may be collected very nearly from the subsequent transactions.

Immediately after his death, *David* retired to the wilderness of *Paran*, where he spent half a year, or eight months, as appears from the declaration of *Nabal's* servants, speaking of the inoffensive behaviour of *David's* men, and their protection, *as long* as they were in their neighbourhood, xxv. 15, 16. When he married *Abigail*, and shortly after *Ahinoam*, upon the loss of his wife *Michal*, xxv. 39—44. He then spent a year and four months among the Philistines, during his first and second flight to *Gath*, xxvii. 7. Both these times amount to about two years. And it is evident, that the *Philistine* war was not long after *Samuel's* death, xxviii. 1—4. Accordingly, *Chais*, &c. from *Lightfoot*, *Bedford*, reduces it to two years: which might also have been the original reckoning of *Josephus*, Ant. VI. 14, 9, where the present reading, twenty-two years*, is utterly inconsistent with the history, and with *Josephus* elsewhere, assigning only twenty years to *Saul's* reign, Ant. X. 8, 4; and eighteen years to *Samuel's* joint administration with him, Ant. VI. 13, 5, VI. 14, 9.

David's conduct during this disastrous period, in which he was "hunted like a *partridge* in the mountains," by the implacable *Saul*, xxvi. 20, though praise-worthy in sparing his life, twice, yet in other respects was not free from censure. His marrying two wives, was an irregularity that *Samuel*, probably, would have prevented, had he been living; his flight to the *Philistines* twice, was a desperate measure, in which he did not ask counsel of THE LORD, as he might have done, and did against the machinations of *Saul*, xxiii. 9; but was instigated by "*his own heart*," or his apprehensions, xxvii. 1; from which he escaped the first time, only by counterfeiting madness or idiocy, xxi. 10—15; and the second, by abusing the confidence

* *Hudson*, in his note on Ant. VI. 9, p. 276, (k), cites the *Epiphonian* version of *Josephus*,—*Et regnavit Saul, vivente Samuele, 18 annis, et eo mortuo, 2 annis*—and correcting from thence the present text, *δύο και εικοσι*, reads *ετη δύο, [ὀμμου δε, ετη] εικοσι*.—"18 and 2 years; twenty years in all."

of the generous and unsuspecting *Achish*, with repeated acts of equivocation and hypocrisy, xxvii. 8—12, xxix. 8; and thereby he exposed himself to the dreadful dilemma of the destruction of himself and his family, if he refused to join the *Philistines* against *Saul*, in the fatal battle of *Gilboa*; or of turning traitor and rebel, and fighting against his king and country: had he not been providentially extricated by the jealousy of the *Philistines*, lest he should turn against them in the battle, in order to reconcile himself with his master, xxix. 1—7, as they had suffered before from “the *Hebrews*,” in the victory of *Jonathan*, 1 Sam. xiv. 21.

SAUL'S LAST OFFENCE.

About the time of *Samuel's* death, in a lucid interval, perhaps, wishing to make some atonement for his crimes, *Saul* banished from the land all the *diviners* and *wizards* he could find, in obedience to the divine law, Deut. xviii. 10, 11. But on the renewal of the war by the *Philistines*, in his dismay, he consulted THE LORD, who answered him no more, neither by *dreams*, nor by *Urim*, nor by *prophets*. Abandoned by THE LORD, he now had recourse to the witch of *Endor*, not far from *Gilboa*, where his camp lay, by night, and in disguise, attended by two of his men, to evoke the spirit of *Samuel*, by divination or *necromancy*, in order to seek counsel from him in this dreadful emergency; contrary to the law, Levit. xx. 6.

His enquiry may thus be more closely rendered:

XXVIII. 8. “*Divine for me*, by אֹב, *Aob*, or *Ob*, [*the spirit of divination*,] and raise him for me, whom I shall name unto thee.”

9. And the woman said, Thou knowest what *Saul* hath done; how he hath cut off, הַאֹבֹת, *Haoboth*, [*the diviners*,] and הַיִּדְעָי, *Haiedoni*, [*the wizards*,] or *prognosticators*, out of the land: and now layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die?

10. And *Saul* sware unto her by THE LORD, saying, *As the LORD liveth, there shall no harm befall thee for this thing.*

11. Then said the woman, *Whom shall I raise for thee?* And he said, *Raise me Samuel.*

12. And the woman saw *Samuel*. And she cried with a loud voice and said unto *Saul*, *Why hast thou deceived me? even thou art Saul!*

13. And the king said unto her, *Fear not: but what sawest thou?* And the woman said unto *Saul, I saw a god rising out of the earth.* And he said unto her, *What is his form?* And she said, *An old man rising, and he is clad with a mantle.*

14. And *Saul* [also saw, and] *knew that it was Samuel himself.* And he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed [before *Samuel.*]

15. And *Samuel* said unto *Saul, Why hast thou provoked me to raise me?* And *Saul* said, *I am sorely distressed, for the Philistines make war against me, and GOD is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by dreams, nor by prophets; therefore I called upon thee, to inform me what I shall do.*

16. Then *Samuel* said, *And why dost thou enquire of me, since THE LORD is departed from thee, and is with thy rival?*

17. And THE LORD hath done to him, as He spake by me; for THE LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thy hand, [or family,]

18. *And hath given it to thy neighbour, even David. Because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce anger upon Amalek, therefore hath the Lord done this thing unto thee this day.*

19. *Moreover THE LORD will also give up Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines: even to-morrow, shalt thou and thy sons be with me; the host of Israel also, will THE LORD give into the hand of the Philistines.*

20. Then *Saul* straightway fell all along on the earth, and was sore afraid, because of the words of *Samuel*, &c.

Whatever might have been the nature of this woman's art, or her design in undertaking to raise *Samuel*; whether she meant to impose on *Saul* by getting some accomplice to personate *Samuel*, whom she must have often seen, and well known, during his long administration; or whether she expected to raise a *demoniacal* spirit, to give an answer: it is evident from the original, more closely translated and compared throughout with itself, that "*Samuel himself**," or his spirit, was actually raised, immediately, and before the witch had time to utter any incan-

* So *Josephus* also correctly rendered the Original; εγνωρισεν εκ τουτων ο βασιλευς, τον Σαμουηλον οντα, who also expressly states, that *Samuel's soul* enquired why it was raised from *Hades*. Σαμουηλου ψυχης πυθομενης διατι—αναχθηναι ποιησειε [εξ ιδου.] Ant. VI. 14, 2.

tations, by the power of GOD, in a glorified form, and wearing the appearance of the ominous mantle in which was the *rent* that signified the rending of the kingdom from *Saul's* family: for the following reasons:

1. The woman herself was surprised at his unexpected appearance, and immediately concluded that the enquirer could be no other than *Saul*; for that the venerable prophet would not probably answer any one inferior to the king.

2. *Saul* acknowledged his reality, when he prostrated himself before him, and declared the cause of his evocation.

3. The very soul of *Samuel* seems to breathe in the keenness and severity of his reproaches,—“*Why hast thou provoked me *, to raise me?—And why dost thou enquire of ME, since THE LORD is departed from thee, and is with thy rival?—David,*” whom he now expressly names, as “the neighbour;” meant in his former prophecy, of which this is the terrific sequel; foretelling the impending defeat of his army, and death of himself and his sons in the battle; and their going to join the prophet in *Hades*, or the region of departed spirits in general.

4. *Saul* gave the most unequivocal proof of the reality of the denunciation, which none surely but a *prophet of THE LORD* could utter; for he fell down in a swoon, overwhelmed with anguish and despair when he heard his doom, and the just reward of his sacrilegious impiety: and was with difficulty restored to his senses, and refreshed by the witch and his attendants; who might also have been witnesses of the awful scene. He returned that night to his camp, and on the fated “*morrow,*” rushed on his doom, after he was sore wounded by the *Philistine* archers, falling on his own sword! xxx. 4.

5. The reality of *Samuel's* appearance on this occasion, was the doctrine of the primitive *Jewish Church*:

“And *after his death* he prophesied, and shewed the *king* his end. And he lift up his voice from the earth, to blot out the wickedness of the *people,*” [foretelling their defeat by the *Philistines,*] Ecclus. xlvi. 20.

The leading offences of *Saul*, are thus well summed up in the Book of Chronicles.

* This is the judicious rendering of the Vulgate, *Cur irritasti me?* And the original verb, *קָרַח*, is rendered to *provoke*, Job xii. 6, to *rage*, Prov. xxix. 9, to *be wrath*, Isai. xxxviii. 21.

“So *Saul* died for his *transgression* which he committed against THE LORD, even against the word of THE LORD, which he kept not; and also for asking counsel by *Ob*, [the spirit of divination,] to enquire of it; and trusted not in THE LORD. Wherefore HE slew him, and transferred the kingdom to *David*, the son of *Jesse*,” 1 Chron. x. 13, 14.

This *Ob*, or “spirit of divination,” was unquestionably the same, which in the New Testament is called “the spirit of *Python*,” by which the damsel at *Philippi*, was possessed, and which was expelled by the apostle *Paul*, Acts xvi. 16—19.

For the phrase בעלת אוב, *Balaath aub*, or *Ob*, signifying “mistress of *Ob*,” twice applied to the witch of *Endor*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, and loosely rendered in the English Bible, “having a familiar spirit,” is there rendered by the Vulgate, “habens *Pythonem* :” and is equivalent to בהם אוב, *Behem Ob*, “in whom is *Ob*,” Levit. xx. 6—27, there rendered by the Vulgate, “in quibus *pythonicus spiritus*.” But this is the very expression of the evangelist in the foregoing passage, εχουσαν πνευμα πυθωνος, “having a spirit of *Python*,” or “of divination,” in the English Bible. But the Greek πυθων, or Latin *Python*, are evidently the Hebrew פתן, *Pethon*, signifying the *asp*, or *adder*, a most venomous serpent, whose poisonous bite was incurable, Deut. xxxii. 33, Psalm lviii. 4, xci. 13, Isai. xi. 8, Job xx. 14—16, and aptly denoting “the old serpent, the *Devil* and *Satan*, that deceiveth the whole world,” Rev. xii. 9, whose Hebrew name, אוב, seems to be a contraction of אויב, signifying “an enemy,” from איבה, *Aibah*, “the enmity,” decreed between the serpent and the woman at the time of the fall *, Gen. iii. 15,

* That *Python* signified “a serpent,” we learn from the mythological poet, *Ovid*, in the curious account of his destruction by the youthful archer *Apollo*. Representing it as a huge serpent of an unknown species, produced by the earth after the deluge, which was a terror to the new race of mankind, until he destroyed it, pierced through with a thousand arrows, almost exhausting his quiver; and instituted the *Pythian* games, in honour of this his first victory.

————— Sed te quoque, maxime *Python*,
 [Terra] tum genuit, *Populisque novis, incognite serpens*,
Terror eras, tantum spatii de monte tenebas.
Hunc Deus arcitenens, (et nunquam talibus armis
Ante, nisi in damis capreisque fugacibus usus,)
Mille gravem telis, exhaustâ pene pharetrâ,
Perdidit, effuso per vulnera nigra veneno.

whence ὁ ἐχθρός, “*the enemy*,” or “*the arch-enemy*,” is appropriated to the *Devil*, by way of bad eminence, and by OUR SAVIOUR himself, Matt. xiii. 39, Luke x. 19, whose Hebrew title, אבאδδון, *Abaddon*, is actually preserved in the Apocalypse, Rev. ix. 11, and is no other than אדון אוב, *Aub adōn*, “*the master of Ob*,” or the “*arch-enemy*,” corresponding to the Greek translation there given, βασιλευς-απολλυων, “*the king destroying*,” the same as the Heathen title, αναξ απολλων, in *Homer*, the word אדון, *Adon*, being frequently rendered in the Sept. by the synonymous terms, αρχων, “*ruler*,” δεσποτης, “*master*.”

This mode of divination into which “*the arch enemy*” seduced mankind, seems to have been of very early date; we find אבות חדשים, *Aboth hhadashim*, “*the monthly diviners**,” noticed in the ancient book of *Job*, as remarkable for their inflations, xxxii. 19, corresponding to מודיעים לחודשים, *Modihim le hhadashim*, “*the monthly prognosticators*,” who used to prognosticate future events “*at the new moons*,” Isai. xlvii. 12, 13, where the prophet thus reprobates the practice:

—“Stand now [or persist] in thy enchantments, and in the multitude of thy sorceries:—let the astrologers, the stargazers, the *monthly prognosticators*, stand now, and save thee from [the woes] that shall come upon thee!”

But it may be objected, why should the venerable prophet quit *paradise*, (that department of *Hades*, which is the mansion of spirits who depart hence in THE LORD, Luke xxiii. 43,) to

Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros, celebri certamine, ludos,
Pythia, perdomitæ serpentis nomine dictos. Metam. I.

In this caricature, we may easily trace the distorted features of the grand prophecy after the fall, that the blessed *seed of the woman* should crush the *serpent's* head. And CHRIST is often represented in Scripture as an *archer*, Deut. xxxii. 23, Psalm xlv. 5, lxxvii. 17, Rev. vi. 2; and his victory over the Serpent, was probably symbolized in the primitive *Chaldean* sphere, by the signs *Sagittarius* and *Scorpio*. See Vol. I. p. 205.

* This phrase in *Job* is improperly rendered “*new bottles*,” in the English Bible. The whole passage may be thus more correctly translated:

“I am full of matter; *the spirit within me* constraineth me: lo, my belly is as *wine which hath no vent*; it is ready to burst, like the *monthly diviners*.”—Such was the *Sibyl* in *Virgil*.

— Phœbi Triviaeque sacerdos.

————— pectus anhelum

Et rabie fera corda tument. ——— Æn. vi. 46.

attend the summons of a *Pythoness*? to satisfy the criminal application of *Saul*?—Among other reasons, perhaps,

1. To make *Saul's* crime the instrument of his punishment *, in the dreadful denunciation of his approaching doom.

2. To shew to the heathen world the infinite superiority of the ORACLE OF THE LORD, inspiring his prophets, over the *powers of darkness*, and the delusive *prognostics* of their wretched votaries in their *false oracles*.

3. To confirm the belief of a future state, by “*One who rose from the dead*,” even under the *Mosaical* dispensation, Luke xvi. 30, and who was the harbinger of OUR LORD'S resurrection under the *Christian*. A doctrine, indeed, which was the popular belief of both *Jews* and *Heathens*; and was only denied by philosophizing infidels, such as the *Sadducees* and *Epicureans*, Acts xxiii. 8, xvii. 18—32. To silence and convince such, a well-attested apparition, minutely prophesying what was to befall *Saul*, in close connexion with, and completion of former prophecies, during his life time, furnishing the strongest evidence of *personal identity*, was peculiarly well adapted †.

DAVID'S ELEGY.

The first specimen of *David's* poetical talents, is furnished by “his lamentation over *Saul* and *Jonathan*,” it is elegant, tender, and pathetic.

2 Sam. i. 19. Thy glory, O *Israel*, is slain upon thy high places !
How are the mighty fallen !

20. Tell it not in *Gath*,
Publish it not in the streets of *Ashkelon*,
Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,
Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

II. 21. Ye mountains of *Gilboa*,
And ye [fertile] fields of offerings,
Let there be no dew,
And let there be no rain, upon you ;

* Nec *Deus* intersit, nisi dignus *vindice* nodus
Inciderit.———*Hor.*

† Modern Infidels are therefore without excuse, both *Jewish* Rabbis and professed *Christians*, who doubt or dispute the fact: foolishly supposing, 1. either that the whole scene was visionary, or represented to *Saul* in a trance, overturning *historic* evidence; or, 2. that a phantom of *Samuel*, or 3. the ghost of *Samuel*, was raised by the power of the *Devil*, or by force of *magical* incantation, which is utterly at variance with the clearness of the *prophecy*; that could come from GOD only.

- For there were cast away the shields of the mighty,
The shield of *Saul* [as if] not anointed with oil [as king.]
- III. 22. From the blood of the slain,
From the fat of the mighty,
The bow of *Jonathan* turned not back,
Nor the sword of *Saul* returned, in vain.
- IV. 23. *Saul* and *Jonathan* were affectionate,
And united together, in their life,
And in death they were not divided.
They were swifter than eagles,
They were fiercer than lions [against their foes.]
- V. 24. Ye daughters of *Israel* weep over *Saul*,
Who clothed you in scarlet,—with [your] delight,—
Putting golden ornaments upon your apparel.
- VI. 25. How are the mighty fallen
In the midst of the battle!
O *Jonathan*, [the glory of *Israel*,]
Slain upon thy high places!
26. I am grieved for thee, O *Jonathan*, my brother,
Thou wast very dear to me:
Thy love to me was wonderful,
Surpassing the love of wives [to their husbands.]
27. How are the mighty fallen,
And the weapons of war, perished!

This beautiful ode opens with the praise of *Jonathan*, in particular, who was indeed the chief “glory of *Israel*” as a warrior, next to *David* himself. The tacit application to him is disclosed afterwards, ver. 25. *Jonathan* first vanquished the *Philistines*.

In the second stanza he imprecates a curse of barrenness upon the fertile mountains and fields of *Gilboa*, which usually furnished offerings to THE LORD, but now deserved to do so no longer, for witnessing the disgraceful defeat of *Israel*.

The third stanza recites the successful valour of *Jonathan* and *Saul*; the fourth their affectionate union in general; to which *Jonathan* had borne testimony, 1 Sam. xx. 2; notwithstanding their occasional disputes about *David*, xx. 30—34, with which is beautifully connected their union in death also, contrasted with their hostility to their enemies.

After a short recommendation of *Saul* to the regret of the daughters of *Israel*, whom *Saul* had clothed with the ornamental spoils of his enemies, in the fifth stanza; he enlarges, in the sixth, on the merits of his bosom friend, *Jonathan*; the ardour of whose friendship exceeded even that of the tenderest love of women to their husbands; in which comparison he might perhaps have glanced at that of his own wife, *Michal*,

who hazarded her life to save his; as did also *Jonathan*, on a more perilous occasion*.

DAVID KING OF JUDAH.

With the approbation of the LORD, whom he consulted, *David* now took his family and his friends with him to *Hebron*, where he was chosen king by the tribe of *Judah* only, at first, 2 Sam. ii. 1—4; and in the thirtieth year of his age, v. 4.

But the rest of the tribes, from that radical jealousy that subsisted between *Judah* and *Ephraim* especially, which took the lead among the other tribes, elected *Saul's* only surviving son, *Eshbaal*, as he was originally named, 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39, but nicknamed *Ishbosheth*, “a man of shame,” from his weakness and incapacity; by the influence of *Abner*, the captain of the host, who expected to govern in his name, ii. 8—10.

After two years of peace between them, *Abner* provoked hostilities, by proposing to *Joab*, the captain of *David's* men, a skirmish of twelve men on each side; that brought on a general engagement, in which *Abner* and his men were defeated, ii. 12—31. After this, there was a long war between the house of *David* and the house of *Saul*, in the course of which *David* gained ground. At length *Ishbosheth* having offended *Abner*, by remonstrating against his taking *Saul's* concubine, *Rispah*, which was a high indignity offered to himself, (as in the similar case of *Adonijah*, 1 Kings ii. 22,) indicating that he aspired to the crown; this haughty prime minister, in revenge, threatened to bring over all *Israel* to acknowledge *David* king, as “THE LORD had sworn to *David*;” and entered into treaty with *David* for that purpose; but was assassinated by *Joab*, the son of *Zeruiah*, *David's* sister, 1 Chron. ii. 16, in revenge for his brother *Asahel's* death, slain by *Abner* in the former pursuit, ii. 12—32, iii. 1—27.

The indignation expressed by *David* at this treachery of *Joab*, which yet he was not able to punish; the funeral honours he paid to *Abner*, and afterwards to *Ishbosheth*, when he was assassinated by two of his captains, who were Benjamites, and whom *David* put to death, so won the hearts of the rest of the tribes, that they tendered him the united crown, which they acknowledged he was entitled to by the divine grant, in *Saul's*

* Bishop *Lowth* has given an elegant poetical paraphrase in Latin of this Elegy, in his *Prælectiones*, xxiii. p. 310.

reign, ii. 28—39; and accordingly, he was anointed king over all *Israel*, seven years and a half after his election by the tribe of *Judah*.

DAVID KING OF ISRAEL.

His first exploit after this, was the reduction of the fortress of *Jebus*, on Mount *Sion*, which had remained in the hands of the natives ever since the days of *Joshua*, and was deemed impregnable, both from its situation and its fortifications, according to *Josephus*, Ant. v. 2, 2, Josh. xv. 63. The *Jebusites*, therefore, ridiculed the attempt, and seem to have placed the *blind* and the *lame* on the walls, in derision, as fully sufficient to keep him out. But there was “*a gutter*,” or subterraneous passage from the town to the fortress, by which *David* introduced a party of men, and “took the strong hold of *Zion*,” 2 Sam. v. 6—8, 1 Chron. xi. 4—6. This *David* made his residence, and called it the *city of David*, and built a house or palace for himself, adding other buildings “round about the hill, from *Millo*, (‘the house of assembly,’ on the top of the hill, 1 Kings xi. 27.) and inwards,” or upwards toward the summit of the hill, v. 9—11, 1 Chron. xi. 7, 8.

DAVID’S CHILDREN.

When *David* was established in the kingdom, he took more wives and concubines, by whom he had a numerous issue, v. 12—16, 1 Chron. iii. 1—9.

1. <i>Amnon</i> ,	by <i>Ahinoam</i> .
2. <i>Daniel</i>	— <i>Abigail</i> .
3. <i>Absalom</i>	} — <i>Maacah</i> .
4. <i>Tamar</i>	
5. <i>Adonijah</i>	— <i>Haggith</i> .
6. <i>Shepatiah</i>	— <i>Abital</i> .
7. <i>Ithream</i>	— <i>Elgah</i> .
8. <i>Solomon</i>	} — <i>Bathsheba</i> .
9. <i>Nathan</i>	
10. <i>Shobab</i>	
11. <i>Shimea</i>	} — <i>Concubines</i> .
12. <i>Ibhar</i>	
13. <i>Elishama</i>	
14. <i>Eliphalet</i>	
15. <i>Nogah</i>	
16. <i>Nephez</i>	
17. <i>Japhia</i>	
18. <i>Eliada</i>	

PHILISTINE WAR.

About the ninth year of his reign, the *Philistines* renewed the war, but were defeated by *David* in two pitched battles. In the former, *David*, when thirsty, longed for a drink of water from the well of his own town, *Bethlehem*, which was brought him by his three mightiest men, *Joab*, *Jashobeam*, and *Eleazar*, who brake through the host of the *Philistines*, and brought it to him at the peril of their lives. But when he received, he would not drink, but poured it out, as a libation to THE LORD, 2 Sam. v. 17—25, 1 Chron. xi. 15—19. The same thing is reported of *Alexander* the Great, in his *Indian* expedition.

THE ARK BROUGHT HOME.

And now when *David* had a respite from war, about the tenth year of his reign, he brought the ark from the house of *Aminadab*, in *Gibeah*, about eighty-two years after it had been left there, on its return from the *Philistines*, with great joy and triumph, to the tabernacle which he had prepared for it in the city of *David*. But on the way, the officious *Uzzah*, the son, or grandson of *Aminadab*, was struck dead upon the spot, for putting forth his hand to support the tottering ark; none but the *priests* being warranted to touch it, under pain of death, Numb. iv. 15. *David* too, and the people, sinned ignorantly upon this occasion, in placing the ark upon a *cart* drawn by oxen, like the idolatrous *Philistines*, who knew no better, 1 Sam. vii. 6, instead of having it carried on the shoulders of the *Levites*, as prescribed, Exod. xxv. 14. Wherefore “the LORD brake in upon them, because they sought Him not according to order.”—*David* afterwards rectified this impropriety, when he removed it from the house of *Obed Edom*, where the offence was given, and he had left it for three months, 2 Sam. vi. 1—17, 1 Chron. xv. 1—15.

This remarkable case shews how dangerous it is to follow *good intentions*, or do any thing in *God's service* without his express word; a consideration worthy of the most serious attention of all *self-called* labourers in the sacred vineyard; and also proves, that *sins of ignorance* are punishable, where the error is not invincible.

NATHAN'S PROPHECY CONCERNING CHRIST.

About five years after, and the fifteenth of *David's* reign, when he had finished and "inhabited his house of cedar, and God had given him rest from all his enemies round about;" he meditated a design of building a *Temple* to the Lord, instead of the temporary *Tabernacle* which he had provided; and he communicated his design to *Nathan* the prophet; who, at first, encouraged him to proceed, not knowing the will of the Lord. But that night, THE ORACLE OF THE LORD came to *Nathan*, and countermanded *David's* design; but communicated that signal prophecy, which contained the last limitation of the Blessed *seed of the woman*, or CHRIST, to the house and lineage of *David*, who should build a spiritual *Temple* to the Lord, and whose kingdom should be established for ever, 2 Sam. vii. 1—16.

5. "Go and tell my servant *David*, thus saith THE LORD: *Shalt thou build me a house for my dwelling**?"

6. "For I have not dwelt in a house, from the day that I brought the children of *Israel* out of Egypt, even to this day, but have sojourned in a tent and in a tabernacle:

7. "Whosoever I sojourned with all the children of *Israel*, spake I a word to any of the *tribes* of *Israel*, [or rather, *judges* of *Israel*, 1 Chron. xvii. 6,] whom I commanded to feed my people *Israel*, saying, *Why do you not build me a house of cedar*?"

II. 8. "Now therefore, thus shalt thou say to my servant *David*, Thus saith THE LORD OF HOSTS: I took thee from the cote, from following the sheep, to become *leader* over my people *Israel*;

9. "And I have been with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thee, and have made thee a great name, like the name of the great upon the earth:—

10. ("Also I will appoint a place for my people *Israel*, and will plant them, and they shall dwell under their own jurisdiction, and they shall not be disturbed any more, neither shall the sons of iniquity continue to trouble them, as at the first;

* The question is answered in the parallel passage, "Thou shalt not build me a house to dwell in," 1 Chron. xvii. 4.

11. “*Even from the time that I appointed judges over my people Israel,*—and I have given thee rest from all thine enemies.

III. “*Moreover THE LORD declareth unto thee, that THE LORD will make thee a house, [or household:]*

12. “*When thy days shall be expired, and thou shalt be with thy fathers, I will raise up THY SEED after thee, which shall issue from thy loins, and I will establish his kingdom;*

13. “*HE shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever;*

14. “*I WILL BE TO HIM A FATHER, AND HE SHALL BE TO ME A SON:—(whosoever [shall be concerned] in injuring HIM *, even I will chastise them with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the sons of Adam.)—*

15. “*And my mercy shall not depart from HIM, as I withdrew it from Saul, whom I withdrew before thee:—*

16. “*But thy house and thy kingdom shall be established before ME † for ever; thy throne shall be confirmed for ever.”*

1. This illustrious prophecy, here attempted to be rendered more closely and correctly, is divisible into three parts. It opens with a gentle refusal; *Shalt thou build me a house for my dwelling?* tacitly intimating the reverse; as clearly stated in the parallel passage; and the reason is afterwards assigned, in a

* The authorized translation of this passage, (*If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men,*) is incorrect: for

1. The conditional particle, *If*, is wanting in the original.

2. The first term, אֲשֶׁר, *Asher*, signifies, “*whosoever,*” frequently; as “*whosoever regardeth not the word of the Lord [by Moses,] left his servants and cattle in the field,*” Exod. ix. 21. “*And whosoever smiteth Kiriath Sepher, I will give him my daughter Achsah to wife,*” Josh. xv. 16; being put elliptically, for כֹּל אֲשֶׁר, *omnis qui*, or *quicumque*, as “*they that made idols, are like them; and so is every one that trusteth in them,*” Psalm cxv. 8.

3. The second term, בְּהֵעוֹתוֹ, *be-haotho*, may either be taken as a verb, “*in injuring him,*” or a noun, “*in his injury,*” either from the verb עוֹת, *aoth*, to *injure*, or *wrong*, by “*perverting judgment,*” as it is used Job viii. 3; Lament. iii. 36; or from the noun עוֹתָהּ, *aothah*; which, with the affix, *aoth-i*, signifies “*my wrong,*” Lament. iii. 59.

The ancient versions, followed by our English Bible, were probably led into this grievous mistranslation and misapplication of this passage to CHRIST, “*who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth,*” 1 Pet. ii. 22, by confounding “*HIM*” with “*his children,*” in the parallel passage, Psalm lxxxix. 30—33, “*If his children forsake my laws,*” &c. from which they incorrectly borrowed the particle *if*.

† The Sept. and Syr. Versions, supported by some MSS. of Kennicot and De Rossi, instead of לְפָנַי, *lipnich*, “*before thy face,*” read לְפָנַי, *lipni*, “*before my face,*” which is justified by the parallel passage, and absolutely required by the context.

later prophecy, to *David* himself; *because thou hast shed much blood in the earth in my sight*; in which *Solomon* is expressly foretold by name, as the son who was chosen to build the Temple; “Behold, a son shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest—for his name shall be *Solomon*,—[‘peaceable;’] *He shall build a house for my name*,” 1 Chron. xxii. 6—10. “*Solomon thy son, he shall build my house and my courts*,” 1 Chron. xxviii. 6. But this later prophecy was delivered about the twentieth year of *David’s* reign, five years after the former, and shortly before *Solomon’s* birth, who, in consequence of it, was surnamed by the prophet *Nathan*, “*Jedidiah*,” or “*beloved of THE LORD*,” 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25.

The confounding of these two prophecies together, has greatly embarrassed commentators, blending the Temple of *Solomon* with the Temple of *CHRIST*; the mortal son of *David*, with the immortal *SON OF GOD*, in all the ambiguities of the *double interpretation* of prophecy. See their distinctness proved at length, in the *fourth* Dissertation on the *Prophecies, explaining the divine and human nature of CHRIST*, referred to before; in which the two prophecies and their parallels are fully translated, with Remarks.

2. The second part, in its parenthetical clause, looks far into futurity, to the final destination of the people of *Israel*; promising them a flourishing settlement, an independent establishment, and lasting rest from all their enemies, such as they had not enjoyed, even from the infancy of their state, in the days of the *judges*.

3. The third part announces, with much solemnity, that *future* son of *David*, who was to accomplish all this: and who is distinguished from any of his *immediate* sons, by the appropriate term, “seed,” which is “*CHRIST*,” Gal. iii. 16, who was to be peculiarly *THE SON OF GOD*.—*I WILL BE TO HIM A FATHER, AND HE SHALL BE TO ME A SON**,—as this passage is explained, as applied by *St. Paul*, Heb. i. 5.—“*He shall build a house for my name*,”—not the *temporary*, perish-

* The parallel passage, in the latter prophecy, applied to *Solomon*, resembles, but is not the same as this: “*He shall be to ME a son, and I will be to him a FATHER*,” 1 Chron. xxii. 10; for, 1. there is a remarkable transposition of the terms, which is verified in both cases, by the parallel passages, and by all the ancient Versions: 2. This promise is conditional, as explained by the context, and twice by *GOD* himself: “*If thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my statutes, &c. then I will lengthen thy days*,” &c.; 1 Kings iii. 4, ix. 4.

able house which *David* meditated, and *Solomon* built; but that “*temple* which CHRIST promised to build up,” John ii. 19; and those “*temples* of GOD, to be inhabited by the SPIRIT OF GOD,” 1 Cor. iii. 16, namely, our Blessed Lord himself, and his faithful followers, or *Church*; and perhaps, also, that glorious future *temple* in *Judea*, (emblematical of that “built without hands, eternal, in the heavens,” 2 Cor. v. 1,) described in the most magnificent terms by the prophets, *Zechariah*, vi. 12, 13, *Ezekiel*, xl. &c. *Tobit*, xiv. 5, 6, &c. and in the *Apocalypse*.

The succeeding parenthetical clause predicts the *sufferings* of the MESSIAH, from his ungrateful countrymen, and his own household, the *Jews*, “to whom he came, but they entertained him not,” John i. 11; but denied the HOLY ONE and THE JUST, and killed the PRINCE OF LIFE, Acts iii. 14, 15, for which that *wicked* and *apostate generation*, and their *children*, have ever since been visited with *the rod*, and chastized with *stripes*, even to the present day! A visitation and chastisement to be extended to all disobedient and apostate *Christians* likewise, as appears from the parallel explanatory clause, in the sublime commentary of *Ethan*, Psalm lxxxix. 30—33.

(“*If his children forsake my laws, and walk not in my judgments; if they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments: then will I visit their transgressions with a rod, and their iniquity with stripes;*”)—and who that ponders these things cannot but perceive the *arm* of THE LORD, now revealed, in the *signs of the times*, and those tremendous “*wars* and *unsettlements*,” now raging throughout Christendom! (June 21, 1809.)

But the finest commentary on this incidental prediction of the *sufferings* of the MESSIAH, and the *chastisement* of his *foes*, is furnished by *David*, in his celebrated prophecy of the *second* Psalm; whose title, in the *Arabic* Version, is,

PSALM II. OF DAVID.

A PROPHECY CONCERNING CHRIST THE LORD, AND THE CALLING OF THE GENTILES.

1. Why did the *Gentiles* rage,
And the *peoples* imagine vanity?
2. *The kings of the land* confederated,
And the *rulers* were assembled together,

- Against THE LORD,
And against HIS MESSIAH:—
3. " *Let us break their bands asunder,
And cast away their yoke from us.*"—
 - II. 4. HE that sitteth in the heavens shall smile,
And THE REGENT * shall deride them;
 5. Then shall He speak to them in his wrath,
And terrify them in his anger:—
 6. " *Nevertheless I was ordained KING,
On Sion, my holy mount :*
 7. *I will declare GOD'S decree:—*
THE LORD said unto me,
" THOU ART MY SON,
THIS DAY HAVE I BEGOTTEN THEE :
 8. *Ask of me, and I will give thee
The Gentiles for thine inheritance,
And the ends of the earth, thy possession :*
 9. *Thou shalt rule them with an iron rod, [or sceptre]
And crush them like a potter's vessel."*
 - III. 10. Ponder now, therefore, O ye kings,
Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.
 11. Serve THE LORD with fear,
And rejoice in HIM with trembling :
 12. Kiss THE SON [also] lest He be angry ;
And [so] ye perish from the way [of life]
If his wrath be kindled even a little :
Blessed are all that trust in HIM."

The sole application of this illustrious prophecy to the MESSIAH, or CHRIST, was the unquestionable doctrine of the pri-

* The original term, אַדְנִי, ADONI, is clearly distinguished from יְהוָה, IAHOH, "[THE] LORD," ver. 2, before; and from אֵת יְהוָה, ÆTH IAHOH, "THE LORD," ver. 11, afterward: and it corresponds to מְשִׁיחוֹ, MESHIHU, "HIS MESSIAH," ver. 2; and also to בְּנִי, BENI, "MY SON," ver. 7; and to בַּר, BAR, "THE SON," ver. 12. It occurs in the form of regimen, and is used elliptically, for אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, ADONI-IAHOH, as fully expressed, Amos viii. 9, &c. But אֲדֹן, ADON, is applied to Joseph, the patriarch, as "*Lord, (or Superintendent) of Pharaoh's household; and Ruler, (Regent) over all the land of Egypt,*" Gen. xlv. 8. Here, therefore, ADONI should be rendered REGENT, to distinguish it from IAHOH, whose appropriate rendering is "LORD." And the full title, הָאֲדֹן יְהוָה, HA ADON IAHOH "THE REGENT LORD," occurs Exod. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23, &c. And St. Paul seems to sanction the application of *Regent* to CHRIST, 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

Nothing, indeed, has so much obstructed the improvement of *Sacred Criticism* hitherto, as the unwarrantable neglect of acquiring *clear, distinct, and correct* ideas of the various names and titles of THE DEITY, that occur in the *Hebrew Scriptures*. The six terms, *Æl, Æloh, and Ælohîm; Jah, Jahoh, and Adoni;* which have all appropriate significations, being unfortunately confounded together, and reduced to only two, Θεός and Κυριός, *Deus and Dominus, God and Lord,* in the Vulgate Greek, Latin, and English translations of the Bible. See my *Dissertation on the Primitive Names of the Deity*, No. VI. in which I have attempted to decypher their radical significations, p. 111—224.

mitive *Jewish Church*: the only question at *that time* was, whether the character corresponded to JESUS OF NAZARETH.

1. The *Talmud*, Cod. Succa, cap. 5, declares, “*Our masters deliver, that the BLESSED GOD said unto the MESSIAH, son of David, (who is shortly to be revealed in our days) ASK of me somewhat, and I will give it thee,*” &c. as it is said, Ps. ii. 7, 8.

2. The *Midrash Tillim*, understands *the Gentiles*, verse 1, of *Gog and Magog*, alluding to *Balaam’s* prophecy, Numb. xxiv. 7; and in a curious critical remark on the divine decree, verse 7, it states, that he is styled בְּנִי, MY SON, [absolutely] not לִי, TO ME A SON, or AS A SON, [relatively, as in *Nathan’s* prophecy.] This higher title was conferred on CHRIST “*the day of his resurrection, when HE was ordained SON OF GOD, with power, according to the spirit of holiness,*” Rom. i. 3.

3. *R. Obadiah Gaon* observes, that this Psalm alludes to the days of CHRIST, *when mankind shall be converted to the worship of GOD.* And he explains the inauguration of the MESSIAH, verse 6, *My God hath made me to reign upon Sion, my mount, and this shall be in the redemption to come.* And this is a curious additional proof of the genuine punctuation נִסְכַּחְתִּי (*Nisachti*) passively, “*I was ordained,*” followed by the Sept. εγω δε κατασταθην; the Vulg. *Ego autem constitutus sum*; and *St. Paul*, του ορισθεντος, Rom. i. 3, instead of the present *Masorete* punctuation, נִסְכַּחְתִּי (*Nasachti*) actively, “*I ordained,*” &c. inextricably embarrassing the sentence, in which there is only one speaker, the MESSIAH. And *Gaon* applies the last sentence, “*Blessed are all that trust in Him;—to those that expect redemption, to them will the light arise.*”

4. Its correspondence to JESUS OF NAZARETH is proved by the apostolical key thereto, furnished by the immediate inspiration of the HOLY SPIRIT, Acts iv. 24—31, when, after reciting the two first verses of the Psalm, the Apostles expounded them: “*For, in truth, both Herod and Pontius Pilate*” [“*the kings of the land*”] with “*the Gentiles*” [the *Romans*] and “*peoples of Israel*” [the *Jews*, and “*the Rulers,*” the *Sanhedrim*, or Council,] were assembled together against thy holy child JESUS, whom thou didst ANOINT, to do whatsoever thy counsel predetermined to happen,” &c.

5. The appropriation of these two kindred prophecies to JESUS CHRIST, as “*THE FIRST BORN,*” (τον πρωτοτοκον) Ps.

lxxxix. 27, or "THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD," (τον μονογενην) John iii. 18, in the sublime introduction of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, i. 5, 6, precludes their primary or literal application to *David* or *Solomon*, and their secondary or spiritual only, to CHRIST; a fiction introduced by the later Jewish Rabbis, "to answer the heretics," or *Christians*, as *Solomon Jarchi* confesses.

DAVID'S PROPHECIES OF THE MESSIAH.

These prophecies of *Nathan* and *David* form the basis of an admirable chain of prophecies, interspersed through the book of PSALMS, which is expressly ranked by our Lord himself among the prophetic scriptures testifying of him, Luke xxiv. 44, describing his *lineage*, his *sufferings*, and his ensuing *glory*, Matt. xxii. 42; Luke xxiv. 25; such as

Psalm cxxxii. An excellent commentary on *Nathan's* prophecy, styling the promised son of *David* the MESSIAH, which St. *Peter* applied to OUR LORD, Acts ii. 30.

Psalm xxii. His *sufferings* and *crucifixion*, which the chief priests unwittingly quoted against him on the cross, "He trusted in GOD; let Him deliver him now, if He will have him," verse 8, Matt. xxvii. 43; and OUR LORD applied to himself, "MY GOD! MY GOD! why hast thou forsaken me?" verse 1, Matt. xxvii. 46; and St. *John*, to the partition of his garments among the *Roman* soldiers, verse 18, John xix. 24.

Psalm xvi. His *death* and *resurrection*: applied to OUR LORD by St. *Peter*, Acts. ii. 25—31, and by St. *Paul*, Acts xiii. 35, 36.

Psalm lxviii. His *ascension* and *spiritual gifts* to his disciples; applied by St. *Paul*, Ephes. iv. 7, 8.

Psalm cx. His *exaltation*, *kingdom*, and *priesthood*; applied by OUR LORD to himself, as that spiritual son of *David* whom David called LORD, Matt. xxii. 44; by St. *Peter*, Acts ii. 32—36; and by St. *Paul*, who explains from hence the nature of his *kingdom*, 1 Cor. xv. 25—28; and of his *priesthood*, Heb. vii. 1—28, viii. 1.

Psalm cxviii. His rejection by the *Jews*, and adoption of the *Gentiles*, and establishment of his *Church*; cited by OUR LORD, Matt. xxii. 42; expounded by St. *Peter*, Acts iv. 11; 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5; by St. *Paul*, Rom. ix. 32, 33; Ephes. ii. 20, 21; and by St. *John*, Rev. xx. 10—14.

Psalm xlv. His *divinity* and *exaltation* above the *angels*; expounded Heb. i. 8, 9; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Ephes. i. 22; Phil. ii. 9—11; and his spiritual *union* with his Church, and the happy *fruits* of it, Rev. xxi. 2, &c.

Psalm l. This sublime Psalm of *Asaph* recognizes the MESSIAH under the fullest title of THE DEITY, ÆL ÆLOHIM IAHOH, "THE GOD OF GODS, the LORD," rising by a noble climax, from the lowest to the highest, or most august, which is twice repeated with emphasis, Josh. xxii. 22, and there more correctly rendered "THE LORD, GOD OF GODS," than in the looser renderings of the compound here, in the Prayer-book, "THE LORD [even] THE MOST MIGHTY GOD;" and of the Bible, "THE MIGHTY GOD [even] THE LORD."

The Psalm of this highly inspired prophet opens with a grand description of THE MESSIAH, or REGENT LORD, summoning the whole world to *judgment*, from the rising to the setting sun, ver. 1—4. It then represents the resurrection of "*the Saints*," or the gathering of CHRIST'S "*elect*" from the four quarters of the globe, at the first resurrection, ver. 5, 6; compare Matt. xxiv. 31; John v. 24; Rev. xx. 4, 5. His address to "*the Saints*," ver. 7—15; to *the wicked*, ver. 16—22; at the *general judgment*; corresponding to our Lord's grand scenical trial, Matt. xxv. 31—46; and the impressive conclusion, "to honour THE SON," (as in Psalm ii. 12,) on account of the powers of *judgment* * vested in him by THE FATHER, ver. 23; is finely and fully explained and applied to himself, by our Lord, John v. 21—23; deriving his title thereto, from this *ancient prophecy*, no less than from his stupendous *miracles*, and not merely claiming credence on his own assertion, John viii. 54.

Psalm lxxii. This Psalm forms a concluding supplement to the preceding; it describes, in the most beautiful imagery, and the most lively colours, the *peaceful* glories of the MESSIAH'S future reign; his *righteousness*, or impartial administration of justice; the universal *homage* and *worship* to be paid to him; the *perpetuity* of his dominion, "*whose name shall endure for ever, in whom mankind shall be blessed, and whom all nations shall call blessed.*" Magnificent predictions, utterly inapplicable to *Solomon*, but truly characteristic of CHRIST.

* This seems to be the peculiar import of *Adon*, derived from the future tense, אָדֹנָי, *judicabo*, of the verb, יָדַן, *Dün*, *judicavit*.

Besides these leading *Psalms*, immediately and solely applicable to the divine economy of the *Christian* dispensation in its grand outline, there are many others that contain minuter traits of the divine and human character of the MESSIAH, which it is incompatible with the nature of this work to particularize. This specimen, however, is abundantly sufficient to shew how extensively “the word of *knowledge*,” or the gift of prophecy, was communicated to this highly-favoured prince, and will naturally account for the veneration in which the Book of *Psalms*, of which he was the principal composer, has always been held in the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church.

DAVID'S CONQUESTS.

This active and enterprising prince, desirous to complete the reduction of the promised land, which had been begun by *Moses* and *Joshua*, and continued by the *Judges* and *Saul*, first turned his arms against his nearest, most warlike, and most inveterate foes, the *Philistines*, westwards, whom he subdued, and took from them *Gath* and its territory, 2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1; and formed a life-guard of the *Cherethites* of *Gaza*, the *Pelethites* of *Askelon*, and the *Gittites* of *Gath*, who were faithfully attached to him during all his wars and rebellions, 2 Sam. viii. 18; xv. 18.

He next turned eastwards, and subdued the *Moabites* beyond *Jordan*, and made them tributaries, 2 Sam. viii. 2.

Thence he proceeded northwards, and defeated and subdued the Syrians of *Zobah* and *Damascus*, extending his conquests to the river *Euphrates*, as originally promised to *Abraham*, Gen. xv. 18; 2 Sam. viii. 3—10.

He then went southwards, and defeated the *Edomites*, in a pitched battle, in the valley of salt, with the loss of 18,000 men, and put garrisons in *Edom*; thus fulfilling the former prophecies of the future subjection of *Esau's* family to *Jacob's*, Gen. xxv. 23; xxvii. 40; Numb. xxiv. 18; 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13; 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14*.

“Thus *David* acquired a *name*; and the fame of *David* went out into all lands, and the Lord brought the fear of him upon all nations,” 2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Chron. xiv. 17.

* In this last passage, אַרַם, *Aram*, “*Syria*,” is put by mistake for אֶדוֹם, *Edom*, “*Idumæa*,” which occurs in the parallel passage.

These conquests seem to have employed him about three years.

DAVID'S FIRST OFFENCE.

About the eighteenth year of his reign, and forty-eighth of his age, during the *Ammonite* war, which *David* undertook to revenge an insult offered to his ambassadors, and consigned to the care of *Joab*, while he remained at home himself, in an idle and unguarded hour, at even-tide, walking on the roof of his house, he saw the beautiful *Bathsheba* bathing, the wife of *Uriah*, the *Hittite*, who was serving under *Joab* at the siege of *Rabbah*; he sent for her, and he lay with her, 2 Sam. x. xi. 1—5.

To screen the effects of their adultery, he sent for *Uriah*, her husband, from the camp, expecting that he would visit his wife on his return; but *Uriah* avoided her, either thinking connubial gratifications inconsistent with his military service, or perhaps entertaining some suspicion of his wife's infidelity. Disappointed in this device, he contrived, in concert with the unprincipled *Joab*, the base and treacherous expedient of destroying the gallant *Uriah* by the sword of the children of *Ammon*; concluding his complicated crime with a *hypocritical* letter of condolence to *Joab* for *Uriah's* unworthy fate: "Let not this trouble thee, for the sword devoureth one as well as another." And to fill up the measure of his successful guilt, he openly took *Bathsheba* to wife, after her mourning was expired, and she bare him a son, 2 Sam. xi. 6—27.

"But the deed which *David* had done" with so much privacy, thinking to escape *human* detection, "displeased the LORD, and he sent *Nathan*, the prophet, to reprove him;" who, by a fictitious tale of oppression applicable to the case, the *rich man*, his *stock* and his *herd*, representing *David*, his *wives* and *concubines*; the *poor neighbour*, and his one little pet *ewe lamb*, *Uriah* and his wife *Bathsheba*; and the *traveller*, *David's concupiscence*, going to and fro, seeking whom it might devour, to which she was wantonly sacrificed; so kindled *David's* anger, that he not only sentenced the supposed offender to make *restitution fourfold*, according to the law, Exod. xxii. 1, but even to suffer death, exceeding the rigour of justice. Instantly the prophet retorted—*Thou art the man!* In the name of the Lord, he authoritatively upbraided him with his ingratitude and trans-

gression, and threatened him that *the sword*, which he had privily employed to cut off *Uriah*, should never depart from his own house, and that his own wives should be publicly dishonoured by his *neighbour*—his own son *Absalom*, as verified by the event.

Convicted and confounded, *David* instantly confessed his guilt. “*I have sinned against THE LORD!*”—And for this speedy humiliation, without attempting to dissemble or cloke his guilt before the face of Almighty God, and his prophet, the Lord was pleased to remit the sentence of death which he had pronounced on himself, and to transfer it to the fruit of his crime. “*THE LORD also hath put away [the punishment of] thy sin; thou shalt not die; but the child that is born to thee shall surely die,*” 2 Sam. xii. 1—14.

The Rabbins remark, that three more of *David's* sons were cut off by violent deaths, thus completing the fourfold retaliation for the murder of *Uriah*, which he had himself denounced, namely, *Amnon*, *Absalom*, and *Adonijah*.

The fall of *David* is one of the most instructive and alarming recorded in that most faithful and impartial of all histories, the HOLY BIBLE. And the transgression of one idle and unguarded moment pierced him through with many sorrows, and embittered the remainder of his life; and gave occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, on account of this crying offence of *the man after God's own heart*. When he only cut off the skirt of *Saul's* robe, *his heart smote him* for the indignity thus offered to his master*; but when he treacherously cut off a faithful and gallant soldier, who was fighting his battles, after having defiled his bed, his heart smote him not; at least we read not of any compunction, or remorse of conscience, that he either felt or expressed, till *Nathan* was sent to reprove him. Then indeed his sorrow was extreme; and his Psalms, composed on this occasion, express, in the most pathetic strains, the anguish of a wounded spirit, and the bitterness of his penitence.

- LI. 1. “Have mercy upon me, O God,
According to thy loving kindness;
According to the multitude of thy tender mercies,
Blot out my transgressions;
2. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity,
And cleanse me from my sin:

* 1 Sam. xxiv. 5; compare 2 Sam. x. 4.

3. For I acknowledge my transgression,
And my sin is ever before me."
10. "Create in me a clean heart, O God,
And renew a right spirit within me ;
11. Cast me not away from thy presence,
And take not thy Holy Spirit from me ;
12. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation,
And uphold me with thy free Spirit."

And his thankfulness for the divine pardon and forgiveness :—

- XXXII. 1. "Blessed is he whose unrighteousness is forgiven,
And whose sin is covered.
2. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity,
And in whose spirit there is no guile."—
5. "I acknowledged my sin unto thee,
And mine iniquity did I not hide :
I said, I will confess my transgressions to THE LORD,
And Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin."—

And his rapturous praise and thanksgiving :—

- CIII. 1. "Praise the Lord, O my soul,
And all that is within me, praise his holy name.
2. Praise the Lord, O my soul,
And forget not all his benefits :
3. Who forgiveth all thy sins,
And healeth all thine infirmities :
4. Who redeemeth thy life from destruction,
And crowneth thee with loving kindness,
And tender mercies."—
11. "For look how high the heaven is
In comparison of the earth,
So great is his mercy also
Toward them that fear Him :
12. Look how wide also
The east is from the west,
So far hath he set
Our sins from us."
13. Like as a father pitieth his children,
So the Lord pitieth them that fear Him :
14. For he knoweth our frame,
He remembereth that we are dust !"

Still the rising again of *David* holds forth no encouragement to sinners who may wish to shelter themselves under his example, or flatter themselves with the hope of obtaining his forgiveness ; for though his life was spared, yet God inflicted those *temporal* judgments which the prophet denounced, "that *his soul* might be saved in the *day of* THE LORD, and that *others*, admonished by his example, might be the more afraid to offend."

The remainder of his days was as disastrous as the beginning had been prosperous. Rape, incest, murder, and rebellion, raged among his children: he was deserted by his friends, reviled by his enemies, banished from his capital, and plunged into the deepest affliction by the ingratitude and death of his favourite and rebellious son, *Absalom*; and, to fill up the measure of his calamities, by a dreadful plague brought upon his subjects by his last offence: so that he died exhausted at seventy, still older in constitution than in years.

THE BONDAGE OF THE AMMONITES.

David has been censured for his cruelty to the *Ammonites*, after the reduction of *Rabbah*, which seems to have taken place after the birth of *Solomon*, about the twentieth year of his reign; but the Hebrew text will admit of a milder construction than that of the English Bible, 2 Sam. xii. 31.

“And *David* took the king’s crown from off his head, (the *value** whereof was a talent of gold) with the *precious stone*, (which *Josephus* says was a *Sardonyx*, set in the front of the crown. Ant. VII. 7, 5.)

“And *David* brought forth the people that were therein, and put them *to* saws, and *to* harrows of iron, and *to* axes of iron, and made them pass *by* [or *to*] the brick-kilns; and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of *Ammon*.” That is, he put them to hard labour, and the most servile employments †.

* It is generally supposed, with our received Translation, that “the *weight* of the crown was a talent of *Gold* :” that is, 125 pounds weight, and would be much too heavy to wear on the head. For the Hebrew talent, amounted to 3000 *shekels*, (or 12,000 Attic drams, which made two *Attic* talents,) Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. But the silver shekel of the Sanctuary weighed 20.

† The preposition כּ, which is rendered *under*, in rather an unusual sense, by the English Bible, in several places signifies *to* or *for*; as in the following passage, where it is connected with the same verb, שׂוּב, to “*put*,” or to “*appoint*,” or “*impute* :”

“This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He shall take your sons to himself, and *appoint* them *to* (or *for*) his chariots, and *to* (or *for*) his horsemen,” &c. 1 Sam. viii. 11.

“Let not the king *impute* [blame] *to* his servant, [nor] *to* all my father’s house,” &c. 1 Sam. xxii. 15.

But what shall we say to the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xx. 3, which in our English Bible is rendered, “He *cut* them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes?”

Here the verb שׂוּב, if derived from שׂוּב, *Serravit*, may not unreasonably signify to *divide* or separate the people to these different servile employments; but I am persuaded it is incorrectly written for שׂוּב, “*he put*,” as in the former passage, only obliterating or omitting the lower part of the *Mem* final, ם, which would leave a complete *Resh*, ר.

And *David* was justified in thus enslaving the *Ammonites* by the law of *Moses*. “An *Ammonite* or a *Moabite* shall not enter [as a freeman] into the congregation of *Israel*, even to their tenth generation.” Deut. xxiii. 3.

The mother of *Rehoboam* was *Naamah*, an *Ammonitess*, 1 Kings xiv. 21. She could not therefore be the wife of *Solomon*, she was only a concubine.

THE RAPE OF TAMAR.

We may date this first domestic calamity that befel *David* “out of his own house,” as predicted by *Nathan*, about the twenty-third of his reign, before the commencement of which, *Amnon*, his eldest son, was probably born.

David's remissness in punishing this outrage, though it made him “very wroth” at the time, 2 Sam. xiii. 23, probably led to *Amnon*'s assassination by *Absalom*, the brother of *Tamar*, about two full years after, or the twenty-fifth of *David*'s reign, 2 Sam. xiii. 22—29. The affliction of *David* must have been greatly aggravated by the first hasty report, that *Absalom* had slain all the king's sons, and that there was not one of them left! And though relieved by the safe return of the rest, “the king and all his servants wept very sore.”

Absalom fled for refuge to his grandfather *Talmai*, king of *Gesher*, where he remained in disgrace three years, 2 Sam. xiii. 37, 38; and though he was then permitted to return to *Jerusalem*, by the policy and intercession of *Joab*, *David* did not admit him into his presence till two full years after. We may therefore date this reconciliation in the thirtieth year of *David*'s reign, 2 Sam. xiv. 1—33.

ABSALOM'S REBELLION.

This ambitious and turbulent youth ill requited his father's lenity and kindness. He studied to gain popularity, and “stole away the hearts of the men of *Israel* ;” and fomented a con-

And in this milder sense, the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Version understood the two parallel passages, declaring expressly in the latter, (1 Chron. xx. 3.) that *David* “put none of them to death.” However, on the other hand, the Greek *Sept.* Latin *Vulgate*, and *Josephus*, all adopt the received interpretation, that he put them to the torture, and then slew them. Antiq. VII. 7, 5. This cruel treatment of the conquered *Ammonites* (if it be true, which still may be doubted) is the most barbarous act of *David*'s reign; and cannot be justified by the heinous abuse and affront offered to his ambassadors.

spiracy, which, at the end of *four** *years*, broke out into open rebellion, in the thirty-fourth year of *David's* reign, at *Hebron*, about twelve miles south of *Jerusalem*, xv. 1—13.

Alarmed at this formidable rebellion so close to him, *David* hastily took his flight, with his family and servants, "by the ascent of Mount *Olivet*, [or the upper road to *Jericho*] and *wept* as he went up, *barefoot*, and with *his head covered*; and all the people that were with him covered every man his head, weeping as they went up," in token of extreme sorrow and humiliation, xv. 14—30.—By the same descent, the divine Son of *David*, above a thousand years after, *wept* over *Jerusalem*, at the prospect of her impending woes!—He *wept*, not for "*himself*," but for "the daughters of *Jerusalem*, and for their children," Luke xix. 37—41, xxiii. 28.

After he had passed the summit, he was wounded with the false report of the desertion of *Mephibosheth*, the son of his faithful friend *Jonathan*, whom he had treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and restored to all his grandfather *Saul's* lands, 2 Sam. ix. 1—13, and too hastily gave away his lands to the treacherous informer *Ziba*, who had a powerful party. So just is *Seneca's* observation, that "kings give many things with *covered eyes*, especially in time of war." And though his eyes were opened afterwards to *Mephibosheth's* innocence, yet he dared not altogether to rescind the unadvised grant to *Ziba*, "*Do thou and Ziba divide the land*." The reply of *Mephibosheth* was worthy of the son of *Jonathan*: "*Yea, let him take all, since my lord the king is come again to his own house in peace*," 2 Sam. xix. 24—30.

Soon after, at *Bahurim*, on the eastern side of *Olivet*, *David* bore with meekness the curses and insults of *Shimei*, a relation of *Saul*; and when urged by his nephew *Abishai* to punish him on the spot, he refused permission: *Behold*, said he, *my son, who came forth of my bowels, seeketh my life, how much more now this Benjamite? Let him alone, and let him curse, for THE LORD hath bidden him. It may be that the Lord will*

* Instead of "forty years," the present reading, 2 Sam. xv. 7, the Syriac, Arabic, and several MSS. of the Vulgate, supported by *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the context, read "four years;" the present reading being utterly inexplicable. It could not, as *Usher* imagined, denote *Absalom's* age at the time, when he could not have been much above thirty years old.

look on my affliction, and requite me good for his cursing this day, xvi. 5—13.

They then refreshed themselves in the plains of the wilderness, and without delay passed over *Jordan* that night, in consequence of intelligence that *Absalom* had been advised to pursue him with a party of twelve thousand men, and smite him before he could collect an army, xvii. 1—22.

The treacherous adviser *Ahitophel*, whose wise counsel was defeated by the artful policy of *Hushai*, *David's* friend, which made him hang himself in despair, was more successful in his first advice, that *Absalom* should lie with ten of his father's concubines, whom he had left behind at *Jerusalem*, "in the sight of all *Israel*," that it might engage them more heartily in his cause, by precluding the possibility of reconciliation with his father after this heinous insult; the infatuated youth thus unintentionally fulfilling *Nathan's* prophecy, xvi. 20—22, xvii. 23.

The wretched end of *Ahitophel*, who was esteemed as THE ORACLE OF GOD for the wisdom of his counsels, was the just punishment of his treason: "The providence of the wisest men being too short to over-reach the providence of GOD; he often permits such *Ahitophels* for the punishment of their *presumption*, as well as of their *malice*, to perish by their own devices," *Prideaux's* Connections, Vol. I. p. 162.

It is generally supposed that *David* composed the *fifty-fifth Psalm*, on occasion of *Ahitophel's* treachery, but perhaps it may rather refer to the treachery of *Judas* as a prophecy. The minute predictions of the circumstances of our LORD'S passion, which occur in the *Psalms*, justify this supposition; and lead us to conclude, that the imprecations which abound in this *Psalm*, the *sixty-ninth*, and *hundred and ninth*, &c. are not uttered against the personal enemies of *David*, but of CHRIST. This is expressly asserted in one place, which may furnish a key to the rest:

"Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate Thee?
And am not I grieved with those that rise up against Thee?
Yea, I hate them right sorely,
Even as though they were mine enemies."—Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22.

And to confirm it, we may observe, that the imprecations which are usually supposed to be uttered against *Shimei*, Ps. cix. 6—9, are expressly applied to *Judas* by *St. John*, xiii. 27, and by *St. Peter*, Acts i. 20; and the imprecations against the MES-

SLAH'S persecutors, Ps. lxxix. 21—26, are also applied to the *Jews* by *St. Peter* *, Acts i. 20.

David, we see, refrained from cursing *Shimei* in return, at the time, when he had the greatest provocation, from a religious motive; and when "he prayed to THE LORD," it was not against *Ahitophel* himself, but against his counsel: "O LORD, turn the counsel of *Ahitophel* into foolishness," xv. 31.

This may contribute to remove the offence † which these imprecations have given to many pious and devout admirers of the Psalms of *David* in general, who have not rightly conceived their drift.

The death of *Absalom*, who was slain by *Joab* in his flight from the pitched battle in which he and his adherents were defeated, put an end to his rebellion, but renewed his father's grief, which was excessive, even to weakness, and justified *Joab's* indignant reproach, "*Thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends;*" &c.; and his threat, "*I swear by the Lord, if thou go not forth, [to speak comfortably to thy servants] there will not one tarry with thee this night; and that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that befel thee from thy youth until now.*" This wholesome rebuke and menace roused *David* from his lethargy of grief, and "*he arose without reply, and sate in the gate,*" to receive the congratulations of his friends; while "*all Israel,*" of *Absalom's* party, "*fled each to his tent,*" or returned home, xix. 1—8.

Whatever were *Joab's* crimes, among them disloyalty was not to be reckoned. He was a brave soldier, and a faithful servant, ardently attached to his master in the worst of times, preferring *David's* interest and glory before his own. Witness his risking his life to get *David* a drink of water from the well of *Bethlehem*, 1 Chron. xi. 17, and his giving the glory of the capture of

* In the present text of Acts i. 20, γεννηθητω ἡ επαυλις αυτου ερημος, the singular, αυτου, "his," is αυτων, "their," in the prophecy itself, Ps. lxxix. 25; in the original, in the Sept. (γεννηθητω ἡ επαυλις αυτων ερημωμενη) and in all the ancient versions, warranted by the context; and in the citation, the plural "their," is the reading of the *Vulg.* and *Æthiop.* and it seems to be required by the context, where not only *Judas*, but also *his associates*, were noticed before, "*Judas, who was guide to them that apprehended JESUS,*" Acts i. 16, and who were equally criminal.

† *Hammond, Merrick, Horne, &c.* contend, that these imprecations should be rendered not as imperatives, but as futures; not, *Let them be confounded, &c.* but, *They shall be confounded, &c.* as only intimating the future event. But this is a nice distinction, almost without difference, and is overturned by the ancient versions, and the citations in the New Testament, rendering them imperatively.

Rabbah to *David*, "lest I take the city, and it be called after my name," 2 Sam. xii. 28. And now he gave the most unequivocal proof of his unshaken fidelity, in knowingly incurring the king's displeasure to rid him of an obstinate rebel against his own father, whom no forgivenesses could soften, and no favours could bind, for whom *Joab* himself had so successfully interceded, and was likely therefore to have been otherwise well disposed to *Absalom*, from the very circumstance of having served him. *Joab's* motive, indeed, for killing him, is well expressed in *Cushi's* report to the king: *May the enemies of my lord the king, and all that arise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man*, xviii. 32. When *David*, therefore, on his return to *Jerusalem*, immediately deposed *Joab* from being captain of the host, which he had gained as the reward of his distinguished valour at the capture of *Jebus*, twenty-seven years before, 1 Chron. xi. 6, and appointed the rebel *Amasa*, who had served under *Absalom* in that station, 2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 13, he seems to have acted rather ungratefully and unwisely, justifying *Joab's* reproach, "Thou lovest thine enemies, and hatest thy friends." But the old grudge and jealousy which he entertained against "the sons of *Zeruiah*," who were above his control, and too powerful to be punished, as in *Abner's* case, 2 Sam. iii. 38, combined with *Joab's* disobedience of orders in killing *Absalom*, which he could never forget, nor forgive, to the day of his death, seem to have got the better of his usual temporizing caution, and political prudence.

SHEBA'S REBELLION.

This rebellion soon succeeded the former, and was probably connected therewith. *Sheba*, a Benjamite, blew the trumpet, saying, "We have no part in *David*, neither have we inheritance in the son of *Jesse*: every man to his tent, O Israel!" and he drew to his standard all the tribes except *Judah*, 2 Sam. xx. 1, 2.

Amasa, the new captain of the host, having failed to assemble the men of *Judah* within the time appointed by *David*, the king commissioned *Abishai*, the brother of *Joab*, to take the royal guards, and pursue *Sheba* without delay, before he could get into fenced cities, for that otherwise he might raise a rebellion more dangerous than *Absalom's*.

On this occasion, "*Joab's* men," or his company, followed *Abishai*, and *Joab* himself as a volunteer, his zeal for his king

and country rising paramount to his late disgrace. But when *Amasa* met them at *Gibeon*, to take the command, *Joab*, under pretext of saluting him as his "brother *," assassinated him as he had *Abner*, and took the command himself, causing proclamation to be made, *He that favoureth Joab, and he that is for David, let him follow Joab.* He then pursued *Sheba*, besieged him in a town to which he had fled, demanded his head from the inhabitants, and crushed the rebellion; and returned triumphant to *Jerusalem*, in possession of his former station, of which *David* dared no more to deprive him.

FAMINE.

These rebellions, about the thirty-fourth year of *David's* reign, were succeeded by a remarkable famine for three successive years. It was inflicted, according to the oracle, for the massacre of the *Gibeonites* by *Saul*, and his bloody house, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2.

This massacre is not mentioned in the history of *Saul's* reign. Some commentators think that the massacre of the priests at *Nob* is meant: but they were not *Gibeonites*, nor was it done "through zeal for the children of Israel," which is the reason assigned, but in revenge for harbouring *David*. Might it not have taken place after *Samuel's* death, at the same time that *Saul* destroyed the *diviners* and *wizards*, in his zeal to reconcile himself to the LORD? Why it was thus punished so long after, is hidden among the mysteries of PROVIDENCE. Perhaps it was sent at this juncture to punish the nation for their recent rebellions against God and the king, in which the house of *Saul* took an active part.

The atonement required by the *Gibeonites* was the execution of seven of *Saul's* house, who were accordingly given to them; two sons of *Saul* by his concubine *Rizpah*, and five grandsons by his elder daughter *Merab*, (not *Michal*, as in the text, *David's* wife) whom she bare to *Adriel*, the *Meholathite*, 1 Sam. xviii. 19. Thus was all the house of *Saul* destroyed, except *Mephibosheth*, the son of *Jonathan*, whom *David* spared on account of his covenant with *Jonathan*, xii. 3—9.

The sacred historian relates a striking instance of maternal tenderness of affection, in *Rizpah* watching over the remains of

* *Joab* and *Amasa* were cousins german, the sons of *Zeruiah* and *Abigail*, sisters of *David*, 1 Chron. ii. 13—17.

her children, to protect them from the birds and beasts of prey, xii. 10, 11. And then David's respect to the bones of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, which he interred honourably with those of these victims in the family sepulchre. After these atonements, and acts of pious duty, "God was entreated for the land, and removed the plague," xii. 13, 14.

LAST PHILISTINE WAR.

Thinking this a favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke, when the *Israelites* had been weakened by two rebellions, and three years of famine, the *Philistines* renewed the war about the thirty-seventh year of *David's* reign, but were defeated in four engagements, and finally subdued. In the first, *David* waxed faint, and was in danger of being slain, when the valiant and trusty *Abishai* succoured him, and slew the gigantic *Philistine*. After this, the people would no more let *David* go forth to battle, "lest he should quench the light of *Israel*." In this war, the remainder of *Goliath's* family were slain by *David's* worthies, xxi. 15—22.

DAVID'S SECOND OFFENCE.

The numbering of the people was one of the last and most reprehensible acts of *David*, about two years before his death. In the pride of conquest, after he had subdued all his enemies, he issued an order for this purpose to *Joab* and his captains. This act is ascribed in one place to "the anger of THE LORD against *Israel*;" in another to "*Satan*, who stood against *Israel*," and "*moved* or *incited** *David* thereto," 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 1 Chron. xxi. 1. From whence we may collect, that GOD permitted *Satan* to tempt *David* to commit a crime that would draw down punishment upon him and upon his people; as he afterwards permitted the same evil and *lying spirit* to seduce the prophets of *Ahab*, 1 Kings xxii. 22, and the disciple of CHRIST, Luke xxii. 3, John xiii. 27.

The ruling passion by which the tempter assailed *David*, was "the *pride* of life," which, though checked and mortified by the wholesome restraints of adversity, broke out again in the sunshine of prosperity. In this light it was evidently considered

* The original verb, סוּחַ, *Suth*, which is the same in both places, though variously rendered "*moved*" and "*provoked*" in the English Bible, signifies to "*incite*" or "*persuade*," 2 Kings xxi. 5; there rendered "*stirred up*."

by *Joab*, and the captains of the host, who remonstrated against the decree: "Now THE LORD THY GOD add unto the people (how many soever they be) a hundred fold, and that the eyes of my lord the king may see it; but why doth my lord the king delight in this thing?"—for "the king's word was *abominable* unto *Joab*," which he considered as "a cause of *trespass* unto *Israel*," 1 Chron. xxi. 2—6.

The offence of *David* seems to have chiefly consisted in his persisting to require a muster of all his subjects able to bear arms, without the divine command, without necessity, in a time of profound peace, to indulge an idle *vanity* and *presumption*, as if he put his trust more in the number of his subjects than in the divine protection; and the offence of his people might also have been similar, always elated, as they were, and provoking the anger of the LORD, in prosperity, by their *forgetfulness* of Him*, Deut. vi. 10—12.

The return made by *Joab*, without counting *Levi* and *Benjamin*, (for he did not finish the return, from some indications, it should seem, of the divine displeasure in the course of it, 1 Chron. xxvii. 24,) was 900,000 men in the ten tribes of *Israel*, and 400,000 in round numbers, of *Judah* alone, amounting to *one million three hundred thousand* in all †, 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

"And *David's heart smote him* after he had numbered the people; and *David* said unto THE LORD, I have *sinned greatly* in what I have done. And now I beseech thee, O Lord, take away the iniquity of thy servant, for I have done *very foolishly*," 2 Sam. xxiv. 10. Upon this occasion, perhaps, he composed the *nineteenth* Psalm; which, after celebrating the power and "glory of GOD," displayed in the visible creation, as supreme Lord of all, 1—6, and an encomium on "the *law* of the Lord," and "the *fear* of the Lord," 7—11, concludes with a prayer for GOD'S *pardoning* grace to cleanse him from sins of *ignorance* and *infirmity*, and for *restraining* grace to guard him from "*presumptuous* sins," committed wilfully and with a high hand against the light of conscience, that "they might not have the *dominion* over him," and involve him in "*the great trans-*

* Une *corruption nationale* dans les sujets, et une *démarche de vanité* dans le prince, furent punis du même coup. *Chais*.

† This account in *Chronicles* is verified by *Josephus*, who reckons 900,000 in *Israel*, and 400,000 in *Judah*, without specifying the amount, Ant. VII. 13, 1, and is more probable than that in *Samuel*, 800,000 in *Israel*, and 500,000 in *Judah*, 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

gression" of apostacy from GOD ; that so " his *meditations* and his *words* might be always acceptable to THE LORD, his STRENGTH and his REDEEMER," 12—14. Nothing surely could be more suitable to his situation, in that " *great strait*," or crisis, when the LORD had given him the choice of three plagues, three years of *famine*, three months of *war*, or three days of *pestilence*, 1 Chron. xxi. 11, 12. *David* chose the last ; so THE LORD sent a pestilence, which destroyed 70,000 men, it should seem, in the course of two days.

David's profound humiliation, when he saw the *angel of the LORD* hovering in the air, with a drawn sword in his hand, over *Jerusalem*, ready to destroy it, and he and the elders, clothed in sackcloth, fell on their faces ; his humble confession of his peculiar sin, and pious intercession for his erring people ; his generous devotement of himself and his father's house to the plague in their stead ; altogether appeased the divine wrath before the expiration of the appointed time. And GOD said to the angel, *It is enough, stay now thine hand.*

This *angel*, who appeared to *David*, and probably to the elders, for he appeared to *Araunah*, or *Ornan*, and his four sons, and who commissioned *Gad*, the prophet, (the same that had announced the plagues) to command *David* to erect an altar unto the LORD, in the threshing-floor of *Ornan*, on "Mount *Moriah*, where THE LORD appeared to *David*," or over which he was seen in the air, 1 Chron. xxi. 15—20, 2 Chron. iii. 1, seems to have been the same that appeared to *Joshua* in that attitude, as the CAPTAIN OF THE LORD'S HOST, to remind *David* of the true defender of his empire, " HIS STRENGTH," and who, on this occasion, under the divine mercy and forgiveness, became his REDEEMER also.

When *David* had purchased the threshing-floor from *Ornan*, the proprietor, which he refused to accept as a gift, and built the altar there unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and called upon the name of THE LORD, he was pleased to *answer him from heaven, by fire upon the altar*, which consumed the *burnt-offerings*, in token of full reconciliation, and of acceptance of this altar at *Jerusalem*, (instead of the altar of the Lord made by *Moses* in the wilderness, which at this time was at *Gibeon**, and was thus superseded) in the *place*

* *David* was afraid to go to sacrifice at the altar there, because of the *sword of the angel of the Lord* in the way thither, 1 Chron. xxi. 30.

which the Lord now chose to put his name there, having originally appointed it for the site of his temple and worship, 1 Chron. xxi. 19—30, xxii. 1; Deut. xii. 21.

This last offence of *David* is still more astonishing and alarming than the first. This was an offence committed immediately against GOD. How “*the light of Israel*,” and “*a luminary of the world*,” an “*inspired prophet*,” the most highly gifted, favoured with such “abundance of revelations” concerning THE MESSIAH, and his future dispensation of grace to mankind, could be so “exalted above measure,” by the innate “*pride and naughtiness* of his heart,” 1 Sam. xvii. 28, as to forget, not merely for a moment, but for “nine months and twenty days,” (the time employed in making the return) “THE LORD, his strength, and his redeemer,” unmoved by the representations and remonstrances of his most faithful friends, who *abominated* the order, and forewarned him of the divine displeasure, is well nigh inconceivable, and altogether frightful. Most strongly, indeed, does his fall, on this occasion, urge the necessity of *vigilance* and *prayer*, to correct the “deceitfulness of the human heart,” and to counteract the “craft and subtlety of the *devil* or *man* working against us;” while his rising again furnishes an abundant source of consolation to all returning penitents, not to despair of the riches of divine mercy, from a sense of their own unworthiness, and manifold demerit.

ADONIJAH’S REBELLION.

The close of *David’s* life was embittered by another unnatural rebellion, excited by his son *Adonijah*, who was next to *Absalom*, and resembled him in beauty and ambition. He also was a favourite with his father, “*who had not displeased him, at any time, in saying, Why hast thou done so?*” But treading in his brother’s steps, he courted popularity, and drew over to his party, *Joab*, the commander-in-chief of the forces, who at last forsook his aged master, and *Abiathar*, the high-priest, who had shared his fortunes, and invited all the king’s sons, except *Solomon*, the heir apparent, 1 Kings ii. 15, and gave them a public entertainment at *En Rogel*, “the fountain in the king’s garden,” according to *Josephus*, where he was proclaimed king by the company, “*God save king Adonijah.*”

In this emergency, the prophet *Nathan* sent *Bathsheba* to inform the old king of their proceedings, and confirmed them him-

self. *David* instantly appointed *Nathan*, the prophet, *Zadok*, the priest, *Benaiah*, and his own guards, the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, who continued faithful, to anoint and proclaim *Solomon* king, at the fountain of *Gihon* or *Siloam*.

To ratify this coronation, he called a general assembly of the people, in which *Solomon* was formally elected king, and *Zadok* high-priest, in the room of *Abiathar*, who was deposed. And he solemnly recommended *Solomon* and the nation to build the temple of the Lord, according to the model communicated to him by THE SPIRIT; and to contribute liberally themselves, in addition to the ample stores and materials which he had provided; and concluded with a most noble and devout thanksgiving to THE LORD for all his mercies to himself, and to his people, of which the doxology seems to have been adopted in THE LORD'S PRAYER:—"Blessed be thou, O Lord God of Israel, our father, for ever and ever: [for] thine, O LORD, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all," 1 Chron. xxix. 10, 11.

DAVID'S LAST ADVICE.

David has been censured for betraying a vindictive spirit, in his dying advice to *Solomon*, respecting *Joab* and *Shimei*, and for a breach of his oath to the latter, but his conduct appears to be justifiable in both cases.

1. *Solomon's* first royal act of grace, and certainly by his father's advice, was the pardon of *Adonijah*, his brother, and of all his abettors, on the condition of their future good behaviour, 1 Kings i. 52. But *Adonijah* forfeited it afterwards, by his audacious application to have his father's concubine, *Abishag*, given him to wife. "Ask for him the kingdom too," said *Solomon* to his mother, who made the indiscreet request, "even for him, (and for *Abiathar*, the priest, and for *Joab*, the son of *Zeruiah*,) for he is my elder brother," 1 Kings ii. 22. The parenthetical remark shewing, that he evidently considered *Adonijah* as acting in this case by the advice and with the concurrence of *Abiathar* and *Joab*. And why should *Joab* fly to the altar for refuge, on the execution of *Adonijah*, if he was not conscious to himself that he was involved in this second act of treason?—And *Solomon* put him to death, not for this, but for the "inno-

cent blood which he had shed;" for he spared his associate *Abiathar's* life, "though he was worthy of death," on account of his sacred character, and joint sufferings with *David* his father: but he banished him to his estate, to prevent him from fomenting fresh disturbances in the capital, and at court.—*Joab's* declaration at the altar, "Nay, but I will die here," shewed that he expected no further mercy, because he did not deserve it.

2. *David* did not advise *Solomon* to put *Joab* to death, absolutely or unconditionally;—"Do, therefore, according to thy wisdom, and let not his hoary head go down to the grave in peace;—that is, Though you have now pardoned *Joab* through policy, and as I was compelled to do myself, by the exigency of the times, and the predominant influence of the sons of *Zeruiah*; yet, should he offend again, act according to your discretion, and then punish him as a hoary murderer, and confirmed traitor, with death.

3. When the over-zealous *Abishai* wanted permission from *David* to put *Shimei* to death, on his return to *Jerusalem*, for his former cursing and ill treatment, and for which *Shimei* now humbly asked pardon, with a thousand men at his back; *David* sharply rebuked *Abishai*: "What have ye to do with me*, ye sons of *Zeruiah*, that ye should this day be as *Satan* † unto me? Shall there be any man put to death this day in Israel? for do I not know, that I am this day king over Israel, or restored to my throne? Therefore, the king said unto *Shimei*, Thou shalt not die: and the king swore unto him," 2 Sam. xix. 23.

David religiously kept his oath to *Shimei*, as appears from his last advice to *Solomon*: "I swear unto him, by THE LORD, saying, I will not put thee to death with the sword," 1 Kings ii. 8, though *Shimei* might have deserved it by a fresh offence: for it is highly probable that he was engaged in *Adonijah's* rebellion, since it was not till after the execution of *Adonijah* and *Joab*, that *Solomon* sent for *Shimei*, and ordered him to reside in *Jerusalem*, and not to quit the city under pain of death, the day that he should pass over the brook *Kedron*. A

* מַה לִּי וְלָכֶם, τι εμοι και υμιν. Here, by the idiom of the dead languages, the first person is put first; as *Ego et Rex meus*, in Cardinal *Wolsey's* correct Latinity. In modern language, the first person is put last; John ii. 4.

† לְשָׂטָן. *Le-Satan*, "for *Satan*;" or "as an adversary," εις επιβουλον. Sept.—Matt. xvi. 23.

condition which *Shimei* thankfully accepted: “*The saying is good: as my Lord the king hath said, so will thy servant do.*”

And this measure was evidently dictated by *David's* advice; on the meaning of which, therefore, it forms the best comment: “*And behold thou hast with thee Shimei,*” &c. “*Now, therefore, hold him not guiltless:*” but guard him as a disaffected and dangerous *Benjamite*, and keep him *with thee* still, or confine him to *Jerusalem*, lest he kindle rebellion among the tribes, by stirring up their minds, like *Sheba*, “*for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him,*” as well as to *Joab*, in order to prevent his cabals; and, *if he offend again,* “*bring down his hoary head to the grave with blood,*” for your own security, and the peace of your kingdom, for his past crimes deserve death. And in this provisional sense, the advice is understood by *Josephus*:

“*He then obtained a promise of indemnity from me, but now, whenever you find a reasonable cause (αιτιαν ευλογον), punish him.*” Ant. VII. 15, 1.

Shimei afterwards transgressed the convention, and went to *Gath*, a suspicious quarter; upon which, *Solomon*, after taxing him with the breach of his oath, put him to death. “*So the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon,*” after the death or banishment of his most dangerous foes, from their rank, wisdom, and consequence, 1 Kings, chap. ii.

David appears to have survived the coronation of *Solomon* half a year; for though he reigned seven years and six months over *Judah*, and thirty-three years over all *Israel*, yet his reign is reckoned only forty years, 2 Sam. v. 4, 5; 1 Chron. xxix. 27. This interval he seems to have employed in those public acts and regulations, contained in the five last chapters of the first book of *Chronicles*.

SOLOMON.

The age of *Solomon*, at his accession to the crown, is not noticed in Scripture; but that he was then about twenty, neither less nor more, may be collected from incidental circumstances.

1. His son *Rehoboam* was forty-one years old when he succeeded him, 1 Kings xiv. 21, and was born, therefore, the year before his accession, 1 Kings xi. 42; we may reckon then, that

Solomon was a father about nineteen; and this agrees with *David's* description of him to the assembly of the people: "*Solomon* my son is *young and tender*," 1 Chron. xxii. 5; which well accords with that age. It is true that *Solomon* styled himself, "a *little child*," even after his accession, 1 Kings iii. 7; whence *Josephus* reckoned him no more than *twelve* years old. But *Solomon* at this time was married to the king of *Egypt's* daughter, 1 Kings iii. 1. He therefore only modestly counted himself a child in *understanding*; as is evident from his ensuing prayer to the Lord for *wisdom* to judge or govern his people, which THE LORD was pleased to grant him, and also *riches* and *honour* in addition *, for his wise choice, 1 Kings iii. 5—13.

2. The series of ensuing events after *Solomon's* birth, fully occupy, as we have seen, the last twenty years of *David's* reign; so that *Solomon* could not well have been born later, without encroaching too much upon the time allotted for them. Nor could *Solomon* have reasonably been called "*old*," in the decline of life, as he is, 1 Kings xi. 4, unless he had lived full *sixty* years, while that term sufficiently corresponds to the *shortening* of his days; as may be inferred from the divine promise of *lengthening his days*, on condition of his obedience, 1 Kings iii. 14.

THE TEMPLE BUILT.

Solomon spent three years in preparing timber, stone, and other materials, and procuring skilful workmen from *Hiram*, king of the great commercial city of *Tyre*, with whom he was in friendship; and laid the foundation of the Temple, in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month of the year, and finished it in the eleventh year and eighth month, in the space of seven years and six months, 1 Kings vi. 1—38.

This was a work of extraordinary despatch, if we consider its magnitude, variety, and minuteness. The summit of the rocky lime-stone Mount of *Moriah* was first to be levelled, and hollows and inequalities to be filled up, in order to form a sufficient area or platform for the Temple itself, its courts, porticos, and surrounding offices, which altogether composed a prodigi-

* "Seek ye first the *kingdom of God*, and *his righteousness*, and all these things shall be added unto you," Matt. vi. 33, Luke xii. 31.

ous pile of building, the most splendid and magnificent, perhaps, that the world ever saw; worthy of the Divine Architect who planned, and of the wise and opulent prince who executed it. See the account of the area and buildings of the Temple, in the foregoing *Elements of Ancient Geography*, Vol. I. p. 428.

THE DEDICATION.

Solomon's prayer on the Dedication of the Temple is one of the noblest and most sublime compositions in the Bible, exhibiting the most exalted conceptions of the omnipresence of THE DEITY, and of his superintending Providence, and of his peculiar protection of the *Israelite* nation, from the time that they came out of *Egypt*, and imploring pardon and forgiveness for all their sins and transgressions in the land, and during their ensuing captivities, in the prophetic spirit of *Moses*, 1 Kings viii. 12—60; 2 Chron. vi. 1—42.

“I have surely built THEE a house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in, for ever.—”

“*But will GOD, indeed, dwell on the earth? Lo, the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain THEE: How much less this house that I have built *!*—”

——— “*Hearken THOU to the supplication of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place; and hear Thou in heaven, thy dwelling place: And when Thou hearest, forgive!*—”

* Similar sentiments were entertained by the wisest and best informed of the *Heathen* poets and philosophers.—Unquestionably from REVELATION traditional:

Ποιος δ' αν οικος τεκτωνων πλασθεις υπο
Δεμας το Θειον περιβαλοι τοιχων πτυχαις;

But what house framed by builders can, within the compass of its walls, contain THE DIVINE BODY? *Euripides* frag.

Ω αμαθεις ανθρωποι, διδαξατε ημας τι εστιν ο Θεος εν τοις ναοις αποκεκλεισμενος;
——— απαιδευτοι, ουκ ιστε οτι ουκ εστι Θεος χειρομητος;

O ignorant mortals, teach us *why is THE DEITY shut up in sanctuaries?* Ye unlearned, know ye not, that *GOD is not made with hands?* *Heraclitus*.

St. Paul, therefore, in his celebrated discourse to the *Athenian* philosophers, might have appealed to the *Heathen Theology* also, for the truth of the following observation, as well as to SCRIPTURE:

“THE GOD who made the world and all things therein, He being LORD of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in sanctuaries made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands:”—“for we ought not to think that THE DEITY is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, engraven by man's art and ingenuity.” Acts xvii. 24—29.

“ If they sin against Thee, (*for there is no man that sinneth not,*) and Thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away *captives* into the land of the enemy, *far* and *near* : yet if they shall bethink themselves in the land of their captivity, and *repent*, and make their supplication unto thee saying, *We have sinned, and done perversely, and have committed wickedness*, and so return to Thee, with all their heart, and with all their soul ;—then *hear Thou their prayer, and their supplication in heaven, thy dwelling place, and maintain their cause.*——

“ THE LORD OUR GOD *be with us, as He was with our fathers : Let Him not leave us, nor forsake us : May He incline our hearts to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgments, which he commanded our fathers :—May he maintain the cause of his servant, and the cause of his people Israel, at all times, as the matter shall require ; That all the nations of the earth may know that THE LORD is GOD, and that there is none else.*——

“ O LORD OF GODS, *turn not away the face of thy MESSIAH ; Remember the mercies of David thy servant.*”

The conclusion of this admirable prayer, (of which the foregoing is an extract,) shews how clearly *Solomon* understood the difference between the future son of *David*, the MESSIAH, and himself, whose presence he prays may not be averted, or withdrawn, from his people, the *Jews*, according to the mercies of GOD, covenanted with his servant *David* ; or “ for his servant *David's* sake ;” as in the parallel passage, Psalm cxxxii. 10 ; 2 Chron. vi. 42. For surely *Solomon* could not possibly apply the term MESSIAH, or “ ANOINTED,” in this place, to himself, without incurring the imputation of presumption or profaneness, especially on so solemn an occasion. He could not be ignorant that his father *David* had applied that term to the SON OF GOD, Psalm ii. 2—7 ; and also *Ethan*, in his *hymn*, Psalm lxxxix. 20 ; explanatory of *Nathan's* prophecy, 2 Sam. vii. 14, both borrowing it from *Hannah's* thanksgiving, in which it was first introduced into the language of prophecy, 1 Sam. ii. 10.

The LORD'S acceptance of *Solomon's* Temple, and of this *dedication*, was shewn, 1. By the glory of THE LORD filling the house, or inner Temple, as soon as the ark of the covenant was

brought from the temporary Tabernacle erected for it, in the city of *David*, to the sanctuary of the Temple; so that the priests could not stand to minister, because of the cloud, 1 Kings viii. 3—10; and 2. as soon as *Solomon* had ended his prayer, the fire of the Lord came down from Heaven and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices, as in the case of *David's* offering, 2 Chron. vii. 1. 1 Chron. xxi. 26.

After he had finished the Temple, *Solomon* built his own house at *Jerusalem*, the Queen's house, the summer house in the forest of *Lebanon*, the house of *Millo*, or "town house," and the walls of *Jerusalem*. All these buildings and public works employed him till the twentieth year of his reign, 1 Kings vii. 1, 2, ix. 10—24.

About this time, as it seems, the Lord appeared again by night to *Solomon*, and promised him, that if he would walk, like *David* his father, in integrity of heart, and in uprightness, observing the divine laws, that He would establish the throne of his kingdom for ever; but if he or his children forsook them, and served other gods, that he would cut off *Israel*, and cast them and their Temple out of his sight, and make them a proverb and a bye word among all people, 1 Kings ix. 2—10, 2 Chron. vii. 12—22.

SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS, REVENUES, &c.

After this, *Solomon* built *Gezer*, and the lower *Bethhoron*, in the south; the former having been given as a present by *Pharaoh*, king of Egypt, to his daughter, *Solomon's* wife. (He probably was the *Cephrenus* of *Herodotus*, and the *Shishak*, or *Sesac* of Scripture.) And in the north he built *Baalath*, or *Baalbech*, whose magnificent Temple lies near *Tripoli*, and is so well described by *Maundrell*, p. 135. And *Tadmor* in the wilderness, afterwards called *Palmyra*, about twenty-seven miles north of *Damascus*, and about a day's journey west of the river *Euphrates*; as a barrier against the incursions of the *Syrians* of *Mesopotamia*, beyond that river. He built this city about the twenty-fourth year of his reign, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 34, whose magnificent ruins are described by *Wood* and *Dawkins*. And, we may suppose about this time, extended his northern frontier to the great river *Euphrates*; and his southern

to the river of Egypt, or the *Nile*, or the desert of *Shur*, bordering thereon; 1 Kings iv. 21, 2 Chron. ix. 26, fulfilling the *Abrahamic* covenant, Gen. xv. 18. See *the boundaries of the promised land*, Vol. I. p. 413, &c.

Solomon also cultivated commerce extensively. Mention is made of two voyages undertaken by his ships, in partnership with those of *Hiram*, king of *Tyre*, the greatest commercial city of the ancient world. The former from *Ezion geber*, a port on the *Elanitic* gulph of the Red Sea, eastwards, and southwards to *Ophir*, most probably *Sofala*, a part of the eastern coast of *Africa*, opposite to the great island of *Madagascar*; whence they imported “gold and almug trees, or ebony, and precious stones,” 1 Kings ix. 26—28, x. 11; and the latter, westwards, to *Tarshish*, or *Tartessus*, now the isle of *Cadiz*, on the coast of *Spain*; whence they brought “silver; and proceeding southwards along the coast of *Africa*, as far as *Guinea*, brought back “gold, ivory, apes, and peacocks,” x. 22. The voyage to *Guinea* and back again, might well occupy “three years,” which was the time spent by the *Phœnician* mariners employed by *Pharaoh Necho* afterwards, in the circumnavigation of *Africa*, according to *Herodotus*, IV. 42. See Vol. I. p. 447, &c. of this work.

These commercial voyages brought into his dominions a prodigious influx of wealth; so that the weight of *gold* that came to *Solomon* in one year, was 666 talents, or £3,646,350 sterling: (reckoning a gold talent worth £5475, at £4 an ounce, with *Arbuthnot*,) besides the revenue he raised from the merchants, the traffic of the spice merchants, and of all the kings of Arabia, and governors of the country, x. 14—21. As to *silver*, it was of no estimation in the days of *Solomon*; he made it to be in *Jerusalem* as stones; and *cedars* as the sycamore trees in the valley, for abundance, ver. 21—27.

He also carried on a great inland trade, in *Egyptian linen*, *yarn*, *horses* and *chariots*, with all the kings of the *Hittites* and *Syrians*; and he multiplied *horses* and *chariots* in his dominions, and also *wives* and *concubines*; all contrary to the divine command, Deut. xvii. 16, 17, for he had 12,000 horsemen or cavalry, and 1400 chariots; 700 wives who were princesses, besides *Pharaoh's* daughter, and 300 concubines, ver. 26, xii. 3: and these foreign wives, taken from the prohibited nations, the

Moabites, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Zidonians*, and *Hittites*, turned away his heart after their own *gods*, and seduced him to build temples, and sacrifice to them also, on the Mount of *Corruption*, opposite to Mount *Sion*, to *Chemosh*, or *Peor*, the abomination of the *Moabites*; to *Moloch*, the abomination of the *Ammonites*, and *Ashtoreth*, the goddess of the *Sidonians*. See Vol. I. p. 427.

SOLOMON'S OFFENCE.

This great and astonishing offence, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 35, took place about the thirty-fourth year of his reign; when "he was *old*," or about fifty-four years of age, 1 Kings xi. 4.

And THE LORD was angry with *Solomon* for this, and (appearing to him probably a third time,) said unto him:

"Forasmuch as this is done by thee, and thou hast not kept my commandment and my covenant, which I commanded thee, I will surely *rend* the kingdom from thee, and will give it to thy servant [*Jeroboam*.] Notwithstanding I will not do it in thy days, for *David* thy father's sake; for I will rend it out of the hand of thy son [*Rehoboam*.]—not all the kingdom, but will give one tribe to thy son, for *David* my servant's sake, and for *Jerusalem's* sake," xi. 9—13.

This prophecy was soon after communicated by *Ahijah* to *Jeroboam* an *Ephraimite*, whom *Solomon* had appointed ruler over all the charge of *Joseph*; and accompanied with the significant act of rending his own new garment into twelve pieces, and giving ten of them to *Jeroboam*, reserving only two, *Judah* and *Benjamin*, (which had now coalesced into one,) to *Rehoboam*: promising *Jeroboam*, from THE LORD, that the kingdom of *Israel* should be established in his family, if he would keep the statutes and commandments of the Lord, like *David*; and that for this idolatry of *Solomon*, the house of *David* should be afflicted with captivities, but *not for ever*, until their redemption by THE MESSIAH, xi. 26—39.

For this prediction, and the spirit of disaffection which *Jeroboam*, in consequence of it, excited against *Solomon*, among the ten tribes, *Solomon* sought to kill him; but he fled for refuge to *Shishak*, king of *Egypt*, who protected him; and there he remained till *Solomon's* death, xi. 40.

Beside this dangerous domestic enemy, the Lord stirred up two foreign adversaries to trouble *Solomon's* repose; *Hadad*, of the royal family of *Edom*, southwards; and *Rezon*, king of *Damascene Syria*, northwards, xi. 14—25.

SOLOMON'S WISDOM.

This illustrious prince, under whom the kingdom of the united tribes of *Israel* arrived at its highest pitch of glory, was no less celebrated for his wisdom than for his prosperity.

His political wisdom was early evinced in his famous decision of the case of the two mothers claiming the same infant; by which he so ingeniously discovered the true mother, by proposing to cut the living child asunder, and give each a part; which was instantly rejected by her “*whose bowels yearned upon her son,*” 1 Kings iii. 16—28.

He also composed 1500 songs, or pieces of *Lyric* poetry, of which his *Canticles*, or *Song of Songs*, only remains; and 3000 *proverbs*; of which the principal are collected in his book of *Proverbs*; he was skilled also in *Botany* and *Natural History* of every kind; his wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east, the *Chaldeans*, *Persians*, and *Arabians*; and he was wiser than all his contemporaries at home, than *Ethan*, the author of the lxxxixth Psalm; *Heman*, the author of the lxxxviiiith; and their brothers, *Chalcol* and *Darda*, sons of *Mahol*, or of “*the choir;*” and the queen of *Sheba*, or *Abysinia*, and people from all the kingdoms of the earth, came to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*, and to prove him with hard questions; who left him in the highest admiration of the *wisdom* which GOD “*had put in his heart,*” 1 Kings iv. 29—34, x. 1—24.

SOLOMON'S FAITH AND REPENTANCE.

What grand and sublime conceptions *Solomon* entertained of the omnipresence of THE DEITY, appears from his *Dedication* prayer, and from his *Proverbs*, xv. 3—11, &c. and *Ecclesiastes* v. 1—8.

How magnificently does he describe the primæval birth of the eternal SON OF GOD, under the character of WISDOM, personified; to which so many references and allusions are to be found in the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

THE LORD got ME *, *the beginning of his way* †,
Before his works of old.

From eternity *was I ordained* ‡, from *first* §,
Long before the earth.

When as yet there were no depths [of the sea]
I was born :

When as yet there were no fountains springing with water,
Before the mountains were established, before the hills,
Was I born," Prov. ix. 22—25.

His *Canticles*, or *Song of Songs*, is considered by the most judicious interpreters, as a *mystical allegory*, representing, under the figure of a marriage with the *Shulamite*, or *Solomon's bride*, vi. 13, the spiritual union between GOD and *his Church*; of which the conciser model was furnished by the *forty-fifth Psalm*. An allegory, frequent in the *prophets*, *Isai.* liv. 5, 6, *Jer.* ii. 2. iii. i. &c. *Ezekiel* xvi. 32, &c. and adopted in the NEW TESTAMENT. Thus *John* the Baptist beautifully represents CHRIST as the *bridegroom*; himself as his *friend*, or

* The apocryphal Book of *Wisdom* introduces, by a reference to this passage, the following admirable invocation, *Wisd.* ix. 9, 10.

"O send forth (WISDOM) out of thy holy heavens,
Even from the throne of thy glory;
That being present She may labour with me,
That I may know what is pleasing in Thy sight!"

And OUR LORD assumes the title of WISDOM, compare *Luke* xi. 49. with *Matt.* xxiii. 34, and declares that "WISDOM shall be justified of all *her children*," *Matt.* xi. 19, *Luke* vii. 85. He, who was "born unto us WISDOM FROM GOD," *1 Cor.* i. 30.

† CHRIST is styled "the first born of all creation," *Col.* i. 15; "the beginning of the creation of GOD," *Rev.* iii. 14.

‡ In *Micah's* famous prophecy of the birth of CHRIST at *Bethlehem*, v. 2, cited *Matt.* ii. 6, his eternal generation is subjoined.

"Whose issues [of life] are from old,
From days of eternity."

And the very expression, "was I ordained," (נִסְכַּחְתִּי, *nisachthi*,) here applied to the primæval birth, was employed by *David* to denote his last birth, on the day of his resurrection.

"Nevertheless, *I was ordained king,*
On *Sion*, the mount of my Holiness," *Psalms* ii. 6.

Proving the adulteration of the present *Masoretic* punctuation, נִסְכַּחְתִּי, (*Nasachti*),

"*I have ordained*," or "set."

§ OUR LORD styles himself "the first and the last," *Rev.* i. 17; who had glory with THE FATHER, "before the world was,"—"Whom THE FATHER loved before the foundation of the world," *John* xvii. 5—24.

bridesman; and the *Church*, his spouse, John iii. 28. OUR LORD also adopts the title of *bridegroom*, Matt. ix. 15, and in the parable of the *Virgins*, or bridesmaids attendant on the marriage, Matt. xxv. 1. "The *Lamb's wife*" also, *the Church*, is represented as "a *bride* adorned for her husband," Rev. xxi. 2—9: who ought to be "without spot," Ephes. v. 27; as the *Shulamite* is represented, Cant. iv. 7. And surely, had not this beautiful pastoral poem been understood in a spiritual sense, it would not have been admitted into the SACRED CANON by the ancient *Jewish Church*. This was probably one of his earliest productions, from the warmth and luxuriance of the imagery.

His last production, *Ecclesiastes*, or the *Preacher*, is understood by the most judicious interpreters, to contain a formal *recantation* of the sins of his youth, and a public test of his sincere *repentance* in his age, written after the last divine warning; by which he must have been an "*an old and foolish king*" indeed, if he were "*no more to be admonished*," in a passage so remarkably apposite to his own case, iv. 13.

This work appears to be a *philosophical* enquiry into that most important and disputed question, What is the *summum bonum*, or "*chief good*" of man?—"what is *best* for the sons of men to *do*, under the heaven, *all the days of their life*?" ii. 3.

1. In the course of it he states the various opinions that had been held on the subject, and the result of his own dear-bought experience, in search of the respective enjoyments of human *wisdom* and human *folly*; classing, under the former, the pursuit of several sorts of *knowledge* and *science*; and under the latter, *pleasures* of the sensual kind, *mirth*, *wine*, *eating* and *drinking*, *women**, &c. *grandeur*, *magnificent works*, *splendid palaces*, *great treasures*, and "whatsoever his eyes desired;" but he pronounces them all to be "*vanity* and *vexation of spirit*;" or disappointment and grief: for that "*in much wisdom* is much grief, and he that increaseth *knowledge*, increaseth sorrow," from the greater insight he acquires of the *follies* and *vices* of mankind, and of his own inability to correct or reform them, i. 18; that "*of making many books* there is no end, and that *much study* is weariness of the flesh;" from the endless variety and discordance of the opinions of philosophers

* Against *women* he inveighs most bitterly, vii. 26—28; and in his *Proverbs*, ii. 16—19, vii. 6—27, ix. 13—18.

respecting the *chief good* *, xii. 12. That sensual gratifications are *madness* and *folly*, and the cares of this world, its goods and its labours, which no man knoweth “whether he shall leave it to a *wise man* or a *fool*,” are precarious and deceitful, and incapable of satisfying the *rational* desires of man. And the result of all his researches, “*Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*,—has been, and ever will be, the course of the world †, for there is “*nothing new under the sun*.” This is the substance of the two first chapters, and of the subsequent illustrations.

Solomon, however, was by no means a gloomy moralist,

* See this fully illustrated in *Cicero's* Treatise on the subject, *De finibus bonorum*, and on the immortality of the soul. *Quæst. Tusculan.*

† The finest comment on this aphorism, *vanity of vanities*, &c. a man of the world, the celebrated Earl of *Chesterfield*, has unintentionally furnished, in the volume of his Letters published by Dr. *Maty*, in one of which, written not long before his death, he thus complains :—

“I have run the silly round of *business* and *pleasure*, and have done with them all. I have enjoyed all the pleasures of the world, and consequently know their futility, and do not regret their loss. I appraise them at their real value, which is in truth, very low : whereas those that have not experienced, always over-rate them. *They* only see their gay outside, and are dazzled with their glare ; but *I* have been behind the scenes : I have seen all the coarse pulleys and dirty ropes which exhibit and move the gaudy machine ; I have seen and smelt the tallow candles which illuminate the whole decoration, to the astonishment and admiration of an ignorant audience.—When I reflect back upon what I have seen, what I have heard, and what I have done, I can hardly persuade myself, that all that frivolous hurry, and bustle, and pleasure of the world had any reality ; but I look upon all that has passed, as one of those romantic dreams, which *opium* commonly occasions, and I do by no means desire to repeat the nauseous dose, for the sake of the fugitive dream.

“Shall I tell you, that I bear this *melancholy* situation with that *meritorious* constancy and resignation which most people boast of ? No, for I really cannot help it : I bear it, because I *must* bear it, whether I will or no : I think of nothing but of *killing time*, the best I can, now that he is become *mine enemy*.—It is my resolution to *sleep in the carriage* during the remainder of the journey.” *Horne's Sermons*, Vol. IV. p. 34.

What a frightful picture does the gloomy conclusion exhibit, of a dying libertine, whose *God* was *this world*, its fashions, its follies, its principles, and its practices ; whom he served so zealously in his youth, but who deserted him in his old age ! If he looked forwards to *futurity*, and backwards to that *time* which he *murdered*, and which, therefore, was become his *enemy* ; he must have had little disposition to *sleep* in his carriage. How bitterly must he have regretted, that he had not *feared GOD*, and kept his *commandments* ! If he believed a *future judgment*, must he not have “*trembled*,” like another *Felix*, for the violation of the duties of *righteousness* and *temperance* ?—How different the cheering conclusion of the *apostolic* preacher to all true believers :

“I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, *I have kept the faith*. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a *crown of righteousness*, which THE LORD, THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE, will give me at *that day* ; and not to me only, but unto all them also, that love his appearance,” [at his second advent in glory,] 2 Tim. iv. 6—8.

neither a morose *Cynic*, or “snarling” philosopher, who from the *abuse* of this world’s goods, decried their moderate and seasonable use, iii. 1—8, nor a *Manichean* Atheist, who held the predominance of an *evil principle*, Isai. xlv. 7, Amos iii. 6. On the contrary, he recommends a moderate enjoyment of the good things of this life, considering them as the gift of GOD;—that “to *enjoy* is to *obey*.”

“GOD hath made every thing *beautiful* in its time, [or proper season]—I know that there is no *good* in them, [the things themselves,] but for a man to *rejoice* [in them] and to do *good* in his life; and that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the *good* in all his labour: it is the gift of GOD,” iii. 11, 12.

And to prevent this abuse, GOD has implanted in the heart of man, a presentiment of a *future state* of retribution; founded on the otherwise unaccountable dispensations of his providence in this life, in which *injustice*, *oppression*, and *vice*, are not uniformly punished, nor *virtue* rewarded; leading the wise to the *rational* conclusion, that GOD *will judge the righteous and the wicked*, if not here, most probably hereafter; and the fool, to the opposite senseless and grovelling conclusion, that men are no better than brutes; that *all go to the same place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again*; upon which hypothesis there is *nothing better than that a man should enjoy his own works*, for that *his lot* is only in this world; for who shall *demonstrate* to him a future state of retribution?—which he thus expresses:

GOD hath also set *futurity** in their heart; inasmuch as man cannot find out [or account for] the work that God doeth from the beginning to the end [of the world, otherwise]—I know that whatsoever GOD doeth, it shall be for *futurity** [to decide; when] there will be nothing to add, nor to diminish from it. And GOD doeth it, that [men] should *fear* before his presence, [for HE *that is HIGHER than the highest, regardeth*, v. 8.] What hath been, is now, and what shall be, is now; but GOD will require the past. Moreover I saw, under the sun, the place of judgment, that impiety was there, and the place of justice,

‡ The word עולם, *Olam*, is variably rendered, “the world,” ver. 11; and “ever,” ver. 14; incorrectly in both; it signifies “the future world,” whose duration is “hidden,” or indefinite; (which is the literal meaning of the word,) whence it is frequently rendered “eternity.”

that iniquity was there : and I said in my heart, GOD *will judge the righteous and the wicked*, for there is a time *there*, [in the future state,] for every purpose and for every work [to be judged,] iii. 11—17. Compare ix. 1—3, viii. 14.

“ I said in my heart, according to the [foolish] discourse of the sons of *Adam* :—GOD created them*, to shew them that they were like beasts : for the event to the sons of *Adam*, and the event to the beasts, the same event is to them [both ;] as the one dieth, so the other dieth ; the same spirit is to all : so that there is no pre-eminence of the man above the beast ; for all are vanity. *All go unto one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again*. Who knoweth that *the spirit of the sons of Adam goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast downward* to the earth ? Wherefore, [concludes this foolish reasoner,] I perceive that there is nothing better, than that the man should rejoice in his own works ; for that is his lot : for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him ?” iii. 18—22. Compare viii. 15, ix. 4—6.

The former conclusion (of a future judgment,) he thus supports :

“ Because sentence is not *speedily executed* against an evil work, therefore the heart of the sons of *Adam* is fully bent to do evil : but although the sinner may do evil a hundred times, and his days be prolonged ; yet surely I know, that it shall be well to them that fear GOD, who are afraid of his presence ; but it shall not be well to the wicked, nor shall he prolong his days as a shadow, [which lengthens as the sun declines,] because he is not afraid of the presence of GOD,” viii. 11—13.

The latter conclusion he thus refutes, in the following ironical concession to the youthful libertine :

“ Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy puberty, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes !—But know thou, that for all these, GOD *will bring thee into judgment*,” xi. 9.

And he recommends early piety ; to consecrate the prime of

* The *Syriac* Version here, furnishes an excellent emendation of the *Masorete* text ; instead of לברם, “ to manifest (or prove) them,” from ברר ; reading בראם, “ created them,” from ברא.—*Solomon*, in the sequel, only repeats the *Epicurean* arguments against a future state, in order to refute them afterwards.

life to God, rather than the dregs of old age, of whose infirmities and privations he gives a lively *enigmatical* description; concluding with the different destinations of the spirit of the man and of the beast.

“Remember **THY CREATOR**, even in the days of thy youth; before the evil days [of age] come, and the years approach, in which thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them;—[before] the man shall go to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets [at his funeral.]——

“Then shall *the dust* return to *the earth* as it was [originally;] but *the spirit* shall return to **THE GOD** who gave it,” xii. 1—7.

These *probable* deductions of *reason* in favour of a future state, *Solomon* crowns with asserting its *certainty*, from the dictates of *Revelation*; contrasting the firm, impressive, and uniformly consistent information of the *inspired writers*, with the vague, uncertain, and unsatisfactory arguments of mere *philosophers*.

“The *words of the wise* are as goads, and as nails fastened: the *master-collections* were given by **ONE SHEPHERD**. And further, my son, from these, be admonished, that of making *many books* there is no end, and *much study*, [or reading,] is weariness of the flesh.”

“Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter; *Fear GOD*, and *keep his commandments*, for this is the *whole* of man; [his chief good.] For **GOD** will bring every work into judgment, together with every secret; whether it be good, or whether it be evil,” xii. 11—14.

This authoritative conclusion expresses the dictates of **THE ONE HEAVENLY SHEPHERD**, the Instructor of the World, who communicated “*the words of the wise*,” or “*the master-collections* *,” to *Job, Moses, Balaam, David, Ethan, Heman, &c.* those inspired writers, who revealed God’s decrees to mankind, and placed this important doctrine of a future state of retribution, upon a solid basis, even before the **CHRISTIAN REVELATION**.

* This expression, בעלי אספות, (*Baali Asuphoth*), “*master-collections*,” seems to correspond to the κυριαὶ δοξαί, or *maxime ratæ sententiæ*, “*the authoritative aphorisms*” of *Epicurus*, and other heathen philosophers, “*which were of the greatest importance to living happily.*” According to *Cicero*, in his enquiries about the *chief good*, or *De finibus bonorum*, ii. 7.

The sentiments of *Solomon* are in perfect unison with theirs, and were derived from them, or from the same source. The general turn of his argument, strongly resembles that of *Job*, in favour of a future state; whose words, "*naked came I out of my mother's womb,*" &c. i. 21, he had adopted, v. 15; and many of the *Psalms* express the same persuasion, xiii. 3, xvi. 9—11, xvii. 13—15, xlii. 2, lxxiii. 24—26, lxxxviii. 10—12, xc. 3, &c. with which *Solomon* must have been well acquainted. And OUR LORD has decided the question, that the doctrine of the resurrection, and a future state of rewards and punishments, was taught by "*Moses and the prophets,*" in his refutation of the *Sadducees*, who denied a resurrection, Matt. xxii. 29—32, and in his instructive parable of *Lazarus*, Luke xvi. 19—31.

From this truly wise and religious conclusion of the book, we are warranted charitably to hope that *Solomon* died a sincere *penitent*, and was restored to the divine favour, for this public humiliation.

SIXTH PERIOD.

FROM THE REVOLT OF THE TEN TRIBES, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. 404 YEARS.

KINGS OF JUDAH.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Rehoboam</i>	17	990
2. <i>Abijah</i>	3	973
3. <i>Asa</i>	41	970
4. <i>Jehosaphat</i>	25	929
5. <i>Jehoram, or Joram</i>	8	904
6. <i>Ahaziah</i>	1	896
7. <i>Q. Athaliah</i>	6	895
8. <i>Joash, or Jehoash</i> ..	40	889
9. <i>Amaziah</i>	29	849
Interregnum	11	820
10. <i>Uzziah, or Azariah</i> .	52	809
11. <i>Jotham</i>	16	757
12. <i>Ahaz</i>	16	741
13. <i>Hezekiah</i>	29	725
14. <i>Manasseh</i>	55	696
15. <i>Amon</i>	2	641
16. <i>Josiah</i>	31	639
17. <i>Jehoahaz, 3 m.</i>		
18. <i>Jehoiakim</i>	11	608
19. <i>Jehoiachin, 3 m.</i>		
20. <i>Zedekiah</i>	11	597
<i>Jerusalem taken</i> ..	404	586

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Jeroboam</i>	22	990
2. <i>Nadab</i>	2	968
3. <i>Baasha</i> (24)	23	966
4. <i>Ela</i> (2)	1	943
5. <i>Zimri and Omri</i> (12)	11	942
6. <i>Ahab</i>	22	931
7. <i>Ahaziah</i>	2	909
8. <i>Jehoram, or Joram</i> ..	12	907
9. <i>Jehu</i>	28	895
10. <i>Jehoahaz</i>	17	867
11. <i>Jehoash, or Joash</i> ..	16	850
12. <i>Jeroboam II.</i>	41	834
1st Interregnum	22	793
13. <i>Zechariah & Shallum</i>	1	771
14. <i>Menahem</i>	10	770
15. <i>Pekahiah</i>	2	760
16. <i>Pekah</i>	20	758
2d Interregnum	10	738
17. <i>Hoshea</i>	9	728
<i>Samaria taken</i>	271	719

This period has been hitherto considered as the *Gordian* knot of Sacred Chronology; the intricacy of which, all the chronologers have complained of, but none have been able to unravel. The difficulty of harmonizing the reigns of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel* together, has principally arisen; 1. from the discordance of some of the correspondences in the years of their respective reigns, with the direct lengths of those reigns; and 2. from not critically determining the duration of the two *interregnums* or vacancies, in the succession of the latter kings, so as to make them correspond with the former throughout.

The whole is here adjusted and harmonized, and it is hoped,

satisfactorily, upon the following principles:—1. The standard of the reigns of the kings of *Judah* is considered as correct; for it is verified by the concurrence of the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, (the latter relating especially to the kings of *Judah*,) and of *Josephus*, *Abulfaragi*, and *Eutychius*. The incorrectness, therefore, complained of, must be confined to the latter series; and must be remedied, by reducing it to the former. 2. The two series of reigns agree in three points of time: 1. The reigns of *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam* began together, or in the same year, 1 Kings xii. 1—20; 2 Chron. x. 1—19; as did also, 2. The reigns of Queen *Athaliah* and of *Jehu*, who slew the two kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, *Ahaziah* and *Jehoram*, the same day, 2 Kings ix. 24—27; and, 3. *Samaria* was taken by the *Assyrians* in the ninth year of *Hoshea*, king of *Israel*, and in the sixth year of *Hezekiah*, king of *Judah*, 2 Kings xviii. 10. 3. Hence it necessarily follows, 1. That the first six reigns in *Judah* must be equal in length to the first eight in *Israel*; and also, 2. That the next seven in *Judah*, to the sixth of *Hezekiah*, including one interregnum, must be equal to the remainder in *Israel*, including two interregnums. 4. But upon comparing the former together, it appears that the first six of *Judah* amount to ninety-five years; whereas, the first eight of *Israel* amount to ninety-eight years, according to the table of reigns in Scripture. Consequently, three years must be retrenched from the latter, to reduce them to an equality with the former.

Accordingly, one year is here subtracted from each of the reigns of *Baasha*, *Ela*, and *Zimri*, which are thereby reduced from *current**, to *complete* years. And this reduction is warranted by the correspondences: for *Baasha* began to reign in the third year of *Asa*, king of *Judah*, 1 Kings xv. 33; and his son *Ela*, in the twenty-sixth of *Asa*, xvi. 8, which gives the reign of *Baasha*, $26 - 3 = 23$ years complete. *Ela* was slain in the twenty-seventh of *Asa*, xvi. 10; he reigned, therefore, only $27 - 26 = 1$ year complete. And *Zimri* and *Omri* reigned in succession, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-eighth of *Asa*, xvi. 29; or only $38 - 27 = 11$ years complete. And as their

* That the reigns in these lists are all computed, in *current* time, (according to the popular mode of computation in the east, and every where, see Vol. I. p. 21,) may further be collected from that of *Zedekiah*, eleven years; which actually was only ten years, four months, and eight days, supposing the first year to have been complete. Compare 2 Kings xxiv. 18, with xxv. 2—4.

reigns were all included in the one reign of *Asa*, and therefore more likely to be correctly referred thereto, this is a reason why these three reigns should be selected for reduction, rather than the succeeding or the preceding. 5. Upon comparing the latter together, it appears that there was one interregnum in the kingdom of *Judah*, of eleven years, and two in *Israel* of twenty-two years, and of ten years; which are requisite in both, to equalize the two periods together, of 176 years each; counting from the joint accession of Q. *Athaliah* and *Jehu*, to the sixth of *Hezekiah*, and capture of *Samaria*, in the same year.

That the lengths of these interregnums are rightly assigned, will appear from the correspondences of reigns. 1. *Amaziah*, king of *Judah*, survived the death of *Jehoash*, king of *Israel*, fifteen years; he died, therefore, about the sixteenth year of his son *Jeroboam* II. 2 Kings xiv. 17; 2 Chron. xxv. 25; but *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, did not begin to reign until the twenty-seventh year of *Jeroboam* II. 2 Kings xv. 1; 2 Chron. xxvi. 1; therefore, from the death of *Amaziah* to the accession of his son *Uzziah*, there was an interregnum of $27 - 16 = 11$ years.

2. *Jeroboam* II. began to reign in the fifteenth year of *Amaziah*, king of *Judah*, and reigned forty-one years, 2 Kings xiv. 23; he died, therefore, in the sixteenth year of *Uzziah*, king of *Judah*; but *Zechariah*, his son, did not succeed him till the thirty-eighth of *Uzziah*, 2 Kings xv. 8; consequently, the first interregnum in *Israel* lasted $38 - 16 = 22$ years.

3. *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, began to reign in the fifty-second of *Uzziah*, 2 Kings xv. 27; 2 Chron. xxvi. 3; and in the twentieth year of his reign was slain by *Hoshea*, xv. 30, in the third year of the reign of *Ahaz*, king of *Judah*, 2 Kings xvi. 1; but *Hoshea* did not begin to reign till the twelfth year of *Ahaz*, xvii. 1, or the thirteenth current, 2 Kings xviii. 10; consequently, the second interregnum in *Israel* lasted $13 - 3 = 10$ years.

6. A curious and satisfactory confirmation of this adjustment of the reigns of the kings of *Israel*, is furnished by *Josephus*, who reckons their amount, from the revolt of the ten tribes, to the extinction of that kingdom, 240 years, Ant. IX. 14, 1; and if, from the whole corrected amount, 271 years, we deduct the two interregnums, 32 years, the remainder, 239 years, complete, or 240 current, gives the lengths of the reigns alone. This furnishes a decisive proof of his great skill as a chronologer, in

developing the length of this intricate and perplexed period. That he was no stranger to the chasm of thirty-two years in *Israel*, we may infer from his taking into account the eleven years of interregnum in *Judah*, necessary to complete his amount of the whole period, from the foundation to the destruction of the Temple, 441 years. See Vol. I. p. 301.

7. We are now competent to detect some errors that have crept into the correspondences of reigns; and which have hitherto puzzled and perplexed chronologers, and prevented them from critically harmonizing the two series; not being able to distinguish the genuine from the spurious numbers.

1. "*Jehoshaphat* began to reign over *Judah* in the fourth year of *Ahab*," 1 Kings xxi. 41.—It should be the *second*.

2. "*Ahaziah*, the son of *Ahab*, began to reign over *Israel* in the seventeenth of *Jehoshaphat*," xxii. 51.—It should be the *twentieth* of *Jehoshaphat*.

3. "*Jehoram*, the son of *Ahaziah*, began to reign over *Israel* in the second year of *Jehoram*, son of *Jehoshaphat*," 2 Kings i. 17.—It should be in the *twenty-second* year of *Jehoshaphat*; as also, where it is again incorrectly stated, in the *eighteenth*, 2 Kings iii. 1.

4. "*Jehoram*, the son of *Jehoshaphat*, began to reign over *Judah*, in the fifth year of the reign of *Joram*, the [grand] son of *Ahab*," 2 Kings viii. 16.—It should be the *fifth* year from the death of *Ahab*; or the *third* year of *Joram*'s reign.—"*Jehoshaphat* being then king of *Judah*"—is an anachronism, and an interpolation in the Masorete text.

5. "*Jehoash* began to reign over *Israel* in the thirty-seventh year of *Joash*, king of *Judah*," 2 Kings xiii. 10.—It should be the *thirty-ninth* year; as in the accurate *Aldine* edition of the Greek Septuagint. See *Jackson's Chron.* Vol. I. p. 182.

6. The correspondences by which the interregnum in *Judah* was collected, are incorrect; they should be $25 - 14 = 11$ years.

7. "*Hoshea* slew *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, in the twentieth year of *Jotham*," 2 Kings xv. 30. But *Jotham* reigned only sixteen years, xv. 33.—It should be in the *third* year of *Ahaz*, as collected from xvi. 1.

REHOBAM.

From seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of *Solomon*, only one daughter is noticed, *Taphath*, 1 Kings iv. 11.

His successor, *Rehoboam*, was a spurious son*, by an *Ammonitess*, born the year before his own coronation; and therefore “unworthy of the kingdom*.”

Upon the death of *Solomon*, the factious and discontented tribes recalled *Jeroboam* from *Egypt*, and, with him at their head, applied to *Rehoboam* for redress of grievances in the late reign. A rough answer, which he indiscreetly gave them, following the advice of the companions of his youth, rather than of the old counsellors of his father, furnished them with a pretext for revolt, which they had long meditated from the time of *Absalom* and *Sheba's* rebellion; and immediately they appointed *Jeroboam* their king. *Ephraim* indeed, of which tribe he was, all along envied *Judah* her precedence, as we have seen; and God now made them the instruments of correction to both. For “*the cause was from THE LORD*,” to fulfil his threat to *Solomon*, and his promise to *Jeroboam*. Such are the incidental traits that distinguish *sacred history* from *profane*: in the latter, revolutions of states are usually attributed to *human* sagacity and secondary causes; but in the former they are uniformly attributed to the SUPREME GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, guiding and directing the operations of all inferior agents, according to his sole will and pleasure, that *the fierceness of man might turn to his praise*. THE ORACLE, accordingly, stopt the warlike preparations of *Rehoboam*, to punish this revolt, and commanded the militia of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, 180,000, whom he had mustered, to disperse again, and not proceed to fight against their brethren of *Israel*, 1 Kings xii. 1—24.

Rehoboam, during the first three years of his reign, walked in the way of *David* and of *Solomon* at first; he built and fortified a number of fenced cities in the land of *Judah*; and gave an asylum to the Priests and Levites, and such of the godly people of *Israel* as fled from *Jeroboam's* idolatries, the golden calves set up at *Dan* and *Bethel*, to seek the LORD GOD of *Israel*, and to sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, the established place of worship. And by their accession, the kingdom of *Judah* was strengthened, 2 Chron. xi. 5—17.

For *Jeroboam*, by a wicked policy, in order to prevent the re-union of the ten tribes to *Judah*, 1. detached them from the

* Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ροβοὰμ, ἐξ ἀλλοφυλῶν, ἀναξίως τῆς ἀρχῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πολυγαμία τὴν εὐεκενίαν ποιεῖ. *Suidas*, voce Ἀστάρτη.

national worship prescribed by the law of *Moses*; saying to the people, “It is too much for you to go up to *Jerusalem* to worship THE LORD: Behold *thy Gods*, O *Israel*, who brought thee forth out of the house of *Egypt*!” repeating the proclamation of *Aaron*, *Exod.* xxxii. 4. 2. Rejecting the *priests* and *Levites*, who refused to conform to this *idolatrous* worship, he appointed “the lowest of the people,” who had neither learning nor religion, to be priests of the high places which he had made; and 3. he changed the feast of *Tabernacles* from the seventh month, as prescribed by the law of *Moses*, to the eighth month; even in the month which *he had devised of his own heart*; and on this festival, 4. acted as high priest himself, *1 Kings* xii. 25—33. For these abominations and sacrilege, while he was officiating at the altar of *Bethel*, to burn incense, a prophecy was denounced against it, foretelling its future destruction and profanation, by *Josiah*, king of *Judah*, by name, 361 years before the event; (dating this denunciation in the seventh year of *Jeroboam*,) and when he stretched forth his hand from the altar, commanding to lay hold on the man of God, who dared to utter it in his presence, his hand was withered; but restored again, upon the prayer of the prophet. But this instance of divine severity, tempered with mercy, had no lasting effect on his corrupt heart.—He persisted in his evil ways, which brought down destruction upon his house or family, *1 Kings* xiii. 1—34, xiv. 1—20.

Rehoboam also, and the *Jews*, relapsed into the sodomies and abominations of the devoted nations of *Canaan*; and forsook the law of THE LORD, and all the people with him. Wherefore, in the fifth year of his reign, the LORD brought up against him *Shishak*, king of *Egypt*; who took his fenced cities, plundered the treasury of the house of the Lord, and of the king’s house, and reduced the kingdom to subjection,—“that they might know [the difference between] GOD’S service, and the service of *the kingdoms of the countries*” around: by comparing the mildness of the one, with the rigour of the other.

Upon this visitation, the princes of *Israel* and *Rehoboam* humbled themselves, and said, “THE LORD is righteous;” and by that means, averted the divine wrath, so that the remainder of his reign was rather prosperous, for “*he dealt wisely*,” and in “*Judah* also things went well;” but like the frail *Solomon*, “he desired many wives;” for he had eighteen wives, and

threescore concubines ; by whom he had twenty-eight sons, and threescore daughters ; and he dispersed all his children throughout all the lands of Judah and Benjamin, into every fenced city, and gave them provision in abundance. He reigned seventeen years, 1 Kings xiv. 21—29, 2 Chron. xi. 17—23, xii. 1—15.

ABIJAM

Succeeded *Rehoboam*. He was the son of his favourite wife, *Maachah*, the daughter of *Absalom* *, 1 Kings xv. 2, 2 Chron. xi. 21, 22.

In a battle between *Abijah* and *Jeroboam*, the army of the former is reckoned 400,000 men, of the latter 800,000 ; of which 500,000 were slain, 2 Chron. xiii. 3—17. The numbers in this wonderful battle, are probably corrupt, and should be reduced to 40,000, 80,000, and 50,000, as in the *Latin Vulgate* of *Sixtus Quintus*, and many earlier editions ; and in the old *Latin* translation of *Josephus* ; and that such were the readings in the *Greek* text of that author originally, *Vignoles* judiciously collects from *Abarbanel's* charge against *Josephus*, of having made *Jeroboam's* loss no more than 50,000 men, *contrary to the Hebrew text*. See *Kennicott's* Dissertations, Vol. I. p. 533, and Vol. II. p. 201, &c. 564.

The speech of *Abijam* to the *Israelites* before the battle, is admirable. It breathes the general spirit of piety and fortitude, and severely reproaches *Jeroboam* for his rebellion, and his people for their apostacy ; and thus contrasts the obedience of the *Jews*, and its consequence :

“ *We* keep the charge of THE LORD OUR GOD : but *ye* have forsaken Him. And behold, GOD himself is with us for our captain, and his *priests*, with sounding trumpets, to cry alarm against you : O children of *Israel*, fight not against THE LORD THE GOD OF YOUR FATHERS, for ye shall not prosper.”——
“ So the children of *Judah* prevailed, *because they relied upon the LORD, THE GOD OF THEIR FATHERS,*” 2 Chron. xiii. 11—18.

Notwithstanding this, the sacred historian reprobates his con-

* She is called “ *Micaiah*, the daughter of *Uriel*, of Gibeah,” 2 Chron. xiii. 2.—*Uriel* might have been married to *Thamar*, the daughter of *Absalom*, 2 Sam. xiv. 27. And if so, *Micaiah*, or *Maachah*, was the grand-daughter of *Absalom* ; which is more probable, as she was the grandmother of *Asa*, 1 Kings xv. 10.

duct during his short reign of three years. For “*he walked in all the sins of his father which he had done before him,*” especially in multiplying wives: for he had fourteen wives, and by them twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters; “*and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God,*” to avoid and remove the *idolatries* and *abominations* of the land, “*as the heart of David his father.* Nevertheless, for *David’s* sake, did THE LORD HIS GOD give him a *lamp* in Jerusalem, to set up his son after him, and to establish *Jerusalem,*” 1 Kings xv. 3, 4, 2 Chron. xiii. 21.

This is a lively and impressive instance of the *imperfect* religion of those times, divided between the service of GOD and the service of *idols*:—so strikingly reprobated by the LORD through the prophets afterwards.

“Moreover this have they done unto ME: they have defiled MY *sanctuary* in the same day, and have profaned MY *sabbaths*: For *when they had slain their children to their idols,* then came they *the same day* into my sanctuary to profane it! and lo, thus have they done in the midst of MY *house,*” Ezek. xxiii. 38, 39.

The conduct of the *Jews* all along, till the destruction of their Temple, and the *Babylonish* captivity, was exactly similar to that of the *Heathen* colonists, transplanted from *Assyria* and *Babylonia* in their room. “They feared THE LORD, and served their own gods,” 2 Kings xvii. 33. And is not the incongruous service of GOD and *Mammon*, (or “*the World,*”) similar among *Christians* also, at the present day? Matt. vi. 24; for “the friendship of *the world* is enmity with GOD,” James iv. 4. —“The *god* of this world,” 2 Cor. iv. 4, or “the *prince* of this world hath no part with CHRIST,” John xii. 31, xiv. 30, for “what concord hath CHRIST with *Belial*?” 2 Cor. vi. 15.

ASA.

“The heart” of this excellent prince, the son of *Abijam*, “was perfect with THE LORD all his days; and he did what was right in the eyes of THE LORD, as did his father *David*; for he removed all the *Sodomites* out of the land, and the *idols* which his father had made; and deposed his grandmother, *Maachah*, from being queen, because she had made an idol in a grove,

which he destroyed," 1 Kings xv. 8—14, 2 Chron. xiv. 1—5, xv. 16, 17.

In consequence of this, "the land was quiet," or at peace during the first ten years of his reign, until *Zerah* invaded *Judah*, with a prodigious army of *African Ethiopians*, (or *Abyssinians*,) and *Libyans*; consisting of a million of men, (which *Josephus* reduces, more probably, to 90,000 infantry, and 100,000 cavalry, Ant. viii. 12, 1.) and three hundred chariots. This mighty host, *Asa* advanced to meet on the borders of his dominions; and after prayer to God, "who can equally *help with many, or with the powerless*," totally overthrew the enemy, and gathered immense spoils and cattle, 2 Chron. xiv. 9—15, xvi. 8.

The following noble exhortation of the inspired prophet *Azariah*, who came out to meet *Asa* on his return, after this great victory, (as *Melchizedek* did *Abraham*,) may thus be more correctly and intelligibly translated.

"Hear me *Asa*, and all *Judah*, and *Benjamin* :

"THE LORD is with you, while ye are with Him: And if ye seek Him, He will be found by you; but if ye forsake Him, He will forsake you.

"Now, for many days, [the revolted tribes of] *Israel* have been without THE TRUE GOD, and without a *teaching priest*, and without *the law*: [therefore have they been delivered into the hands of their enemies*.] But [if] in their trouble they had turned unto THE LORD THE GOD OF ISRAEL, and sought Him, He would have been found by them. Hence, in those times, there hath been no [settled] peace to the goer out, nor to the comer in [about his business] but great vexations, upon all the inhabitants of that land: for tribe hath been destroyed by tribe, and city by city; because God hath vexed them with all adversity.

"Be ye, therefore, confirmed [in the *true faith*,] and let not your hands be weak [to root out *idolatry*,] for your work shall be rewarded," 2 Chron. xv. 1—7.

And most powerful was the effect:

"And when *Asa* heard these words, even the exhortation of [*Azariah*, the son of] *Oded* the prophet, he confirmed himself

* This is the judicious insertion of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Versions, required by the context.

[in the faith,] and put away the *abominable idols* out of all the land of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and out of the cities which he had taken from Mount *Ephraim*; and renewed the altar of THE LORD that was before the porch [of the temple] of THE LORD.

“ And he gathered all *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and with them the refugees out of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, [northwards,] and out of *Simeon* [southwards:] for they flocked to him in abundance out of *Israel*, when they saw that the Lord his God was with him. So they gathered themselves together at *Jerusalem* in the third month, in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Asa*: and they offered unto THE LORD, at the same time, of the spoil which they had brought [from the *Ethiopians*,] seven hundred oxen, and seven thousand sheep.

“ And they entered into covenant to seek THE LORD, THE GOD OF THEIR FATHERS, with all their heart, and with all their soul: that whosoever would not seek THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, [but relapse into *idolatry*,] should be put to death, both small and great, man and woman. And they sware unto THE LORD with a loud voice, and with shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets. And all *Judah* rejoiced at the oath: for they sware with all their heart, and sought HIM with all their desire. And THE LORD was found by them, and gave them rest round about,” 2 Chron. xv. 8—15.

What an interesting and affecting picture is this, of *national* repentance and reformation!

II. How different was the distracted state of the revolted tribes, as described by the prophet, during the long and peaceful reign of *Asa*.

When *Jeroboam*, notwithstanding the warning he had received, persisted in the sin of idolatry, and “made *Israel* to sin,” the old prophet *Ahijah*, who had originally communicated the divine appointment to him, was commissioned, near the close of his reign, 1. to denounce the death of his most hopeful son, *Abijah*, about whose sickness the wife of *Jeroboam* came to consult him in disguise; 2. the approaching destruction of his house or family, by a succeeding king of *Israel*. 3. And the captivity of the tribes of *Israel*, beyond the river [*Euphrates*, by the *Assyrians*,] for their idolatries, 1 Kings xiv. 1—16.

Accordingly, in the second year of *Asa*, *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, who succeeded him, and walked in his way, after two years' reign was slain by *Baasha*; who assumed the crown,

and utterly destroyed the family of *Jeroboam*, 1 Kings xv. 25—30.

Baasha walked in the same way, and the destruction of his family also was denounced to him by the prophet *Jehu*, 1 Kings xvi. 1—4.

In the twenty-fifth* year of *Asa*, his repose was interrupted by an irruption of *Baasha* into his frontier, who began to build a fortress at *Ramah*, in order to prevent any intercourse between the two kingdoms. Upon which *Asa* sent presents to *Benhadad*, king of *Syria*, who dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade the northern parts of *Israel*. This put a stop to the building, which *Asa* thereupon destroyed, and built two other fortresses with the materials at *Geba* and *Mizpah*. *Baasha* was prevented by death, next year, from renewing hostilities; as we learn from *Josephus*, 2 Chron. xvi. 1—6. For he died in the twenty-sixth of *Asa*, 1 Kings xvi. 8.

Ela, the son of *Baasha*, succeeded him, and reigned only two years, or one complete, when he was murdered in his drunkenness by *Zimri*; who destroyed all the house of *Baasha*, as foretold, 1 Kings xvi. 1—14.

But *Zimri* himself was slain, after seven days' reign, by *Omri*, 1 Kings xvi. 15—20.

The kingdom was then split into two factions; the one supporting *Omri*, and the other, *Tibni*; at length, after a civil war, which lasted six years, the faction of *Omri* prevailed; and *Tibni* was put to death. *Omri* then reigned without a competitor, six years more, or twelve years current in all; and exceeded all his predecessors in idolatry, 1 Kings xvi. 23—28.

In the thirty-eighth year of *Asa*, *Ahab*, the son of *Omri*, began his reign in *Israel*. He outstript even his father in idolatries; in addition to the golden calves of *Jeroboam*, worshipping *Baal*, or the sun, the god of the *Zidonians*; being corrupted by his wife *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Ethbaal*, king of *Zidon*. "And he did more to provoke THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, to anger, than all the kings of *Israel* that were before him," 1 Kings xvi. 29—33.

Thus *Asa* lived to see no less than seven kings or competitors for the crown, in the miserably rent and convulsed state of *Israel*, increasing in idolatry, and increasing in misery.

* The Masorete text corruptly reads, "in the *thirty-fifth* year," 2 Chron. xv. 19.

Asa himself, however, towards the close of his reign, did not perfectly retain his integrity; for he imprisoned *Hanani* the seer, who reproached him for relying on the king of *Syria* for aid against *Baasha*, rather than on THE LORD who had delivered him from the *Ethiopians* and *Libyans*; and he also oppressed some of the people; and when afflicted with a grievous disease in his feet, “he sought, not THE LORD, but the physicians,” 2 Chron. xvi. 7—14.

JEHOSHAPHAT.

This pious prince, the son of *Asa*, “walked in the *first ways* of his father *David*, and his heart was exalted in the LORD.” The first act of his reign was the removal of the high places and groves throughout *Judah*, which *Asa* had left untouched, 1 Chron. xv. 7.

In the third year of his reign, he sent chosen princes, priests, and Levites, through all the cities of *Judah*, to instruct them in the book of the law of THE LORD. These were wise regulations, to banish false religion, and to teach the true. Hence the *fear* of THE LORD fell upon all the neighbouring kingdoms, so that they made no war against him until he attacked them, and he prospered exceedingly; so that his militia, if the numbers be correct, amounted to one million one hundred and sixty thousand men, 2 Chron. xvii. 1—19, which was not far short of the amount of the united kingdom in *David's* time, 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

His affinity with the idolatrous *Ahab* was the capital error of his reign. He married his eldest son *Jehoram* to *Athaliah*, the daughter of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*. This disastrous connection, mischievous to himself, and ruinous to his family, took place about the thirteenth year of his reign, 2 Chron. xviii. 1, xxi. 6.

In consequence of it, about seven years after, in the twentieth of his reign, he imprudently joined *Ahab* in an expedition against the *Syrians*. *Ahab* was slain at *Ramoth Gilead*, and *Jehoshaphat* narrowly escaped the loss of his life, or of his liberty, had he not cried out, and THE LORD helped him, and disposed his pursuers in the battle to depart from him, when they found that he was not the king of *Israel*. For thus “helping the ungodly, and loving them that hated THE LORD,” he was reproved by *Jehu*, the prophet, 1 Kings xxii. 2—33, 2 Chron. xviii. 2—31, xix. 1—3.

He had again the imprudence to join *Ahaziah*, who succeeded *Ahab*, in a commercial voyage for gold to *Ophir**, but his ships were broken at *Eziongeber*; for this also he was reproved by *Eliezer*, the prophet, who ascribed the shipwreck to the displeasure of THE LORD. *Ahaziah* proposed a second voyage, but *Jehoshaphat* refused, 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49, 2 Chron. xx. 35—37.

After the death of *Ahaziah*, who reigned only two years, and was succeeded by his brother *Jehoram*, son of *Ahab*, *Jehoshaphat* was a third time persuaded to join the latter in an expedition against the *Moabites* who had rebelled, at *Ahab's* death, in which the two kings, with the king of *Edom*, the vassal of *Jehoshaphat*, and their armies, were in danger of perishing for want of water in the wilderness of *Edom*, through which, taking a compass round the *salt sea*, they had designed to invade *Moab*. In this emergency, they were delivered by *Elisha*, the prophet, through regard to *Jehoshaphat*, as he told *Jehoram*, who procured them a miraculous supply of water, which filled the valley, and they defeated the *Moabites*, and pursued them into their own country. This was about the twenty-second year of *Jehoshaphat*, 2 Kings iii. 5—27.

Jehoshaphat made a further reformation in religion, for after *Ahab's* death he took another circuit through his dominions, and brought back the people from *Beersheba*, southwards, to Mount *Ephraim*, northwards, unto THE LORD, THE GOD OF THEIR FATHERS, 2 Chron. xix. 4. However, the high places of the *Ephraimites* were not taken away, because as yet they had not prepared their hearts unto THE GOD OF THEIR FATHERS, like the *Jews*, whose high places he had taken away in the beginning of his reign, 2 Chron. xx. 33.

He also appointed a court of justice at *Jerusalem*, chosen out of the priests, Levites, and chief of the fathers of Israel, or elders, to whom the local *judges*, whom he had set in each of the fenced cities throughout the land of *Judah*, were to report their proceedings; with strict injunctions to both, to administer justice without respect of persons, and without receiving gifts, in the fear of the Lord, and with a perfect heart, 2 Chron. xix. 5—9.

* The Masorete text, both of 1 Kings xxii. 48, and 2 Chron. xx. 36, interpolates "*Tarshish*," which must be expunged, because they could not go from *Eziongeber* to *Tarshish*, or vice versa, without circumnavigating *Africa*.

His prosperous reign was closed with a signal deliverance by the sole arm of THE LORD, from a formidable invasion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and their confederates, from Mount *Seir*. When *Jehoshaphat* had proclaimed a public fast throughout all *Judah*, and in an admirable prayer besought THE LORD “to judge their enemies,” HE sent a spirit of discord between them, so that the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* first destroyed the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, and afterwards each other, and left immense spoils and riches, which *Jehoshaphat* and his people were three days in gathering; and on the fourth, they returned home, from *Engedi* to *Jerusalem*, where they held a solemn thanksgiving in (*Shaveh*, or the king’s dale, where *Melchizedeck* blessed *Abraham*, thence called) the valley of *Berachah*, or “blessing;” and from the foregoing circumstance, the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, “THE LORD will judge,” 2 Chron. xx. 1—26.

II. With the reign of *Jehoshaphat*, one of the wisest and greatest of the kings of *Judah*, we are to contrast that of his contemporary *Ahab*, the most idolatrous of the kings of *Israel*, 1 Kings xxii. 25.

ELIJAH THE PROPHET.

During the reign of *Ahab*, GOD raised up a prophet of a superior order, *Elijah*, the Tishbite, (from *Thebez*, probably a city of *Gilead*, or *Manasseh*, eastwards of *Jordan*) to prevent the total apostacy of the kingdom of *Israel*. This illustrious prophet, the greatest that had appeared both “in word and deed” since the days of *Moses*, boldly predicted a long drought to *Ahab*, not to be removed but by his own intercession, 1 Kings xvii. 1. For *Elijah* apprehended, that the idolatries of the nation would draw down destruction from God, and therefore he prayed for a lesser chastisement to work their reformation; and when that end was accomplished, he prayed again for its remission. It is so understood by the son of *Sirach*, *Ecclus.* xlvi. 10, and also in the NEW TESTAMENT. “*Elijah* prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the land for the space of three years and six months: he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the land produced its fruit,” James v. 17, 18.

After such a denunciation it was necessary for the prophet to withdraw from the presence and solicitations of the king, when

the drought should commence, which it did, probably, about the sixth year of *Ahab*. Accordingly, he was directed by “the ORACLE OF THE LORD, who *came* to him,” to retire eastwards, beyond *Jordan*, and hide himself by the brook *Cherith*; so he went thither, and the *Orebim*, or natives* brought him bread and flesh, morning and evening, by the divine command; and he drank of the brook, until it was dried up, for want of rain, at *the end of the year*, or beginning of spring, (see Vol. I. p. 35, note) 1 Kings xviii. 3—7.

The ORACLE OF THE LORD then sent him westwards to *Zarephath*, or *Sarepta* †, a town of *Zidon*, under the dominion of *Jezebel's* father, where he lodged with a poor widow, and was miraculously supported with her and her family, during the famine occasioned by the drought, for many days, as he prophesied, “Thus saith the LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, *The barrel of meal shall not waste, nor the cruse of oil fail, until the day that THE LORD shall send rain upon the land,*” xvii.

* This is the judicious rendering of the *Arabic* version. הערבים, *Ha Orebim*, “the *Orebites*,” might have been the descendants of *Oreb*, whom *Gideon* slew upon the rock *Oreb*, Judges vii. 25. And *Jerom* mentions “the *Orbim*, who fed *Elijah*,” as being “inhabitants of a town on the borders of *Arabia*,” iii. 119.

All the other versions, and *Josephus*, followed by our English Bible, render the word, “the *ravens* ;”—which certainly is more miraculous; but surely *divine* agency is not to be introduced on the stage, except in cases of importance and difficulty, that cannot be otherwise explained:

Nec DEUS intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.———

HOR.

And the multiplication of miracles unnecessarily tends to their depreciation. Indeed, the difficulties attending the vulgar opinion have greatly embarrassed the commentators. Take the following note of the elaborate *Poole*, in his *Synopsis*, as a specimen:—“Unquestionably they brought meat *dressed*, not raw, Gen. ix. 4. You may ask, *where did the ravens get it?* Answ. 1. From the kitchen of king *Ahab* or of *Jehoshaphat*. 2. Or it was prepared for him by some of the *seven thousand*, to whom God communicated the secret, 1 Kings xix. 8. Or, 3. The *angels*, perhaps, exposed the provisions in some certain place, whence the *ravens* brought it. 4. Where the *ravens* could procure it, HE might provide, who gave them such a commission, and who could effect this in a thousand ways.”—“GOD prepared a table for his servant in the utmost penury. He did not take care that *wine* should be brought to him.”—Such a comment, put out of a learned language into plain English, can only excite a smile, mingled with regret, that literary talent should be so wasted or misemployed on idle speculation. Let me not be understood by this instance, however, as wishing to depreciate *Poole's* learned, excellent, and astonishing *Variorum* Commentary, to which I have been indebted for much solid and useful, as well as critical information.

† Now called *Sarphan*, about three hours' journey from *Sidon*, in the way to *Tyre*. *Maudrell*, p. 48.

8—16. *Menander*, the historian, mentions this drought, or want of rain for an entire twelvemonth, as happening in the reign of *Ethbaal*, *Joseph. Antiq. VIII. 13, 2*. Here, by prayer to GOD, he restored the widow's son to life, xvii. 17—24. From hence, at the end of three years, (during which *Ahab* had sought the prophet through every nation and kingdom, but in vain) the ORACLE OF THE LORD commanded him to go and shew himself to *Ahab*. In the way he met *Obadiah*, the ruler of *Ahab's* house, who was faithful, and commissioned him, "Go tell thy lord, behold *Elijah* is here." *Ahab*, when he saw him, reproached him as the cause of the *national* calamities: *Art thou he that troubleth Israel?* But the prophet boldly retorted the charge upon himself, and his father's house, because they forsook THE LORD, and followed *Baalim*. He then required the king to call a solemn assembly of all *Israel* to Mount *Carmel*, and also to bring all his prophets or priests of *Baal*, or the sun, and of the *groves*. There he reproached the people with the destruction or banishment of the prophets of the Lord, of whom he alleged that himself only remained, while the prophets of *Baal* alone were four hundred and fifty, fed at *Jezebel's* table, and also with their divided worship:—"How long halt ye between two opinions? If THE LORD be THE GOD, follow Him, but if *Baal*, follow him." And when "the people answered him not a word," at a loss how to decide, he proposed a solemn sacrifice to each, and "the God that answereth by fire to consume his sacrifice, let him be THE GOD." This was a fair trial of *Baal's* power in his own supposed element, and approved as such by all the people. Accordingly, when *Baal* answered not his prophets, but THE LORD answered *Elijah's* prayer, "all the people, when they saw the fire of THE LORD consume the sacrifice, as on former occasions, fell on their faces, and said, 'THE LORD, HE IS THE GOD! THE LORD, HE IS THE GOD!'" not *Baal*. Then *Elijah* commanded them to ratify their abjuration of *Baal*, by slaying his priests, which they immediately did, in the enthusiasm of their zeal for THE LORD, at the brook *Kishon*, which had been the scene of *Barak's* victory over the idolatrous *Canaanites*.

Immediately after this *national* conversion, he went up to the top of Mount *Carmel*, and prayed fervently for rain seven times, which at length came in the form of a *little cloud, like a man's hand*, rising out of the *Mediterranean* sea: a phænomenon fre-

quent in warm climates, xviii. 1—46. “*Much, therefore, availed the energetic supplication of this righteous man,*” James v. 16. This happened about the tenth year of *Ahab*.

Elijah was now compelled to fly for his life, to avoid the threatened vengeance of *Jezebel* for destroying her prophets, and when he had travelled about 150 miles, from *Samaria* to *Beersheba*, to the southern extremity of *Judah*, he left there his servant, and went alone a day’s journey into the wilderness, and prayed for death to end his troubles. Here, indeed, his firmness and confidence in the divine protection seems to have forsaken him, justifying the apostle’s observation suggested probably thereby, “*Elijah was a man subject to like passions as we are,*” James v. 17; 1 Kings xix. 1—4.

To strengthen his faith, and to reward his sufferings in the cause of the God of *Israel*, whose honour he had so zealously vindicated, *Elijah* was encouraged by the angel of the Lord to undertake “a great journey” to the *Mount of God*, *Horeb*, where the divine presence had been manifested to *Moses*, the great founder of the law, and was now, probably, promised to be manifested again to this great restorer of the law. On this mysterious occasion, the angel twice *touched* him, and twice made him eat of the *heavenly food* prepared for him; and on the strength of both, perhaps, he travelled by a circuitous route forty days* in the wilderness, till he came to the *cave* where *Moses* is supposed to have been stationed, when he saw the glory of THE LORD in “*the cleft of the rock,*” Exod. xxxiii. 22; 1 Kings xix. 5—8.

Of the invigorating virtue communicated by the divine *touch*, we have instances afterwards in the cases of the prophet *Daniel*, x. 10, and of the apostle *John*, Rev. i. 17, to enable them to sustain the glory of the divine presence. *Moses*, *Elijah*, and *JESUS*, all fasted forty days in the wilderness, perhaps to intimate the likeness of their commissions, to propose, to restore, and to perfect THE LAW by God’s last and best gift, THE GOSPEL; of which they also were witnesses, with *CHRIST*, at his *transfiguration*, Matt. xvii. 4.

And now the ORACLE OF THE LORD personally came to *Elijah*, and said unto him, “*What doest thou here, Elijah?*”

* The direct distance from *Beersheba* to *Horeb* was not above 150 miles, which might have been easily travelled in five or six days.

That the prophet knew him is evident from his answer: "I have been very zealous for THE LORD, the GOD OF HOSTS: for the children of *Israel* have forsaken THY covenant, thrown down THY altars, and slain THY prophets with the sword, and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away," 1 Kings xix. 9, 10.

Here *Elijah* evidently recognizes the speaker as THE LORD, to whom he appositely gives his title of THE GOD OF HOSTS, to mark his superiority over *Baal*, "the sun," and all the *host of heaven and earth*.

Then THE ORACLE said, "Go forth from the cave, and stand upon the mount before the presence of the Lord, for lo, THE LORD is about to pass by."

The first harbinger of His presence, "who maketh the *winds* his messengers, and *flaming fire* his ministers," Psalm civ. 4, controuling all the elements of nature, was "a great and strong *wind*, which rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, but THE LORD was not in the wind." This was succeeded by "an *earthquake*, but THE LORD was not in the earthquake." And this again by "a *fire*, but THE LORD was not in the fire." At the last came "a *still small voice*, [and THE LORD was there*]" and when *Elijah* heard it, (the same, probably, in which THE ORACLE had before accosted him, and which therefore he knew,) he wrapped his face in his mantle (in token of awe and reverence), and went forth, and stood in the entrance of the cave.

And now the same question was repeated from the glory of THE LORD, "*What doest thou here, Elijah?*" And the same answer given by the prophet as before, to mark, perhaps, more strongly the identity of THE ORACLE, and of the DIVINE PRESENCE.

The ORACLE, in reply, gently rebukes the prophet for his crimination of the whole people of *Israel*, and his arrogance in representing himself as the only prophet left:—"Yet have I left to ME *seven thousand men* in *Israel*, who have not bowed the knee to *Baal* †." It is understood as a rebuke by the son of *Sirach*, *Ecclus.* xlvi. 7; and by *St. Paul*, *Rom.* xi. 2—4.

* Κάκει Κυριος. This is the judicious insertion of the *Alexandrine* Greek version.

† *St. Paul*, by his rendering τῆ *Baal*, (*Rom.* xi. 4,) seems to have understood "the heifer *Baal*," *Tobit* i. 5, or the golden calf of *Jeroboam*, worshipped by the northern tribes at *Dan*, 1 Kings xii. 30.

He then directs *Elijah* to return home by a different way, through the wilderness of *Damascus*, and in his way to anoint or appoint *Elisha* to be his successor, and (either by himself, or by *Elisha*) *Hazael* to be king of *Syria*, at *Damascus*, and *Jehu* to be king of *Israel*, as the chosen ministers of divine vengeance upon *Ahab's* house and people, 1 Kings xix. 11—18.

So *Elijah* returned from the Mount of GOD, and at *Abel meholah*, on the western side of *Jordan*, in the half tribe of *Manasseh*, cast his mantle upon *Elisha*, the son of *Shaphat*, a man of opulence, who was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, to signify his prophetic call. This *Elisha* immediately obeyed, after asking permission to take leave of his parents, to which *Elijah* consented, 1 Kings xix. 19—21.

This mysterious transaction is of the greatest importance. 1. It evinces the intimate analogy between the *Mosaical* and CHRISTIAN dispensations, as explained by OUR LORD and his *Apostles*, that it was the same divine person who appeared in glory to *Moses* and *Elijah* at *Horeb*, and with them to his chosen apostles *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, declared by a voice from heaven to be the SON OF GOD.

2. It demonstrates the personality of the ORACLE OF THE LORD, who seems to have appeared in a human form at first to *Elijah*, and afterwards in glory; and also the propriety of rendering דָּבָר יְהוָה, DABAR IAHOH, not “the word of the Lord,” as in the English Bible, which is frequently confounded with the written word, but THE ORACLE OF THE LORD, as expressly rendered by St. Paul in this place, ὁ χρηματισμος, THE ORACLE*, Rom. xi. 4, whom he elsewhere calls ὁ λαλων “THE SPEAKER,” Heb. xii. 25, because λαλει τα ρηματα του Θεου, “he speaketh the oracles of GOD,” John iii. 34. And so should the synonymous terms, ὁ Λογος, John i. 1, &c. ὁ Λογος του Θεου, Rev. xix. 11, &c. Ρημα Θεου, Heb. xi. 3, (taken from the usual renderings of DABAR IAHOH throughout the *Septuagint* version) be translated THE ORACLE, &c.

The last interview of *Elijah* with *Ahab* was about nine years after, or the nineteenth of his reign, to denounce the divine vengeance against him and his family for “killing” *Naboth*, under the form of law †, at the instigation of *Jezebel*, and “taking

* “Χρηματισμος, oraculum nuncupatus.” *Macrob. Somn. Scipionis*, lib. I. 3.

† *Naboth* was accused by suborned witnesses of blasphemy and treason, for which he was stoned to death, and his goods confiscated to the king.

possession" of his vineyard. The behaviour of *Ahab* on this occasion shews the force of guilt. *Hast thou found me, O my enemy?* illustrating the remark, "*Be sure your sin will find you out,*" Numb. xxxii. 23, and "the power and spirit of *Elijah,*" — "*I have found thee, because thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of THE LORD,*" &c.

On hearing this dreadful denunciation, "*Ahab rent his clothes,*" in token of extreme grief, *and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went groaning,* in token of humiliation and contrition.

And THE ORACLE OF THE LORD came to *Elijah,* saying, "*Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me?* Because he humbleth himself before Me, *I will not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house,*" 1 Kings xxi. 1—29.

This gracious respite proves the merciful *goodness* of GOD tempering the rigour of his *justice,* "not willing that *any* should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance," even the most wicked. The sincere, though imperfect and short-lived sorrow and contrition of *Ahab,* shews that "*the spirit of THE LORD*" is rarely "*quenched*" altogether, even in the worst men; while the fall of *David* and *Solomon,* &c. and the failings of *Moses* and *Elijah,* &c. prove that it is liable to be "*grieved,*" through the *frailty* and *infirmity* of human nature, even in the best. "*For there is no man that sinneth not,*" 1 Kings viii. 46, "*not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not,*" Eccl. vii. 20, "*for in many things we all slip,*" James iii. 2. Compare Job ix. 20; Psalm cxliii. 2; Rom. iii. 23, v. 12; 1 John i. 8, 9, &c. either by "*sins, by negligences, or by ignorances,*" *Litany.*

JEHORAM OR JORAM.

This prince succeeded his father *Jehoshaphat* in *Judah,* and was thirty-two years old when he began to reign, and reigned eight years; but he walked in the ways of the kings of *Israel,* like the house of *Ahab,* seduced by his wife *Athaliah.*

The first act of his wicked reign was to slay his six brothers with the sword, whom their father *Jehoshaphat* had amply provided for, and given them fenced cities in *Judah,* and also several of the princes or nobles.

He then erected high places in the mountains of *Judah*, resembling those in *Israel*, and compelled his subjects to commit fornication, or idolatry.

For these heinous crimes, God punished him in various ways. 1. By the revolt of the *Edomites*, fulfilling *Isaac's* prophecy to *Esau*, Gen. xxvii. 40, and of *Libnah*, on the southern frontier of *Judah*. 2. By invasions from the *Philistines* in the west, and the *Arabians*, bordering on the *Cushites*, or *Midianites*, in the east, who carried away all his substance, and all his wives, except *Athaliah*, who was spared in anger, and slew all his sons, except the youngest, *Jehoahaz*, her son; and to fill up the measure of his woes, the Lord smote him with an incurable disease in his bowels, so that they dropped out, and he died after a sore sickness of two years, suffering the visitations of *Job*, but without his consolations.

All these were denounced against him for his crimes by the prophet *Elisha**, in a letter which he sent to him early in his reign. Thus did this great prophet take cognizance also of the affairs of *Judah*, 2 Chron. xxi. 1—20.

JEHOAHAZ, OR AHAZIAH.

He was twenty-two years † old when he began to reign, and he reigned only one year; for, following the evil counsels of his mother, and the house of *Ahab*, he foolishly joined *Jehoram*, the son of *Ahab*, king of *Israel*, in a war against *Hazael*, king of *Syria*, in which he was wounded, and afterwards slain, in *Samaria*, by *Jehu*, who rebelled against *Jehoram*, 2 Chron. xxii. 1—9.

Q. ATHALIAH.

When this wicked woman saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal of the house of *Judah* that survived the slaughter of *Jehoram*, the *Arabians*, and *Jehu* ‡, except her grandson *Joash*, the son of *Ahaziah*, an infant

* The Masorete text here, by mistake, reads *Elijah*, (2 Chron. xxi. 12,) instead of *Elisha*, for *Elijah* was translated during the life-time of *Jehoshaphat*, 2 Kings iii. 11. Thus *Michal* was put for *Merab*, 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

† The Masorete text here (2 Chron. xxii. 2,) incorrectly reads 42 years, but the *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* versions read 22, which is confirmed by 2 Kings viii. 26.

‡ *Jehu* destroyed forty-two "brethren of *Ahaziah*," or his cousin-germans, the sons

of a year old, who was hidden from her rage, with his nurse, in the chambers of the temple, by his aunt, *Jehoshabeath*, the wife of *Jehoiada*, the high-priest, and assumed the throne. She reigned six years over the land, during which this wicked woman and her sons broke* up and plundered the house of GOD, and built a house of *Baal*, and erected altars, and established priests for his service; which were pulled down and destroyed when she was slain, in an insurrection excited against her by *Jehoiada*, the high-priest and guardian of the young king, 2 Chron. xxii. 10—12, xxiii. 1—15, xxiv. 7.

II. We are now to resume the history of the house of *Ahab*, till their destruction also by her contemporary, *Jehu*, in *Israel*.

After the disastrous commercial voyage which *Jehoshaphat*, king of *Judah*, had undertaken with *Ahaziah*, the son of *Ahab*; the latter, who followed the idolatries of his parents, in addition to that of *Jeroboam*, fell from a lattice in his upper chamber, and was sick. He then sent messengers to the land of the *Philistines*, to consult *Baal-zebub*, "the fly-god" of *Ekron*, whether he should recover. But *Elijah*, by command of THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, or THE ORACLE, met the messengers on their way, and sent them to *Ahaziah*, with a denunciation of death from THE LORD for his impiety, in forsaking THE GOD OF ISRAEL. And when the king sent an officer and fifty men to apprehend the prophet, he called down fire from heaven, and consumed this party, and a second; but he went with the third, who besought him, and confirmed the denunciation to the king himself, who died accordingly, after a short reign of two years, and left no son, 1 Kings xxii. 51—53; 2 Kings i. 1—18.

Jehoram, his brother, succeeded him. He removed the image of *Baal* which his father had made, but he still left the golden calf of *Jeroboam*. The beginning of his reign was prosperous, for he succeeded in reducing the *Moabites*, who had rebelled on his father *Ahab's* death, by the assistance of *Jehoshaphat*, and the prophet *Elisha*, for *Jehoshaphat's* sake, as observed before; but the latter part was calamitous, for he was involved in war with the *Syrians*, during which, and for the last seven years of

of his six uncles, who had been put to death by his father *Jehoram*, 2 Kings xi. 13, 14; 2 Chron. xxii. 8.

* This wicked queen massacred all the royal family, except *Joash*, her grandson: "the sons of *Athaliah*," therefore, noticed 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, must denote her idolatrous adherents, "sons of *Belial*."

his reign, dearth and famine prevailed in the land, and in *Samaria*, during the siege; and he was slain by *Jehu*, who rebelled against him, when he was anointed king by the messenger of *Elisha*, and executed divine vengeance upon *Jezebel*, and the whole house of *Ahab*, whom he cut off, 2 Kings iii. 1—27, iv. 38, compared with viii. 1—3, vi. 8—25, ix. 1—37, x. 1—11.

ELISHA THE PROPHET.

However calamitous in other respects, his reign was distinguished above that of any of the kings of *Israel* by the translation of the great prophet *Elijah*, and by the splendid miracles of his servant *Elisha*, “who poured water on the hands of *Elijah*,” 2 Kings iii. 11.

The translation of *Elijah* by a *whirlwind*, in a *fiery* chariot and horses, happened about the first year of his reign. It was witnessed by *Elisha*, and probably by the fifty sons of the prophets, who foretold it to *Elisha* on the morning of that day, and went to *Jericho*, and stood afar off, during *Elijah's* miraculous passage of *Jordan*, which he smote with his mantle, and the waters divided for him and *Elisha*. This we may collect from their obeisance to *Elisha*, on his return, as the successor of *Elijah*, “on whom his spirit rested,” when he divided the waters of *Jordan* with *Elijah's* mantle; and also from their importunity to suffer them to search for *Elijah's* body in the wilderness, which they did in vain.

Along with his “falling mantle,” *Elisha* received that “double portion of the spirit,” and of the power of *Elijah*, which GOD granted to the pious request of this most faithful servant, whom nothing could separate from his master, to reward his tried affection and persevering patience with the choicest gifts of THE SPIRIT; but “the hardest” to be obtained, unless by “the energetic supplication” of an *Elijah*, 2 Kings iii. 1—18.

The prophecies and miracles of *Elisha* were numerous and important.

1. He healed the bad waters of *Jericho*, which had been cursed perhaps for rebuilding the city, contrary to the divine command, Josh. vi. 26, when *Hiel*, the *Bethelite*, who ignorantly, or presumptuously, rebuilt it, laid the foundation in the death of his eldest son, and set up the gates thereof in the death of his youngest, 1 Kings xvi. 34; 2 Kings ii. 18—22.

2. He cursed the idolatrous inhabitants of *Bethel*, who mocked him, and said, “*Go up thou bald head, Go up thou bald head,*” or follow thy master *Elijah*, joining insult to incredulity. And this curse, pronounced “in the name of **THE LORD**,” brought two *she bears* out of the wood, who tore forty-two “children” of them, or rather “youths,” or “lads,” as the original *לָבָד* (*Ieled*) elsewhere signifies, Gen. xliii. 8 ; 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.

3. He foretold the miraculous supply of water to *Jehoshaphat* in the wilderness of *Edom*, 2 Kings iii. 17.

4. He multiplied the widow’s oil to pay her debt, 2 Kings iv. 1—7.

5. By his prayers he procured a son for the rich and hospitable *Shunamite*, 2 Kings iv. 8—17.

6. And by his prayers restored the child to life again, iv. 18—37.

7. He cured the poisonous pottage in the course of the seven years’ famine which he foretold, iv. 38—41, viii. 1.

8. He entertained a hundred men with a present of twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of corn, who did eat, and left fragments thereof, iv. 42—44.

9. He cured *Naaman*, the *Syrian*, and transferred his leprosy to the covetous and lying *Gehazi*, his own servant, v. 1—27.

10. He made an iron hatchet to rise from the bottom of the water into which it had fallen, vi. 1—7.

11. He discovered the secret counsels of *Benhadad*, the king of *Syria*, in his war with *Israel*, to *Jehoram*, and saved him several times. And when *Benhadad* sent a large force to apprehend him, he prayed to God, and not only opened the eyes of the young man, his servant, to see that they were protected by an angelic host of fiery horses and chariots, but blinded the eyes of the *Syrians*, so that he led them into the midst of *Samaria*, and delivered them into the hands of *Jehoram*, whose eagerness to kill them he rebuked, and made him entertain them hospitably, and send them away safe to their master, vi. 8—23.

12. When *Benhadad* afterwards besieged *Samaria*, and caused a great famine, so that the woman eat her own child, and the king in his wrath was going to “take away the head of *Elisha*,” for not relieving the famine, and to “rely on **THE LORD** no longer,” but to surrender the city, *Elisha* stopped him, by predicting the greatest plenty in twenty-four hours; and when the courtier, on whom the king leaned, disbelieved and

derided, the prophet told him that he should *see* it with his eyes, but not *eat* thereof. Both came to pass accordingly, for the *Syrians* were *panic* struck that night by “ a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, a noise of a great host,” caused by the LORD, and fled for their life in the twilight, leaving their camp richly and plentifully furnished; and the courtier, whom the king appointed to take charge of the gate of the city, was trodden to death by the people returning loaded with the spoils, vi. 24—33, vii. 1—20.

13. When the time was come for appointing *Hazael* to be king of *Syria*, *Elisha* went to *Damascus*, about the twelfth year of *Jehoram*, king of *Israel*, and ambiguously foretold that *Hazael* would kill his sick master *Benhadad*, and succeed him in *Syria*, and do infinite mischief to the children of *Israel*. *Hazael's* exclamation, *Can thy servant, a dog, do this great thing!* marks not horror at its wickedness or cruelty, but surprise and astonishment at his own insignificance, as if unequal to such “ great” and daring deeds, viii. 7—15.

14. Soon after, when *Jehoram* was wounded in an engagement with *Hazael*, *Elisha* sent a young man of the prophets to anoint *Jehu*, king of *Israel*, in his room, who thereupon conspired against and slew *Jehoram*, ix. 1—24. Fulfilling, in these two last instances, the injunctions of *Elijah*, in obedience to the commands of the Oracle at *Horeb*.

15. *Elisha* lived till the reign of *Jehoash*, or *Joash*, the grandson of *Jehu*, in whose thirteenth year he died, (according to *Abulfaragi*, who dates his death in the thirty-sixth year of *Joash*, king of *Judah*, p. 39.) He foretold that the king, who came to see him, and lament over him in his last sickness, as *Israel's* protector*, by the symbolical representation of shooting three arrows, should defeat the *Syrians* thrice; which happened accordingly. He lived to a great age, for his ministry lasted from the translation of *Elijah* seventy years, 2 Kings xiii. 14—25.

16. The last miracle was the most extraordinary of all: a dead man was restored to life, by only touching the bones of this prophet, in his sepulchre, 2 Kings xiii. 20—22. The reality of

* “ O my father, my father, *the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!*”—By thus repeating the exclamation of *Elisha* on the translation of *Elijah*, 2 Kings ii. 12, he seems to have asked a blessing of the prophet: alluding also to the remarkable protection of the *fiery chariots and horses* afforded to *Elisha*, 2 Kings vi. 17.

this miracle was the doctrine of the primitive *Jewish Church*, in the following admirable character of *Elisha*, drawn by the son of *Sirach* :

“The spirit of *Elijah* rested upon *Elisha* : whilst he lived, he was not moved with the presence of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection : nothing could overcome him, and *after his death, his body prophesied*. He did wonders in his life, and at his death his works were marvellous,” *Ecclus.* xlvi. 12—14. Certainly, there was no innate virtue in the bones of *Elisha*, to produce any effect at all, much less one of this stupendous size. It was the immediate work of GOD ; and concurred with the translation of *Elijah* to keep alive and confirm, in a degenerate and infidel age, that grand truth of a *bodily resurrection*, which the translation of *Enoch* was calculated to produce in the *antediluvian* world ; and which the resurrection of CHRIST, in a glorified body, fully illustrated.

JOASH, OR JEHOASH.

This young prince, preserved by PROVIDENCE from the unnatural rage of his grandmother *Athaliah*, was seven years old when he began to reign at her deserved death, and he reigned forty years at *Jerusalem*. He did what was right in the sight of the LORD, all the days of his excellent guardian, *Jehoiada*.

In the twenty-third year of his reign, he thoroughly repaired the breaches of the Temple, after it had been built 360 years ; and made vessels of gold and silver for sacrifice, and offered burnt-offerings continually, during the life of *Jehoiada*, who died at the great age of a hundred and thirty years, and was buried among the kings of the family of *David*, “because he had done good in *Israel*, both towards God and towards his house,” 2 Kings xii. 1—16, 2 Chron. xxiv. 1—16.

After his death, *Joash*, to gratify the princes of *Judah*, forsook the house of GOD, and served *groves* and *idols* ; and most ungratefully joined with the people in a conspiracy against the inspired *Zechariah*, the son of *Jehoiada*, whom they stoned to death, by the king’s command, because he reproved them for their idolatries, and warned them of the divine displeasure. But *the Lord looked upon his blood, and required it*, as the dying martyr prayed ; and brought *Hazael* and the *Syrians* against them that same year ; who first stript the sacred and royal trea-

sury, and afterwards, with a small company of men, defeated a very great host, and executed judgment against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and destroyed all their princes, and spoiled the country; and after their departure, *Joash* himself, when greatly diseased, was slain in a conspiracy, by two of his own servants, of whom the mother of the one was an *Ammonitess*, and of the other a *Moabitess*. Thus was he punished by the sons of idolatresses for his idolatries, and to avenge the blood of the sons of *Jehoiada*, 2 Kings xii. 17—21. 2 Chron. xxiv. 17—27.

II. His contemporaries in *Israel* were *Jehu* and his son *Jehoahaz*, and grandson *Jehoash*.

Jehu, after executing judgment upon the family of *Ahab*, purged *Israel* of its idolatries, and, by subtilty, destroyed all the worshippers of *Baal*, with his images and house; and for this service, God promised that his children of the fourth generation should sit on the throne of *Israel*. But because he still adhered to the idolatry of *Jeroboam*, THE LORD stripped him of his dominions eastward of *Jordan*; for *Hazael* smote the *Gadites*, *Reubenites*, and *Manassites*. He reigned twenty-eight years, 2 Kings x. 18—36.

Jehoahaz his son succeeded him, and reigned seventeen years in *Israel*; but he followed the idolatry of *Jeroboam*. Wherefore the Lord delivered the people into the hand of the *Syrians*, who oppressed them, and left *Jehoahaz* only fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen, 2 Kings xiii. 1—8.

In the days of his son *Joash*, who reigned sixteen years, the Lord granted deliverance to *Israel* from the oppression of the *Syrians*. For *Joash* smote them thrice, according to the prophecy of *Elisha*; and recovered the cities of *Israel*, which *Hazael* had taken, from his son *Benhadad*, xiii. 10—25.

AMAZIAH.

This prince succeeded his father *Joash* in *Judah*, he was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty-nine years, 2 Kings xiv. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxv. 1.

The first act of his reign was the punishment of his father's murderers, but not of their children; respecting the law of *Moses*, (Deut. xxiv. 16.)

He afterwards, about the twelfth of his reign, invaded the *Edomites*, who had revolted in the days of *Joram*, (2 Kings viii.

20—22,) and slew ten thousand of them in Mount *Seir*; and destroyed ten thousand more whom he had taken captives, by cruelly casting them down from the top of a rock, so that they were all dashed to pieces. And yet, notwithstanding this success, which he had procured by dismissing an hundred thousand idolatrous auxiliaries, whom he had hired from *Israel*, by the advice of a prophet, and trusting solely to his own forces; he forsook THE LORD and “sought after the gods of the *Edomites*, which could not deliver their own people;” as the prophet upbraided him, and threatened him with destruction from THE LORD, 2 Kings xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xxv. 5—16.

To revenge the depredations of the discontented auxiliaries, whom he had sent back, and who slew three thousand men of *Judah*, and carried home much spoil,—he proclaimed war against *Joash*, the king of *Israel*, in the pride of conquest over the *Edomites*. But the Lord humbled his pride; he was defeated and taken prisoner by *Joash*, who brought him in triumph to *Jerusalem*, broke down four hundred cubits of the city wall, from the gate of *Ephraim* to the northern corner gate, and pillaged the Temple and the king’s house, and took hostages that he should not rebel in future.

At length he was slain, by a conspiracy formed against him at *Jerusalem*, when he had fled to *Lachish*, 2 Chron. xxv. 17—28.

AZARIAH, OR UZZIAH.

This prince was only five years old when his father was slain, and after an interregnum of eleven years, he was elected king; for he was “sixteen years old” when he succeeded to the throne. This naturally accounts for the length of the interregnum, 2 Kings xv. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xxvi. 1. *Amaziah* was slain “fifteen years” current after the death of *Jehoash*, king of *Israel*, 2 Kings xiv. 17, or fourteen years complete from the accession of *Jeroboam* II. his son; and *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, did not begin his reign till the *twenty-fifth* of *Jeroboam*, (according to the foregoing correction, instead of the twenty-seventh year,) 2 Kings xv. 1, which gives the length of the interregnum, eleven years complete.

The reign of *Azariah*, fifty-two years, except that of *Manasseh*, was the longest of any of the kings of *Judah*. The

former part of it, while he followed the counsels of *Zechariah*, who had instructed him in the fear of God, was eminently prosperous; for GOD helped him against the *Philistines*, the *Arabians*, and *Ammonites*; he fortified *Jerusalem*, built towers, and digged wells in the desert for his numerous cattle; he cultivated husbandry, and embodied a militia of 307,500 men, and furnished them and the city with various weapons, offensive and defensive. “And his name spread abroad, even to the entrance of *Egypt*, for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong,” 2 Chron. xxvi. 3—15.

But in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 39, “when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction;” for he presumed to invade the high-priest’s function, and entered into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense. For this sacrilege, THE LORD smote him with leprosy, in the very act, “and the priests thrust him out from thence, yea himself also hastened to go out from thence;” and so he was cut off from the house of the LORD, and remained a leper till the day of his death. During his seclusion, his son *Jotham* governed as regent, 2 Chron. xxvii. 16—21.

The year of his death was distinguished by the following remarkable vision of *Isaiah*, on his designation to the prophetic office, containing an important sequel to the prophecies of *Moses*.

I. ISAIAH’S VISION OF THE GLORY OF CHRIST.

VI. 1. “In the year that king *Uzziah* died, I saw THE REGENT [LORD] sitting on a high and lofty throne, and his glory filled the Temple.

2. “Above Him stood the *Seraphim*; each of them had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.

3. “And they cried [alternately] to each other,

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, LORD, GOD OF HOSTS,
The whole earth is full of his glory.

4. “And the posts of the door were shaken by the voice of their cry, and the Temple was filled with smoke.

5. “Then said I, *Woe is me, I am undone; for I am a man of impure lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of impure*

lips; for mine eyes have seen THE KING, THE LORD OF HOSTS.

6. "Then one of the *Seraphim* flew unto me, and in his hand was a live coal, which he had taken with the tongs from the altar.

7. "And he touched my mouth [therewith] and said, *Lo this hath touched thy lips; thy iniquity is removed, and thy sin purified.*

8. And I heard the voice of THE REGENT [LORD], saying, *Whom shall I send, and who will go to this people? And I said, lo, here am I, send me.*

9. "And He said, *Go, and tell this people :
Hearing ye hear, but do not understand ;
And seeing ye see, but do not perceive :*

10. *This people have hardened their heart,
And stopped their ears, and closed their eyes ;
That they might not see with their eyes,
Nor hear with their ears,
Nor understand with their hearts,
Nor be converted ; that I should heal them.*

11. And I said, *How long, O REGENT [LORD],
[Shall their obduracy continue?]
And he answered,
Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant,
And the houses without man,
And the land be utterly desolate.*

12. Even [until] THE LORD shall remove THE MAN [CHRIST],
*And shall multiply the residue [of the dispersion]
In the midst of the earth.—*

13, *Yet still in it shall be a tenth,
And it shall return.
But it shall [again] be for a prey ;
Like an oak [that is burned,]
And like acorns, shaken from their cell :
[Still] a holy seed is [in] its stock."*

In this magnificent, but highly figurative and most abstruse vision, (here attempted to be rendered more closely and intelligibly,) the mystic temple is supposed to be thrown open to view, even to the inner sanctuary; when the prophet, standing outside the temple, sees THE DIVINE PRESENCE seated on the *mercy seat*, and elevated over the ark of the covenant, between the *Cherubim* or *Seraphim*, and his glory filled the Temple.

1. This DIVINE PERSON, termed throughout the vision אֲדֹנִי, ADONI, ver. 1—8—11, (which is a contraction of אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה,

ADONI IAHOH, "THE REGENT LORD;" as in Amos viii. 9, and in numberless passages of Scripture,) was THE SON OF GOD, or the MESSIAH; who is so contrasted with אֱתֵי הוּוֹה, ÆTH IAHOH, or יְהוֹה, IAHOH, singly, denoting GOD THE FATHER, *Psalm* ii. 2—11, cx. 1. See the *sixth* Dissertation on THE PRIMITIVE NAMES OF THE DEITY, in the volume of Dissertations on the *prophetic Character* of CHRIST, where the propriety of rendering ADONI, "REGENT," is shewn.

This was the decision of the primitive Church. The learned *Cyril* declares, τον πατερα μεν γαρ ουδεις εωρακε πωποτε, ο δε τω προφητη φανεις, υιος ην. "For THE FATHER, indeed, no one ever saw, (John i. 18.) But He who then appeared to the Prophet was THE SON."—And our most learned and orthodox Bishop *Bull* asserts, "Wherever it is evident, that not a mere angel, but GOD HIMSELF appeared, we constantly affirm, following the concurrent judgment of primæval antiquity, that there, not THE FATHER, but THE SON, is to be understood."

2. We are indebted to the *Septuagint* and *Arabic* versions for a very important emendation of the Masorete Text, verse 8, reading לעם הוּוֹה, "to this people," instead of לנו, "for us," or to us." This is absolutely required by the context, to determine the prophet's mission to the people of *Israel*. For how, otherwise, could he offer himself, "Lo, here am I, send me,"—he knew not whither?

3. The masterly translation of the message delivered to the prophet by "THE LORD OF GLORY," according to the evangelist *John*, xii. 40, (more correctly rendered ["This people] have blinded their own eyes, and hardened their own heart, that they might not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I might heal them,) detects an error in the Masorete punctuation of the three verbs of ver. 10, by rendering them *indicatively*, not *imperatively*: הִשְׁמִין *Hishmen*, instead of הִשְׁמִין *Hashmen*, τετυφλωκεν "hath blinded," &c.

And this is confirmed by the freer *Septuagint* Version also, rendering all these verbs *indicatively*, and one of them not in the active conjugation *Hiphil*, with the evangelist, but in the passive *Hophal*; for "the heart of this people is hardened," επαχυνθη; and this is cited *Matt.* xiii. 15; *Acts* xxviii. 26; *Rom.* xi. 8. Still the meaning is precisely the same in both

translations; for the heart of the people was *hardened* by *themselves* *, in this latter, as unequivocally expressed in the former. N. B. Our English Bible has unwarrantably assumed a nominative case, [HE] *hath blinded their eyes*, &c. John xii. 40, as if it were GOD that did so, and not *they themselves*, in the first instance, as in *Pharaoh's* case, noticed before.

4. The LORD OF GLORY'S complaint against his people, is only the renewal of that of *Moses* :

“Ye have seen all that THE LORD did before your eyes, in the land of *Egypt*, unto *Pharaoh* and all his servants, and all his land; the great trials which thine eyes have seen, the signs and the great miracles: yet THE LORD *hath not given you a heart to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto this day*,” Deut. xxix. 2—4.

And the enquiry of the prophet, *How long [shall their obduracy continue?]* was evidently suggested by the denunciation of *Moses* against them during their captivities; “great plagues, and of *long continuance*; sore sicknesses, and of *long continuance*,” Deut. xxviii. 59, the repetition implying *very long continuance*.

The desolation of the whole land, in THE LORD'S answer, was also foretold by *Moses*, most expressly, during their captivities. “Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths *as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies land*,” Levit. xxvi. 34.

5. The twelfth verse, (which is exceedingly obscure and unintelligible in most of the versions; or in the English Bible, is a mere repetition of the eleventh,) by the doubly emphatic term, אֵת הָאָדָם, *Æth Ha Adam*, as distinguished from אָדָם, *Adam* singly, in the preceding verse, seems to denote “THE SECOND MAN, who is THE LORD *from heaven*,” as contrasted with “*the first man*, and his posterity *from earth*,” 1 Cor. xv. 45—47; and to intimate his rejection by the *Jews*, after the first desolation, ending with their return from the *Babylonish* captivity; to be followed by a second, during their dispersion after the *Roman* captivity.

6. The thirteenth and last verse, the most obscure of all, is here collected from the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Versions, compared

* This also appears from the parallel passages of *Ezekiel*: “*He that heareth, let him hear, and he that forbeareth, let him forbear*; for they are a rebellious house,” Ezek. iii. 27. “*Son of Man, thou dwellest in the midst of a rebellious house; which have eyes to see, but see not; they have ears to hear, but hear not*,” xii. 2.

with the *Chaldee* paraphrase; and explained by *Jerom*; and seems to intimate, that the land should recover after the desolations of *Titus* and *Adrian*; and a *holy seed* again “take root downwards, and bear fruit upwards,” *Isai.* xxxvii. 31. To this *St. Paul* seems to allude, in the grafting of the *Gentiles* upon the *holy stock* of the convert *Jews*, *Rom.* xi. 16—26.

II. ISAIAH'S PROPHECY OF THE REJECTION AND SUFFERINGS OF CHRIST.

This *evangelical* prophet, (as he has been justly styled,) not only “*saw the glory of CHRIST*,” in prophetic vision; but he also “*spake of his*” rejection by the *Jews*, who “*believed not on Him*,” and of his *sufferings*, in the following *circumstantial* prophecy, cited by *St. John*, xii. 37—41, who connects it with the foregoing vision.

- LIII. 1. [LORD] who hath believed our report?
And to whom hath the arm of the LORD been manifested?
2. For he grew up before Him, as a tender [or sickly] plant,
And as a root from a parched ground.
He had no form nor comeliness that we should regard him,
No [dignified] presence, that we should desire him.
3. *He was despised and rejected of men,*
A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief;
And as one that hideth his face from us,
He was despised, and we esteemed him not.
- II. 4. *Surely, he hath borne our griefs,*
And carried our sorrows ;*

* This important clause has been variously translated :

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| “ <i>He onely taketh away our infirmitie ;
And beareth our paine.</i> ” | Coverdale, 1550. |
| “ <i>He only hath taken on him our infirmitie ;
And borne our paynes.</i> ” | Bishop's Bible, 1577. |
| “ <i>Surely, hee hath borne our infirmities ;
And caried our sorowes.</i> ” | Geneva Bible, 1593. |
| “ <i>Surely, He hath borne our griefs ;
And carried our sorrowes.</i> ” | Our Bible. |
| “ <i>Surely, our infirmities He hath borne ;
And our sorrowes He hath carried them.</i> ” | Bishop Lowth. |
| “ <i>Surely, our infirmities he took away ;
And our sicknesses, he removed.</i> ” | Dodson. |
| “ <i>Surely, our infirmities he hath borne [away],
And our sorrowes, he hath carried them.</i> ” | Magee. |

Of these several translations, that furnished by *Our Bible* (and now restored in the text) seems to be the best, for the following reasons :

Yet we accounted him

Stricken, smitten, and afflicted of GOD.

5. But he was wounded for our transgressions,
He was smitten for our iniquities,
The chastisement of our peace was laid upon him,
And with his stripes we are healed.

6. All we like sheep had strayed,
We had erred, each according to his own way,
But THE LORD laid upon him
The iniquities of us all:

III. 7. He was brought to [trial] and questioned,
But he opened not his mouth;

1. The original nouns, rendered "griefs" and "sorrows," are correctly repeated from ver. 3.—"A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief," appositely explaining both their nature and cause, "what and whence they were." But these words, when referred at first to CHRIST, evidently denoted not *bodily* pains and distempers, but the diseases and torments of the *mind*; and therefore must denote the same when afterwards referred to *us*. The word מִכָּאָב, *Machab*, is correctly rendered "sorrow," and so understood, in another parallel passage, "My servants shall sing for joy; but ye (wicked) shall cry for sorrow of heart," Isa. lxx. 14. See other instances, *Magee on Atonement*, Vol. I. p. 417—419. The other noun, חֲלִי, *Holi*, is usually rendered *sickness*; but sometimes *grief*, Jer. vi. 7, x. 19. And it must frequently be understood in the sense of *grief*, even when rendered *sickness*; as in Deut. xxviii. 61, &c.

2. Of the original verbs, נָשָׂא, *Nasha*, is rightly rendered "He hath borne," in the primary sense of the word *bear*, Deut. i. 12, &c.; or, *He hath taken on him* (*Bishop's Bible*), or *taken upon himself the burden of those sins which excite our griefs, by suffering for them in our stead*. It is secondarily used, in the sense of *bearing away, carrying off, or removing*, in many places; but this seems to be rather inconsistent with the context in this place, which describes the *vicarious sufferings* of CHRIST, in the first instance, not their *beneficial consequences* to *us*. And these sufferings are next detailed, "He was wounded for our transgressions," &c.

3. The Evangelist *Matthew*, however, availing himself of the latitude of the original nouns and verbs, has elegantly applied the clause, by way of *accommodation*:

Αυτος τας ασθενειας ημων ελαβε,
Και τας νοσους εβαστασεν.

"He hath borne [away] our infirmities;
And carried [off] our sicknesses." Matt. viii. 17.

Which is the only sense applicable to the *miraculous cures of diseases*, noticed in the foregoing part of the chapter. The attempt to harmonise the *Prophet* with the *Evangelist* principally occasioned the foregoing diversities of translation. Throughout this chapter, indeed, the *Prophet*, justly styled *evangelical*, has given a striking description of that great *propitiatory sacrifice* of "CHRIST our *Passover*." The plain result of the whole is obviously this:

The righteous "Servant of THE LORD," (lii. 13.) though without sin himself, was here foretold to *submit* to be treated as the vilest of sinners, in obedience to the DIVINE WILL; and having the *burden of our transgressions* laid upon him, to *suffer chastisement* on account of them; and by offering up his life a *propitiatory sacrifice*, resembling those *under the Law*, to procure for us a release from the *punishment* which was due to our *offences*. See *Magee on Atonement*, Vol. I. p. 409, 410.

- He was led away, as a lamb, to slaughter ;
And, as a sheep, before her shearers, is dumb,
So he opened not his mouth.*
8. *From custody and from judgment, he was taken [to be crucified,]
And [the men of] his generation, who can describe ?
For he was cut off from the land of the living ;
Through the wickedness of my people,
He was smitten [to death]*
9. *And his grave was appointed with "the malefactors,"
But with "the rich man" [was] his tomb.
Although he had done no wrong,
Neither was guile found in his mouth,*
10. *Yet it pleased THE LORD,
To make his bruising grievous.*
- IV. *Since thou [LORD] hast made his soul a sin-offering,*
11. *He shall see a seed that shall prolong their days ;
And the will of THE LORD shall prosper in his hand.
His soul shall see [the fruits] of his labour,
And he shall be satisfied to the full.
By knowledge of him shall my servant justify many,
And he shall bear their iniquities.*
12. *Therefore, I will allot him for his portion, the many,
And he shall share, for his spoil, the mighty,
Because he poured out his soul unto death,
"And was numbered with the transgressors :"
And he bare the sins of many,
And interceded for the transgressors.*

This luminous prophecy, (which is here attempted to be more closely and intelligibly rendered,) describes, as an *historical* anticipation of the event, the rejection of CHRIST by the *Jews*, his unjust sufferings, and his ensuing glory. It opens with the prophet's complaint to "THE LORD," (which is inserted from the evangelist's citation, John xii. 38, following the Septuagint,) of the unbelief of his own countrymen, the *Jews*, respecting the evidences of CHRIST'S mission, from *prophecy*, "*our report* ;" and from the *miracles* he wrought, "the *arm* of THE LORD : " because "they were offended at Him," at the apparent meanness of his condition, "as the *carpenter's* son," Matt. xi. 6, xiii. 54—58 ; at his poverty and distress, Matt. viii. 20, Luke viii. 3, &c. which are here figuratively described under the image of a "sickly plant, growing from a parched soil," &c.—"The hiding or covering the face," was a token of extreme humiliation and affliction ; as in the case of *David*, that type of CHRIST in his persecutions and afflictions ; who "went up by the ascent of Mount *Olivet*," on his flight from his ungrateful and rebellious son, *Absalom*, "*weeping, with his head covered, and barefoot,*"

2 Sam. xv. 30; in the same spot, where JESUS “*wept*” also, over the impending calamities of *Jerusalem!* Luke xix. 41.—The complaint itself is supposed to be uttered after CHRIST’S resurrection.

The second part states the *vicarious* nature of Christ’s sufferings, as an *atonement* for the sins of the world. And the same subject is resumed in the fourth part, at the conclusion of the chapter.

The third part describes, 1. his iniquitous trial and examination before the chief priests and the council of the *Jews*, *Pilate*, and *Herod*; and his dignified silence when questioned by them in many words; and again, at his last examination, before he was led away to be crucified. On these occasions he “*opened not his mouth,*” but “*held his peace, and answered nothing,*” Matt. xxvi. 62, 63, Matt. xxvii. 11—14, Luke xxiii. 7—9, John xix. 9, Acts viii. 32—35.—2. The enormous *wickedness of that generation who cut off*, by a violent death, “*the innocent*” and “*the just,*” as he was acknowledged to be openly by his betrayer, by his judge, and by his Roman guards. Their wickedness was described by OUR LORD, his *apostles*, and the *Baptist*: “*wherunto shall I liken this generation?*” Matt. xi. 16; or “*wherunto shall I liken the men of this generation?*” Luke vii. 31,—“*a wicked and adulterous (or apostate) generation,*” Matt. xii. 39; “*a sinful generation,*” Mark viii. 38; “*a faithless and perverse generation,*” Matt. xvii. 17; “*a crooked or untoward generation,*” Acts ii. 40; “*a generation of vipers,*” Matt. iii. 7; and still more strongly by the Jewish historian, *Josephus*, avowing the justice of their doom.

“To recount, indeed, separately, [all] *their iniquity* would be impossible: but I may briefly say, Never did any other city suffer such [woes,] nor was there *a generation more productive of mischief from the beginning of the world.*” Bell. Jud. v. 10, 5. Hudson, p. 1246.

“I cannot forbear what the calamity prompts me to say: I think, that if the *Romans* had delayed to come upon these *offenders*, the city would either have been swallowed up by an earthquake, or overwhelmed by a deluge, or partaken of the thunderbolts of *Sodom*, for it bore *a generation much more atheistical* (*γενεαν πολυ αθεωτεραν*) than they who suffered thus. In whose phrenzy then, *all the people perished together,*” p. 1256.—“For some how, *that time* became *fruitful of all manner*

of wickedness among the *Jews*; insomuch that they left no work of mischief unpractised: nor if a person wished to frame a crime in imagination, could he invent any newer. So diseased were they all, both in public and private, and so ambitiously did they strive to exceed each other in acts of impiety toward God, and of injustice toward their neighbours: the powerful on the one hand, ill-treating the populace, and the multitude on the other, eager to destroy the powerful; for the one wished to tyrannize, the other to commit violence, and to plunder the property of the wealthy," p. 1314*.

In this part, ver. 8, there are two remarkable various readings, furnished by the Septuagint Version; 1. *εν τη ταπεινωσει αυτου η κρισις αυτου ηρθη*, "in his humiliation his judgment was taken away;" which is supported by the citation, Acts viii. 32. Still, however, the present Masorete reading seems preferable; because the Hebrew עָצַר, *ταπεινωσις*, is no where else so rendered by the Sept. and because "the custody, judgment, or sentence, and leading away of CHRIST to execution," as described by the evangelists, naturally succeed "his trial and examination;" and the rendering "custody," is supported by the Syriac version. 2. *ηχθη προς θανατον*, "he was led to death," where, instead of the present text, *למו*, "to them," the Sept. evidently read *למות*, "to death," as afterwards, ver. 12. And that this was indeed the genuine reading of the earlier Hebrew copies, may be collected, 1. from Tertullian's translation, *A facinoribus populi mei perductus est ad mortem*, "Through the crimes of my people †, he was led to death." And also from Origen's account of a disputation he had with some learned *Jews*, who maintained that the prophet meant not one man, but a nation, or the people of the *Jews*, who were smitten of God, and dis-

* To these attestations of SCRIPTURE and of Josephus, we shall add some from the Rabbins themselves.

"In that generation in which THE SON OF DAVID shall come, the Synagogue shall be a brothel, Galilee shall be destroyed, and Gibeā shall be desolate." Schir. R. i. f. 17. "The wisdom of the Scribes shall rot, good and merciful men shall fail, TRUTH itself shall fail, and the face of that generation shall be like the face of dogs."—"R. Levi said, THE SON OF DAVID shall not come, save in a generation whose faces shall be impudent and deserving of destruction. R. Jannai said, When you shall see generation after generation, railing and blaspheming, then expect the feet of KING MESSIAH."—It is said of KING MESSIAH, *Come hither, approach to the kingdom, and eat of the bread*; (that is, the bread of the kingdom,) and *dip thy morsel in the vinegar*, (these are the corrections, saith Scripture, Isai. liii. 5,) Ruth, R. ii. 14. See Wetstein, N. T. on Acts viii. 33.

† "The people of the prophet," for he is the speaker throughout the chapter.

persed among the *Gentiles* for their conversion. But *Origen* urged many parts of this prophecy, to shew the absurdity of their argument; and seemed to press them hardest with this passage in the Septuagint, ἀπο τῶν ανομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη πρὸς θάνατον, which surely would not have distressed or silenced them, if it had differed from their *Hebrew verity* at that time, to which they constantly appealed from all citations of the Septuagint disagreeing therewith: such they reprobated or rejected with contempt.

3. The *Septuagint* reading is also supported by the *Arabic* version, and by a *Syriac* MSS. *Mediolanensis*, c. 313, communicated to Dr. *Kennicott*. *Dissert. General.* § 69, 11, p. 30, and 124. Indeed it is highly probable, that the genuine reading was adulterated afterwards by the *Jews*, to invalidate the force of this signal prophecy. Instead of לָמוֹ, the present *Vulgate* and *Syriac* editions read לוֹ, “to him.” See *De Rossi’s* collations on the place. This variety is an indication of error.

Next follows the remarkable account of his *interment*, verse 9, which was “appointed” or intended by the *Jewish* government to have been with “the malefactors,” emphatically, his fellow-sufferers*, *John* xviii. 30, *Luke* xxiii. 32, who were usually buried infamously at the foot of the cross, whence their “skulls,” when removed by other bodies, usually “rolled” down the hill into the valley of *Goatha* beneath, *Jer.* xxxi. 39, thence called *Golgotha*, and freely interpreted “the place of a skull,” *Matt.* xxvii. 33. The verb should be understood, and pointed passively, וּנְתַן, put for וּנְתַן, in *Niphal*) as in *2 Sam.* xviii. 9, and in one of *De Rossi’s* Spanish MSS. And נָתַן, *Nathan*, is frequently used in the sense of “appointing,” or “designing,” *1 Chron.* xvi. 4, *Gen.* xvii. 5, &c.

With קַבְרוֹ, “his grave,” as intended with “the malefactors,” is strongly contrasted in the next line, בְּמַתּוֹ, (put for בְּמִוְתוֹ) “his tomb,” which actually was with “the rich man” emphatically, as *Joseph of Arimathea* is described, *Matt.* xxvii. 57, who buried his honoured LORD “in his own new tomb,” designed for himself, *Matt.* xxvii. 60, “wherein never man before was laid,” *Luke* xxiii. 53, “hewn into the rock,” *Matt.* xxvii. 60,

* The parallel passage, “and he was numbered with the transgressors,” verse 12, is cited by our Lord himself, *Luke* xxii. 37.

“*in a garden*,” on the brow of the hill adjoining the place of crucifixion, John xix. 41.

This, therefore, from its elevated situation, was critically marked by *במות*, *Bamoth*, masculine, or its plural, *במותים*, *Bamothim*, in regimen, *במותי*, *Bamothi*, which denotes “*a high place*,” or “*lofty altar*,” as of *Baal*, Numb. xxii. 41, Josh. xiii. 17, &c. or of the TRUE GOD, as at *Gibeon*, 1 Chron. xvi. 39, 40, and so *במות*, *Bamoth*, the plural feminine of *במה*, *Bamah*, is used, “*high places*,” 2 Chron. xxxiii. 17. The same word thus indiscriminately denoting both the singular and plural. In either case, it corresponds to *מרום קבר*, *Marum Kiber*, “*a high sepulchre*,” such as that of the proud *Shebna*, the scribe, “*hewed or engraved for himself in a rock*,” Isa. xxii. 16, or to *מועלה קברי*, *Maalah Kibri*, “*the highest of the sepulchres of the sons of David*,” in which *Hezekiah* was interred, 2 Chron. xxxii. 33. And at the present day, the tomb of *Joseph of Arimathea*, in which he was actually interred, is shewn to travellers, situate under our Lord’s, or lower down on the side of the hill. And this custom was general. Even in *China*, “*the tombs of persons of rank are situated apart from those of the vulgar, on the slope of hills, on terraces of a semicircular form, and supported by breast walls of stone, and doors of black marble. And oftentimes obelisks * are erected on the terraces*,” as remarked by Sir *George Staunton*, in his account of the *embassy to China*, Vol. II. p. 445.

And OUR LORD also, (alluding, it should seem, to this very passage) twice foretold, (not “*his burial*,” but) his “*entombment*,” (*ενταφιασαι με—ενταφιασμον*) Matt. xxvi. 12, Mark xiv. 8, to distinguish it from the ordinary *burial*, expressed by the verb *θαψαι*, Matt. viii. 21, 22. He was not only *entombed* with the rich, but he was also *embalmed* like the rich, for *Joseph of Arimathea* and *Nicodemus* “*took his body, and swathed it in linen, with the aromatic spices, as is the custom with the Jews to embalm*,” (*ενταφιαζειν*) John xix. 40.

The fourth part describes the reward † of “*the grievous*

* This is a custom of the remotest antiquity. Thus *Jacob* erected a *pillar* on *Rachel’s* tomb, Gen. xxxv. 20. *Homer* also notices the custom, *Iliad*. xvii. 434; *Odys.* xii. 14, &c.

† The Rabbinical commentary *Siphre*, on this passage is remarkable.

“*R. Joses* said, Go and learn the merit of THE MESSIAH, and the reward of the just,

bruising" of the blessed "*seed of the woman*" on the cross, Gen. iii. 15, in obedience to his heavenly Father's will, by the promised prosperity of "*his seed*;" their justification by faith in him, (as will be explained under the reign of *Ahaz*) and his triumphs over his adversaries, *the many*, and *the mighty* of this world, as more fully described in the ensuing prophecies, Isa. lxii. 10—12, lxiii. 1—6, and explained in the foregoing prophecy of SHILOH.

The references to this fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah**, in the

from the ancient *Adam*: he had only one precept given him, and that a negative one, yet he transgressed it. Observe how many deaths are decreed to him, and to his generations, and to generations of generations, until the end of all generations. But *whether is multiplied, the measure of good, or the measure of vengeance? the measure of good is multiplied, but the measure of vengeance is diminished*: therefore, KING MESSIAH, *having been afflicted, will repay all men their desert, as saith SCRIPTURE, Isaiah liii.*" See *Wetstein, N. T. on Rom. v. 15.*

* This prophecy made so strong an impression, even to conviction, on the mind of the dissipated and sceptical *Wilmot, earl of Rochester*, that he declared, that "*in all history, he could find no one but JESUS CHRIST, with whose character the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah could agree.*" See his life by *Burnet*. It is remarkable, that *David Levi* omits this prophecy in his two volumes.

That several of the learned *Jewish Rabbis* are by no means insensible to the evidence of this illustrious prophecy, may appear from the narrative of *Solomon Duitch*, a learned Rabbi, and teacher of several synagogues in *Germany*; Lond. edit. 1771, who became a convert to *Christianity*, and relates the following conversation which he had with another learned German Rabbi relative thereto, p. 33.

—"Did you not desire me to explain to you the fifty-third of *Isaiah*? I, having answered in the affirmative, he went into another room, and brought from thence a *German Bible*; out of which he read to me, with the greatest reverence and devotion, the twenty-sixth chapter of *Matthew*, and then addressed me thus: 'My beloved friend, you see in the fifty-third of *Isaiah*, the clearest prophecy of THE MESSIAH, who should be *scorned and despised*, and even *suffer death*: and for what? for his own trespasses? Oh, no! it was for "*our iniquities*," and for "*our trespasses*;" which you will clearly perceive, and even must be allowed by many of our Rabbis. But in that chapter which I have read unto you, is contained the *fulfilment* of that prophecy of *Isaiah*: JESUS OF NAZARETH IS THE TRUE MESSIAH. But, alas! what an unhappy thing is that to us! Our forefathers, who lived in his days, would not receive nor acknowledge him as the true Messiah and Saviour: and should you ask me, why they did not? I could answer you a great deal on that head: but I am sorry that our time is too short to give a full insight into the extreme *blindness and prejudices* of our *forefathers* in general in those days. Their poor and unhappy offspring, following their example, have continued in their blind ways, and have *led us on*, as *blind leaders*, to this very day. O what shall I, poor, wretched creature, now do or undertake? I see clearly the beams of the sun shining into my understanding, but cannot possibly rise out of the dark cloud. How could I leave my wife, whom I love as myself? and how could I abandon my children, who are of my own flesh and blood? O my heart, my fatherly heart cannot bear the thought of it! Besides, by what means could I get my bread? I cannot *labour*, having learnt no business, and to seek my support from *charity*, is revolting against my nature.

NEW TESTAMENT, are abundant, as containing the whole *scheme* and *substance* of CHRIST'S *atonement*. See particularly Acts viii. 35; Matt. viii. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 24; Matt. xxvi. 18; Ephes. v. 2; Heb. ix. 29; Matt. xx. 28; 1 Tim. ii. 16; Phil. ii. 8; Rev. v. 6, &c.

II. The kings of *Israel*, contemporary with *Uzziah*, were *Jeroboam II.*, *Zechariah* and *Shallum*, *Menahem*, *Pekahiah*, and *Pekah*.

Jeroboam II. succeeded his father *Joash*, and reigned forty-one years, 2 Kings xiv. 23. He was the most prosperous of any of the kings of *Israel*, and was successful in his wars with *Syria*, and recovered *Damascus*, (which *David* formerly had taken and garrisoned, 2 Sam. viii. 6,) and all the border belonging to *Israel*, from the entrance of *Hamath*, or Mount *Libanus*, eastwards of *Jordan*, to "the sea of the plain," or *dead sea*, including the settlements of the *Transjordanite* tribes, which *Hazael* had reduced, 2 Kings x. 32, 33, and restored the ancient limits of the kingdom of *Israel* at the time of the separation, but he adhered to the idolatry of his name-sake *Jeroboam*.

The prophet *Jonah* foretold his successes, but his prophecy on this subject has not reached us. He was born at *Gath-hepher*, in *Galilee*, 2 Kings xiv. 23—29. His prophecy against *Nineveh*, which is fortunately preserved, was probably later, when his reputation was established by his earlier prophecies.

In the reign of *Jeroboam II.* flourished also the prophets *Hosea* and *Amos*, who predicted the captivity of *Israel*, and its long continuance.

HOSEA'S PROPHECIES.

Hosea predicted the speedy extinction of the house of *Jehu*,

Besides this, I am afraid of being turned off by the *Christians*, who, without doubt, would mistrust my sincerity, after they had been so often deceived by false and inconstant proselytes. What shall I do, miserable that I am!

"Having related to him all the ways in which THE LORD had led me from the beginning, he fell down on his knees, and shed a flood of tears. It is impossible for me to describe the anxiety of his soul; he prayed with a *broken* and *contrite heart* before GOD, that He might in pity look down upon him, and grant him the same *grace* as to me, to *deny himself*, and loose his heart from all *temporal* concerns, enabling him to rely and trust in HIM alone."

See further interesting particulars, in the *Christian Observer*, November, 1809, p. 739—741, from which this extract is taken. May the labours of the *London Society*, for promoting the conversion of the *Jews* at home, contribute to promote that most desirable end!

for persecuting GOD'S servants, and dissolution of the kingdom of *Israel* for her "*whoredoms*," or idolatries, and their rejection by GOD as "*his people*," and preference of the kingdom of *Judah* :

" Yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of *Jezrael* *, (*the seed of GOD*,") upon *the house of Jehu*, and will abolish the kingdom of the house of *Israel* ;"—" for I will no more have mercy upon the house of *Israel*, but I will utterly take them away. But I will have mercy upon the house of *Judah*, and will save them by THE LORD THEIR GOD, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by horses, nor by horsemen," Hosea i. 4—7.

2. The future conversion of both houses, of *Israel* and of *Judah*, to CHRIST, appears to be foretold :

" Nevertheless, the number of the children of *Israel* [who shall be converted] shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured, and cannot be counted ; and it shall be, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are *not my people*, it shall be said unto them, Ye are *sons of the living God*.

" And the children of *Judah*, and the children of *Israel*, shall be united together, and shall appoint themselves ONE HEAD, and shall come up from the earth, and great shall be the day of *Jezrael*, (*the seed of GOD*,") 10, 11.

3. The long desolation of *Israel* and *Judah*, before their final conversion, is thus foretold :

" For the children of *Israel* shall continue *many days* without *king*, and without *ruler*, without *sacrifice*, and without *image*, without *oracle*, and without *divination* † : afterwards shall the children of *Israel* return, and seek THE LORD THEIR GOD, and THE BELOVED ‡ THEIR KING ; and shall fear the Lord, and his goodness, in the latter days," iii. 4.

AMOS' PROPHECIES.

Amos prophesied against the house of *Jeroboam* II. two years before "*the great earthquake*," *Amos* i. 1. This earthquake

* There seems to be a play upon the word *Jezrael*, as contrasted with *Israel*.

† The *Jews*, were to be debarred, during the desolation, from the exercise of their own *religious*, and also of their *idolatrous* rites.

‡ *David*, here, is not a proper name, but an appellative, signifying "*the beloved*," *Isaiah* v. 1.

seems to be predicted in the following passage, as to be accompanied by a great eclipse of the sun :

“ Shall not the land *quake* for this,
 And every inhabitant thereof mourn ?
 Shall it not all rise [in waves] as a river,
 And be removed and swallowed up as the river of *Egypt* ?
 And it shall be in that day, saith THE REGENT LORD,
 That I will cause *the sun to disappear at noon*,
 And I will *darken the earth in day-light*.”—Amos viii. 8, 9.

But, according to *Usher*, there happened a great eclipse of the sun, ten digits in magnitude, (and which, perhaps, in *Samaria* might have been total,) B.C. 791, which counted two years backwards, gives B.C. 793, the last year of *Jeroboam*. Such a curious coincidence of *astronomical* computation with *prophecy*, affords a strong presumption, bordering on certainty, that the chronology of the reigns of the kings of *Israel* is here rightly assigned.—The prophecy is as follows :

“ The high places of *Isaac* shall be desolate,
 And the sanctuaries of *Israel* shall be waste ;
 And I will rise [in judgment] against the house of *Jeroboam*
 With *the sword*.—— Amos vii. 9.

Hereupon *Amaziah*, the idolatrous priest of *Bethel*, accused *Amos* to *Jeroboam*, of conspiring the death of the king, maliciously misinterpreting the prophecy, as if he had said, “ *Jeroboam shall die by the sword*,” vii. 10, 11.

A long interregnum of twenty-two years followed the death of *Jeroboam* shortly after, occasioned probably by the nonage of his son *Zechariah*, the fourth of the dynasty of the house of *Jehu*, who was slain, after he had reigned six months, by *Shallum* ; and he, after he had reigned a month, was slain, in turn, by *Menahem*, who reigned ten years, and treated most cruelly the towns that refused to acknowledge him, 2 Kings xv. 8—18.

2. The downfall, indeed, of the kingdom of *Israel* was most rapid, after the death of *Jeroboam*, until the *Assyrian* captivity, seventy-four years after, and it was thus denounced to the idolatrous priest of the king’s chapel at *Bethel* :

“ Now, therefore, hear the word of THE LORD :
 Thou sayest, Prophecy not against *Israel*,
 And drop not [thy word] against the house of *Isaac* :
 Therefore, thus saith THE LORD :
 Thy wife shall be a *harlot* in the city,
 And thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by *the sword* ;

And thy land shall be divided by line,
 And thou shalt die in a profane land;
 And *Israel* shall surely go into captivity,
 Out of their own land.”

Amos vii. 16, 17.

3. In another celebrated prophecy, (the meaning of which has been much disputed, and which is cited, with some variation, in the NEW TESTAMENT,) the prophet threatens *Israel* with “captivity beyond *Damascus*,” even “beyond *Babylon*,” because they united the sacrifices of THE LORD with the sacrifices to their *idols*, while they neglected the weightier matters of the law, *judgment* and *righteousness*, even from their earliest days in the wilderness:

“ Did ye offer unto ME [alone] sacrifices and oblations
 [Pure and undivided] in the wilderness,
 For forty years, O house of *Israel*? ——— [Nay, verily,]
 But ye [then] carried in procession the shrine of [*the sun*]
 Your *king*, and of the *dog-star*, your *god*,
 Your *images*, which ye made for yourselves to worship.
 [And ye do so still :]
 Wherefore, I will transport you beyond *Damascus*.”—Amos v. 21, 27.
 [“ Nay even] beyond *Babylon*.”———Acts vii. 42, 43.

The *Israelites* certainly did sacrifice unto THE LORD in the wilderness; at *Horeb*, the mount of *God*, when they arrived there from Egypt, as a sign that GOD conducted them, Exod. iii. 12, xviii. 12; at the erection of the tabernacle, Levit. ix. 1—24; at the passover of the second year, Numb. ix. 1—5; and on several other occasions, as in the thirty-ninth year, on the conquest of the *Moabites*, Numb. xxxi. 29—41. But they did not sacrifice to THE LORD exclusively, they sacrificed to the *false gods* of their neighbours likewise, Deut. xxxii. 17, and to *Baal-peor*, signifying the generative powers of nature, supposed to reside in the sun, who was styled *Moloch*, “king,” by the Canaanites, Numb. xxv. 1—4; Levit. xx. 2.

There is no direct evidence, as I recollect, that the *Israelites* worshipped the *dog-star* in the wilderness, except this passage, but the indirect is very strong, drawn from the general prohibition of the worship of the *sun*, *moon*, and *stars*, to which they must have been prone, Deut. iv. 19. And this was peculiarly an *Egyptian* idolatry, where the *dog-star* was worshipped, as notifying, by his *Heliacal* rising, or emersion from the sun’s rays, the regular commencement of the periodical inundation of the *Nile*. And the *Israelite* sculptures at the cemetery of

Kibroth Hataavah, or “graves of lust,” in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, remarkably abound in hieroglyphics of the *dog-star*, represented as a human figure with a dog’s-head. See Vol. I. p. 403—407, and *Niebuhr’s* engravings there referred to.

That they afterwards sacrificed to the *dog-star*, there is express evidence in *Josiah’s* destruction of idolatry, 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where the Syriac *Mazaloth* (improperly rendered “planets,”) denotes “the *dog-star* ;” in Arabic *Mazaroth*, Job xxxviii. 32, as shewn in the foregoing analysis of the book of *Job*.

The Hebrew compound in this prophecy, כִּיּוֹן כּוֹכַב (*Chiun Chochab*) corresponds to the Greek, Ἀστρῶος κων, or Ἀστροκωνος, “the *dog-star* ;” whence we collect, that the Greek, κων, “*dog*,” is derived from the *Egyptian*, *Chiun*. The meaning of which is, perhaps, most naturally furnished by the root, κω, “to be pregnant.” The *Egyptian* name, therefore, intimating the fecundity produced by this star in *Egypt*. But instead of the *Egyptian Chiun*, the *Alexandrian* version of the prophecy substitutes Ραιφαν, or Ρεφφαν, whence Ρεμφαν is easily formed, Acts vii. 43. A title of the same import in Arabic ; for رَيْف, *Raiph*, or *Riph*, in that dialect, signifies “a fruitful and verdant plain.” See *Castell’s* Lexicon Heptaglotton. And “Upper *Egypt* is now called *Reif*.” *Asiat. Research*. Vol. I. p. 388. And “*Ryf* is the common name of *Egypt*” among the *Arabs* of the desert, in the neighbourhood of *Sinai*, as we learn from *Niebuhr*, Vol. I. p. 194. The import of both *Chiun* and *Remphan* are well expressed in *Virgil’s* account of the fertilizing power of the *Nile* in *Egypt* :

“Et viridem Ægyptum, nigrâ fecundat arenâ.”

The mighty *Assyrian* power, which was to be employed as the instrument of divine chastisement on this occasion, seems to have lain dormant for a considerable time, until “God stirred up the spirit of *Pul*, and his successors,” *Tiglath-pileasar* and *Shalmanazar*, to put the prophecy in execution, 1 Chron. v. 26. The prophecy of *Jonah* against *Nineveh* was probably not later than B.C. 800, at which time it was “an exceeding great city, of three days’ journey in circuit,” *Jonah* iii. 3. But *Pul’s* first invasion of *Israel* did not take place till thirty years after, when he levied a contribution of a thousand talents of silver on *Menahem*, which he willingly gave, and exacted from his wealthiest subjects, that “the *Assyrian* power might favour him, and con-

firm the kingdom in his hand." We may therefore date this invasion in the first year of *Menahem*, for it was probably excited by the distracted state of the kingdom since *Jeroboam's* death, of which the *Assyrians* were tempted to take advantage, xv. 16—22.

Pekahiah succeeded him, and reigned only two years, when he was assassinated by *Pekah*, the son of *Remaliah*, who reigned twenty years, xv. 23—26.

Pekah himself underwent the same fate from *Hoshea*, xv. 30, when a second interregnum ensued of ten years, after which *Hoshea* reigned nine years, till the capture of *Samaria* by the *Assyrians*, and subversion of the kingdom of *Israel*, xvii. 6.

JOTHAM.

This prince succeeded his father *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*. He was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years. His reign was prosperous, because "he did what was right in the sight of THE LORD." He built the *high gate* of the Temple, and cities, castles, and towers, throughout his dominions, and subdued the *Ammonites*, and made them tributaries for three years. "He became mighty, because he prepared his ways before THE LORD his God," 1 Chron. xxvii. 1—9; 2 Kings xv. 32—38.

AHAZ

was the idolatrous son of a pious father. He succeeded *Jotham* when he was twenty years old, and reigned sixteen years. This prince exceeded all his predecessors in apostacy, forsaking THE LORD, and following all the abominations of the heathens; for he burnt incense in the valley of *Hinnom*, and sacrificed his son to *Moloch*: he introduced a new *Syrian* altar from *Damascus*, on which he offered sacrifices instead of the altar of the Lord, which he removed from its place; and he stripped the Temple of the sacred vessels, and shut up the doors of the Temple itself, and made altars in every corner of *Jerusalem*, 2 Kings xvi. 1—19; 2 Chron. xxviii. 1—26.

His reign accordingly was most calamitous: "For the Lord brought *Judah* low because of him, for he made *Judah* naked,"

or idolatrous, and transgressed sorely against THE LORD, 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

In the very beginning of his reign, *Ahaz* was invaded by a formidable confederacy of *Pekah*, king of *Israel*, and *Rezin*, king of *Syria*, formed in the latter part of his father's reign, 2 Kings xv. 37, and designed to dethrone the house of *David*, and make the son of *Tabaal* king in the room of *Ahaz*, Isaiah vii. 5, 6.

In this war, *Rezin* recovered *Elath*, and carried away captives a multitude of the Jews to *Damascus*; and *Pekah* slew in one day 120,000 men in *Judah*, and carried away captives 200,000 women and children to *Samaria*, whence they were sent home again by the advice of the prophet *Oded*, and the heads of the children of *Ephraim*, *Azariah*, *Jehizkiah*, *Berechiah*, and *Amasa*, for fear of "adding to the sins and offences of the nation, and to the fierce wrath of the Lord against *Israel*;" which proves, that in the most corrupt times, still a righteous few were found, even in *Israel*, who feared the Lord, and dreaded his deserved judgments, 2 Chron. xxviii. 5—15; 2 Kings xvi. 6.

The confederate powers then besieged *Ahaz* in Jerusalem, but could not take the city; while, to aggravate the general calamity, the *Edomites* in the east, and the *Philistines* in the west, invaded the south of *Judah*, and took several cities of the low country, with their villages, and occupied them, 2 Kings xvi. 5; 2 Chron. xxviii. 17, 18.

In this extremity, surrounded on every side with enemies, *Ahaz* rejected a gracious sign of deliverance from THE LORD, offered to him and the house of *David* by the prophet *Isaiah*, under pretence that "he would not tempt THE LORD," Isa. vii. 11, 12, but in reality because he had put his trust in the king of *Assyria*, and called upon the rapacious *Tiglath-pileasar** for assistance against *Rezin* and *Pekah*, professing himself his vassal, and sending him a subsidy of all the sacred and royal treasures. Accordingly, *Tiglath-pileasar*, glad of a pretext for attacking the *Syrians* and *Israelites*, "hearkened to him," and invaded them in the second year of *Ahaz*, B.C. 740. He took *Damascus*, slew *Rezin*, and carried the inhabitants captives to *Kir*, or *Assyria* proper, 2 Kings xvi. 7—9. And, at the same

* Or *Tiglath pul assur*, "the tyger lord of Assyria."

time, 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; but "he distressed *Ahaz*, and strengthened him not," 2 Chron. xxviii. 21.

Pekah also was slain in a conspiracy by *Hoshea*, in the fourth year of *Ahaz*, or the twentieth year from his father *Jotham's* accession, as foretold by *Isaiah*.

III. ISAIAH'S SIGNS AND PROPHECIES RESPECTING THE CAPTIVITIES, AND FINAL RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

1. Though the faithless *Ahaz* rejected the offered sign of deliverance, still the prophet proposed one, connected with the following illustrious prophecy of the permanency of the house of *David*:

VII. 14. "THE LORD himself shall give you a sign.

*Lo, the virgin * shall conceive and bear a son,*

And shall call his name IMMANUEL, ("GOD WITH US.")

15. Butter and honey shall he eat,

When he shall know to refuse bad [food] and choose good."

16. "But before the child shall know,

To refuse the bad, and choose the good,

The land [of *Syria* and *Israel*] which thou fearest,

[O *Ahaz*] shall be deprived of both her kings."

Thus signifying, that the divine child, and future son of *David*, after his weaning, should be fed with nourishing food like other children; but that before he should come to the time of discerning his food, (about two years old) the two kings, *Rezin* and *Pekah*, should be removed.

2. The same was signified by the name of the prophet's second son, *Maher shalal hashbaz*, ("*Hasten the prey, quicken the spoil,*") "for before the child shall know to pronounce *my father*, and *my mother*, the riches of *Damascus*, and the spoil of *Samaria*, shall be carried away by the king of *Assyria*," *Isaiah* viii. 1—4.

3. With the fate of *Rezin* and *Pekah*, "those smoking firebrands" to *Judah*, the prophet connects also the ensuing captivities of *Israel* and *Judah*:

* העלמה, *Ha-almah*. This word is applied to *Rebecca*, Gen. xxiv. 43; to *Miriam*, Exod. ii. 8; and to *virgins* as opposed to *concubines*, Cantic. vi. 8.

“ Yet within *sixty-five* years shall *Ephraim* be broken,
From being a people.—
If ye believe not, ye shall not be established.” Isa. vii. 8, 9.

And accordingly, from the date of this prophecy, B.C. 740, to B.C. 675, when *Esarhaddon*, or *Sargon*, or *Sarchedon*, took away the remnant of *Israel*, Isa. xx. 1—3, Tobit i. 21, and his generals took *Jerusalem*, and brought away *Manasseh* in fetters to *Babylon*, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, was sixty-five years.

4. And he specifies the causes of these captivities, of both “ the houses of *Israel*,” by the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*.

VIII. 6. “ Forasmuch as this people [*Judah*] refuse
The softly flowing waters of *Shiloah* * ;
And [*Israel*] rejoice in *Rezin*,
And *Remaliah*’s son [*Pekah* ;]

7. THE LORD shall bring upon them [both]
The mighty and abundant waters of the river [*Euphrates*,]
Even the king of *Assyria*, and all his glory, [or power]
And he shall rise above all their channels,
And go over all their banks.” VIII. 6, 7.

5. But though the *Assyrian* inundation was to sweep away both houses of *Israel* and *Judah* into captivity, and that *Israel* should cease from being a nation, when the *Samaritans* were established in their room ; yet it was “ only to reach up to the neck of *Judah*,” not totally to overwhelm it, as being more immediately “ the land of *IMMANUEL*’s” birth, and therefore more under the divine protection.

VIII. 8. “ And he [the *Assyrian*] shall pass through *Judah*,
Overflowing and overspreading ;

* *Josephus* represents the fountain of *Siloam* as “ a sweet and copious stream,” and records a remarkable prodigy respecting it, which happened twice at the sieges of *Jerusalem*, at first by the *Babylonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, in his excellent speech to the besieged, exhorting them to submit to *Titus*.

“ The springs now flow more plentifully for *Titus*, which were dry for you ; for ye know, that before his coming, not only *Siloam*, but all the springs without the city failed, so that water was bought by the pitcher. But now they so abound to your enemies, as not only to suffice for themselves, and for the cattle, but even for watering the gardens.”

“ This prodigy ye also formerly experienced at the destruction of the city by the *Babylonians*, when the king (*Nebuchadnezzar*) besieged it, who took the city, and the temple, and burnt them ; and yet the people at that time, I think, were not so *impious* as you. Insomuch, that I think *GOD* has deserted the sanctuary, and joined the *Romans*, with whom ye are now at war.” *Bell. Jud.* v. 9, 4.

These were significant tokens of the divine displeasure to the *Jews*, for refusing *SHILOH*, their great “ *APOSTLE*,” and his “ softly flowing waters,” or beneficent doctrines and miracles, furnishing a curious and valuable commentary both on *Isaiah* and *John*.

He shall reach even *to the neck* ;
 And the expansion of his wings [or squadrons]
 Shall fill the breadth of thy land, O IMMANUEL."

6. This was more plainly signified in the name of the prophet's elder son, *Shear-jashub*, ("*a remnant shall return*,") whom he took, at first, to meet *Ahaz*, vii. 3, as explained afterwards :

- X. 20. " And it shall come to pass in that day [of deliverance]
 The remnant of *Israel*, and the escaped of *Jacob*,
 Shall no longer lean on him who smote them,
 But upon THE LORD, the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL, in truth.
 21. *A remnant shall return*, a remnant of *Jacob*,
 TO THE MIGHTY GOD.—
 22. For though the people of *Israel* be as the sand of the sea,
 Yet only *a remnant* of them shall return ;
 An overflowing consummation is decreed in righteousness,
 23. For THE LORD, THE GOD OF HOSTS, will make
 The decreed consummation in the midst of the land."

7. And the following is the magnificent description of their divine deliverer, the future IMMANUEL or CHRIST : (x. 27.)

- IX. 6. " For unto *us* [believers] a child is to be born * ,
 Unto us a son is to be given ;
 And the government shall be upon his shoulder,
 And his name shall be called
 WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, MIGHTY GOD,
 FATHER OF THE FUTURE [AGE], PRINCE OF PEACE.
 7. Of the increase of his government and peace
 There shall be no end ; upon the throne
 Of *David*, even upon his kingdom,
 To fix, and to establish it,
 With judgment and with justice, for ever.
 The zeal of THE LORD, [the GOD] OF HOSTS,
 Will perform this."—

8. And the NEW TESTAMENT has decided the application of these illustrious prophecies, (not to *Hezekiah*, as has been idly imagined, but) to CHRIST, by the archangel *Gabriel*, in his annunciation to the blessed *virgin*, and his vision to her espoused husband *Joseph* :

" Fear not, *Mary*, for thou hast found grace with God ;
 And lo, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bear a son,
 And shalt call his name JESUS, (SAVIOUR.)—

* In numberless instances, the present tense is taken infinitively, governed of a future auxiliary verb understood ; thus in the reference to this text, combined with *Mich.* v. 2, in *Herod's* enquiry, Που ὁ Χριστος γενναται, the present γενναται is put for μελλει γεννασθαι, "*is to be born*," *Matt.* iv. 4.

He shall be GREAT, [OR WONDERFUL] and shall be called
THE SON OF THE MOST HIGH : And THE LORD THE GOD
Shall give Him the throne of his father David,
And He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever,
And of his kingdom there shall be no end." Luke i. 31—33.

"Fear not, *Joseph*, thou son of *David*,
To take unto thee *Mary* thy [espoused] wife,
For that which is conceived in her is of THE HOLY GHOST ;
And she shall bear a son,
And thou shalt call his name JESUS :
For He shall save his people from their sins." Matt. i. 20, 21.

And the evangelist records this as the fulfilment of the prophecy of *Isaiah* respecting IMMANUEL. He therefore understood JESUS as synonymous therewith.

9. The following magnificent description of the final restoration of *Israel*, of the conversion of the *Gentiles*, of the rebuilding the last *temple* and *city*, is given by *Isaiah* :

- LX. 1. " Arise, shine [O *Jerusalem*] for thy light is coming,
And the glory of THE LORD is rising upon thee.
2. For lo, darkness shall cover the earth,
And a thick cloud the peoples ;
But THE LORD shall arise upon thee,
And his glory shall be seen upon thee.
3. And the *Gentiles* shall walk by thy light,
And kings by the brightness of thy rising.—
7. Thy sons shall come from afar,
And thy daughters shall be carried on the shoulder.—
All the flocks of *Kedar* shall be gathered unto thee,
The rams of *Nebaioth* shall minister unto thee,
They shall ascend with acceptance on mine altar,
And I will glorify the house of my glory.—
8. Who are these that fly as a cloud,
And as doves to their dove-cots ?—
[The dispersed of *Judah*, who shall be collected,
And return to their own land *.]
9. Surely the isles shall wait upon ME,
And the ships of *Tarshish* among the first,
To bring thy sons from afar,
(Their silver and their gold with them)
For the sake of the name of THE LORD THY GOD,
And for the sake of THE HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL :
Because He hath glorified thee.
10. And the sons of strangers shall build thy walls,
And their kings shall minister unto thee.

* This ellipsis, involved in the preceding question, and containing the answer thereto, is happily supplied by the *Chaldee* paraphrase.—The exiled *Jews* wish for the wings of a *dove*, to return speedily to their promised rest in their native land, Psalm lv. 6.—The imagery is simple and affecting.

- For in my wrath I smote thee,
But in my favour will I pity thee.
11. And thy gates shall be open continually,
They shall not be shut day nor night,
To bring unto thee the power of the *Gentiles*,
And their kings, in procession.
*For the nation and kingdom which will not serve thee
Shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."*

From this luminous and remarkable prophecy, it has been conjectured, that the restoration of the *western Jews* to their own land will be promoted by some great *maritime* power, denoted by "the *Isles and Tarshish*," through zeal for THE LORD, who will also assist in rebuilding the *temple*, that it may be "a house of prayer for all nations," as foretold, Isa. lvi. 7. The destruction of the *infidel nations* forms a striking contrast.

10. The peace and quiet which the *Jews* shall then enjoy, "when the *sons of violence* shall no more molest them," 2 Sam. vii. 10, is finely described by *Isaiah* also.

- XXXIV. 17. "Thine eyes shall see THE KING [MESSIAH] in his beauty * :
They shall see the land enlarged, [or freed.]
18. Thine heart shall reflect on the terror [past.]——
Where is [now] the *Register* † !
Where the *Receiver* [of the tribute money ‡ !]
Where the *Assessor* of our fairest houses § ;
19. Thou shalt see no [more] the *fierce people* ¶ ;
A people of *deep speech* which thou couldst not hear,
Of *stammering tongue* which thou couldst not understand.
20. Behold *Sion* [once more the *city of our solemnities* ¶ ;
Thine eye shall see *Jerusalem* a quiet abode **.
The tent shall no [more] be removed,
Neither shall its pins be plucked up,
Nor any of its cords be broken for ever ;
Because the glorious NAME OF THE LORD ††
Shall be with us."——
- XXVIII. 5. "In that day shall THE LORD OF HOSTS
Be for a *crown of glory*,
And for a *diadem of beauty*,
Upon the residue of his people."

MICAH'S FAMOUS PROPHECY.

Micah was the contemporary of *Isaiah*, and has furnished the following improved summary of his prophecies respecting THE MESSIAH, and the *final* return of the *Jews*.

* Psalm xlv. 2. Matt. xxiii. 39. † Luke ii. 1—5. ‡ Matt. xvii. 24.
§ Luke ii. 2. || Deut. xxviii. 49. ¶ Isaiah ii. 3. ** Jer. xxiii. 6.
†† Isaiah vii. 14; ix. 6, 7; x. 20—22; xxx. 26, 27.

- V. 2. "And art thou, *Bethlehem Ephratah*, little to be [esteemed]
 Among the thousands of Judah?—
From thee shall issue [THE LEADER,]
Who shall rule my people, the Israel [of God]
- II. (But *his issuings* are from old,
 From *days of eternity*.)
- III. 3. Therefore he will give them up [for a season]
 Until the time that *she which shall bear*
I have borne: Then shall return
The residue of thy brethren [the Jews]
Along with the outcasts of Israel.
- IV. 4. And He shall stand and guide them
 In the strength of THE LORD,
 In the majesty of THE NAME OF THE LORD HIS GOD.
 And when they return, He shall be magnified
 Unto the ends of the earth,
 And HE shall be their PEACE."

This prophecy consists of four parts, 1. The human birth-place of CHRIST. 2. His eternal generation. 3. His temporary desertion of the *Jews*, until his miraculous birth of the virgin, after which they are to return with the true *Israelites*. 4. His spiritual and universal dominion.

The application of the first part of this prophecy was decided at the time of OUR SAVIOUR'S birth, by the most respectable *Jewish* synod that ever sate, convened by *Herod*, to determine from prophecy the birth-place of the MESSIAH, which they agreed to be *Bethlehem*, upon the authority of *Micah*, which they cited. Their citation, of the first part only, is given by the evangelist *Matthew*, in an improved translation of the original, greatly superior to any of the ancient versions.

Matt. ii. 6. "And thou *Bethlehem*, territory of *Judah*,
 Art by no means least among the captains of *Judah*;
 From thee shall issue THE LEADER,
 Who shall guide my people, the *Israel* [of God]."

1. Here the evangelist has removed the ambiguity of the question proposed by the prophet, by supplying the answer in the negative. As in *Nathan's* prophecy, "*Shalt thou build me a house?*" 2 Sam. vii. 5, the parallel passage answers in the negative, "*Thou shalt not build me a house,*" 1 Chron. xvii. 4.

2. He has supplied a chasm in the Masorete text, of נגיד, *Nagid*, a usual epithet of the MESSIAH, 1 Chron. v. 2, *Isaiah* lv. 4, *Dan. ix. 25*, usually rendered ἡγούμενος, "*leader,*" by the Sept. and retained here by the evangelist, as a necessary

distinction of his character, as supreme commander, from “the captains of thousands, styled ἡγεμοσι, judiciously substituted for the thousands themselves in *Micah*, to mark the analogy more correctly.

3. He has also determined the *pastoral* nature of the MESSIAH’S “rule” by the verb ποιμανει, “shall guide as a shepherd,” afterwards intimated by *Micah*, רעה, και ποιμανει, as there rendered by the Sept. For He is “the shepherd of Israel,” Gen. xlix. 24, Ps. lxxx. 1, “the chief shepherd,” 1 Pet. v. 4, and “the good shepherd,” John x. 14, who appointed his apostles to “guide and pasture his sheep,” John xxi. 6.

4. The *human* birth of the MESSIAH is carefully distinguished by *Micah* from his *eternal* generation, in the parenthetical clause, which strongly resembles the account of the primæval birth of WISDOM, Prov. viii. 22—25.

5. The blessed *virgin* of *Isaiah*’s former prophecy, vii. 14, is evidently alluded to by *Micah*, and also the *return of the remnant* of the *Jews*, *Isaiah* x. 20, 21, and of the final *peace* of his kingdom, *Isaiah* ix. 6, 7*.

This prophecy of *Micah* is perhaps the most important single prophecy in the OLD TESTAMENT, and the most comprehensive, respecting the personal character of the MESSIAH, and his successive manifestations to the world. It crowns the whole chain of prophecies descriptive of the several limitations of the *blessed seed of the woman*, to the line of *Shem*, to the family of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, to the tribe of *Judah*, and to the royal house of *David*, here terminating in his birth at *Bethlehem*, “the city of *David*.” It carefully distinguishes his human nativity from his eternal generation; foretels the rejection of the *Israelites* and *Jews* for a season; their final restoration, and the universal *peace* destined to prevail throughout the earth in the *Regeneration*. It forms, therefore, the basis of the NEW TESTAMENT, which begins with his human birth at *Bethlehem*, the miraculous circumstances of which are recorded in the introductions of *Matthew*’s and *Luke*’s gospels; his eternal generation, as the ORACLE, or WISDOM, in the sublime introduction of *John*’s gospel; his prophetic character, and second coming, illustrated in the four *gospels* and *epistles*, ending with a predic-

* See further remarks on the construction of this prophecy, Dissertat. X. of the volume of *Dissertations* before referred to.

tion of the speedy approach of the latter in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xxii. 20.

HEZEKIAH

was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father *Ahaz*, and reigned twenty-nine years in *Jerusalem*. He was a most pious prince, and trusted wholly in THE LORD THE GOD OF ISRAEL, so as to deserve that high eulogium, that "there was none like him among the kings of *Israel* after him, nor any that were before him," 2 Kings xviii. 1—5.

He began his reign by the restoration of the true religion, and the abolition of idolatry throughout his dominions. "He, in the *first* year of his reign, in the *first* month, opened the doors of the house of the Lord, (which his father *Ahaz* had shut) and repaired them," and sanctified the house, and set in order the service thereof, and offered sin-offerings and burnt-offerings for the people, 2 Chron. xxix. 1—36. 2. He removed the high-places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves; and when the brazen serpent which *Moses* had made, was converted into a holy relic, and the children of *Israel* idolatrously offered incense unto it until his days, he broke it in pieces, and instead of *Nahash*, "a serpent," called it in contempt, *Nehushtan*, "a brazen bauble," 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Accordingly, the LORD was with him, and he prospered whithersoever he went forth to war; and he smote the *Philistines*, and rebelled against the king of *Assyria*, or withheld the stipulated tribute which his father *Ahaz* had paid to *Tiglathpilesar*, 2 Kings xviii. 7, 8.

In the fourth year of his reign, *Shalmanasar*, the son and successor of *Tiglathpilesar*, invaded *Israel*, and besieged *Samaria*, and took it the third year after, or the sixth of *Hezekiah's* reign; and fulfilling the prophecies of *Amos*, and the other prophets, transported the chief of the people of the seven western tribes beyond *Assyria*, and planted them in *Media*, 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6, whither his father had transplanted the *Transjordanite*, or eastern tribes, 2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chron. v. 29. Thus was completed the captivity of the ten revolted tribes*, in the course of twenty-one years, from B.C. 740 to B.C. 719.

* The tribe of *Naphtali* is said to have been carried away by *Tiglathpilesar*, 2 Kings xv. 29, but *Tobit*, who was of that tribe, ascribes his captivity to *Ennemessar*, or *Shalmanasar*, more probably, *Tobit* i. 1, 2.

Instead of turning his victorious arms against *Hezekiah*, as might have been expected, *Shalmanasar* employed the five remaining years of his reign in endeavouring to reduce the revolted provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and in the blockade of *Old Tyre*, the siege of which was raised at his death, as we learn from the *Tyrian* annals, cited by *Josephus*, Ant. IX. 14, 2.

This respite from invasion *Hezekiah* employed to the best advantage. He proclaimed a solemn passover to be held at *Jerusalem* by all his subjects, to which he invited and exhorted the attendance of the remnant of the ten tribes that had been left behind by the *Assyrians*, of whom some mocked, and refused to come; but a great multitude of them came: but not having been properly sanctified, *Hezekiah* interceded for them with the Lord:—"THE GOOD LORD pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek GOD, though he be not purified according to the purification of the sanctuary. And the Lord hearkened unto *Hezekiah*, and healed the people." So there was great joy in *Jerusalem*; for since the time of *Solomon*, there was not such a passover held in *Jerusalem*. And the prayers of the priests, Levites, and people, ascended to GOD'S holy dwelling-place, even unto heaven, 2 Chron. xxx. 1—27.

At length, when *Sennacherib*, the son and successor of *Shalmanasar*, invaded *Judea* with a mighty army, in the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah's* reign, *Hezekiah* humbly acknowledged his offence, and offered to submit to any tribute the king should impose upon him; and, accordingly, he paid the stipulated sum of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold: to raise which, he was compelled to exhaust the royal and sacred treasuries, and to strip off the gold with which the doors and pillars of the temple were overlaid, which must have been to him a grievous necessity indeed, 2 Kings xviii. 13—16.

Sennacherib, however, after he had received it, broke faith; and while he was employed himself with the main body of his army, in reducing the fortresses of *Judea*, and had taken *Libnah*, and was besieging *Lachish*, those two important frontier towns toward *Egypt*, which he was determined to invade, because *So*, king of *Egypt*, had encouraged *Hoshea* to revolt, with promises of assistance, which he did not perform; and now, perhaps, the same were renewed to *Hezekiah*, as we may collect from *Rabshakeh's* advice to him, "not to trust upon the staff of that bruised reed, *Egypt*," (upon which, if a man lean, it will break

and pierce his hand,) 2 Kings xviii. 21, he sent three of his generals, *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rab-shakeh*, with a part of his forces to threaten *Jerusalem* with a siege, unless they surrendered, and submitted to be transported to *Assyria*, vaunting over the GOD OF ISRAEL, as if unable to deliver his people from their yoke, 2 Kings xviii. 17—35.

At this critical juncture, *Hezekiah* fell sick of the plague, and was warned from THE LORD, by the prophet *Isaiah*, to prepare for death. On this awful summons, *Hezekiah* sought THE LORD: he turned his face to the wall, not to be overheard by his attendants, and prayed unto THE LORD, and said, “*I beseech thee, O LORD, remember now how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore.*”

Most immediately efficacious was this short and fervent prayer. Before *Isaiah* had gone out of the king’s apartment into the middle court of the palace, the ORACLE OF THE LORD came to him, saying, “Turn again, and tell *Hezekiah*, the captain of my people: *Thus saith THE LORD, THE GOD of David, thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears; behold, I will heal thee. On the third day thou shalt go up unto the house of THE LORD, [to return thanks for thy perfect recovery] and I will add unto thy days fifteen years; and I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and will defend this city for mine own sake, and for my servant David’s sake.*”

By the prophet’s prescription, they applied a cataplasm of figs to the plague boil, and *Hezekiah* recovered. Still, however, the recovery was miraculous, having been promised to be perfected on the third day.

Still more miraculous and unaccountable was the *sign* of *Hezekiah’s* recovery on the third day, given him by THE LORD, at his request, when the sun’s shadow on the dial of *Ahaz* instantly went back ten degrees that it had gone down. It is as impossible to be explained upon any known principles of astronomy and natural philosophy, as the stations of the sun and moon, in *Joshua’s* time, for twelve or thirteen hours.

The date of *Hezekiah’s* sickness and recovery, is fixed to the fourteenth year of his reign, which was promised to be lengthened fifteen years, 2 Kings xx. 1—11; *Isaiah* xxxviii. 1—22. By this lengthening of his reign to twenty-nine years, he left a

successor to fill the throne of *David*, for *Manasseh*, his son, was only twelve years old at his accession, 2 Kings xxi. 1.

Shortly after, *Sennacherib*, we learn from *Herodotus*, invaded *Egypt*, but without success; for at the prayer of *Sethos*, king and priest of *Vulcan*, to his god, an immense number of mice entered the *Assyrian* camp at *Pelusium*, and gnawed to pieces their quivers and bows, and the handles of their shields. In the morning, the *Assyrians*, finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men, *Herodot.* B. II. §. 141. This is evidently a caricature of the miraculous deliverance promised to *Hezekiah* for the blasphemies of the *Assyrians*: “Lo, I will send a *blast* upon him, and he shall hear a *rumour*, and shall return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the *sword* in his own land,” 2 Kings xix. 7.

The rumour which *Sennacherib* heard, was, that *Tirhakah*, king of *Cush*, or *Arabian Ethiopia*, was come out to fight against him, and to intercept him on his passage homewards: he then sent a boasting letter to *Hezekiah*, defying the GOD OF ISRAEL, and threatening the Jews with destruction. But that night the angel of THE LORD smote, in the camp of the *Assyrians*, a hundred and eighty-five thousand men. The instrument of vengeance was probably the *blast*, or hot pestilential south wind blowing from the deserts of *Libya*, called the *Samum*, or *Simoom*, which is so well described by *Bruce**.

* The following description is given by *Bruce*, in his travels through the deserts of *Abyssinia* and *Nubia*.

“This hot wind is called by the Arabs *Samum*, or *Simoom*. It is generally preceded by an extreme redness in the air, and usually blows from the south-east, or from due south, a little to the east. It appeared in the form of a haze, in colour like the purple part of a rainbow, but not so compressed, or thick: it was a kind of *blush upon the air*. Their guide warned the company, upon its approach, to fall upon their faces, with their mouths close to the ground, and to hold their breath as long as they could, to avoid inhaling the outward air. It moved very rapidly, like a kind of blush upon the air, about twenty yards in breadth, and about twelve feet high from the ground; so that,” says *Bruce*, “I had scarcely time to turn about, and fall upon the earth with my head to the northward, when I felt the heat of its current plainly upon my face. We all fell upon our faces, until the *Simoom* passed on, with a gentle ruffling wind. When the meteor, or purple haze, had passed, it was succeeded by a light air, which still blew, so hot as to threaten suffocation, which sometimes lasted three hours, and left the company totally enervated and exhausted, labouring under asthmatic sensations, weakness of stomach, and violent head-achs, from imbibing the poisonous vapour.”

Bruce met it at *Rashid*, near *Sennaar*, March 20, 1772, and again at *Chendi*, Oct. 13; and in their passage through the great desert of *Nubia*, on his return home, Nov. 16. See his *Travels*, Vol. V. p. 80, 295, 322, 323, 350—353.

It is remarkable, that the blast which destroyed the *Assyrians* happened at night,

So *Sennacherib* returned to *Nineveh*, exasperated by his defeat, where he inflicted many cruelties upon the captive *Israelites*, and fifty-five days after his return he was assassinated by his two eldest sons, as he was worshipping in the house of *Nisroc*, his god, (signifying “king of flight,” corresponding to *Zeus φυξιος*, “*Jove* [the god] of flight,” among the *Greeks*.) They escaped into the land of *Armenia*, while his third son, *Esarhaddon*, reigned in his stead, 2 Kings xix. 9—37, Tobit i. 18—21.

At this favourable juncture, when the *Assyrians* were weakened by so great a blow, the *Babylonians* revolted, and also the *Medes*. And *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, sent letters and a present to *Hezekiah*, to congratulate him on his recovery. *Hezekiah*, flattered with this embassy, in the pride of his heart, shewed the *Babylonian* ambassadors all his treasures, which he had probably recovered from the *Assyrians*, and increased with their spoils: for which he was reprimanded by *Isaiah*, and warned in the name of THE LORD, that all his treasures, and all his posterity, should be carried away captives to *Babylon*; thus unfolding his former indistinct prophecy to *Ahaz*, *Isaiah* vii. 9, which began to be fulfilled in the captivity of his son *Manasseh*, and was completed in that of *Zedekiah*, the last of his race. *Hezekiah* received the message with due submission to the will of THE LORD, thankful that the evil was not to be inflicted in his own days, 2 Kings xx. 12—20.

MANASSEH.

The youth of this prince, who was only twelve years old when he unhappily lost his father, and began to reign, was soon corrupted by evil counsellors, for he revived all the abominations that *Hezekiah* had destroyed: he built altars for all the host of heaven in the courts of the temple; he erected an idol in the house of God; and he sacrificed his children to *Moloch* in the valley of *Hinnom*; he used enchantments and witchcraft, and made divination by *Ob*; and he made *Judah* and *Jerusalem* to do worse than the heathen whom THE LORD had destroyed

whereas the *Simoon* usually blows in the day-time, and mostly about noon, being raised by the intense heat of the sun.

before the children of *Israel*, 2 Kings xxi. 1—9, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—9.

For all these national enormities, the LORD threatened *Manasseh*, that he would bring such evil upon *Jerusalem* and *Judah*, that both the ears of the hearer should tingle, 2 Kings xxi. 10—15. And accordingly, in the twenty-second year of his reign, B. C. 675, (as the Jews in *Seder Olam Rabba*, and the *Talmudists*, date the year of his captivity and repentance, see *Ganz*, p. 45,) “the captains of the host of the king of *Assyria* took *Manasseh* alive, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to *Babylon*,” 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

This king of *Assyria* was *Esarhaddon*, or *Asaradine*, who, six years before, B. C. 680, had taken *Babylon*, and subdued the *Babylonians*, weakened by intestine divisions, and an interregnum, as we learn from *Ptolomy's Canon*. He was a prosperous prince, and afterwards transplanted a colony of *Babylonians*, *Cuthites*, and *Syrians*, into the cities of *Samaria*, in the room of the captive tribes, about B. C. 675, as observed before, p. 420.

The captivity of *Manasseh* probably lasted during the remainder of the reign of *Esarhaddon*, about twelve years, during which he humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, who heard his supplication, and brought him again to *Jerusalem* into his kingdom; when he knew in his affliction, that THE LORD HE WAS THE GOD, and none else. The remainder of his reign he spent in reforming the national religion, and abolishing the idols he had set up; and he so far succeeded, that though the people still sacrificed in the high places, it was unto the LORD THEIR GOD only, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12—17.

AMON.

This prince, who came to the throne when he was twenty-two years old, and who was born therefore after his father's return from captivity, forsook THE LORD, and revived the idolatries that *Manasseh* had suppressed. He was slain in a conspiracy by his own servants, after a short reign of two years, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 21—24.

HOLOFERNES'S INVASION OF JUDEA.

This last *Assyrian* invasion of *Judea* is noticed only in the apocryphal book of *Judith*, but it is perfectly consonant with the whole range of sacred and profane history, and supplies some important links in both, which are not to be found elsewhere.

The object of this invasion was to punish all the western states who had refused to send auxiliaries to *Nebuchadonosor*, king of *Assyria*, the grandson of *Esarhaddon*, in his war with *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes*, king of *Media*, whom he slew in a pitched battle, and took *Ecbatana*, the capital city, B. C. 641, *Judith* i. 1—16. See the analysis of *Assyrian* and *Median* chronology.

The next year, B. C. 640, *Holofernes* was sent on this commission with a mighty army, who reduced all the maritime states bordering on the *Mediterranean*, and also the states eastwards of *Jordan*, and pitched in the borders of *Judea*, near *Bethulia*, after the assassination of *Amon*, when the nation was governed by *Joachim**, the high-priest, and the *senate*, or council of the elders at *Jerusalem*, iv. 8, xi. 14, xv. 8.

The description of the state of *Judea*, on the news of his approach, exactly corresponds to this period, and to no other in the *Jewish* history, earlier or later.

“ Now the children of *Israel*, that dwelt in *Judea*, heard all that *Holofernes*, the chief captain of *Nebuchadonosor*, king of the *Assyrians*, had done to the [adjacent] nations, and after what manner he had spoiled all their temples, and brought them to nought. Therefore they were exceedingly afraid of him, and were troubled for *Jerusalem*, and for the *temple* of the LORD THEIR GOD.”

“ For they were *newly returned* from the captivity [of *Manasseh*,] and all the people of *Judea* were lately gathered together, and the *vessels*, and the *altar*, and the *house* were sanctified, after the profanation [of them by the *Assyrians* at that time.] —And every man and woman, and the little children, and the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, fell before the *temple*, and cast ashes

* He is called *Eliachim*, a word of the same import in the *Syriac* version, as being derived from the names of God, IAH and ÆL. See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. *Josephus* calls him *Eliakiah*, Ant. x. 4, who is called *Hilkiah*, 2 Kings xxii. 8.

upon their heads, and spread out their sackcloth before the face of the Lord, (also they put sackcloth about *the altar*) and they cried to the God of *Israel*, all with one consent, that He would not give their children for a prey, and their wives for a spoil, and the cities of their inheritance to destruction, and the sanctuary to profanation, and for reproach, and for the *Gentiles* to rejoice at," *Judith* iv. 1—15.

And *Judith* herself represents the state of *national* religion at that time, as exactly corresponding to *Manasseh's* reformation :

"For there arose none in *our age*, neither is there any now in *these days*, neither tribe, nor family, nor people, nor city among us, which worship *gods made with hands*, as hath been aforetime." *Judith* viii. 18. While the administration of the government by the high-priest and council at *Jerusalem*, proves that there was no king in being at the time, and therefore fixes the precise time of this invasion after the assassination of *Amon*, and before the appointment of *Josiah*, which has been incorrectly placed in the reign of *Manasses* by *Usher*, *Petavius*, *Huetius*, and *Prideaux* ; in the reign of *Josiah*, after the reformation in the twelfth year of his reign, by *Jackson* ; and so low as the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, by *Whiston* ; long after the subversion of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

The stratagem of the Jewish heroine to work the destruction of the *Assyrian* general, by the fascination of her charms, and the artful tale she told, proved effectual. It struck a panic terror through all the *Assyrian* host, who fled in disorder, and were chased by the *Israelites* beyond *Damascus*, and few of that great multitude ever reached *Nineveh*, while their rich camp near *Bethulia* was spoiled by the inhabitants of the country, *Judith* chap. ix.—xv.

Thus was the death blow given to the mighty *Assyrian* empire, by the hand of a *Jewess* of the obscure tribe of *Simeon* ! They never recovered its disastrous consequences. The western nations all shook off the *Assyrian* yoke ; the eastern, the *Medes*, rallied after their recent defeat, and recovered *Ecbatana*, and the cities that had been taken by *Nebuchadonosor* ; they even carried the war into *Assyria*, and in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, who again revolted, besieged and took *Nineveh*, and put an end to the *Assyrian* empire, B.C. 606, (about thirty-four years after the defeat of *Holofernes*,) as we learn from the joint testimony of Sacred and profane history. *Tobit* xiv. 15,

Herodot. B. I. The book of *Judith*, therefore, is a valuable appendage to both*.

JUDITH'S THANKSGIVING.

After this signal deliverance, *Judith*, as "a mother in *Israel*," composed a hymn, or song of praise, which may vie with those of *Miriam* and *Deborah*, for sublimity and chasteness of imagery :

- XVI. 2. "Begin unto MY GOD with timbrels,
Sing unto MY LORD with cymbals;
Tune unto Him a new psalm,
Exalt Him, and call upon his name.
3. For the God that breaketh battles is THE LORD :
Among the camps, in the midst of the people,
He delivered me out of the hand of my persecutors.
- II. 4. The *Assyrian* came from the mountains of the north,
He came, with myriads of his army,
Whose multitude stopped the torrents,
And their horse covered the hills.
5. He said that he would burn my borders,
And kill my young men with the sword,
And dash my sucklings against the ground,
And give my infants for a spoil,
And my virgins for a prey ;
6. But THE LORD, THE ALMIGHTY, disappointed them
By the hand of a woman !
- III. 7. For their *mighty one* fell not by the young men,
Neither did the sons of the *Titans* smite him,
Nor huge giants encounter him ;
But *Judith*, the daughter of *Merari*,
Relaxed him by the beauty of her countenance.
8. For she put off the garment of her widowhood,

* There are a few mistakes in the Book of *Judith*, which have been unwarrantably supposed to impeach the authenticity of the whole.

1. It is said in *Achior's* speech, v. 18, that "the *Jews* were led captives into a land that was not theirs, and the *temple of their God* was cast to the ground." This evidently relates to the destruction of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after the destruction of *Nineveh* ; but both were standing in the time of *Judith*. Accordingly, *Jerom* has rejected this verse as an interpolation, in his Latin Translation.

2. *Judith* is said to have lived a *hundred and five years* ; "and there was *none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death*," xvi. 23—25. Her longevity is inconsistent with the history : we can scarcely suppose her to have been more than thirty years of age, when she fascinated *Holofernes* with her charms. If then she survived seventy-five years, she must have seen the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, and the captivity of the whole *Jewish* people by *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was only fifty-four years after, B.C. 586.

- To raise those that were depressed in *Israel*;
 She anointed her face with ointment,
 And bound her locks in a fillet,
 And took a linen robe, to deceive him.
9. Her sandals ravished his eyes,
 And her beauty captivated his soul :—
The scymetar separated his neck !—
- IV. 10. The *Persians* shuddered at her boldness,
 And the *Medes* were dismayed at her hardness ;—
11. They who wanted to humble me cried aloud,
 And they who wished to weaken me
 Were terrified and astonished ;
 They lift up their voice, and were discomfited.
12. The sons of the damsels [of *Israel*] pierced them
 With their darts ; they wounded them,
 As the fugitives ; at the array
 Of MY LORD, they perished !
- V. 13. I will sing unto THE LORD a new song :
 O LORD, great art Thou, and GLORIOUS,
 WONDERFUL in strength, INVINCIBLE !
14. Let all thy Creation serve Thee :
*For Thou spakest and they were made,
 Thou sentest forth thy Spirit, and they were formed ;
 And there is none that can resist thy voice !*
15. For the mountains, with the waters, shall be shaken
 From their foundations ; the rocks also, as wax,
 Shall melt at thy presence.
 Still, Thou art propitious to them that fear Thee.
16. For any sacrifice is but little for a sweet savour,
 And all the fat too little for a burnt offering
 Unto Thee : But he that feareth THE LORD
 Is great at all times.
- VI. 17. Wo to the *Gentiles* that rise up against my race ;
 THE LORD, THE ALMIGHTY shall judge them
 In the day of judgment ; which shall consign
 Their flesh to fire and worms, and they shall weep
 In torment for evermore."

JOSIAH.

After the punishment of his father's murderers, "the people of the land made *Josiah* king in his stead," when he was only eight years old, and under the guardianship of the high-priest, who seems to have faithfully discharged his important trust, by the excellent education he gave the young king.

For in the *eighth* year of his reign, he began to seek after the GOD of *David* his father, while he was yet young. And in the *twelfth* year, he began to purge *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, from the

high places, groves, idolatrous images and altars, which had been erected in his father's short reign; and he proceeded in this reform, conducted under *his own presence*, through all the cities of *Manasseh*, and *Ephraim*, and *Simeon*, even unto *Naphtali*; until he had destroyed all the traces of idolatry throughout *all the land of Israel*. Of which now he seems to have quietly recovered possession, after the defeat of *Holofernes*, and depression of the *Assyrian* power; for otherwise, surely, he durst not have attempted such a reformation therein. On this occasion he executed the sentence pronounced against the altar of *Bethel*, in the days of *Jeroboam* the first, but spared the sepulchre of the *man of GOD*, who had foretold *Josiah* by name, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3—7; 2 Kings xxiii. 4—20.

When this abolition of idolatry was effected, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he repaired the breaches in the House of **THE LORD**. At that time *Hilkiah*, the high-priest, found the original *books of the law*, in the hand-writing of *Moses*, which had been deposited beside the ark of the covenant, in the sanctuary, Deut. xxxi. 24—26, and by his direction, *Shaphan*, the scribe, read from this venerable copy the prophecies of *Moses* against the kingdom of *Judah*, foretelling the destruction of the Temple, and the desolation of the land. On hearing these, the king rent his clothes, and sent to enquire of *Huldah* the prophetess, residing at the sacred college in *Jerusalem*, who confirmed the denunciations against the people for their idolatries, but that *Josiah* himself should be taken away in kindness, and “die in peace,” “before his eyes should see the evil to be brought upon *Jerusalem*,” 2 Kings xxii. 3—20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8—33.

In the same year the king commanded all the people to keep the passover, according to the law; which was observed with the utmost solemnity by the priests and Levites, and by all *Judah*, and the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and by all the residue that was to be found in *Israel*, whom he made to serve the Lord their God during his days. There was no such passover kept in *Israel* from the days of the *Judges*, and of *Samuel* the prophet; nor during all the days of the kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. And *Josiah* received the heightened eulogium of his great grandfather *Hezekiah*; that “like unto him there was no king before him that turned to **THE LORD** with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of

Moses; neither after him arose any like him," 2 Kings xxiii. 21—25; 2 Chron. xxxv. 1—19.

Josiah indeed, seems to have surpassed *Hezekiah*, *Jehoshaphat*, and all his predecessors, in his zeal for THE LORD; in restoring the true religion, and suppressing idolatry; which must have been considerably increased, by knowing that he was pre-ordained for that purpose, many centuries before his birth. If any one could, he would have redeemed his devoted country:

————— Si Pergama dextrâ
Defendi possent, etiam hæc defensa fuissent!

But the taint of the idolatry introduced by *Manasses*, was too deeply imbibed by the nation, to be cured by *Josiah*. It broke out immediately afresh upon his death, which he indiscreetly drew down upon himself. 2 Kings xxiii. 26—28.

Pharaoh Necho, king of *Egypt*, taking advantage of the embarrassment of the king of *Assyria*, involved in a war with the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, who besieged *Nineveh*, B.C. 608, and to make reprisals, perhaps, for *Sennacherib's* invasion, advanced through *Judea*, in order to take *Carchemish*, an important pass on the *Euphrates*. But *Josiah* opposed his passage, either indisposed to the *Egyptians*, who had proved "a broken reed" to the *Jews* in their wars with the *Assyrians*; or thinking it safer to attach himself to the latter, who if they recovered, might inflict a severer vengeance on his delinquency, and deprive him of his *Samaritan* dominions; and accordingly, he was wounded in battle at *Megiddo*, and died at *Jerusalem*, lamented by all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and by the prophet *Jeremiah* in his Lamentations, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25. *Josiah* reigned thirty-one years, and left three sons*, *Jehoiakim*, *Jehoahaz*, or *Shallum*, and *Zedekiah*, 2 Kings xxiii. 30, Jerem. xxii. 11.

JEHOAHAZ, or SHALLUM,

though the second of *Josiah's* sons, was elected king by the people on his father's death, when he was twenty-three years old. He reigned only three months, during which he relapsed into the idolatries of his forefathers, *Amon* and *Manasses*.

* Four sons of *Josiah* are mentioned, 1 Chron. iii. 15; but the eldest, *Johanan*, seems to have died before his father, for there is no notice taken of him afterwards.

When *Pharaoh Necho* returned from his expedition to *Carchemish*, he took *Jerusalem*, called by *Herodotus*, *Cadytis*, “the holy city,” (see Vol. I. of this work, p. 425,) laid thereon a tribute of a hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold; deposed *Jehoahaz*, and carried him away captive to Egypt, where he died; and appointed his eldest brother king in his room, whose name, *Eliakim*, he changed into *Jehoiakim*, in token of subjection, 2 Kings xxiii. 31—34, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1—4.

The prophet *Jeremiah* foretold the death of *Jehoahaz*, or *Shallum*, in his captivity :

“ Weep ye not for the dead, neither lament him [*Josiah* :]
But weep sore for him that goeth away ;
For he shall return no more, nor see his native country.”

For thus saith the Lord touching *Shallum* the son of *Josiah*, king of *Judah*, who went forth from this place ;

“ He shall not return hither any more ;
But shall die in the place where they have led him
Captive ; and shall see this land no more,” Jer. xxii. 10—12.

And the prophet *Ezekiel* thus describes his ferocious disposition, in the figurative style of *Jacob's* prophecy :

“ What is thy mother [*Judah* ?]—A lioness :
She lay down among lions,
She nourished her whelps among young lions,
And she brought up one of her whelps :
He became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey ;
He devoured men.
The nations also heard of him,
He was taken in their pit,
And they brought him in chains to the land of *Egypt*.”

Ezek. xix. 1—4.

JEHOIAKIM

the eldest son of *Josiah* was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and reigned eleven years. He trode in the steps of his idolatrous predecessors, 2 Kings xxiii. 34—37.

In the first year of his reign, and of the siege of *Nineveh*, by the confederate powers of *Babylon* and *Media*; *Nebuchadnezzar*, the son of *Nabopolassar*, king of *Babylon*, was sent by his father, with a part of his army, to chastise the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and *Phœnicians*, who had revolted, and reduce them to obedience ;

in which he succeeded: according to *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus*, Ant. x. 11, 1.

On this occasion *Jehoiakim* became his vassal for three years. During which period the city of *Nineveh* was taken by the confederates, in the second year of *Jehoiakim*, B.C. 606; and *Nabopolassar* dying, *Nebuchadnezzar* succeeded him, B.C. 604, according to *Ptolomy's Canon*. And the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, in which *Jehoiakim* rebelled, is said to correspond to the third of *Jehoiakim*, Dan. i. 1, but to the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, Jer. xxv. 1, 2 Kings xxiv. 1, supported by *Josephus*, Ant. x. 6, 1. The variation may easily be reconciled, by supposing that *Jehoiakim* was appointed king by *Pharaoh Necho*, on his return from *Carchemish*, about the month of *July*, whereas the *thoth*, or accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* commenced *Jan. 21*, B.C. 604*. So that "the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was partly the third, and partly the fourth of *Jehoiakim*." According to the ingenious solution of *David Ganz*, p. 47, adopted by *Jackson*, Vol. I. p. 188. *Jehoiakim* was probably encouraged to rebel by *Pharaoh Necho*, who undertook a second expedition against *Carchemish*, which had been recovered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and was defeated by him there; as we learn from *Jeremiah* xlvi. 2. On which occasion, *Nebuchadnezzar* pursuing his victory, stripped the king of Egypt of all his northern possessions, from the river *Euphrates* to the *Nile*; so that "he came no more out of his own land" to invade the *Babylonians*; and left *Jehoiakim* in the lurch, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

Nebuchadnezzar then besieged and took *Jerusalem*, and carried away part of the *sacred vessels*, which he lodged in the temple of *Belus*, at *Babylon*, and also "certain of the king's seed," or royal family, and "of the princes" or nobles, among whom was the prophet *Daniel*, and his companions: probably as hostages for the fidelity of the king and his people, Dan. i. 1—3, 2 Kings xxiv. 2.

BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.

We may therefore, with *Daniel*, the highest authority, date the commencement of the *Babylonish* captivity, in the *third*

* See Vol. I. p. 157. Tab. XVII. *Nabonassarean* years adjusted to *Julian*, and the explanation of the principles upon which *Ptolomy's Canon* was constructed, p. 285.

year of *Jehoiakim*, B.C. 605, which is confirmed by *Berosus*, who represents this expedition of *Nebuchadnezzar*, as having taken place *before* his father *Nabopolassar's* death; having heard of which, *Nebuchadnezzar* left his *Syrian, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Jewish* captives, with his heavy armed troops and baggage, to the care of his "friends," or officers, to be conducted to *Babylon*; and went thither himself with a small party, across the desert, to take possession of the kingdom; when he appointed the fittest stations in *Babylonia* to be colonized by the captives. *Joseph. Ant.* x. 11, 1. To which destinations they did not arrive till the fourth of *Jehoiakim*.

The duration of this captivity for seventy years, to the *Jews* and all the surrounding nations, was foretold by the prophet *Jeremiah*, xxv. 11, xxix. 10, 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 21—23. It expired B.C. 536, the year that *Cyrus* took *Babylon**, and issued a decree for the return of such of the *Jews* as chose, throughout his dominions, to their own land, *Ezra* i. 1—3, which was effected "in the seventh month of the first year of *Cyrus* king of *Babylon*," *Ezra* iii. 1, v. 13; and this corresponds with the account of *Josephus*, "in the first year of *Cyrus*, which was the *seventieth* (το εβδομηκοστόν,) from the day of the removal of our people from their native land to *Babylon*," &c. *Ant.* XI. 1, 1. for from B.C. 605, to B.C. 536, was 69 years complete, or 70 years current.—This, it is hoped, will be found a satisfactory adjustment of the chronology of this most intricate and disputed period of the captivity; in which all the varying reports of sacred and profane history are reconciled, and brought to harmonize with each other.

Jehoiakim was not reformed by adversity. The whole of his reign was cruel, tyrannical, and oppressive; "his eyes and his heart were intent on covetousness, oppression, violence, and shedding of innocent blood;" as of the prophet *Urijah*, "whom he slew with the sword, and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people; because he prophesied of the impending calamities of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*," *Jer.* xxii. 13—16, xxvi. 20—23; wherefore his doom was thus denounced by the prophet *Jeremiah*, xx. 18, 19.

* *Ptolomy's* canon dates the first year of *Cyrus*, B.C. 538, two years earlier; reckoning from the decisive defeat of *Nabonadius*, and commencement of the siege, which lasted two years, as proved, *Vol. I.* p. 168, 169.

“ Therefore, thus saith THE LORD
 Concerning *Jehoiakim* the son of *Josiah*, king of *Judah*,
 They shall not lament for him, [saying]
 Ah my brother ! or Ah, sister !
 They shall not lament for him, [saying]
 Ah Lord, or Ah, his glory.
He shall be buried with the burial of an ass,
Dragged, and cast out beyond the gates of Jerusalem.”

Jeremiah himself was imprisoned, for his warning prophecies, in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* ; the following year, the fifth, *Jeremiah* wrote a roll, and sent it by *Baruch* the scribe, to the princes and people of the *Jews*, denouncing destruction to them by the king of *Babylon*, unless they repented. This roll was communicated to *Jehoiakim*, king of *Judah* ; and a few leaves of it were read before him, as he sat in his banqueting house, with a fire burning on the hearth before him, in the ninth month (*Chisleu*) ; when the king, in a rage, burnt the roll, and ordered *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* to be taken, [and put to death,] but THE LORD hid [or protected] them. Whereupon his doom was more explicitly denounced.

“ Therefore, thus saith the Lord,”
 Concerning *Jehoiakim* king of *Judah* :
He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David :
And his dead body shall be cast out,
In the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost. Jer. xxxvi. 1—30.

At length, in the eleventh year of his reign, “ THE LORD sent against him predatory bands of the *Chaldeans*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to avenge the *innocent blood* which he and his people had shed, following the example of *Manasseh*,” 2 Kings xxiv. 2—4 ; and we learn from *Ezekiel*, in his figurative description of *Jehoiakim*, as another rapacious “ *lion’s whelp*,” succeeding *Shallum* ; that “ *the nations from the provinces*, set upon him on every side, and spread their net over him ; he was taken in their pit. And they secured him in chains, and brought him to the king of *Babylon*,” Ezek. xix. 5—9, “ *Nebuchadnezzar*,” who “ bound him also in fetters, [intending] to carry him to *Babylon*,” 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 ; but he died, and we may conclude, *was buried with the burial of an ass*—the just reward of “ his *abominations*,” 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

JEHOIACHIN, JECONIAH, OR CONIAH,

the son of *Jehoiakim*, was eighteen years old when he began to reign; and he did what was evil in the sight of THE LORD; wherefore, "*he did not sit*," or remain, "*upon the throne of David*," as foretold; for he reigned only three months and ten days, when *Nebuchadnezzar* sent his servants to besiege *Jerusalem*; and he surrendered himself into their hands, and was brought to *Babylon*, where he remained in captivity all his days, 2 Kings xxiv. 8—12, as foretold by *Jeremiah*, xxii. 24—27, who also foretold the failure of his succession, Jer. xxii. 29, 30.

*O Earth, Earth, Earth, Hear the Word of THE LORD ;
Thus saith the Lord, Write this man childless,
A man who shall not prosper in his days ;
For none of his seed shall prosper,
Sitting upon the throne of David,
And reigning any more over Judah.*

Accordingly, when *Nebuchadnezzar* deposed him, he appointed his uncle *Zedekiah* king in his stead; and none of *Jehoiachin's* family reigned any more over *Judah*. For though *Sheshbazzar*, prince of *Judah*, his descendant, was appointed *tirshatha*, or governor of *Judea*, under the name of *Zorobabel*, at the return from the captivity, in the first of *Cyrus*, Ezra i. 8, ii. 2, v. 14, Haggai i. 1, 1 Chron. iii. 17, 18, Matt. i. 12; yet he was merely a provincial governor under the *Persians*, and not a sovereign. And the *Asamonean* or *Maccabean* dynasty, who reigned in *Judea*, until *Antigonus*, the last of them, was slain at *Herod's* instigation, were of the sacerdotal family of *Aaron*. *Herod* himself was an *Idumæan*.

Along with this prophecy however, is connected that other noble prophecy, foretelling the future reign of CHRIST, the son of *David*.

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY OF CHRIST.

- XXIII. 5. "Behold, the days are coming, saith THE LORD,
That I will raise up unto *David*, A RIGHTEOUS BRANCH;
And A KING shall reign and prosper,
And shall execute *judgment* and *justice* in the earth. . .
6. In his days *Judah* shall be saved,
And *Israel* shall dwell safely:
And this is his name, which they shall invoke,
THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

The ancient rabbinical book of *Ikkarim*, well expresses the

reason of the appellation: "THE SCRIPTURE calls the name of the MESSIAH, IAHOH, OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, to intimate that He will be A MEDIATORIAL GOD, by whose hand we shall obtain *justification* from THE NAME: wherefore, it calls Him by the name of THE NAME," (i. e. the ineffable name IAHOH, here put for GOD HIMSELF.) See *Buxtorf's* Lexicon, voce יהוה.

Hence, probably, *Paul*, the worthiest disciple of the famous doctor *Gamaliel*, declares, that "JESUS CHRIST was born unto us, WISDOM FROM GOD, and RIGHTEOUSNESS, and SANCTIFICATION, and REDEMPTION," 1 Cor. i. 30. And that "GOD transcendently exalted him, and bestowed on him THE NAME ABOVE EVERY NAME: that at the name of JESUS, every knee should bow, of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal beings; and every tongue should profess, that JESUS CHRIST is LORD: to the glory of GOD THE FATHER," Phil. ii. 9—11.

Along with *Jehoiachin* were carried into captivity "the king's mother, wives, and officers; all the princes, and all the mighty of the land, and all the craftsmen and smiths;" or all the principal inhabitants to the number of seventeen thousand, who might be dangerous if left behind, by creating disturbances; and who could be useful in their new settlements, by bringing with them their superior knowledge and skill in arts and manufactures. "None remained but the poorest sort of the people of the land," the labourers, and others of the lowest class, 2 Kings xxiv. 14—16.

On this occasion the prophet *Ezekiel* was also carried into captivity, and planted, with others, on the river *Chebar*, or *Chaboras*, which runs into the *Euphrates* near *Carchemish*, Ezek. i. 1. There he was favoured with some remarkable visions, analogous to those of *Isaiah*, Ezek. i. 26, iii. 23—27, viii. 4, &c. xiii. 2, and uttered prophecies in the reign of *Zedekiah*, foretelling his fate; and also the future restoration of the *Jews*. His prophecies are usually dated from *Jehoiachin's* captivity, B.C. 597.

ZEDEKIAH.

His name originally was *Mattaniah*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* changed into *Zedekiah*, when he appointed him king in his nephew's room, and exacted from him a solemn oath of alle-

giance and fidelity, Ezek. xvii. 13, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. He was twenty-one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years, and followed his brother *Jehoiakim's* evil example, 2 Kings xxiv. 17—19. In the fourth year of his reign the kings of *Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon*, sent ambassadors to *Zedekiah*, urging him to join them in a confederacy to break the *Babylonian* yoke. But he was wise enough at this time to reject their solicitations, and to hearken to the prophet *Jeremiah* in preference to the false prophet *Hananiah*, who boldly predicted, that within two years *Jeconiah* should return from captivity, and the *Babylonian* yoke be broken. But he died the same year himself, for teaching rebellion against THE LORD, as *Jeremiah* foretold, chap. xxvii. and xxviii.

But in the ninth year the national sins accumulated to such a degree, (as may be seen in *Ezekiel's* vision, in the sixth year of *Jehoiachin's* captivity, chap. viii.) that both the king, his servants, and people, were ripe for divine vengeance. They accordingly rejected the admonitions of *Jeremiah*, and looking for assistance from *Pharaoh Hophra*, king of Egypt, they rebelled against *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon, with a great army, invaded *Judea*, took most of the cities, and in the tenth month, and tenth day of the month, besieged *Jerusalem*, 2 Kings xxiv. 20; xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1; Ezek. xxiv. 1.

Early in the next, or tenth year of *Zedekiah*, the *Egyptians* made a shew of coming to their relief with an army. When the *Chaldeans* heard of their approach, they broke up the siege of *Jerusalem*, and advanced to give them battle, but the *Egyptians* being intimidated, returned home without risking an engagement, and left the Jews to their fate; as *Jeremiah* forewarned the messengers of *Zedekiah*, whom he sent to enquire of the Lord:—"Thus saith THE LORD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, Thus shall ye say to the king of *Judah*, who sent you unto me; Behold *Pharaoh's* army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land, and the *Chaldeans* shall come again and fight against this city, and take it, and burn it with fire."

"Thus saith THE LORD; Deceive not yourselves, saying, *The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us*: for they shall not depart. For though ye had smitten the whole army of the *Chaldeans* that fight against you, and there remained only wounded men among them, yet should they rise up, every man

in his tent, and burn this city with fire," Jer. xxxvii. 2—10. Compare *Ezekiel* xxxi. 1—18.

At the departure of the *Chaldean* army, *Jeremiah* attempted to quit the devoted city, and to retire to his inheritance in the land of *Benjamin*; but he was apprehended at the gate of *Benjamin*, and charged with desertion to the *Chaldeans*, and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained many days; the princes urging the king to put him to death, because he dispirited the people by his prophecies, exhorting them to submit to the *Chaldeans* to save their lives, and threatening them with the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, if they maintained the siege. But *Zedekiah* at this time rescued him, and drew him out of the dungeon; when he again exhorted the king to submit and surrender himself to the king of *Babylon's* princes; but his evil genius prevented him from following this salutary counsel, Jer. xxxvii. 11—27.

The retreat of the *Chaldean* army proved a snare to the *Jews*. It tempted them to break through a salutary reform which they had made, on the first impression of terror produced by the *Chaldean* invasion. In compliance with the divine law, *Zedekiah* and the princes had proclaimed liberty to their *Hebrew* bond servants, as in the *sabbatical* year, and actually set them free. But when the *Chaldeans* were gone, and the danger, as they thought, over, and not likely to return, the faithless and mercenary government and masters broke the covenant, and compelled those whom they had discharged to return to their former servitude. For which God, in his anger, declared by the prophet *Jeremiah*:

"Thus saith THE LORD: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every one to his neighbour: Behold, I proclaim liberty in regard to you, saith THE LORD, unto the sword, and to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth."——

"Behold I will command, saith the LORD, and will cause [the king of *Babylon's* army, which are gone up from you,] to return to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it, and burn it with fire; and I will make the cities of *Judah* a desolation without an inhabitant," Jer. xxxiv. 7—22.

On the return of the *Chaldean* army to the siege, shortly after, in the tenth year, they pursued it vigorously, until the

eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, and in the fourth month, and ninth day of the month, after a siege of eighteen months from the beginning, they stormed the city about midnight, and put the inhabitants to the sword, young and old, many of them in the temple courts, 2 Kings xxv. 2—4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17—19; Jer. xxxix. 1, 2; and the army of the *Chaldeans* pursued *Zedekiah*, his sons, and officers, and the remnant of his army, and overtook them in the plains of *Jericho*, and brought them prisoners to the king of *Babylon*, at *Riblah*, in *Cœle Syria*, where *Nebuchadnezzar* upbraided him for his ingratitude and breach of faith; then caused his sons to be slain before his eyes, and his eyes to be put out, and commanded his officers to carry him in fetters of brass to *Babylon*, where he died, 2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxix. 4—7.

On this occasion, the seemingly dissonant prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* were fulfilled on *Zedekiah*. The former had told the king, after the return of the *Chaldean* army to the siege, that he should surely be taken prisoner, that *his eyes should see the king of Babylon*, and that he should be carried captive to *Babylon*, and should *die there*, not with the sword, but in *peace*, and with the burnings or interment of his fathers, the kings of *Judah*, Jer. xxxii. 4, 5; xxxiv. 3—5; whereas, the latter foretold, that he should be brought captive to *Babylon*, yet *should not see it*, though he should *die there*, Ezek. xii. 13.

Ezekiel also, like *Jeremiah*, connected the subversion of the kingdom of *Judah*, with the future kingdom of *CHRIST*, in the following remarkable prophecy:

EZEKIEL'S PROPHECY OF CHRIST.

And thou *profane, wicked prince of Israel* [*Zedekiah*,]
 Whose day is come, in the time of iniquity, [in] the end;
 Thus saith THE REGENT LORD;
 Remove the *diadem* [or priestly mitre] and take off the *crown*;
 This shall not be the same [or continue.]
 (*The humble HE exalteth, and the exalted HE humbleth.*)
 Iniquity, iniquity, iniquity I will account it:
 Even this [*diadem and crown*] shall not be [any more,]
 Until He shall come WHOSE IS THE JUDGMENT,
 And to him will I give it. Ezek. xxi. 25—27.

This most obscure and difficult prophecy, (here attempted to be rendered more intelligibly, by the help of the ancient Versions,) seems to bear a remarkable correspondence to *Jacob's*

famous prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10. The *diadem*, or priestly mitre, (according to the *Chaldee* paraphrase,) corresponds to the *law-giver* or *scribe*; and the future prince, WHOSE IS THE JUDGMENT, to SHILOH, who was to unite both functions in CHRIST, of High Priest and King.

Such were the admirable prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Micah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, during this disastrous period, by which the minds of the faithful were still supported by the prospect of a future redemption and spiritual consolations.

About a month after taking the city, in the *seventh day* of the *fifth month*, and in the *nineteenth year* of his reign, (which therefore was B.C. 604—18=B.C. 586,) *Nebuchadnezzar* sent *Nebuzaradan*, captain of his guard, with an army of *Chaldeans*, to *Jerusalem*, who burnt the temple and city to the ground, and demolished its walls, and carried away to *Babylon* all the vessels of brass, silver, and gold, which had been left before, and all the treasure of the temple, and of the king's palace, and of the house of the princes, and of the rest of the people, who had been left behind in *Jehoiachin's* captivity, he left none remaining but the poor of the land, to be vine-dressers and husbandmen, 2 Kings xxv. 8—12; Jer. lii. 12—16.

Four years after, in the twenty-third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebuzaradan* entered again the land of *Judea*, and carried off a few miserable gleanings of the inhabitants from *Jerusalem*, Jer. lii. 30.

Thus was the land left desolate, that "*she might enjoy her sabbaths*," or sabbatical years of rest, of which she had been defrauded by the avarice and disobedience of the *Jews*; fulfilling the early denunciation of *Moses*, Levit. xxvi. 34, and the later of *Jeremiah*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; and it is truly remarkable, that *Nebuchadnezzar* left it in that state, and did not attempt to recolonize it, as the policy of the *Assyrian* kings had led them to do in *Samaria*. The land, therefore, lay still vacant for their reception against their return: the providence of the GOD OF JUDAH, insensibly over-ruling the counsels and decrees of that haughty and arrogant conqueror, whom He had raised up to be the scourge of his chosen people, when their apostacies and abominations rendered them unworthy of his tutelar care and protection, and they were transported into captivity "*for their good*," Jer. xxiv. 5. There they were cured of the *idolatrous* infection they had imbibed in *Egypt*, and re-

newed in *Canaan*, in the course of seventy years, in "the third or fourth generation of them that hated GOD," and provoked him to chastise them so long. When *the remnant that returned* were purified in the furnace of affliction, and had "purged away [a part of] their dross," Isai. i. 25.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO NEHEMIAH'S REFORM. 166 YEARS.

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Nebuchadnezzar</i> destroys <i>Jerusalem</i>	} 25 last ..	586
appoints <i>Gedaliah</i> governor		
subdues the <i>Ammonites</i> , &c.	—	585
besieges <i>Tyre</i>	—	584
desolates <i>Judea</i>	—	582
subdues <i>Egypt</i>	—	570
his first dream	—	569
sets up the golden image	—	569
his second dream	—	568
<i>Evilmerodach</i>	} 3	561
releases <i>Jehoiachin</i>		
<i>Belshazzar</i>	5	558
, his feast and death	—	553

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN DYNASTY.

<i>Darius</i> the Mede, or <i>Cyaxares</i>	2	553
<i>Cyrus</i> the Persian	15	551
<i>Cyrus</i> takes <i>Babylon</i> ; first, of his sovereignty	—	536
The <i>Jews</i> return from captivity under <i>Zerubbabel</i>	} —	536
<i>Jeshua</i> high-priest fifty-three years		
The <i>second</i> Temple begun	—	535
<i>Cambyses</i>	8	529
<i>Darius Hystaspes</i>	36	521
The Temple finished	—	516
<i>Xerxes</i>	21	485
<i>Jehoiakim</i> high-priest, thirty years	—	483
<i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i>	41	464
—, stops the rebuilding of <i>Jerusalem</i>	—	463
—, marries <i>Esther</i>	—	458
—, sends <i>Ezra</i> to <i>Judea</i>	—	457
<i>Eliashib</i> high-priest, forty years	—	453

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Nehemiah</i> governor of <i>Judea</i> , twelve years.....	—	444
———— rebuilds the walls, and the city		
———— returns to <i>Persia</i>	—	432
———— comes again to <i>Jerusalem</i>	—	424
<i>Darius Nothus</i>	3 first ..	423
————		
<i>Nehemiah's</i> reform, and end of the Canon of the Old Test. 166		420

The *Jewish* chronology of this period is exceedingly intricate, and interwoven with that of the *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*; by which the sacred historians and prophets, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel*, usually compute the times. The confusion of names is embarrassing: the royal title, *Ahasuerus*, is applied to *Xerxes*, *Ezra* iv. 6; to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Esther* i. 1; and to *Astyages*, the father of *Cyaxares*, or of *Darius* the Mede, *Dan.* ix. 1; and “*Darius*, king of *Persia*,” denotes *Darius Hystaspes*, *Ezra* iv. 5—24; but “*Darius* the *Persian*,” *Darius Nothus*, *Nehem.* xii. 22.

The chief difficulty in adjusting the chronology of this period, arose from the supposition that *Babylon* was taken by *Darius* the Mede, and *Cyrus*, on the night that *Belshazzar* was slain, *Dan.* v. 31; whereas *Darius* then took possession of the kingdom peaceably, appointed *Nabonadius*, a Babylonian nobleman, king of *Babylon*, and died two years after. *Cyrus*, on the rebellion of *Nabonadius*, took the city, fifteen years after the death of *Darius**, as will be seen in the ensuing analysis of *Median* and *Persian* chronology.

The times of the *Jewish* high priests, are taken from the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, according to *Prideaux*.

In adjusting the reigns of the *Persian* kings from *Xerxes* downwards, according to *Ptolomy's* Canon of *Chaldean* or *Nabonassarean* years, I have retained the conumerary *Julian* years, before the Christian era, in preference to the *incipient*, or those in which the reigns strictly began; because the conumerary correspond more exactly to the *Greek* chronology of the *Olympiads*, and to the leading transactions of their reigns, their wars, &c. in the *spring* and *summer* months.

* *Ezra's* and *Ptolomy's* canon (corrected,) date the sovereignty of *Cyrus* from the capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536. It is doubtful, whether *Daniel's* last prophecy, in “the third year of *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*, x. 1, is to be dated from thence, or from the death of *Darius*, B.C. 551. I have adopted the former; others, perhaps, may prefer the latter.

GEDALIAH.

After the conquest of *Judea*, *Nebuchadnezzar* left *Gedaliah* governor of the land; whose father, *Ahikam*, was a man of considerable distinction and credit in the days of *Josiah*, 2 Kings xxii. 12, and in the reign of *Jehoiakim*, who, by his interest at court, and with the people, screened the prophet *Jeremiah* from the resentment and fury of both, Jer. xxvi. 24. *Gedaliah* appears himself to have been also of a generous and unsuspecting disposition, wishing to promote the welfare of the people, by reconciling them to the *Babylonish* government; and rejecting, as a calumny, the information of an intended conspiracy against him by *Ishmael*, one of the seed royal of *Judah*, instigated by *Baalis*, king of the *Ammonites*. Hence the prophet *Jeremiah*, when liberated from prison, by the express order of *Nebuchadnezzar* himself, (who treated him with much consideration, and recommended him to the protection of *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of the guard, “who gave him provisions, and a reward, and let him go,”) preferred staying with *Gedaliah*, his friend, and the people that were left in the land, to the captain’s offer, of taking him to *Babylon*, and providing for him there, Jer. xxxix. 11—14, xl. 2—6; 2 Kings xxv. 22—24.

Soon after, *Gedaliah* was treacherously slain by *Ishmael*, and a party of ten men, who slew also the *Jews* and the *Chaldeans* that were with him at *Mizpeh*, his residence, and attempted to carry away captives to the *Ammonites*, the king’s daughter and the residue of the people; but was prevented by *Johanan* and all the captains of the forces, who pursued him, and brought back the people; but *Ishmael* escaped with eight men only to the *Ammonites*, Jer. xli. 1—16.

Fearing the resentment of the *Chaldeans* for this massacre, *Johanan*, the captain, and all the people, great and small, fled to *Egypt* for an asylum, in spite of the remonstrances of *Jeremiah*, who promised them safety from THE LORD, if they remained in the land; but that they should die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, if they disobeyed the voice of the Lord, and went to *Egypt*: but in vain; *Johanan*, and all the proud men, taxed the prophet with speaking falsely, in order to give them up into the hand of the *Chaldeans*, to be carried away captives to *Babylon*; and they took with them all the

remnant of *Judah*, and compelled *Jeremiah* himself to accompany them to *Taphanes*, or *Daphnæ Pelusiacæ*, in *Egypt*, and they settled there, and at *Migdol* and *Noph*, or *Memphis*, and in the country of *Pathros*, or *Upper Egypt*, Jer. xlii. and xliii.

There *Jeremiah* denounced against them the approaching invasion of *Egypt* by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who should “smite the land of *Egypt*, and deliver such as were destined for death, to death, and such as were for captivity, to captivity, and such as were for the sword, to the sword;” he foretold also the destruction of the gods of *Egypt*, and of the images of *Bethshemesh*, and of their temples; and the delivery of *Pharaoh Hophra*, king of *Egypt*, into the hand of his enemies, who should seek his life, and that only a small number of the *Jews*, that escaped the sword of the *Chaldeans*, and the famine, should return again into the land of *Judah*; and he concluded thus: “*All the remnant of Judah that are gone to sojourn in the land of Egypt, shall know, whose word shall stand, mine or theirs,*” Jer. xliiii. 8—13, xliv. 1—30.

This last and most ominous prophecy proved fatal to the prophet: his ungrateful and infatuated countrymen stoned him to death, and cast his body into a pit; according to ecclesiastical tradition.

THE AMMONITES, &c. SUBDUED.

The year after the conquest of *Judea*, *Nebuchadnezzar* resolved to take a severe revenge upon all the surrounding nations who had solicited the *Jews* to a confederacy against him, or encouraged them to rebel, though they afterwards rejoiced at their destruction, and left them in the lurch; the *Ammonites*, *Moaabites*, *Edomites*, and *Arabians*; the *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, and *Philistines*; the *Egyptians* and *Abyssinians*, &c. Jer. xxvii. 3, Ezek. xxv. 1—3, xxvi. 1, 2, Jer. xxxvii. 7, &c.

The subjugation and desolation of all these countries by this “*servant of THE LORD*,” as he is styled, or his scourge to chastise them, when their iniquities came to the full, was foretold in general terms; that “all these nations should serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son, and his son’s son,” “according to the days of one kingdom,” or duration of the *Babylonian* dynasty, “for seventy years,” (from the overthrow of *Nineveh* by the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, B. C. 606, to the capture of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, B. C. 536,) Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10, xxvii. 7, Isai. xxiii. 15.

Some of them were conquered sooner, others later, but the end of this period was the common term for the deliverance of them all, as well as the *Jews*, from the *Babylonish* captivity.

The punishment of each was particularly foretold by the prophets: the *Ammonites*, Amos i. 13, 15, Ezek. xxv. 4—10, &c. the *Moabites*, Ezek. xxv. 8—11, Jer. xxv. 21, xlvi. 40—47, &c. the *Edomites*, Amos i. 13—15, Obadiah 10—16, Jer. xlix. 17, &c. the *Arabians*, Jer. xxv. 24, &c. the *Sidonians*, Jer. xxv. 22, xlvi. 4, Ezek. xxviii. 21—23, &c. the *Tyrians*, Isai. xxiii. 1—15, Jer. xxv. 22, Ezek. xxvi. 7—13, xxvii. 2—36, &c. the *Philistines*, Jer. xxv. 20, Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5; the *Egyptians*, Isai. xix. 4—23, Jer. xlvi. 13—26, Ezek. xxix. 2—12, xxx. 20—26, xxxii. 2—16, Joel iii. 19, the *Ethiopians* or *Abysinians*, Isai. xviii. 1—7, Ezek. xxx. 4—11.

SIEGE OF TYRE.

After *Nebuchadnezzar* had subdued the eastern and western states, in the first campaign, he commenced the siege of the strong city of *Old Tyre*, on the continent, in the second year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and took it after a long and obstinate siege of thirteen years, according to the *Tyrian* annals, recorded by *Josephus*, Ant. x. 11, 1.

That the commencement of the siege is rightly assigned to the year B. C. 584, two years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, may be collected from SCRIPTURE and the *Tyrian annals*.

1. *Ezekiel*, immediately after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, B. C. 586, prophesied the siege and destruction of *Tyre*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, xxvi. 1—11, and in the two succeeding prophecies, he represents it “as situate *at the entry of the sea* ;” and gives a curious account of its commerce, xxvii. 3, &c. and their king as puffed up with pride and presumption, so as to fancy himself a *god*, and not a *man*; but who should be slain as a man, xxviii. 2—9; alluding, perhaps, to his name, *Ithobaal*, or *Ethbaal*, according to the *Tyrian* annals, signifying, “*the Master*,” which was a *Phœnician* title of God. These latter prophecies were probably delivered in the course of the ensuing year, B. C. 585, during the invasion of the neighbouring country. And a subsequent prophecy, delivered after the end of the siege, “in the twenty-seventh year of *Jehoiachin’s* captivity, in the first month, and the first day of the month,” or the first day of the year, Ezek. xxix. 17, 18, decides that the

city was taken about the end of the foregoing year, or B.C. 597—26=B.C. 571; adding, therefore, to this, the length of the siege, it began, B.C. 571 + 13=B.C. 584.

2. This same date is furnished also by the *Tyrian* annals. From the commencement of the siege of *Tyre*, in the seventh year of *Ithobaal*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, to the fourteenth of *Hirom*, when *Cyrus* obtained the sovereignty, was forty-eight years and three months*; therefore, adding these to the date of the capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536; the sum gives B.C. 584, as before. *Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 21.*

This curious coincidence of sacred and profane chronology, establishes both; and also confirms, by the respectable authority of the *Tyrian* annals, the date of the capture of *Babylon*, B.C. 536, which was furnished by the slight correction of *Ptolomy's* canon, Vol. I. p. 169.

During the siege of *Tyre*, *Nebuchadnezzar* sent *Nabuzardan*, with a part of the army, into *Judea*, to revenge the death of *Gedaliah*, whom he had appointed governor of the land. But the country was so thin of inhabitants, in consequence of the secession to *Egypt*, that he carried away captive no more than 745 persons. This was the last deportation of the *Jews*, in the *twenty-third* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, B.C. 582, Jer. lii. 30.

About the same time, *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Elam*, or *Elymais*, and took *Shusan*, or *Susa*, its capital, from the *Medes*, as foretold by *Jeremiah*, xxv. 25, 26, xlix. 34, 35, and *Ezek.* xxxii. 11—24.

In consequence of this, we learn from *Xenophon*, that a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, occasioned by

* <i>Ithobaal</i>	13	0	} <i>Kings.</i>
<i>Baal</i>	10	0	
<i>Ecnibaal</i>	2	M.	} <i>Judges.</i>
<i>Chelbes</i>	10	M.	
<i>Abbarus</i>	3	M.	
<i>Mitgen</i>	6	0	} <i>Kings.</i>
<i>Belator</i>	1	0	
<i>Merbal</i>	4	0	} <i>Kings.</i>
<i>Hirom</i>	13	0	
	—————		
	48		3 M.

And *Josephus* reckons, that from the beginning of the siege to the end of the reign of *Hirom*, (which lasted twenty years,) was fifty-four years three months: from which, subtracting the six last years of *Hirom*, there remain forty-eight years three months.—*Cont. Apion. i. 21.*

the conquests of "the king of *Assyria*," in *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Hyrkania*, and *Bactria*, which threatened the safety of the *Median* empire: and that in the course of it, *Abradates*, king of the *Susians*, renounced his alliance with the king of *Assyria*, and joined *Cyrus*, for the restoration of his wife *Panthea*, inviolate, after she had been taken prisoner by the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Cyropæd.* B. i. and vi. *Xenophon* dates the commencement of this war, about the twenty-seventh year of *Cyrus*' age, B.C. 572, in the thirty-second of *Nebuchadnezzar*, two years before the capture of *Tyre*. Still *Shushan*, or *Susa*, the capital, was recovered, or remained with the *Babylonians*, in the reign of *Belshazzar*; for we read that *Daniel* the prophet "was employed there, about the king's business," viii. 2. This coincidence of sacred and profane history, is curious and important; it tends also to support the credit of *Xenophon* as an historian in the *Cyropædia*, the basis of which is true, though moulded by the philosopher into an historical romance.

Before *Tyre* was taken, the inhabitants fled with their effects to the insular *Tyre*, in its neighbourhood, having the command of the sea; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* found but little spoil therein, as we learn from *Jerom*, on *Isai.* xxiii. 6. To this circumstance the prophet *Ezekiel* alludes, in his last prophecy, when he declares that "*Nebuchadnezzar* and his army had no wages for the great service they had served against *Tyre*;" in the long course of which, "every head was made bald, and every shoulder peeled," *Ezek.* xxix. 18; and as a recompence, he promises them the plunder of "the land of *Egypt*, her multitude, her spoil, and her prey," vers. 19, 20.

INVASION OF EGYPT.

Accordingly, in the spring of the year, B.C. 570, after the *Tyrian* war was finished, *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Egypt*, and quickly overran the whole extent of the country, from *Migdol*, its northern extremity near the Red Sea, to *Syene*, the southern, bordering on *Ethiopia*, or *Abyssinia*, which he also reduced, with the other auxiliaries of the *Egyptians*, according to prophecy, *Ezek.* xxx. 1—12.

In the course of this war, that "cruel lord, and fierce king," so wasted and depopulated the land with fire and sword, that it lay desolate, in a manner, for forty years; after he had defeated the proud and haughty tyrant, *Hophra*, or *Apries*, as he is called

by *Herodotus*, and forced him to become his vassal, Jer. xlvi. 25, 26, who was soon after slain by the *Egyptians*, Herod. ii. § 162—169, fulfilling *Jeremiah's* prophecy, xlv. 30, and *Ezekiel's*, xxxii. 32. And on their return from captivity, at the end of that period, they were doomed to be the “*basest of the kingdoms* ;” who should no more have an independent “*prince*” of their own, Ezek. xxix. 13, 14, xxx. 13. And accordingly, they were ever after subject to foreign powers, to the *Babylonians*, *Persians*, *Macedonians*, *Romans*, *Mamalukes*, and *Turks*, down to the present day.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S FIRST DREAM.

This remarkable dream happened “in the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign,” Dan. ii. 1, and is therefore dated B. C. 603, by *Usher*, and the *Bible Chronology*. But the context furnishes internal evidence that this date is too early.

1. On his first invasion of *Judea*, in the first year of his reign, *Nebuchadnezzar* selected the most promising youths of the royal captives, and among them *Daniel* and his three friends, to be educated in his palace for three years, in the dialect and learning of the *Chaldeans*, in order to qualify them for holding the first offices in the state, and to attach them to his person and service by a wise and liberal policy ; and at the expiration of that time, they were brought before the king to be examined as to their proficiency, who “found them ten times better informed in all matters of wisdom and understanding than all the *magi*, (“*diviners*,”) or *astrologers*, that were in his whole realm,” Dan. i. 1—21. The term of their education, therefore, was not expired until the *fourth* year of his reign, before which it is not likely that *Daniel* should expound the dream.

2. But *Daniel* is represented, at the time of the dream, 1. as included with his three friends among the *magi* and wise men decreed to be slain for not *telling* and *interpreting* the king's dream ; 2. as living in his own *house* ; 3. as being now grown to *manhood* ; and 4. as being appointed *Archimagus*, or chief over all the wise men of *Babylon*, immediately after, in reward of his skill, ii. 12—48. These circumstances, especially the last, are inconsistent with the foregoing supposition.

3. *Daniel*, in expounding the dream, styles *Nebuchadnezzar* *king of kings*, invested with universal dominion over all the earth ; which was not true, or realized in fact, until his return

from the conquest of *Egypt*, which crowned the whole, when he set himself down to enlarge and embellish *Babylon* with the spoils of the conquered countries, and to people it with the captives.

4. The most judicious historians and chronologers reject the earlier date of the second year of his reign. *Cedrenus* and *Syn-cellus* reckon it the twentieth, or the year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*; *Abulfaragi* and *Euty chius* the twenty-third, or the year after the final desolation of *Judea*; and *Josephus*, “the second year after the devastation of *Egypt* *,” Ant. X. 10, 3; whence *Jackson* prefers B.C. 569, which is adopted in this work.

5. And this leads us to a more consistent explanation of the text, where “the second year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*” means “the second year of his *sovereignty*,” as established by the conquest of *Egypt*, according to the judicious interpretation of *Josephus*, *Petavius*, and *Jackson*, which is likewise warranted by analogy; thus “the first year of *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*,” Ezra i. 1, by no means denotes his accession to the crown of *Persia*, in B.C. 559, nor of *Media*, in B.C. 551, but of *Babylon*, B.C. 536; whence he is afterwards styled “king of *Babylon*,” Ezra v. 13, because it was not till the conquest of *Babylon* that “*GOD* had given him *all the kingdoms of the earth*,” or made him *full* successor of the *Babylonian* monarchy.

The king’s requisition to the wise men of *Babylon*, to tell him his dream, in the first instance, before they attempted to *interpret* it, though as they alleged, in excuse for not doing so, unusual and impossible for mere mortals, was yet founded on profound policy. He justly considered their telling the dream itself, as a sure *test* of the truth of their interpretation afterwards, and which it was not unreasonable to require of them even upon their own principles; because the same *DIVINE POWER* which could communicate to them the *interpretation*, as they professed, could also communicate to them the *dream* itself. He did not forget the dream, as generally imagined, from the expression, “*the thing is gone from me*,” verses 5 and 8, which may rather be rendered, with the Septuagint and Arabic, “*the decree is gone forth from me*,” and shall not be reversed; or with the Syriac version, “*the decree which I have pronounced is certain*,”

* μετὰ δὲ ἔτος δευτερον τῆς Αἰγυπτου πορθησεως.

or unalterable ; namely, for putting them all to death, if they could not tell the dream. And this surely was a more consistent reason, why the wise men wished “ *to gain time,*” or suspend the execution of it, verse 8 ; and why *Daniel*, who was involved in their danger, complained, “ why is *the decree so hasty* from the king ?” verse 15.

Upon the fervent prayer of *Daniel* and his three friends, that “ they might not perish with the wise men of *Babylon,*” “ the secret was revealed to him in a night vision ;” and from his thanksgiving to GOD, and declaration to the king, when brought before him, we may collect both the *occasion* and the *drift* of the dream, verse 17—29.

The thoughts which came into the king’s mind, upon his bed, were, “ *what should come to pass hereafter,*” or what should be the future destiny of that great empire which he had now acquired ; whether it should *continue*, or whether it should be *changed*, and pass away to others, in the course of “ those *times* and *seasons* of revolution, in which GOD removeth, and setteth up kings ;” and the ensuing dream figuratively intimated that it should be *changed*.

In the compound image which he saw in his dream, 1. “ the *head of pure gold,*” denoted *Nebuchadnezzar* himself, and the succeeding kings of the *Babylonian* dynasty ; 2. “ the *breast and arms of silver,*” the next kingdom of the *Medes* and *Persians*, inferior to the former ; 3. “ the *belly and the thighs of brass,*” the succeeding kingdom of the *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, whose arms were brass ; 4. “ the *legs of iron,* and the *feet and toes partly iron* and partly *clay,*” the empire of the *Romans*, which should be as strong as iron, but the kingdoms into which it was to be divided, composed of heterogeneous materials, which should be partly strong, and partly weak ; and 5. the *spiritual* kingdom of the *STONE*, or of *CHRIST*, which was to be set up by the *GOD OF HEAVEN*, “ in the days of these kings,” or before the end of the last, the *Roman* empire, upon the ruins of those *temporal* kingdoms and empires ; and was destined to fill the whole earth, and to stand or continue for ever, ver. 31—45.

The prophet’s interpretation only specifies the *Babylonian* empire, the succeeding not being then in existence : their names are collected from the ensuing visions of *Daniel*, gradually unfolding this primary vision ; with which, therefore, they are all

intimately connected, and with each other, as links of one grand chain of prophecy, reaching from their commencement to the end of time.

Then *Nebuchadnezzar* prostrated himself before *Daniel*, and offered him incense, according to the usual mode of adoration to kings and superiors in the east, and confessed that THE GOD of *Daniel* was GOD OF GODS, and LORD OF KINGS, who could enable him to reveal this secret; and he appointed him ruler over the whole province of *Babylon*, and also "chief governor over all the wise men of *Babylon*," ("*Rab Mag*, or *Archimagus*," Jer. xxxix. 3.) the two highest civil and ecclesiastical employments in the state; and, at his request, promoted his friends to conduct, under him, the affairs of the province of *Babylon*, while he acted himself as privy counsellor to the king, to advise him in the administration of justice, ver. 46—49.

THE GOLDEN IMAGE.

The Septuagint and Arabic versions state the erection of this image in the eighteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or the year before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; but this is too early, for the foregoing reasons. It was evidently after the dream, which it follows in detail, and not more than a year after, because the ensuing dream was fulfilled only seven years before his death. We may therefore most probably place it about the end of the same year in which the first dream happened.

This image appears to have been made and erected by the haughty and arrogant conqueror, in opposition to his dream, and the foregoing interpretation thereof. The *whole image*, and not the *head* only, was made of *gold*, to denote the *continuance* of his empire, and it was consecrated to his tutelary god *Bel*, or *Belus*, Dan. iii. 14, iv. 8, whose power he now considered as superior to that of the God of the *Jews*, revoking his former confession, verse 15; but the stupendous deliverance of the three pious friends of *Daniel* from the burning fiery furnace, who refused "to serve his god, or worship his golden image," by the SON OF GOD *, in a glorious form, or THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, again compelled him to confess, that THE GOD OF THE

* *Daniel* might have communicated to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nathan* and *David's* prophecies of THE SON OF GOD, 2 Sam. vii. 14, Ps. ii. 7, cx. 1, &c.

JEWES was superior to any other, “because there was no other god that could deliver after this sort,” verse 16—29.

This was probably the statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which, according to *Herodotus*, stood in the temple of *Belus*, till it was taken away by *Xerxes*, l. § 182. See Vol. I. p. 457. The height mentioned by *Daniel*, sixty cubits, probably included the pedestal, or pillar, on which it stood, because otherwise its height would have been disproportionate to its breadth, six cubits, Dan. iii. 1.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S SECOND DREAM.

This was a merciful warning to this great prince, who was spoiled by prosperity, when “at rest in his house, and flourishing in his palace,” “to break off his sins,” especially his inordinate pride, “and his iniquities,” especially his capricious cruelty, (v. 19,) “by shewing mercy to the poor, that it might be a lengthening of his tranquillity,” according to the sage and honest advice of his chief counsellor *Daniel*, after the king had told his dream, and the prophet had given the interpretation thereof from GOD.

The great and flourishing tree denoted the king himself, and his extensive dominions; the HOLY WATCHER who came down from heaven, and commanded to hew down the tree, but to bind the stump of its roots that was left in the ground with a band of iron and brass, that it might be wet with the dew of heaven, and its portion with the beasts of the field, until the expiration of seven times, signified the decree of the MOST HIGH, for depriving him of his reason, and banishing him from men, or human society, to associate with the beasts of the field for seven years, until he should come to himself, by this wholesome but severe discipline, and “know,” or openly acknowledge, the supremacy of GOD, “who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he willeth,” iv. 4—27.

This was literally fulfilled twelve months after, when, forgetting his dependance upon God, he arrogated glory to himself: “Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the capital of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty!—While the word was in the king’s mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: the kingdom is departed from thee,” &c. iv. 28—33.

“ *At the end of the days,*” or expiration of the appointed time, when “ his reason returned to him, and he was re-established in his kingdom,” humbled and instructed by sufferings, he gratefully acknowledged “ the signs and wonders which **THE MOST HIGH GOD** had wrought towards him,” and “ *praised and extolled THE KING OF HEAVEN, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment, and who is able to abase those that walk in pride,*” iv. 1—3, iv. 34—37.

Shortly after he died, and was succeeded by his son,

EVIL MERODACH.

The accession of this prince was in the thirty-seventh year of *Jehoiachin's* captivity, Jer. lii. 31. 2 Kings xxv. 27, or B.C. 597—36 = B.C. 561, which exactly accords with the date of the accession of *Ilvarodam*, in *Ptolomy's Canon*, proving that he was *Evil Merodach*, and also the correctness of this period of sacred chronology, from its conformity with that scientific canon.

The first act of his reign was the enlargement of the *Jewish* king, *Jehoiachin*, from his prison, whom he treated kindly and hospitably all the days of his life, setting him above all the other captive kings that were in *Babylon*, Jer. lii. 32, 2 Kings xxv. 28; compare Esther iii. 1. A *Jewish* tradition, noticed by *Jerom*, on Isaiah xiv. 29, reports, that *Evil Merodach*, (or “ foolish *Merodach*,”) during his father's distraction, behaved so ill, in provoking a war with the *Medes*, that on his recovery, *Nebuchadnezzar* threw him into prison, where he contracted an intimacy with *Jehoiachin*. But this imprisonment probably happened at an earlier period. *Xenophon* relates, in his *Cyropædia*, b. 1, that the son of the king of *Assyria*, or *Babylon*, during the reign of *Astyages*, king of *Media*, on a hunting party, when he was going to be married, wantonly made a predatory excursion into the *Median* territory, but was encountered and repulsed by a party of *Medes*, chiefly by the valour of young *Cyrus*, the grandson of *Astyages*, then about fifteen or sixteen years old, which fixes the date of the transaction about B.C. 584, the year of the siege of *Tyre*. But this aggression of *Evil Merodach*, and still more his disgraceful defeat, must have provoked his irritable father, and also his mother, the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was a *Mede* herself, and the daughter of *Astyages**, for this insult offered to his grandfather.

* *Fragm. Alex. Polyhist. apud Cedren.*

Herodotus, who calls her *Nitocris*, and represents her as the principal improver of *Babylon*, because she carried on, during her regency, the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun before his distraction, says, that she carefully and anxiously endeavoured to obstruct the passes leading to *Media*, and to prevent any intercourse with that kingdom, because the *Medes* were now grown powerful and formidable, B. i. § 185.

On *Evil Merodach's* accession to the throne, *Xenophon* relates, that he set himself to form a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the *Lydians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Cilicians*, westwards, and the *Indians* eastwards, against the *Medes*; alledging, that by their junction and intermarriages with the *Persians*, they were grown great and powerful, and unless they were opposed with the united force of the confederates, they would subdue them separately; but *Cyrus*, who was appointed general of the combined army of the *Medes* and *Persians*, by *Cyaxares*, his uncle and father-in-law, by his promptness and activity, anticipated the threatened invasion, attacked the *Babylonians*, routed, and pursued them to their camp, and in the engagement slew their king. *Cyropæd.* B. 1—4. Such was the end of *Evil Merodach*.

BELSHAZZAR

was his son, and consequently the grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who is called, however, “his *father*,” by the usual latitude of signification attached to that term in Scripture, *Dan.* v. 2—11—13.

The only circumstances of his reign recorded, are the visions of the prophet *Daniel*, in the first and third years, *Dan.* vii. 1, viii. 1, and his sacrilegious feast and violent death, *Dan.* v. 1—30.

Isaiah, who represents the *Babylonian* dynasty as “the scourge of *Palestine*,” styles *Nebuchadnezzar* “a *serpent*,” *Evil Merodach* “a *cockatrice*,” and *Belshazzar* “a *fiery flying serpent*,” the worst of all, xiv. 4—29. And *Xenophon* confirms this prophetic character by two atrocious instances of cruelty and barbarity, exercised by *Belshazzar* upon some of his chief and most deserving nobles. He slew the only son of *Gobryas*, in a transport of rage, because at a hunting match he hit with his spear a bear, and afterwards a lion, when the king had

missed both ; and in a fit of jealousy, he brutally castrated *Gadatas*, because one of his concubines had commended him as a handsome man, *Cyrop.* lib. iv. and v.

His last and most heinous offence was the profanation of the sacred vessels belonging to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which his wise grandfather, and even his foolish father, had respected. Having made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, he ordered those vessels to be brought during the banquet, that he, his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink out of them, which they did ; and to aggravate sacrilege by apostacy and rebellion, and ingratitude against the supreme author of all their enjoyments, “ *they praised the gods of gold, silver, brass, iron, and stone, but THE GOD in whose hand was their breath, and whose were all their ways, they praised or glorified not.*”

For these complicated crimes, his doom was denounced in the midst of the entertainment : a divine hand appeared, which wrote on the plaister of the wall, opposite to the king, and full in his view, a mysterious inscription.

This tremendous apparition struck *Belshazzar* with the greatest terror and agony : “ *his countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote against each other.*” This is one of the liveliest and finest amplifications of dismay to be found throughout the sacred classics, and infinitely exceeds, both in accuracy and force, the most admired of the heathen ; such as “ *et corde et genibus tremit,*” of *Horace*, and “ *tarda trementi genua labant,*” of *Virgil*.

When none of the *magi*, or wise men of *Babylon*, whom the king hastily sent for, could even read, much less interpret the inscription, “ *the queen mother,*” or “ *grandmother**” of the king, who had not attended the sacrilegious feast, but came in upon this alarm, recommended *Daniel*, who also had been absent from it, as one “ *in whom was the spirit of the HOLY GODS,*” (but whom *Belshazzar* had not respected, like his grandfather) as best qualified to shew the interpretation.

When the venerable prophet was sent for and brought in, he modestly declined the proffered honour and rewards, as having no weight to induce him to comply with the king’s request : “ *Thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another ;*

* So she is called by *Josephus*, ἡ μᾶμμη αὐτοῦ.

nevertheless, I will read the writing to the king, and make known to him the interpretation."

The reason why the wise men of *Babylon* could not read the divine inscription, was, that it was written in the primitive *Hebrew* character, which differed totally from the *Chaldee*. It was the original, from which the *Samaritan* was formed, and which therefore it nearly resembled, though greatly superior to it in beauty, symmetry, and elegance. Some advantageous specimens of it are fortunately preserved on sacred shekels, and Jewish coins of high antiquity, drawings of which may be seen in *Walton's Supplementum de Siclorum formis et inscriptionibus*, p. 38, prefixed to the first volume of the *London Polyglott Bible*, and elsewhere. The difference between the ruder *Samaritan* and the *Chaldee*, may be seen by the plates of Numerals in the first volume of this work.

On this occasion, to shew that the writer of the inscription was the offended GOD OF ISRAEL, he adopted his own sacred character, such as he formerly wrote on the tables of the decalogue. That character, we may be sure, was carefully copied by *Moses* in his book of the law, the original of which was found in *Josiah's* days; and was most likely to be brought to *Babylon* along with the precious furniture of the temple, and to have been under *Daniel's* care, or in his possession, as *Archimagus*: he therefore must have been well acquainted with the character even without inspiration.

After undauntedly reminding the king of the punishment incurred by *Nebuchadnezzar*, for his pride and capricious cruelty, in the temporary loss of his understanding, and of his kingdom, and his own pride, rebellion, and ingratitude, *Daniel* proceeds to read the inscription, which was in the *Chaldee*, or vernacular tongue; and which, collated with the interpretation, furnishes a more correct reading of both, supplying obvious omissions in the present Masorete text, as follows:

THE INSCRIPTION.

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, [PERES] UPARSIN.
 "NUMBER," "NUMBER," "WEIGHT," ["DIVISION,"] "AND DIVISIONS."

THE INTERPRETATION.

MENE,—“ God hath numbered thy reign, and
 [MENE,] hath finished it.” The repetition emphatically signifying, that the decree was certain, and would “ shortly come to pass.” See Gen. xli. 32.

TEKEL,—“Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting.” See Job xxxi. 6, Rev. vi. 5.

PERES,—“Thy kingdom is divided;”

[UPARSIN,]—“And given to the Medes and the Persians.” [*Darius and Cyrus.*]

Notwithstanding this terrible sentence, *Belshazzar* had still the justice to fulfil his promise to the prophet.

“And the same night was *Belshazzar*, king of the Chaldeans, slain,” Dan. v. 25—30.

The conciseness of Holy Writ has not explained *how* he was slain. This we may collect, with some correction*, from the account of *Xenophon*, that he was slain by conspirators; for he states, that *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who led the band that broke into his palace, were the first who adored the gods for having punished the impious king, (τον ανοσιον βασιλεα,) *Cyropæd.* lib. vii.

Indeed, *Daniel's* interpretation of the hand-writing upon the wall most probably hastened his doom. The conspirators, with their most injured leaders, now considering him as devoted to immediate destruction by GOD himself for his “sacrilege,” which is strongly implied in the term *ανοσιον*.

The great feast, on the night of which he was slain, appears to have been a season of profound peace and tranquillity, when “a thousand of his lords” could freely come from all parts of his empire without molestation or interruption from a besieging enemy, and when the king would be most apt “to forget God, after he had eaten and was full.”

We learn from *Berosus*, that his son *Laborosoarchod*, though a boy, (παις) succeeded him, but was slain in a conspiracy nine months after, *Joseph. contr. Apion.* I. § 20. He is therefore omitted in *Ptolomy's Canon.* See Vol. I. p. 172.

The family of *Nebuchadnezzar* being now extinct, and the *Babylonian* dynasty ended, according to prophecy, who had so good a title to the crown as *Cyaxares*, or “*Darius the Mede?*”
1. He was pointed out as the next successor by the prophet *Daniel*, whose interpretation of the divine inscription “must

* *Xenophon* supposed that this happened when *Babylon* was surprised and taken by *Cyrus*. But we learn from the *Canon of Ptolomy*, that *Babylon* was taken seventeen years after; and from *Berosus*, who consulted the *Chaldean* records, that *Cyrus* then took *Nabonadius* prisoner, in the *Acropolis*, or citadel, treated him kindly, and sent him away from *Babylon*, to reside in *Carmania*, where he remained till his death. *Xenophon* evidently confounded this feast with the *Sakea*, when *Babylon* was taken, Vol. I. p. 168.

naturally have had the greatest weight with the grandees and the whole nation ; 2. He was the queen mother's brother, and the next of kin, by her side, to the crown ; and 3. He was by far the most powerful competitor for it ; and also a prince of an easy and amiable disposition. Upon all these accounts therefore, we cannot hesitate to admit, that the *Babylonians* made him, soon after, a voluntary tender of the sovereignty, and that "*Darius the Mede, took, or accepted, the kingdom,*" with their free and full consent, Dan. v. 31.

DARIUS THE MEDE.

The first act of his sovereignty, as we may collect from *Berosus*, was the appointment of *Nabonadius*, a *Babylonian* nobleman, not allied to the royal family, to be king, or viceroy, under him, according to the established policy of the *Medes* and *Persians*, to conciliate the good will of his new subjects, in leaving them to be governed by a native prince.

The prophet *Daniel*, who contributed so materially to the accession of *Darius*, was naturally in the highest favour with him ; accordingly, on his next appointment of the presidents of the provinces, he set *Daniel* at their head, and designed to set him over the whole united realm, because of his consummate wisdom, Dan. vi. 1—3.

This of course excited the envy and jealousy of the presidents and princes ; who, not being able to find any fault in his public administration, because he was faithful to his trust, contrived a most artful and wicked expedient to work his downfall and destruction ; by prevailing on the easiness and vanity of the king, to pass a royal decree, that no prayer or petition should be made to any *god* or *man*, save *the king* himself, for thirty days ; and that whosoever transgressed this impious, adulatory decree, should be cast into the den of lions, ver. 4—9.

After this decree was signed by the king, *Daniel's* enemies watched, and found him praying and giving thanks to God as usual, thrice a day, in his chamber, with his face towards *Jerusalem* ; and accused him of transgressing the decree, and demanded his punishment ; which the king was most reluctantly compelled to order ; expressing a wish to *Daniel*, when he was thrown into the den of lions, "*May the God whom thou servest continually, deliver thee !*"

The next morning, after a night of mourning and fasting, the king arose very early, and went in haste to the den of lions; and when he came to it, he cried to *Daniel* with a doleful voice, “*O Daniel, servant of THE LIVING GOD, hath thy God, whom thou servest continually, been able to deliver thee from the lions? Then said Daniel to the king, O king live for ever! MY GOD hath sent HIS ANGEL, and hath shut the lions’ mouths, so that they have not hurt me; forasmuch as before Him innocency was found in me, and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt.*”

Then the king was exceeding glad, and retaliated the same punishment upon his accusers, their wives, and their children; whom the lions instantly mastered, and brake their bones in pieces, before they reached the bottom of the den, ver. 10—24.

The pious decree of *Darius* upon this occasion, is similar to those of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Daniel* interpreted his dream, and on his recovery from his distraction. Thus did GOD render the captivity of the *Jews* a means of recalling the heathen nations to the knowledge and fear of Him, by the signs and wonders which he displayed by the hands of the captive prophets.

“*Darius* the Mede was sixty-two years old at the time that he became sovereign of *Babylon*,” and reigned two years only, when he died. This is an important chronological character. It decides that he could not possibly have been *Astyages*, as several chronologers have imagined, *Cedrenus*, *Marsham*, *Jackson*, &c. for he was born B.C. 553 + 62 = B.C. 615; only sixteen years before the birth of *Cyrus*, B.C. 599, whereas *Herodotus* calls *Astyages*, when *Cyrus* was born, γῆρων “*an old man.*”

The testimony of *Xenophon* concurring with *Daniel*, in the succession of *Cyaxares* to his father *Astyages* in the throne of *Media*, is of the highest importance; because *Æschylus*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, &c. and the apocryphal history of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, all represent *Cyrus* as immediately succeeding *Astyages*; taking no notice of the intermediate reign of *Darius* the *Mede*, or *Cyaxares*; because he was eclipsed by the superior lustre of his nephew *Cyrus*. Who, in fact, governed *Cyaxares* himself, by that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones. Indeed *Cyaxares* felt and complained of the superiority of *Cyrus*: When *Cyaxares* once wished to

restrain the youthful ardour of *Cyrus* in the chace, and threatened him with chastisement from *Astyages*, his grandfather, if he persisted; *Cyrus* said, “*Chastise me yourself, uncle, if you please, and as you please, but only gratify me in this.*” At length, *Cyaxares* answered, “*Do as you please, for even now you seem to be our king.*” *Cyropæd.* lib. I. p. 30. And after *Cyaxares* succeeded to the crown, he said, on one occasion, “I would ten times rather (said he,) chuse to be buried under the earth, than to appear so mean, as to see my subjects neglecting and deriding me. For I am not ignorant, not only that *you are greater than I*, but that even several of my subjects come to meet me more powerful than myself; and are so well appointed, as to be able rather to injure me, than to be injured by me.” *Cyropæd.* lib. v. p. 301. Hutchinson.

CYRUS.

This illustrious *Persian*, who was honoured by name with the title of GOD’S “*shepherd, that should perform all his pleasure,*” *Isai.* xlv. 28; “*Cyrus, THE LORD’S anointed, whose right hand He promised, about 113 years before his birth, to uphold, to subdue nations before him,*” xlv. 1, really succeeded his grandfather *Astyages*, and, nominally, his uncle and father-in-law, *Cyaxares*, in defect of issue male, to the peaceable inheritance of the united empire of *Media* and *Babylonia*, according to Sacred History:

“And king *Astyages* was gathered to his fathers, and *Cyrus*, [king] of *Persia*, received his kingdom.” *Bel and the Dragon*, ver. 1.

This also is confirmed by the poet *Æschylus*, who fought at *Marathon* against the *Persians*, and therefore might reasonably be expected to have been acquainted with *Persian* affairs. In his *Persæ* he reckons *Cyrus* the third in succession from the martial founder of the empire, *Cyaxares* I., which his son *Astyages* established by his prudence, and *Cyrus*, favoured by fortune, raised to the height of prosperity, by his peaceful virtues and his conquests*.

* Μηδος γαρ ην ο πρωτος ηγεμων στρατου
 Αλλος δ' εκεινου παις, τοδ' εργον ηνυσε,

These higher and earlier testimonies infinitely outweigh the report of *Herodotus*, implicitly followed by his successors in general, that *Cyrus* dethroned his grandfather *Astyages*. Indeed, the history of both, as detailed by *Herodotus*, is a tissue of strange improbabilities and absurdities, from beginning to end, that carries its own refutation along with it; as will be fully shewn in the ensuing analysis of *Median* and *Persian* chronology.

“*Daniel*,” we are told, “prospered in the reign of *Darius*, and in the reign of *Cyrus*, the *Persian*,” vi. 28. His last vision was dated in the third year of *Cyrus*, probably not long before his death, x. 1. *Cyrus* “conversed much with him, and honoured him above all his friends,” according to the apocryphal history of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, in which are recorded two remarkable instances of his wisdom, in detecting the imposture of the priests of *Bel*, who, with their families, consumed the provisions offered to the idol; and also in destroying a great serpent, worshipped at *Babylon*, by balls of pitch, fat, and hair, after swallowing which, he burst asunder; to convince the king, in both cases, of the foolishness of his idolatrous worship, and to convert him to the true faith.—These are not improbable. But the sequel is absolutely incredible, that *Cyrus* was compelled to throw him into the lion’s den, by the enraged *Babylonians*, for destroying their idol, where he remained for a week, and was supported by a mess of pottage, made by the prophet *Habakkuk*, in *Judea*, which an angel transported, prophet and all, to the lion’s den in *Babylon*! This is evidently a caricature of the former trial of *Daniel*, and how inconsistent with the noble character of *Cyrus*, thus tamely to sacrifice his venerable friend and instructor!—

Φρενες γαρ αυτου θυμον οιακοστροφουν'
 Τριτος δ' απ' αυτου Κυρος, ευδαιμων ανηρ, &c. *Persæ.*

————— “*Asia’s* brave host,
 A *Mede* * first led. The virtues of his son †
 Fix’d firm the empire; for his temperate soul
 Breatl’d 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.” *Potter’s* Translation.

* *Cyaxares* I.

† *Astyages*.

‡ *Cyrus*.

THE RETURN OF THE JEWS.

In the year of the capture of *Babylon*, and first of the sole sovereignty of *Cyrus*, he issued his famous decree for putting an end to the captivity of the *Jews*, and for rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, *Ezra* i. 1—4.

It is said that “*GOD stirred up his spirit*” to do so; and this we may conclude by the wise counsel of *Daniel*; 1. to “fulfil the prophecy of *Jeremiah*,” xxv. 11, this being the year of the expiration of the captivity, which *Daniel* had computed before, ix. 2; and 2. to fulfil the prophecy of *Isaiah*, respecting the rebuilding of the temple, xliv. 28, to which *Cyrus*, in his decree, manifestly alluded: “*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.*”

Though the decree gave a general permission to “*all GOD’S people*” throughout the empire to return, it was particularly addressed to the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, to whom *Jerusalem* belonged. And among them *GOD* stirred up the heads of families, the priests and Levites, to accompany *Zerubbabel*, or *Zorobabel**, the prince of *Judah*, whom *Cyrus* appointed *tirshatha* or governor of *Judea*, by the surname of *Sheshbazzar*, *Ezra* i. 5—8; ii. 2—63; and the remnant that returned, including the men and their servants, amounted to about 50,000 †, ii. 64, 65.

After their arrival in their respective cities, the whole congregation unanimously assembled at *Jerusalem*, in the seventh month of the year, and the high-priest *Joshua*, or *Jeshua*, and the priests, erected the altar of the Lord, and renewed the morning and evening daily sacrifices, and all celebrated the feast of *Tabernacles*, according to the law of the LORD, *Ezra* ii. 70; iii. 1—6.

THE TEMPLE FOUNDED.

In the second year of their return, in the second month, the

* *Zorobabel* was the son of *Salathiel*, the son of *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachim*, king of *Judah*, *Matt*, i. 12.

† The number of the congregation was 42,360, (*Josephus* reckons it 42,462,) which added to 7337 servants and maids, makes 49,697, or 50,000 in round numbers, according to *Abulfaragi*, p. 53.—The detail falls short of this, at present, in the Masorete text.

governor, high-priest, and remnant of the people, laid the foundation of the second temple, with joyful acclamations; but many of the ancient men, who had seen the first temple, wept when they considered the inferiority of the present, not in its dimensions, which appear to have been the same, but in the solidity and richness of the materials, *Ezra* iii. 8—13. The interval between the destruction of the first, and foundation of the second temple, was fifty-one years.

But after the death of their patron *Daniel*, (probably in the third year of *Cyrus*, soon after his last vision, x. 1,) the adversaries of the Jews, the *Samaritan* colonists, who had been planted in the room of the ten tribes by *Esarhaddon*, and had offered to join in building the temple, but were refused by the *Jewish* government; in revenge, obstructed the building, and by their interest at the *Persian* court, got an order to stop the work, during the remainder of the days of *Cyrus*, who was either absent in foreign wars, or not at leisure to attend to such *provincial* matters. And so the work was discontinued, in consequence of their successful opposition, during the ensuing reign of *Cambyzes*, and till the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, *Ezra* iv. 1—5; iv. 24.

The work was then resumed, chiefly by the exhortations of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*. For *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Jeshua* the high-priest, made application to the *Persian* court, and obtained a renewal of the original decree of *Cyrus* for rebuilding the temple, which they set about with so much alacrity, that the work was begun on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, in the second year of *Darius*, and finished on the third day of *Adar*; the twelfth month, in the sixth year of his reign, within four years and a quarter, *Ezra* v. and vi. 1—15; *Hag* ii. 18.

They then celebrated the *dedication* of the temple, restored the divisions and courses of the priests and Levites, and observed the ensuing *passover*, and feast of unleavened bread, with joy; for THE LORD had turned the heart of the king of *Assyria* (*Persia*) unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of GOD, THE GOD OF ISRAEL, *Ezra* vi. 16—22.

HAGGAI'S PROPHECIES.

These, though short, are important.

1. He reproached the princes and heads of the people with dwelling in *ceiled houses* themselves, while the *temple of THE LORD* lay waste. To their neglect he ascribed the drought and failure of crops, which the LORD had sent upon them; and foretold a blessing of plenty from the day that they set about rebuilding the temple, i. 1—12, ii. 17—19.

2. To comfort the survivors who had seen the glory of the first house, and wept at the comparison, and to encourage the rulers and the people to prosecute the work with zeal, he foretells the greater future glories of this house, in the following magnificent prophecy.

- II. 6. Thus saith THE LORD OF HOSTS:
 Yet once more, shortly, will I *shake*
 The heavens and the earth,
 The sea and the dry land,
 7. And I will *shake* all nations.
 And THE DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS *shall come*,
 And I will fill this house with glory,
 Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.
 8. (The silver is mine, and the gold is mine,
 Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.)
 9. *The glory of this house [at] the last,*
Shall be greater than [at] the first,
 Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS:
And in this place will I give peace,
 Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.

The repetitions here, *I will shake*, &c. seem to intimate two comings of Christ, after great *national* convulsions and *signs*: as explained by OUR LORD, Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, xxiv. 29—31, and two temples to be filled with his glory: the last, after his second coming in glory, to take vengeance on all his adversaries; and to this chiefly St. *Paul* applies the prophecy, Heb. xii. 26—29.

Though this temple was thrown down by *Herod* the Great, and rebuilt from the foundations, as we learn from *Josephus*, Ant. xv. 11, 3, still it was customary to call it the second temple: thus *Josephus* himself says, "From the building of the *second temple* by *Haggai*, in the second year of king *Cyrus*, till its destruction by *Vespasian*, was 639 years, and forty-five days." Bell. Jud. vi. 4, 8. And the *Seder Olam* reckons "from the building of the *second temple*, till its destruction by the impious

Titus, 420 years." See *Ganz Chronol.* p. 94. These numbers are both incorrect: the true interval was 605 years.

CHRIST is here styled "THE DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS;" a title founded in the *Abrahamic* covenant, that *in Him should all the nations of the earth be blessed*. He was therefore the earnest and anxious expectation of the whole world, from *Abraham's* days, John viii. 56, Luke x. 24. Hence *Titus* was styled by the adulation of the *Romans*, hailing him as the promised MESSIAH,—*deliciæ humani generis*, "the delight of mankind." The plural form, *deliciæ*, critically corresponding to the Hebrew, חמדות, or fully, חמדות, *Hemdoth*, "desires," which is applied to *Daniel*, ix. 23, and is there put elliptically, for אִישׁ חמדות, *Aish hemdoth*, "a man of desires;" as fully expressed in two subsequent passages, Dan. x. 11, x. 19; and rendered in all three, by the Sept. ανηρ επιθυμιων, "a man of desires," or a "favourite." *Malachi* also, in his explanatory prophecy, iii. 1—3, calls him "THE REGENT, whom the Jews sought;" "THE ANGEL OF THE COVENANT, in whom they delighted."

CHRIST, at his first coming, virtually filled the temple with the glory of his doctrines and miracles, by which "he manifested his glory" to his disciples and the *Jews*, John ii. 11—23.

And after his second coming, the glory of the temple that shall be built in the last days, shall exceed that of *Solomon's* temple; as intimated by *Isaiah*, "I will glorify the house of my glory," lx. 7; and also by *Ezekiel*, "The glory of THE LORD came into the house by the eastern gate," &c. xliii. 4, and by the author of *Tobit*, in the following remarkable description of the three temples, xiv. 4—6.

1. "Jerusalem shall be desolate, and the house of God in it shall be burned, and shall be desolate for a time.

2. "Again GOD will have mercy upon them [in their captivity,] and bring them back to the land [of *Judea*,] where they shall build a temple, but not like the first, until the time of that age be fulfilled.

3. "And afterwards they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the HOUSE OF GOD shall be built in it, for ever, with a glorious building: as the prophets have spoken."

And it is only then, and there, that "peace shall be given to the world," "when all nations shall turn and fear THE LORD

GOD truly, and shall bury their *idols*," according to *Tobit's* conclusion.

The parenthetical clause of *Haggai's* prophecy, ver. 8, seems to relate to the contributions of the *Jews* to the second temple, Ezra ii. 68, 69; and of the king of *Persia*, Ezra vii. 15—20, which GOD represented as his own property, Psalm l. 10; according to that union of present and remote events, so frequent in the prophetic Scriptures; as we have seen in the prophecies of *Nathan*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, &c.

DOCTOR HEBERDEN'S INTERPRETATION.

The Septuagint Version has added the following gloss to the conclusion of the prophecy.

"And in this place I will give *peace*, saith THE LORD OF HOSTS: [*Also, peace of mind for a possession, to every builder, in order to restore this temple.*"]

By the aid of this gloss, an ingenious physician, Doctor *Heberden*, laboured to limit the whole prophecy to the temple then building, and to its actual duration, till *Herod's* time; in a communication which Archbishop *Newcome* has inserted in his notes on the *Minor Prophets*, p. 170, as "*a valuable communication, which will give the reader great assistance in determining the sense of the prophecy now under discussion.*"

A communication so recommended, is entitled to consideration.

1. The Doctor's translation of the Gloss is this :

"And in this place I will give *peace*—[*of mind for a possession, to every one who forwards the building, for the sake of restoring this temple. So the Sept. add, having found it, probably, in their copy.*"]

Here the Doctor has mutilated the passage, by dropping the important words, which distinguish the future *peace* of the prophecy from the present *peace* of the gloss; thereby suppressing the former entirely. His whole interpretation, therefore, built on this *suppression of evidence*, falls to the ground, as a false and dishonest fabrication.

2. By the word חֲמֹדֶת, "*precious things*," he represents, "that *nothing more* was meant than *the common richness* of the building and its furniture;" as limited to this meaning, "by the mention of *gold* and *silver*, which follows." But this is rather inconsistent with his own rendering, "*the precious things of all*

nations shall come ;” which surely intimate *extraordinary richness* ; and this rendering was not verified by the fact ; for while *Haggai’s* temple stood, the *Jews* were in a dependant and depressed state, and the temple itself not honoured, but often profaned and spoiled by *foreign nations* ; as we read in the history of the *Maccabees*.

3. The second temple included both *Haggai’s* and *Herod’s*, as we have seen, contrary to his supposition.

4. And is this illustrious title, THE DESIRE, or THE DELIGHT OF ALL NATIONS, appropriated to the BLESSED SEED OF THE WOMAN, from the beginning of the world, even before the *Abrahamic* covenant, at the time of the fall of our first parents ; and a long established prophecy, to be relinquished, merely upon the *mistranslation* of a *gloss* ? which also contradicts the express testimony of the best historian of those times, (*Josephus.*)

5. “The most plausible objections to the CHRISTIAN RELIGION,” as the Doctor observes, “have been made out of the *weak arguments* which have been advanced in its support.”—But surely this illustrious prophecy of *Haggai* deserves not to be ranked among those *proofs* which should be *hastily* surrendered to the adversaries of our holy faith ; which, though founded, at first, on “*miracles*,” is built and established, in these latter days, on the “*former prophetic argument*,” 2 Pet. i. 16—19.

There seems, indeed, to be an alarming propensity in some *modern* expositors of Scripture, to relinquish evidence the most tenable, on the first suspicion of its authenticity ; either through *indolence*, because they will not “*search* the SCRIPTURES” thoroughly, or through an affectation of *candour*, and *freedom from prejudice*. Such weak and injudicious concessions from the *friends* of religion, are more injurious and mischievous than the open attacks of its *enemies* ; “*the pestilence that walketh in darkness*,” is more formidable than “*the arrow that flieth in the noon day*.”

ZECHARIAH’S VISIONS AND PROPHECIES.

The authority of this prophet was equally effectual to promote the building of the Temple.

IV. 8. THE ORACLE OF THE LORD came unto me saying,

9. “The hands of *Zerubbabel* have laid the foundation of this house ; his hands shall also finish it. And he shall know

[by the performance,] that THE LORD OF HOSTS hath sent me unto you."

As the prophet *Haggai* had connected the present Temple with the future, and announced the greater glory of the last, so *Zechariah*, in continuation, ascribes the building of the future to CHRIST, at his second coming, in the following parallel prophecy.

VI. 12. "Behold the man * , whose name is THE BRANCH :

Even from beneath shall he branch forth,

And build the temple of THE LORD ;

13. Even He shall build the temple of THE LORD.

And He shall receive *glory*

And shall *sit* and *rule* upon his throne,

And shall be *priest* upon his throne ;

And the counsel of *peace*

Shall be between them both, [i. e. THE LORD and THE BRANCH]—

15. And they afar off shall come,

And build in the temple of THE LORD."

1. THE BRANCH, the title here given to CHRIST, is taken from *Isaiah*, who styled him, "a branch from the stem of *Jesse*," xi. 1 ; and from *Jeremiah*, "a righteous branch, or descendant of *David*," xxiii. 5, who was to be the builder of the spiritual Temple in the latter days ; according to *Nathan's* prophecy, 2 Sam. vii. 13.

2. "He was to branch forth from beneath," or flourish from the earth, after his interment, at his resurrection, *Isai.* vii. 11 ; *Matt.* xii. 40, xvi. 4 ; *John* iii. 19 ; when he was to receive "glory" from THE FATHER, *Psalm* ii. 7, xxi. 5 ; *Dan.* vii. 14 ; *Acts* iii. 13, v. 31 ; *Matt.* xxviii. 18.

3. He was to sit and rule upon his throne, at the right hand of the FATHER, as REGENT and HIGH-PRIEST, *Psalm* cx. 1—4 ; *Isai.* vi. 1 ; *Mal.* iii. 1.

4. And they were to dispense *peace* to mankind, *John* iii. 16, 17 ; *Luke* ii. 14 ; *Rev.* xxi. 1—5, xxi. 22, 23.

5. The final conversion of the whole earth, seems to be intimated in the conclusion, "And they afar off shall come," and as foretold in prophecy, *Micah* iv. 1—3 ; *Isaiah* ii. 2—4, &c.

2. *Zechariah*, in another prophecy, describes the first coming

* To this expression, and to the succeeding, "Behold thy king," ix. 10, *Pilate* might have alluded, *John* xix. 5—14. The Septuagint *Greek* version was current in *Pilate's* time ; he might, therefore, have been led from curiosity, and the general expectation of the coming of the Messiah, in that age, to read so remarkable a prophecy.

of Christ in the character of SHILOH, Gen. xlix. 11 ; Isai. lxii. 11, 12.

IX. 10. " Rejoice greatly, O daughter of *Sion*,
Shout, O daughter of *Jerusalem*,
Behold THY KING cometh unto thee,
He is JUST, and a SAVIOUR,
Lowly, and sitting upon an *ass*,
Even upon a colt, the *foal of an ass*."

See the express application of this prophecy to CHRIST, by the evangelists, Matt. xxi. 5 ; John xii. 15.

3. The rejection of CHRIST by the *Jews*, at his first coming, in the character of THE SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL, Gen. xlix. 24 ; Psalm lxxx. 1 ; Isai. xl. 11 ; and some of the most remarkable circumstances and consequences of it, his sale for thirty pieces of silver, his crucifixion, and the slaughter and destruction of the *Jews* by the *Romans*, and their final restoration, are foretold in the following prophecies :

- XI. 4. " Thus saith THE LORD MY GOD,
Feed * the *flock of slaughter* ;
5. Which these that buy them, slay,
And hold themselves guiltless ;
And those that sell them, say,
Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich !
Even their own shepherds spare them not !
6. For I will no longer spare
The inhabitants of the land, saith THE LORD.
But lo, I will deliver up every man,
Into the hand of his *fellow*, and into the hand of his *king* :
And they shall smite the land,
And I will not deliver [it] out of their hand,
7. *So I fed* † the *flock of slaughter*,
Even the *poor* ‡ of the flock.
And I took unto me two staves,
The one I called *beauty*, and the other *bands*,
And I fed the flock.
Three shepherds § also I cut off in one month,
And my soul was grieved at them,
And their soul also loathed me.
9. Then I said, I will not feed you ;

* John x. 14 ; Matt. xv. 24 ; John xxi. 16, xx. 17,

† Ibid.

‡ Matt. v. 3 ; Luke vi. 20 ; Matt. xi. 4.

§ שלשת הרעים. " *A triad of shepherds*." This may, perhaps, denote the three classes of *chief priests*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*, Matt. xxvii. 41, against whom, as " *hypocrites*," OUR LORD denounces severe " *woes*."

- That which dieth, let it die,
 And that which is lost, let it be lost ;
 And let the rest devour each others flesh.
10. So I took my staff, *beauty*, and cut it asunder,
 To break my covenant which I had made
 With all the peoples [of *Israel* and *Judah*,]
11. And it was broken in that day.
 And thus the poor of the flock who observed me,
 Knew that it was the word of the Lord.
12. Then said I unto them,
 If ye think good, give me my price,
 And if not, forbear.
So they weighed for my price thirty [pieces] of silver.
13. And the Lord said unto me,
*Cast it to the potter : (the goodly price
 At which I was valued by them !)
 And I took the thirty [pieces] of silver,
 And cast them [in] the house of the Lord,
 To the potter *.*
14. Then I cut asunder my second staff, *bands*,
 To break the brotherhood between *Judah* and *Israel*."

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- XII. 9. " And it shall come to pass in that day [of deliverance,]
 I will seek to destroy all the nations
 That come against *Jerusalem*.
10. But I will pour upon the house of *David*,
 And upon all the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*,
 The spirit of grace and of supplications,
And they shall look upon Him whom they pierced †.
 And they shall mourn for him,
 As one mourning for an only son,
 And shall be in grief for him,
 As one grieving for his first born."

-
- XIII. 6. " And one shall say unto him,
What are these wounds in thy hands ‡ ?
 Then shall he say,
 [Those] *with which I was wounded*
In the house of my friends.
7. Awake, O sword, against MY SHEPHERD,
 And against the man that is MY ASSOCIATE,
 Saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.
Smite THE SHEPHERD, and the sheep shall be scattered §,
 And I will turn my hand against the *little ones ||,*
8. And it shall come to pass, saith THE LORD,
 That in the whole land, two parts shall be cut off,

* Matt. xxvii. 3—10.

† John xix. 37 ; Rev. i. 5.

‡ Psalm xxii. 16 ; John xx. 20—27.

§ Matt. xxvi. 31, John xvi. 32.

|| Luke xxiii. 28, 29.

- And die, and the third part shall be left therein.
9. And I will bring the third part through the fire,
 And will refine them as silver is refined,
 And will try them as gold is tried.
 They shall call on my name,
 And I will answer them,
 And I will say, *They are my people,*
 And they shall say, THE LORD IS MY GOD."

In the first of these characteristic prophecies respecting CHRIST, He is commissioned by THE FATHER to *feed the flock*, destined to *slaughter*, by the avarice and rapacity of their pastors; who should be destroyed by the hands of each other, and of their "*king*" *Cæsar*, whom they had chosen in preference to CHRIST, John xix. 15, breaking their covenant with CHRIST, which is figuratively expressed by the staff *beauty*, now broken also by THE SHEPHERD. Then is noticed the paltry price of thirty pieces of silver, (the compensation for the death of a slave, gored by an ox, Exod. xxi. 32,) for which CHRIST was betrayed and sold to the chief priests, by *Judas*, Matt. xxvii. 3—10*.

* This remarkable prophecy is applied, with some variation, by the evangelist, Matt. xxvii. 3—10.

After *Judas* had returned the *thirty pieces of silver*, for which he had betrayed his master, and *cast them down in the temple*, he departed and hanged himself in despair. Then the *chief priests*, who scrupled to put it into the sacred treasury, because it was the price of blood, took the money and bought therewith the *Potter's field*, to bury strangers in.

"Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by [*Jeremiah*] the prophet, saying, *And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was (so meanly) valued by the children of Israel, [whom they valued,] and gave them for the potter's field, as THE LORD appointed me.*"

In this passage there seem to be two interpolations.

1. Of *Ιερεμιου*, "*Jeremiah*," which is omitted by the *Syriac* and *Persic* Versions, and by two *Latin* copies in *Blanchini's* *Evang. Quad.* *Augustine* also observed that some *Latin* copies in his time, to which he attached credit, had only "*per prophetam.*" See *Wetstein*.

2. Of the words, *ὃν ἐτιμησαντο*, "*whom they valued,*" which are evidently a gloss upon *τοῦ τετιμημένου ἀπο νόων Ἰσραὴλ*, "*who was valued by the children of Israel.*"

3. *Καθὼς συνεταξέ μοι Κύριος*. This refers to the beginning, "*And the Lord said unto me, Cast it to the potter,*" &c. Zech. xi. 13, and is not immediately applicable to the act of the *chief priests*, unless their act, and the foregoing of *Judas*, of casting down the money *in the temple*, &c. may be ultimately imputed to CHRIST, as done by his instruments.

4. "*The price of him that was valued by the children of Israel so meanly,*" expresses the sense of the indignant parenthetical remark of CHRIST in the prophecy, (the *goodly price* at which I was valued by them!) And it may in general be remarked, that the citations from *ancient prophecy*, by the evangelists, are adapted to the *spirit* rather than to the *letter* of the text; forming the best commentaries thereon.

Next the dreadful discord among the *Jews* themselves, that followed, by breaking the second staff, *bands*, or *concord*; adopting the imagery of Ezekiel, xxxvii. 16.

The next expresses the sorrow and compunction of the *Jews*, on their final conversion to CHRIST, for having crucified him. Which is so understood and applied by the evangelist, John xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

The last describes “the *wounds in his hands*,” when He, the TRUE SHEPHERD, *was smitten*, and *the sheep scattered*; as applied Matt. xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 27.

4. The final restoration of *Jerusalem* is predicted in the vision of a man with a measuring line in his hand, who was going to measure the length and breadth thereof, ii. 1—3. When this angel was departing, another superior angel desires him to inform the prophet, “*Jerusalem shall be inhabited, without a wall*, on account of the multitude of men and cattle to be contained therein.” This superior angel, (who strongly resembles the spiritual HIGH PRIEST in *Daniel*) then proceeds to declare, “And I, saith THE LORD, will be unto her *a wall of fire round about*, and I will be in the *midst of her, for glory*,” ii. 5. This sublime and beautiful imagery of the divine *illuminating and protecting presence*, residing in, and about, the *New Jerusalem*, is also found in *Isaiah*, lx. 19, and copied from both in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xxi. 23; and the *measuring line and rods*, are also found in *Jeremiah*, predicting the future increase of the city, xxxi. 38—40; in *Ezekiel*, xl. 3—42, xlviii. 30—35; and copied in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xi. 1, xxi. 15, 16. Indeed, “a good critical commentary upon *this prophet*, would be the best key to the opening of all the rest,” as judiciously remarked by Dr. *Gregory Sharpe*, p. 50, from whom also we learn, p. 355, that “THE SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL,” Zech. xi. 4—7, is CHRIST himself, and not *Zechariah* *; and when he is dismissed and rejected by his people, he demands, and receives, the paltry price of his services, which he casts contemptuously to the *potter*, by his unworthy instruments, *Judas* and the *chief priests*, as explained by the event.

* Not attending to this, Bishop *Newcome* and Dr. *Blaney* have miserably perplexed and obscured the prophecy in their translations and notes. *Zechariah* could not be “*the shepherd*” meant, as they suppose, with *Grotius*; but CHRIST himself, who made, and dissolved his covenant with the *Jews*, Zech. xi. 10, as well observed by *Tarnovius*, in *Poole’s Synopsis*, Vol. III. p. 214.

Among the *evangelical* prophets, who foretold the advents and character of CHRIST, none ranks higher than *Zechariah*; the prophetic spirit shining clearer and brighter as the time approached. And how was he treated by his ungrateful countrymen? “*Zechariah*, the son of *Barachiah*, was slain by them between the sanctuary (*vaov*) and the *altar*,” by the most atrocious sacrilege! as we learn from OUR LORD himself, Matt. xxiii. 35.

DARIUS HYSTASPES.

This wise and liberal prince afforded the *Jews* protection and encouragement during his reign. He was himself a disciple of the second *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, the reformer of the religion of the *Magi*, or Persian priesthood. *Zerdusht* was a servant of one of the Jewish prophets, probably of *Daniel* the *Archimagus*. See an account of his tenets in *Prideaux*.

XERXES.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the *Samaritans*, who in the beginning of his reign, (*Ahasuerus*’,) wrote unto him an accusation against the inhabitants of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, Ezra iv. 6, *Xerxes* confirmed to the *Jews* all the privileges granted them by his father, especially the grant of the *Samaritan* tribute, for carrying on the building of the temple, and for the support of the temple worship and sacrifices. Joseph. Ant. xi, 4, 8, xi. 5, 1.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

In the beginning of his reign the *Jews* set about rebuilding *Jerusalem*, and erecting the *walls*; but were stopped by an order from him, in consequence of a letter of complaint from the principal *Samaritan* officers, *Rehum* the chancellor, *Shimshai* the scribe, &c. against “the *rebellious* and *bad* city,” stating, that if it was allowed to be rebuilt and walled again, the inhabitants would foment sedition, as they had formerly done, and endanger the collection of the king’s revenue, by refusing to pay toll, tribute, or custom. And they appealed to the records of the empire to prove, that *Jerusalem* had formerly been destroyed,

and its walls dismantled, because it had been a *rebellious* and *seditions* city. Whereupon, search having been made, the fact was found to be true; and the king, by letter, authorized the *Samaritan* chiefs to stop the work until further orders, which they did forthwith, “by force and power,” Ezra iv. 6—23*.

The opposition of the *Samaritans* on this occasion, was well timed. *Egypt* had revolted from the *Persian* yoke, at the instigation of *Inarus*; immediately on hearing the death of *Xerxes*, as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. ii. The *Samaritans* therefore, could not have chosen a fitter opportunity to carry their point, or a stronger argument to work upon the king’s fears, than the danger that might result from permitting the *Jews* to fortify their city; not only of their following the rebellious example of the *Egyptians*, in refusing to pay tribute, but also of their obstructing the passage of the *Persian* army to be employed in the reduction of *Egypt*, either going or returning, through *Palestine*.

Artaxerxes, after he had subdued all his domestic foes and competitors for the crown, in the third year of his reign, instituted a general rejoicing at *Susa*, for half a year; and at a public banquet, when the queen *Vashti* refused to obey his summons, and shew herself and her beauty to the princes and the people, he deposed her from being queen, by the advice of his council, and appointed *Esther*, a *Jewess*, in her place, in preference to all the other virgins, her competitors, in the fourth year of his reign, Esther i. ii.

N. B. The royal title, *Ahasuerus*, in this book of *Esther*, is rendered “*Artaxerxes*” by the Septuagint Version, the apocryphal book of *Esther* and *Josephus*.

When *Artaxerxes* was firmly established on the throne, he

* This whole passage, ver. 6—23, is an *historical* anticipation, introduced, parenthetically, into the account of the former opposition of the *Samaritans* to rebuilding the temple from the time of *Cyrus* to *Darius Hystaspes*; describing their subsequent oppositions to rebuilding *Jerusalem* and its walls, in the ensuing reigns of *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*. It comes in between ver. 5 and 24, of this fourth chapter; of which the latter verse takes up the subject of the former again, and the fifth chapter proceeds immediately to the account of rebuilding the temple, on the exhortation of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, &c.

The merit of distinguishing these different oppositions, (which have been confounded by the best chronologers and commentators, *Petavius*, *Usher*, *Prideaux*, *Le Clerc*, *Patrick*, &c.) is due to *Hoves*, in his ingenious *Strictures on Richardson’s Dissertations on the Literature of Eastern Nations*. See his CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON BOOKS, Vol. II. p. 82, &c.

turned his arms against the *Egyptians*, and after various reverses of fortune, happily finished the war, in the sixth year of his reign, according to *Diodorus*.

EZRA.

Hence, we may presume, in the seventh year of his reign, "*Ezra the priest, and a scribe of the law of the GOD OF HEAVEN* *," was sent by the king and his council to *Jerusalem*, to *beautify* or adorn *the house of THE LORD*, out of respect to the former edicts of *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspes*, and to collect donations from the Jews of *Babylon*, for the service of the Temple, and also liberal offerings from the royal treasures; and he was also vested with ample powers, civil and ecclesiastical, "to appoint *magistrates* and *judges* throughout *Judea* and *Samaria*, and all the countries beyond the river, or westwards of the *Euphrates*, all such as knew the laws of his God, and to teach those that knew them not." He was authorized also to take with him all the people, priests, and Levites of *Israel*, who were willing to return from the captivity to *Jerusalem*; and the reason assigned for these regulations is highly honourable to the king's piety: "Whatsoever is commanded by *THE GOD OF HEAVEN*, let it be diligently done for *the house of THE GOD OF HEAVEN*; lest there be wrath [from Him] against the realm of the king and his sons," Ezra vi. 14; vii. 11—27.

This is a juster and nobler motive than "the solicitations of *Esther*," assigned by *Prideaux*, p. 205.

In this decree, however, we may observe that *Ezra's* commission is limited to the *temple* and its concerns, without any mention of repairing the walls. When *Ezra*, therefore, in his ensuing prayer, thanks *GOD* for giving the Jews "a wall in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*," ix. 9, he is not to be understood literally; the original term probably signifies "the fence of a shepherd's fold," here figuratively taken for their *establishment* again in their own land, "*Judah*," as well as "*Jerusalem*."

This pious ecclesiastic left *Babylon* with a party of 1754 persons, composed of the children of *Israel*, the priests, Levites, porters, singers, or choristers, and *Nethinims* †, or posterity of

* *Prideaux* has a learned and interesting article on *Ezra*, and his Canon of the OLD TESTAMENT, Vol. I. p. 253—286.

† *Nethinims* signifies "those who surrendered themselves."

the *Gibeonites*, appointed by *Joshua*, and afterwards by *David*, for the service of the Temple; according to the catalogue, *Ezra* viii. 1—20. They set out on the first day of the first month, in the seventh year of the king's reign, and reached *Jerusalem* on the first day of the fifth month, after a journey of four months, under the divine protection only; for *Ezra* ingenuously confesses, "I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to defend us against the enemy (the *Arabs*), in the way, because we had spoken unto the king, saying, *The hand of OUR GOD is upon all them for good that seek Him, but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake Him,*" *Ezra* vii. 6—9; viii. 21—31.

The first reform of *Ezra* was the abolition of strange marriages with the idolatrous people of the land; for which the divine wrath visited them with *great rain*; and this offence prevailed not only among the congregation, but even among the sons of the high-priest *Jeshua*, and his brethren, and among the other priests, who all promised to put away their strange wives, chap. ix. and x.

In the fourteenth year of *Artaxerxes*, a dreadful plot for the massacre of all the Jews throughout his dominions, and the spoliation of their goods, contrived by *Haman*, the *Amalekite*, and an inveterate foe of that nation, was defeated by the piety and address of *Esther* the queen, and turned upon the contriver himself, who was destroyed with all his family, as related at length in the book of *Esther*.

On this occasion was displayed the mischievous effect of that absurd law of the *Medes* and *Persians*, that the king's decree, when signed by him, and sealed with his seal, could not be changed or repealed. For *Artaxerxes* was obliged to issue a counter decree, empowering the *Jews* to take up arms in self-defence, and to repel their assailants by force. In consequence of which, they slew in the palace of *Shushan*, on the appointed day of massacre, five hundred men, and the next day, continued at *Esther's* request, three hundred more; and in the provinces, seventy-five thousand men! Such was the bloody result of a rash and unjust decree, ratified at a banquet, "when the king and *Haman* sat down to *drink*, but the city of *Shushan* was perplexed."

NEHEMIAH.

At length, in the twentieth year of his reign, *Artaxerxes* granted that permission, which he had so long refused, of rebuilding the walls of *Jerusalem*, to the instances of *Nehemiah*, a *Jew*, and his cup-bearer, (when *Esther* the queen was present, *Nehem.* ii. 6,) whom he appointed *tirshatha*, or governor of *Judea*, in succession to *Zerubbabel*, *Nehem.* xii. 47, (whose death, about this time, might furnish an additional reason for his appointment,) while “*Ezra*, the priest and scribe,” zealously co-operated with him in his proper function of teaching the law to the people, *Nehem.* viii. 1—9; xii. 26.

Nehemiah was empowered to repair the wall and set up the gates, to build a palace for himself, and afterwards to rebuild the city; and, in conjunction with *Ezra*, to establish the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the nation. All which he accomplished with singular zeal, ability, and disinterestedness, in the course of his administration of twelve years; not without great threats and opposition from the chiefs of the surrounding nations, *Sanballat* the *Samaritan*, and his army, *Tobiah* the *Ammonite*, the *Arabians*, and the *Ashdodites* (or remnant of the *Philistines*.) But *Nehemiah* piously encouraged the people to rely on THE LORD, and “to fight for their brethren, their sons and their daughters, their wives, and their houses.” And he divided them into two parts, one to fight, and the other to build; and the builders too, “with one hand wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon.” So the whole wall, which he had distributed in lots among the priests and heads of the people, was finished in the short space of *fifty-two* days. See chap. ii.—iv. and vi. 15, and vii. 1—4, and xi. 1, 2.

This change in the conduct of *Artaxerxes*, respecting the Jews, may be accounted for upon sound political principles, and not merely from regard to the solicitations of his cup-bearer, or the influence of his queen.

Four years before, in the sixteenth year of his reign, *Artaxerxes*, who, after the reduction of *Egypt*, had prosecuted the war against their auxiliaries the *Athenians*, suffered a signal defeat of his forces by sea and land, from *Cimon* the *Athenian* general, which compelled him to make an inglorious peace with them, upon the humiliating conditions, 1. That the *Greek* cities

throughout *Asia* should be free, and enjoy their own laws ; 2. That no *Persian* governor of the provinces should come within three days' journey of any part of the sea coast with an army ; and 3. That no *Persian* ships of war should sail between the northern extremity of *Asia Minor* and the boundary of *Palestine*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. XII.

Thus excluded from the whole line of sea coast, and precluded from keeping garrisons in any of the maritime towns, it became not only a matter of prudence, but of necessity, to conciliate the *Jews* ; to attach them to the *Persian* interest, and detach them from the *Grecian*, by further privileges ; that the *Persians* might have the benefit of a friendly fortified town like *Jerusalem*, within three days' journey of the sea, and a most important pass, to keep open the communication between *Persia* and *Egypt* ; and to confirm this conjuncture (originally due to *Howes*), we may remark, that in all the ensuing *Egyptian* wars, the *Jews* remained faithful to the *Persians*, and even after the *Macedonian* invasion :—and surely some such powerful motive must have been opposed in the king's mind to the jealousy and displeasure this measure must unavoidably excite in the neighbouring provinces hostile to the *Jews*, whose remonstrances had so much weight with him formerly. It was necessary, therefore, to entrust the arduous and important commission to an officer high in favour, trust, and confidence, such as *Nehemiah*, whose services at court *Artaxerxes* reluctantly dispensed with, as appears from his appointing a set time for *Nehemiah's* return, and afterwards, from his return again to *Persia*, in the thirty second year of his reign. Compare ii. 6, v. 14, and xiii. 6.

How zealously he and his pious coadjutor discharged their commission, we may collect from the feast of *tabernacles*, which they celebrated with such remarkable solemnity, that it exceeded any held since the days of *Joshua* the son of *Nun*, at their first entrance into the promised land, Neh. viii. 9—18 : from the *Levites'* humble and pathetic confession of the sins of the people, and the iniquities of their forefathers, chap. ix. ; and from the solemn covenant, sealed by *Nehemiah* himself, the priests, Levites, and heads of the people, 1. To walk in God's law given by *Moses* ; 2. Not to intermarry with the people of the land ; 3. To observe the sabbath day, and not to buy nor sell goods or provisions thereon ; 4. To keep the *sabbatical* year, and remit debts therein ; 5. To pay a tax of the third of a shekel yearly,

for the service of the temple ; 6. And to bring the first fruits of the ground, of their sons and of their cattle, to the house of God ; 7. And to give tythes to the Levites, chap. x.

During *Nehemiah's* absence at the court of *Persia*, these salutary regulations, and that solemn covenant were gradually infringed and violated, 1. Even *Eliashib*, the high priest, gave *Tobiah* the *Ammonite*, (the grand opposer of *Nehemiah*, iv. 3—7, vi. 19 ; but who, as well as his son *Johanán*, had married *Jewish* women, vi. 18, and was allied to the high priest) for lodgings, even in the temple itself, a great chamber, in which before was stored all the tythes of the Levites, and the offerings of the priests ; 2. And one of the grandsons of *Eliashib*, was son-in-law to *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, (another of *Nehemiah's* great opposers.) 3. The temple service was neglected ; the tythes appointed for the support of the Levites and singers, having been either embezzled by the high-priest or his deputies, or else subtracted by the laity. 4. The sabbath was profaned by selling victuals, and carrying burdens of all kinds. 5. And strange marriages were frequent among the people.

To redress these abuses and corruptions, “ *after certain days,*” or years, in which they had gained ground, *Nehemiah* obtained leave of the king to return to *Jerusalem* ; we may therefore date his return near the close of *Artaxerxes' reign*, B.C. 424, about eight years at the soonest, after he had left *Jerusalem* *. And this great work of reform he vigorously set about, and probably completed, not sooner than the fourth year of *Darius Nothus*, whom he calls “ *Darius the Persian ;*” and to whose reign he brings down the succession of the high priests, from the time of the return of the *Jews*, namely, *Jeshua*, *Joachim*, *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, *Johanán*, and *Jaddua*, xii. 10—22, xiii. 4—31 ; and from this year, B.C. 420 of the complete restoration of the *Jewish* polity, we may date the end of the *Jewish* canon, and commencement of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, with *Scaliger* and *Mede*, and even with *David Levi*, as shall be shewn in the sequel.

MALACHI'S PROPHECIES.

He was the last of the *Jewish* prophets, and the contemporary of *Nehemiah* ; to whose restoration of the *Jewish* polity,

* *Prideaux* dates *Nehemiah's* return four years earlier, B.C. 427, or only five years after he left *Jerusalem*, which does not allow sufficient time for the *corruptions* to gain ground.

and final reform, he appears to have contributed the weight of his exhortations.

1. He reproves *the priests* and *the people* for sacrificing “polluted bread offerings,” and the refuse of their cattle, “the *torn*, and the *lame*, and the *sick* ;” and he foretels that *pure offering* [THE LORD’S *supper*,] to be presented to the LORD by the *Gentiles*, from the rising to the setting sun, i. 6—14.

2. He denounces “a curse,” or punishment, against the *priests*, for not instructing the people in the law, but causing them to stumble at the law ; and for being *partial* in their decisions, in favour of the rich against the poor, ii. 1—10.

3. He censures the intermarriages of the *Jews* with *idolatresses*, “the daughters of a strange god ;” the divorces of their lawful wives, “dealing unfaithfully every man against his brother, by putting away his daughter,” and “covering with the tears” of the divorced wives “the altar of THE LORD ;” and warns them “not to deal unfaithfully with the wife of their youth,” ver. 11—16.

4. He censures them for their wickedness, and for supposing that God would not mind nor judge it, ver. 17, iii. 15.

5. He taxes them with robbing GOD of their tythes and offerings ; and recommends them to bring the tythes into the storehouse of the temple, and that they should be blessed with abundant plenty, iii. 8—12.

6. He foretels the coming of CHRIST, and his harbinger the *Baptist*, to refine and purify the sons of *Levi*, the priests, and to smite the land with a curse, unless they all repented ; and the final conversion of the *Jews*, in the following remarkable prophecies :

- III. 1. “Behold I will send *my angel* [or messenger, the *Baptist*,]
And he shall prepare the way before Me.
And THE REGENT *whom ye seek*,
Shall suddenly come to his temple ;
Even THE ANGEL OF THE COVENANT *in whom ye delight*,
Behold he shall come, saith THE LORD OF HOSTS.
2. “But who may abide the day of his coming,
And who shall stand at his appearance ;
For he shall be as a refiner’s fire,
And as fuller’s soap.
3. “And he shall sit refining and purifying the silver,
And shall purify the *sons of Levi*,
And shall refine them as gold and silver.
Then shall they offer unto THE LORD
An offering in righteousness.

4. "Then shall the offering of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*
Be pleasing unto THE LORD
As in the days of old,
And as in former years."

The application of the first *angel* or messenger, in this prophecy, to *John* the Baptist, is determined by three evangelists, Matt. xi. 10, Mark i. 2, Luke vii. 27, in the last case, upon the highest authority, that of OUR LORD himself; with a slight accommodation of expression: here GOD declares "*he shall prepare the way before ME,*" or before the MESSIAH, who shall act in my name, as speaking to the *Jews*; there "*he shall prepare the way before thee,*" as speaking to the MESSIAH. Indeed, the change of persons and speakers in ancient prophecies*, and the abrupt transitions which often take place, from THE LORD to THE MESSIAH, or to the *prophet*, without previous intimation, constitute the chief difficulty in expounding them, and require the most skilful discrimination of the interpreter. See Deut. xxxii. 31—33, where *Moses* is the speaker, Zech. xi. 11, CHRIST, and Isai. xxxvii. 26, THE LORD, in reply to *Sennacherib's* boast, ver. 24, 25, &c.

The second angel, or messenger, superior to the first, is styled, by way of eminence, מְלִיכָא, "THE REGENT," as CHRIST was described, Psalm cx. 1, "THE ANGEL OF THE COVENANT," or "MEDIATOR OF THE NEW COVENANT," which is synonymous therewith. Compare Acts vii. 35, Gal. iii. 19, with Heb. ix. 15, xii. 24, who threatens to refine and purify the sons of *Levi*, or the priesthood, (of whom he had complained, as THE SHEPHERD OF ISRAEL, in Zechariah xi. 4—8,) and "to smite the land with a curse," if they were disobedient to his first messenger, or forerunner.

- IV. 5. "Behold, I will send unto you *Elijah* the prophet,
Before the coming of the great and terrible day of THE LORD,
To turn the hearts of the fathers toward the children,
And the hearts of the children toward the fathers;
Lest I come and smite the land with a curse."

This great and terrible day of the LORD was the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, A.D. 70, to which *John* the Bap-

* "It is a remark that deserves particular attention, that the prophets, representing two persons, THE MESSIAH and *themselves*, in the very same discourses; will sometimes speak of *themselves*, and at other times in the *character* they are commanded to assume. Of this a thousand instances might be given." *Sharpe's* Second Argument, &c. p. 351.

tist, who came in the character of *Elijah*, or *Elias*, in his "power and spirit," of conversion and reproof, Luke i. 17, called the attention of his hearers. "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" &c. Luke iii. 7—14.

With this awful prophecy of the *Roman* captivity, the prophetic canon of the Old Testament closes. *Malachi* flourished about B. C. 420, according to *Kennicot, Dissert. Gen.* § 14, p. 6, which sufficiently accords with the description of *Josephus*, and the varying accounts of chronologers. See Vol. I. p. 298. And with this same year, B. C. 420, we date the commencement of *Daniel's* famous prophecy of the seventy weeks, or 490 years, ending with the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, after "MESSIAH the leader should be cut off," which remains to be distinctly considered, as forming one of the class of *chronological prophecies*.

From the "review of the leading prophecies of the OLD TESTAMENT, from *Moses* to *Malachi*, descriptive of the character and of the advents of THE MESSIAH," given in this work, we are abundantly warranted to conclude, that they were all together fulfilled in "JESUS OF NAZARETH," and all together in no other person. And that "this is HE, whom *Moses* and the prophets did say should come," to "whom give all the prophets witness," for "the testifying of JESUS is the spirit (or drift) of prophecy." The challenge of *David Levi* is now answered, and the *Jews*, we trust, left without excuse for their infidelity. See the *Preface* to this volume.

DANIEL'S VISIONS.

This highly-favoured prophet was early admired and celebrated in the *Jewish* Church for his consummate piety and wisdom, even in his own days. *Ezekiel*, his fellow captive, speaks of him proverbially, "Behold, thou art wiser than *Daniel*, no secret can be hid from thee!" xxviii. 3. And he ranks him among, and between, the most powerful intercessors with God, *Noah* for himself and family, and *Job* for his friends. "When the land sinneth, though these three men, *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job*, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith THE LORD GOD," xiv. 14—18—20.

The apocryphal history of *Susanna* and the elders furnishes an instance of his *judicial* wisdom in early youth, by which he

detected the false accusation of the elders. She is supposed to have been the wife of *Jehoiachin*, the captive king of *Judah*, by some of the *Jewish* Rabbis.

And *Josephus*, the great Jewish historian, thus describes him and his writings :—

“ It is fit to mention what may chiefly excite the hearer’s wonder in this person’s history. He was blessed with extraordinary good fortune in all things, as *one of the greatest prophets*, and during his life he was held in honour and esteem both by kings and by the multitude, and after his death he still enjoys an eternal remembrance. For the books that he wrote, and left behind him, are still read among us even now, and from them we believe that *Daniel conversed with GOD*; for he not only predicted *future events* like the other prophets, throughout the course of his function, but he also *determined the time* in which they were to happen. And when other prophets foretold ills, and were for that reason disliked by kings and the people, *Daniel* on the contrary was a prophet of good things to them, insomuch that from the favourable nature of his predictions he gained the good will of all; and from the certainty of the event, he also acquired with the multitude the credit and reputation of *divinity**.” Ant. x. 11, 7.

And to crown all, our Lord himself expressly cites “ *Daniel* the prophet” by name, in explaining his predictions concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans* to his confidential disciples, Matt. xxiv. 15; an honour which he paid only to *Moses*, *David*, and *Jonah* besides. And on his iniquitous trial before the high-priest and *Jewish* council, he expressly applied to himself the famous prophecy of THE SON OF MAN coming in the clouds of heaven, Dan. vii. 13, which the high-priest immediately interpreted of THE MESSIAH, or THE SON OF GOD, rent his clothes, and charged him with blasphemy, Matt. xxvi.

* This representation is not quite correct. *Daniel’s* predictions were rather unfavourable or ominous to the enquirers, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Belshazzar*, and to his countrymen the *Jews*, during the long continued period of the *Roman* captivity and ensuing desolation. Still, however, the unequivocal proofs he gave of *divine inspiration*, by revealing mysteries the most wonderful and stupendous, extorted the astonishment, the rewards, and even the adoration of those proud and haughty tyrants, whose *fierceness* was thereby turned to the *praise of GOD*, by whom they were humbled and punished. In this respect, the homage of the predicted sufferers themselves, evidently ranks him much higher in the scale of *prophets*, than if his responses had been favourable to their wishes.

63—65. The apprehensions of the Jewish council also, “lest the *Romans* should come and take away both their [holy] place and nation,” John xi. 48, were evidently founded on *Daniel’s* prophecies, especially that of the seventy weeks. And *Josephus* soon after said, that “*Daniel* wrote also concerning the *Roman* empire, and how that the land would be *desolated* by them,” evidently referring to “the *transgression of desolation*,” viii. 13, or the *abomination of desolation*, ix. 27, and xii. 11. And he recommended the perusal of the book of *Daniel* to all those who wished to understand *the truth* respecting futurity. Ant. x. 10, 4.

Of the high estimation indeed in which *Daniel’s* prophecies were held at that time, and a good while after, there cannot be a more unequivocal proof than the corruption of the *Jewish Chronology* in the *Seder Olam Rabba*, which rated the destruction of Jerusalem by the *Babylonians*, B. C. 422, and again by the *Romans*, A. D. 68, falsifying both dates, in order that the interval, 490 years, might correspond to their misinterpretation of the seventy weeks, the correct interval being B. C. 586 + A. D. 70 = 656 years, or 166 years more. And perhaps, to the detection of this error, in later times, (which was their own fault, and not the prophet’s) we may ascribe the low estimation in which the book of *Daniel* began to be held about the eleventh century, when it was degraded from the canon of the *prophets* into the lowest class *; and the Targum of *Jonathan ben Uzziel* thereon was probably suppressed, “he having been restrained (according to the legend of R. *Abrudaham*) from proceeding to explain *Daniel*, after he had explained *Job*, *Proverbs*, and the *Psalms*, by a voice that bid him stop there, lest the sons of men should learn from *Daniel* the time of the MESSIAH.” Hence the Rabbinical curse to any that attempt it, “*May their bones be broken, may their souls go out, who compute the periods of the times!*”

The visions of *Daniel* form a select class of prophecies; along with the diversified imagery, the sublime and magnificent apparatus of *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Zechariah*, they possess the minute historical detail of *Moses*, and surpass them all in *chronological* precision and accuracy. They seemed designed by that ONE AND THE SAME SPIRIT, which dictated the whole, for a *supplement* to the rest, containing that further information

* *Maimonides* was the leading adversary of the prophet: he was opposed by *Abarbanel*, *Jacchiades*, &c. asserting that *Daniel* had attained the highest pitch of prophecy. See their comments, or *Bishop Chandler’s Vindication*, &c. p. 96, &c.

necessary to make them intelligible to after ages. Still they are very abstruse, especially in the latter unfulfilled prophecies, and require a fuller exposition than the preceding, and a more expanded analysis. As a preparation for which, I have endeavoured, in the following scheme, to give a general view of the argument, the particulars of which shall be afterwards explained.

SCHEME OF DANIEL'S VISIONS.

I. DREAM. B.C. 569.	I. VISION. B.C. 558.	II. VISION. B.C. 556.	III. VISION. B.C. 553.
A compound image of <i>gold, silver, brass, and iron</i> , denoting <i>four successive kingdoms</i> . Dan. ii. 31—33.	<i>Four wild beasts</i> rising from <i>the sea</i> . Dan. vii. 2, 3.		
I. Kingdom. B.C. 606. <i>The head of gold; the Babylonians</i> . Daniel ii. 37, 38.	I. Kingdom. A <i>lion</i> with <i>eagle's wings</i> . Dan. vii. 4.	II. Kingdom. A <i>ram</i> with <i>unequal horns</i> , the last higher, pushing <i>westward, and northward, and southward</i> . Dan. viii. 3, 4.	IV. VISION. B.C. 534.
II. Kingdom. B.C. 536. <i>The breast and arms of silver; the Medo-Persian</i> . Dan. ii. 39.	II. Kingdom. A <i>bear</i> with <i>three ribs</i> in his mouth. Dan. vii. 6.	III. Kingdom. A <i>swift he-goat</i> from <i>the west</i> , with a <i>great horn</i> , afterwards broken into <i>four</i> smaller ones to the <i>four winds</i> , or <i>quarters</i> of the world. Dan. viii. 5—8.	III. Kingdom. A <i>mighty king</i> of <i>Greece</i> to overthrow the <i>fourth king of Persia</i> ; his kingdom to be divided into <i>four</i> inferior, to the <i>four winds</i> , but not to <i>his posterity</i> . Dan. xi. 2—4.
III. Kingdom. B.C. 331. <i>The belly and thighs of brass; the Macedo-Greecian</i> . Dan. ii. 39.	III. Kingdom. A <i>leopard</i> with <i>four wings</i> and <i>four heads</i> . Dan. vii. 6.	IV. Kingdom. A <i>little horn</i> , B.C. 753, springing from one of these <i>four horns</i> , (<i>the western</i>) and waxing exceeding great towards the <i>south, the east, and</i>	A <i>wild beast</i> rising out of <i>the sea</i> , with a <i>leopard's body, bear's feet, and lion's mouth</i> , having <i>seven heads</i> , and <i>ten horns</i> . Pagan Rome.
IV. Kingdom. <i>The legs of iron, the feet and toes partly iron and clay</i> ; 1. The <i>Roman Republic</i> , B.C. 168. 2. The <i>Roman Empire</i> , B.C. 30.	IV. Kingdom. 1. A <i>strong and terrible wild beast</i> , diverse from the rest, with <i>iron teeth</i> , and afterwards <i>ten horns</i> . <i>Pagan Rome</i> . Dan. vii. 7—19.	A <i>mighty king</i> of <i>Greece</i> to overthrow the <i>fourth king of Persia</i> ; his kingdom to be divided into <i>four</i> inferior, to the <i>four winds</i> , but not to <i>his posterity</i> . Dan. xi. 2—4. A <i>wild beast</i> rising out of <i>the sea</i> , with a <i>leopard's body, bear's feet, and lion's mouth</i> , having <i>seven heads</i> , and <i>ten horns</i> . Pagan Rome.	A <i>wild beast</i> rising out of <i>the sea</i> , with a <i>leopard's body, bear's feet, and lion's mouth</i> , having <i>seven heads</i> , and <i>ten horns</i> . Pagan Rome.

I. DREAM.

3. The *ten kingdoms*, partly *strong* and *weak*, A. D. 356—483.

1. *Huns*, (*Hungary* - - 356
2. * *Ostrogoths*,
(*Mæsia-Italy*)
377

3. *Visigoths*,
(*Pannonia*) 378

4. *Franks*,
(*Gaul*) - - 407

5. *Vandals*,
(*Africa*) - 407

6. *Suevi*,
(*Spain*) - 407

7. *Burgundians*,
(*Burgundy*) 407

8. * *Heruli*,
(*Italy*) - - 476

9. *Saxons*,
(*Britain*) - 476

10 * *Longobards*,
(*Danube*) 483
(*Lombardy*) 526

Gaul, &c. *strong*.
Italy, &c. *weak*.

V. Kingdom.

A. D. 31.

The kingdom of the *stone* founded in the time of the *four kingdoms*, during the last, upon their ruins, finally to become the kingdom of the *mountain*, to fill the whole earth, and to stand for ever. THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST. Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45.

I. VISION.

2. A *little horn* springing up among and behind the *ten*, before which *three* of them were plucked up*.

It had *eyes* like a man, and a *mouth* speaking great things against THE MOST HIGH; and it persecuted the *saints* for a *time*, *times*, and *half a time*, or 1260 days, beginning A. D. 620, ending A. D. 1880. Dan. vii. 8—25, xii. 7.

* Three plucked up. *Neruli* in 488, *Ostrogoths* 553, *Lombards* in 756.

V. Kingdom.

1. THE ANCIENT OF DAYS to sit in judgment on the *four* beasts, to destroy the *body* of the *fourth* beast in the fire, for the great words of the *little horn*, and to spare the lives of the other *three*, for a *time* and a *season*. Dan. vii. 9—12.

2. THE SON OF MAN invested with universal and everlasting dominion, and the *kingdom of the saints* established, vii. 22—27.

II. VISION.

the *pleasant land* (of *Judea*.)

2. Magnifying itself at length against the *Host*, and THE PRINCE OF THE HOST.

3. And taking away the *daily sacrifice*, and casting down the place of his *sanctuary*. And 4. Trampling on the *sanctuary* and *host* for 2300 days, beginning B. C. 420, ending A. D. 1880.

Pagan Rome, afterwards *Christian* and *Infidel*. Dan. viii. 9—14, 23—25, xi. 31—45.

IV. VISION.

V. Kingdom.

The *wilful king* to be destroyed at the *time of the end*. Dan. xi. 45. The *saints* to be delivered at the *resurrection of the just*. Dan. xii. 1—3.

THE REFORMATION.

At the end of 1290 days from A. D. 70.

1. By *Wickliffe*, A. D. 1360.—1335 days from ditto.

2. By *Huss*, A. D. 1405. Dan. xii. 10—12.

III. VISION.

Rev. xiii. 1, 2. The *daily sacrifice* to be taken away, the *city* and *sanctuary* of *Jerusalem* to be destroyed, and the *desolation* to commence at the end of 70 weeks, or 490 years, beginning B. C. 420, and ending A. D. 70. Dan. ix. 24—27.

IV. VISION.

The *wilful king* to continue his persecutions, blasphemies, innovations, &c. till the *time of the end*. Dan. xi. 36—44.

APOCALYPSE.

THE REFORMATION.

First Angel. A. D. 1. *Wickliffe* 1360
Second Angel.
2. *Huss* - 1405
Third Angel.
3. *Luther* 1517
Rev. xiv. 6—12.

This *chronological* scheme* is designed to exhibit a general outline of the visions; to bring into one collective point of view the connection of the parts with each other, and with the whole. The two first visions are emblematical, like *Nebuchadnezzar's* dream, which they were designed to explain and unfold; the two latter are historical, designed to explain the former, and complete the whole; and the correspondence of the several visions with each other, furnishes the safest clue to guide our steps through the mazes of these most abstruse and mysterious prophecies †.

Though the four visions do not commence from the same point of time, yet they run parallel to each other during the period of their *synchronism*, or coincidence of the corresponding parts of each. The symbols employed in each vision are strictly appropriate to the subject, and perfectly consistent with each other in the several parts of it. The same things, indeed, in the different visions are represented by different symbols, as the second kingdom by the *silver* part of the image, a *bear*, and a *ram*; and sometimes different things by the same symbol, as the *little horns* of the first and second visions, the former denoting *Papal*, the latter *Pagan Rome*, or the *Roman* republic. Still, however, the conformity in the one case, and diversity in the other, is so strongly marked by appropriate circumstances,

* The profoundly learned *Mede* styles the *four kingdoms* of *Daniel*, "a prophetic chronology of times, measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, until THE MYSTERY OF GOD should be finished," p. 654.

† Mr. *Faber*, who has introduced a new era in the study of *symbolical prophecy*, by establishing a stricter mode of reasoning than has been hitherto employed by writers on this most abstruse subject, in his valuable *Dissertations*, Vol. I. chap. 2, has given some judicious observations on the *nature* and *classes* of *such symbols*, and in his Preface the following simple and excellent rules:—

I. To assign to each prophetic symbol its proper definite meaning, and never to vary from that meaning.

II. To allow no interpretation of a prophecy to be valid, except the prophecy agree in every particular with the event to which it is supposed to relate.

III. And to deny that any link of a chronological prophecy is capable of receiving its accomplishment in more than one sense.

By the skilful application of these rules, he has detected several errors in the explanations of his predecessors.

To these rules I will venture to add a fourth:—

IV. To endeavour to find out the general scheme of the prophecy in question, by careful comparison of the parts with the whole, and with corresponding prophecies earlier and later.

With such a rule in contemplation, he might have rendered his work more methodical, and less diffusive, and consequently more generally useful.

that if the symbols themselves be correctly defined, and these circumstances carefully attended to, there can be little room for embarrassment or mistake in the general outline, however difficult it may be to explain particular passages, especially in the prophecies yet unfulfilled, towards the time of the end, in the last vision.

THE FIRST DREAM OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

This leading prophecy discloses the successions of empire in the heathen world, connected with the fortunes of God's chosen people, the *Jews*, and those only*, the *Babylonian*, *Medo-Persian*, *Macedo-Grecian*, and *Roman*, under the emblem of an image compounded of four metals, encreasing in hardness or durability, *gold*, *silver*, *brass*, and *iron*, and therefore made with hands, or of human fabrication, as *temporary* kingdoms, while the *spiritual* kingdom destined to overthrow them, and to rise on their ruins to universal and everlasting dominion, is aptly represented by "a stone cut out without hands," or formed by divine power alone, which smote the image upon its feet, or during the days of the last kingdom, and grew at length, from small beginnings, into a *great mountain*, which filled the whole earth, Dan. ii. 31—41.

1. The *head of gold* is interpreted by *Daniel* to denote *Nebuchadnezzar* himself, or rather his kingdom, whose duration was only seventy years, from the overthrow of *Nineveh* by the confederate *Babylonians* and *Medes*, B.C. 606, to the capture of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, B.C. 536.

2. The *breast and arms of silver* denoted the *Medo-Persian* kingdom, whose arms and shields were frequently ornamented, or cased with silver; whence *Alexander* instituted that remarkable body of veteran infantry called *Argyraspides*, from their "silver shields," after the conquest of *Persia*, adopting the manners of the conquered nations. It lasted 205 years, from the capture of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, B.C. 536, to the battle of *Arbela*, B.C. 331.

3. The *belly and thighs of brass* aptly denoted the *Macedo-Grecian* kingdoms of *Alexander* and his successors; for the Greeks usually wore "*brazen armour*," whence they were deno-

* The kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Egypt* were now in subjection to the *Babylonian* empire, they are therefore omitted; as are also the great eastern empires of *Hindustan* and *China*, which never had any connection with the *Jews*.

minated χαλκοχιτωνες Αχαιοι by *Homer*; and the *Egyptian* oracle, upon one occasion, described them as “*brazen men* rising out of the sea,” or *Greeks* in brazen armour, landing on the *Egyptian* shore, Herod. b. ii. It lasted 163 years, to the conquest of the first kingdom, *Macedon*, B.C. 168, and 300 years, to the conquest of the last, *Egypt*, by the *Romans*, B.C. 30.

4. The *legs of iron*, and the *feet and toes* partly *iron* and partly *clay*, denoted first, the *Roman* republic in its consular state, when it was strong; and afterwards, in the division of the eastern and western empires, which weakened it; and lastly, the ten kingdoms into which the western empire was divided, after the irruptions of the fierce northern nations. Its *republican* state in which it appeared to *Daniel* began B.C. 448, but did not reach its full vigour till the conquest of *Macedon*, B.C. 168, and ended with the conquest of *Egypt*, B.C. 30, after which it rather declined under the monarchy. The partition of the empire weakened it, until it gradually sunk under the repeated invasions of the *Gothic* and *Vandalic* tribes, and was broken into *ten kingdoms*. The list of these in the Scheme is taken from *Machiavel*, the best, because the most unprejudiced authority, in his history of *Florence*, lib. i, with their respective dates furnished by Bishop *Lloyd*. See Bishop *Newton's Dissertations*, Vol. I. Diss. xiv. or *Faber's Dissertation*, Vol. I. p. 187, 2d edition.

5. The fifth kingdom, which rose on the ruins of the preceding, was *spiritual*, or “not of this world,” John xviii. 36. It was at first *the stone*, cut out of the rock, without hands, or human power; that “*stone* which the builders rejected,” but which became “the *head stone* of the corner,” binding together both *Jews* and *Gentiles* in the same common edifice of *Christian faith*, Ps. cxviii. 22, Matt. xxi. 42, Eph. ii. 15—20; and which is to become, in the *last days*, the “*mountain* of the Lord's house, unto which *all nations shall flow*,” for religious instruction and edification, Micah iv. 1, Isa. ii. 2, from the ROCK CHRIST, Matt. xvi. 18, 1 Cor. x. 4, and his glorified *apostles*, Matt. xix. 28.

THE FIRST VISION OF DANIEL.

This corresponds to the dream, pourtraying the same things under different emblems, but more distinctly and circumstantially. The four kingdoms are now represented by four fero-

cious *wild beasts* rising out of the *sea*, agitated by the four winds striving for the mastery, or produced by *political* convulsions; the “*raging of the sea*,” being expressive of “*the madness of the people*,” Ps. viii. 1—3.

1. The first beast resembled a *lion* with *eagle's wings*, to express the fierceness and rapidity of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the founder of the *Babylonian* empire. *Jeremiah* described him before as a *lion*, iv. 7, and an *eagle*, xlviii. 40; and *Ezekiel*, as a great long-winged *eagle*, full of feathers, and of divers colours, xvii. 3. But at the time of this vision, “its wings were plucked, and it was made to stand erect only on two feet;” or its career was checked, and its stability weakened, by the victories of *Cyrus*, who first defeated and afterwards slew *Evil Meradach*, and left *Belshazzar*, at his accession, the timorous “heart of a man,” Ps. ix. 20, not the boldness of *the lion*. His fright and terror at the appearance of the divine hand writing on the wall is recorded as remarkable, vii. 4.

2. The second resembled a *bear*, a voracious wild beast, but more unwieldy, raised on one side, with three ribs in its teeth, aptly expressing the *Medo-Persian* empire, *Darius* the Mede being rather of a sluggish disposition, until roused and stimulated to conquest, on the *Persian* side, by his nephew and coadjutor *Cyrus*, who reduced *Lydia*, *Babylonia*, and *Egypt*, under his dominion, vii. 5.

3. The third resembled a *leopard* in fierceness and agility, with two pair of *wings*, to express extraordinary rapidity, aptly denoting the founder of the *Macedonian* empire, in both respects; “and the beast had also *four heads*,” or the four kingdoms of the *Greeks*, namely, *Macedon*, *Thrace*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, into which his mighty empire was divided, after his death, among his generals, vii. 6.

4. The fourth, which succeeded these in dominion, was the most dreadful and terrible of all, and exceedingly *strong*, with great *iron* teeth, with which it devoured and brake in pieces the others, and trampled upon the residue, and it was *different* from all the foregoing beasts, and it had also *ten* horns. This accurately represents the *Roman* power, the most formidable and destructive of all. Its name, *Ρωμη*, signifies “*strength*,” and its great *iron* teeth correspond to the *iron* legs and feet, and its *ten* horns or kingdoms to the *toes* of the image. *Daniel* has not described its shape, but *John* has supplied the deficiency in

the Apocalypse, representing it as compounded of all the rest, or combining their destructive qualities, having “the body of the *leopard*, the feet of the *bear*, and the mouth of the *lion*,” and exceeding them in having *seven* heads, but with the same number of *ten* horns, which marks its identity with *Daniel's* fourth beast, Rev. xiii. 1, 2. At the time when the prophet first saw it, *Rome* was in the zenith of her power, as after the conquest of *Egypt*; but was on the decline when the horns appeared.

5. While *Daniel* was considering the ten horns, he observed another *little horn* growing up among them, and behind * three of them, which were plucked up by the roots to make it conspicuous; but it differed from all the rest, in “having *eyes* like a man,” as a *seer*, or *bishop* †, invested with *ecclesiastical* authority, and “a *mouth* speaking great things,” in its spiritual fulminations, with “a look more stout than his fellows,” the temporal horns. Again, he observed it making war with the *saints* of THE MOST HIGH, and prevailing against them, and wearing them out, and speaking words [of blasphemy] against THE MOST HIGH, and thinking to change times and laws, during a period of *a time, times*, and the *division* [or *half*] of *a time*, vii. 7, 8.

This is an accurate delineation of the rise and progress of the *papal* power of *Rome*, during the division of the *Roman* empire in the west, among the barbarous northern nations.

At first, the *pope* was no more than *bishop* of *Rome*, unnoticed and inconsiderable, not possessing *ecclesiastical* jurisdiction beyond his own see, and subservient to the emperors. Precedence, indeed, was allowed to him in the general councils, because *Rome* was the imperial city, but this was only a precedence of rank, not of authority.

The removal of the seat of empire by *Constantine* the Great to *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*, A.D. 330, in resentment for the ill-treatment of the *Romans* on his embracing Christianity, laid the foundation of the *papal* authority, by removing the controul of the emperor's presence, and accustoming the *Romans* to look up to the *pope* as their ostensible head. In the next place, the conversion of the *Pagan* invaders to Christianity contributed to extend his influence among them also. For as *Machiavel* observes, “The successors of *St. Peter* were revered at first

* Οπισω, Sept.

† Επισκοπος, an ‘*inspector*,’ or ‘*overseer*.’”

by all men ; and the sanctity of their lives, and [supposed] miracles, and their [good] examples, did so extend the *Christian* religion, that the princes were under a necessity of obeying [or conforming thereto] to remove out of the way the *great confusions* that were then in the world." The first of these kingdoms, that of the *Huns*, arose about A.D. 356. The end of the *western* empire took place A.D. 476, on the capture of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, who caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Italy*. By this conquest, he stood "before," or in the way of "the little horn." It was necessary, therefore, that this *regal* horn should be "plucked up," and this was effected by *Theodoric*, king of the *Ostrogoths*, who conquered *Odoacer*, A.D. 488, and was proclaimed king of *Italy*, A.D. 493. He removed the seat of his kingdom to *Ravenna*, which also contributed to increase the pope's authority at *Rome*. But it was necessary that this second *regal* horn should be "plucked up;" and this also was effected by the generals of *Justinian*, the eastern emperor; *Bellisarius*, who defeated the *Goths*, and was proclaimed king of *Italy*, A.D. 540; and *Narses*, who utterly eradicated their kingdom, in conjunction with their auxiliaries, the *Longobards*, A.D. 553.

Italy now became a province of the *eastern* empire, and was governed by the emperor's lieutenant, *Longinus*, under the title of *Exarch of Ravenna*, who appointed a governor, called a *Duke*, in *Rome*. Soon after, the *Longobards* undertook the conquest of *Italy* for themselves, and *Alboin*, their king, subdued the whole, except *Ravenna* and *Rome*, A.D. 567; and at length, after they had feebly subsisted till A.D. 752, *Aistulphus*, then king of the *Lombards*, extinguished the *exarchate*, and became the third *Italian* horn. In this emergency, the *Romans*, who had thrown off their allegiance to the eastern emperor, A.D. 726, when no longer able to give their support and protection, applied for help to *Pepin*, king of *France*, the most powerful prince of the west, and their neighbour; who came to their assistance with a large army, dispossessed the *Lombards*, and eradicated the third and last horn. Thus were three *Italian* horns successively plucked up before the little horn, not by his own power, but by the interference of others; and in the same way it now became also a *temporal* power, for *Pepin* conferred the *exarchate* of *Ravenna* upon the pope, A.D. 756. His son *Charlemagne* annexed the duchy of *Rome*, and a considerable

part of *Lombardy* also, to be held as *fiefs*, or the most honourable *benefices*, under him as sovereign, A.D. 774; and he was formally elected *emperor of the Romans* by the Roman people, and crowned by the pope, A.D. 779. And *Louis* the Pious, in the ensuing reign, granted “*St. Peter’s* patrimony” to the pope and his successors, *in their own right, principality, and dominion, unto the end of the world*, A.D. 817. Hence the pope assumed the *three keys* in his arms, and the *triple crown*, or mitre, as a *temporal prince*; and “*his look was more stout than his fellows,*” the other horns, whom he frequently awed by his anathemas, or excommunications. See *Newton* on *Daniel*, chap. vii. and *Bishop Newton* on *Prophecy*, Vol. I. Disc. 14.

The pope’s *spiritual* jurisdiction, also, over the other metropolitan sees was gradually enlarged, and he soon began “*to change ecclesiastical times and laws.*” Near the end of the second century, a violent controversy broke out between the *Greek* and *Roman Churches*, about the day of celebrating *Easter*. *Polycrates*, bishop of *Ephesus*, in a council held there, A.D. 197, decreed in favour of the fourteenth day of the *paschal* moon, according to primitive usage. On the other hand, *Victor*, bishop of *Rome*, in a council held there next year, decreed in favour of the fifteenth day, and absolutely excommunicated the *Asiatic Churches* for their schism. And so the controversy raged until the council of *Nice*, A.D. 325, when *Constantine*, the emperor, put an end to it, by a decree in favour of the *Romanists*; although they were taxed with *judaizing* by their opponents, in celebrating the feast rather with *Caiaphas* than with *CHRIST*. See Vol. I. p. 67.

At this time another innovation was introduced. The *Greek Church* had held the sixth of *January* both for the feast of the *Nativity*, and of the *Epiphany*, supposing, as was natural, that *CHRIST* was born on the day that the *star* first appeared to the *magi*. But the *Church of Rome* separated them, under the pretext that the second appearance of the star, on the way of the *magi* to *Bethlehem*, was *holier than the first*; and arbitrarily transferred the first appearance and the *Nativity* to the twenty-fifth of *December*, which was adopted at *Constantinople*, A.D. 335, not long before the death of *Constantine*, but with great discontents of the citizens, who objected to *Gregory*, the theologian from *Rome*: “*You have divided the feast—you have involved us in polytheism!*” See Vol. I. p. 91.

Not long after, Pope *Damasus* obtained an edict from the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, about the end of 378, or beginning of 379, vesting him with patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole *western* Church, and, in cases of doubt or difficulty, sanctioning appeals to *Rome*. Several of the Pope's *decretal* epistles to the other western Churches of *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*, are cited by Sir *Isaac Newton*, chap. VIII. And this edict was afterwards renewed and confirmed to Pope *Leo*, by the western emperor, *Valentinian* III. A.D. 445. Adding, that "for the bishops to attempt any thing without the pope's authority, was contrary to ancient usage, and that the bishops summoned to appear before his judicature must be carried thither by the governor of the province." See *Newton*, *ibid*. But the grand innovator in the *times* and *laws* of the primitive Church was *Gregory* the Great, who was elected pope, A.D. 590. Out of an affected humility, he styled himself *Servus Servorum Dei*, "Servant of the Servants of God," in opposition to the antichristian title of *Œcumenical*, (signifying *catholic* or *universal*,) assumed by *John*, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, "affirming, that any bishop who assumed that title was the forerunner of antichrist, by thus *domineering* over his brethren*." Yet, notwithstanding this, *Gregory*, in fact, encroached on his prerogative, by acquitting a priest of *Chalcedon*, who had been condemned for heresy; though *Chalcedon* lay within the eastern patriarch's jurisdiction, as defined by the fourth general council held there; and though *Gregory* professed to reverence the decisions of the four first general councils, as he did the four gospels. But the conjuncture was favourable for the aggrandizement of the see of *Rome*, and *Gregory* would not let it pass.

He also composed a *ritual*, called from him the *Gregorian Liturgy*, in which *purgatory* was set down as an article of faith; and *invocations of saints* and *angels*, veneration of *relics*, *masses* for the living and the dead, toleration of *images* in churches, *pilgrimages*, *lustrations*, abstinence from *meat*, *milk*, and *eggs*, on *fast* days, and the *celibacy* of the clergy, were all taught and enjoined; so that the pontificate of St. *Gregory*, (for he was canonized) forms a new era in the Church, which seems to have

* Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se *universalem sacerdotem* vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua, *Antichristum præcurrit*, quia *superbiendo se cæteris præponit*. Greg. Lib. VI. Epist. 50. See the *Eighth Letter of my Letters to the Rev. Doctor Troy*. *Antijacobin Review*, 1807, Vol. XXVII. p. 508.

been “expressly” foretold “in the *apostacy* of the *latter times*,” by St. *Paul*, alluding, in the term *ρητως*, “*expressly*,” or rather, “*oracularly*,” to this very prophecy of *Daniel*, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; Col. ii. 16—19, &c.

In his zeal for propagating the Romish faith, he sent *Austin*, the abbot, on a mission to *England*, in A.D. 599, with forty monks, his assistants, besides some *Franks*, whom they took as interpreters; and who, after they had learnt the language, by their preaching and pretended miracles, made many converts among the *Saxons* and *Angles*, who were heathens; and *Austin* himself, for his successes, was consecrated archbishop of *Canterbury* by *Gregory*, in A.D. 601.

“Hitherto,” says *Milton*, “*Austin* laboured well among *infidels*, but not with like commendation, soon after, among *Christians*.” For having summoned the *British* bishops to a conference, about A.D. 604, he required them to conform to him in the day of celebrating *Easter*, and in many other rites*, in which that primitive Church differed from the Church of *Rome*; but the *British* bishops and clergy, offended at his haughty demeanour, (for he neither rose to meet them, nor saluted them as brethren, but sat all the while like a pontiff in his chair) neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him as their primate, being, as they said, under the spiritual authority of the bishop of *Caerleon*; for which *Austin* menaced them with destruction: “*Since ye refuse to have peace with your brethren, ye shall have war with your enemies.*” And accordingly, he or his monks stirred up *Ethelfrid*, king of *Northumberland*, to make war on them, about A.D. 607, who massacred about 1200 of the monks of *Bangor* †, and much

* See a particular account of these, *Prideaux*, Vol. II. p. 186—193.

† *Milton's* account of this transaction from the early *British* writers, *Bede*, the *Saxon Annals*, &c. is curious; and as it tends to shew the different spirit of the *Romish* and *British* Churches at that time, I shall give it in his own words. See *Kenet's History of England*, Vol. I. p. 39.

“Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among *infidels*, but not with like commendation, soon after, among *Christians*. For by means of *Ethelbert*, summoning the *Britain* bishops to a place on the edge of *Worcestershire*, (called from that time *Augustine's oak*) he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of *Rome*; which, when they refused to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle—restoring to sight a blind man, whom the *Britains* could not cure. At this, something moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions, without farther consultation, they request a second meeting. To which came seven bishops, with many other learned men, especially from the famous

blood was spilt in the war kindled thereby, which lasted a good while. And it was not until A.D. 716, that the *British*

monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be 2100 monks, *living all by their own labour*, divided under seven rectors. One man there was who staid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went. Being demanded (for they held him as an oracle) *how they might know Austin to be a man from GOD, that they might follow him*, he answered, that *if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him*: for it was likeliest to be the yoke of CHRIST, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; *but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of GOD*. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting; when *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor received in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the *Britains* (as they were counselled by the holy man,) neglected him, and neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an archbishop: and in the name of the rest, *Dimotheus*, then abbot of *Bangor*, is said thus sagely to have answered him. *As to the subjection you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity, we are all subjects and servants to the Church of GOD, (yea to the pope of Rome, and every good Christian,) to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of GOD: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian, continually. Besides, we are governed, under GOD, by the bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters.*

“To which *Austin*, thus presaging, some say menacing, replies. *Since ye refuse to accept of peace with your brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death*. This, (though writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the *Britains*,) fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, (whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert*, incensed by *Austin*,) with a powerful host came to *West Chester*, (then *Caerlegion*;) where being met by the *British* forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset; he discerns a company of men, not habited for war, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a squadron armed. Whom having learned, upon some enquiry, to be *priests* and *monks*, assembled thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of their force against him: *therefore they first*, said he, *shall feel our swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us, by their prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies* *. And with that, turns his first charge against the *monks*. *Brockmail*, the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 monks to a sudden massacre; whereof scarce fifty scaped. But not so easy work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britains* that stood in arms; whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own soldiers.

“To excuse *Austin* of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, *Bede* writes that *he was dead long before*; although, if the time of his sitting archbishop be right computed, (sixteen years,) he must survive this action. Other just ground of charging him with this imputation, appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geoffry Monmouth*, whose weight we know.”

* How remarkably does this correspond with the description of the *persecuted wittenesses* in the Apocalypse, Rev. xi. 5, 6.

bishops were at length prevailed on to acquiesce, and submit to the see of *Rome* in spirituals. See *Milton's early History of England*, and *Spanheim's Historia Christianæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 1118.

The massacre of the *Bangorian* monks, is here dated with *Milton*, A. D. 607. But it probably happened later, when the influence of *Austin* and his monks was better established. *Usher* dates it A. D. 612, or 613. *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 115. *Bede* writes that it happened "long after the death of *Austin*." But *Austin* sate as archbishop sixteen years, which would bring his death to A. D. 617, and that he died in that year, seems to be confirmed by *Dupin*, who mentions a letter of *Boniface V.* elected that same year, to *Justus*, bishop of *Rochester*, congratulating him on his appointment to the see of *Canterbury*, and sending him the pall of consecration. We are therefore warranted to consider this massacre as the first fruits of the *little horn's war with the saints*, about the beginning of the persecuting period of a *time, times, and division* [or *half*] of a *time*; of which the most probable commencement was A. D. 620, as will be shewn in the sequel. By which time the anti-christian title of "*catholic or universal*" head of the Church, conferred in 606 upon pope *Boniface III.*, by the usurper *Phocas*, who murdered the good emperor *Mauritius*, came to be generally asserted, and admission thereof enforced by the see of *Rome*, wherever *Gregory's Ritual* was introduced and established, as it was about this time throughout the *Latin Church*.

It was not, however, without great reluctance and much opposition, that "the *fellows* of the *little horn*," both temporal and spiritual, were awed into submission by his "*stout looks*," and lofty pretensions. This led to his fulminating *bulls* and *anathemas* against the refractory, his *excommunications* and *interdicts* against princes, prelates, and kingdoms, who were not subservient to his will; and the religious wars, called *crusades*, against *heretics* at home, as well as against infidels abroad; against the *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, *Wickliffites*, *Lollards*, *Hussites* of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, &c. down to the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, by *Louis XIV.*

"The *little horn* also spake great words against THE MOST HIGH." The lowly title of *Servus Servorum DEI*, assumed by *Gregory* the Great, was exchanged for *Vicarius JESU CHRISTI*,

which originally meant the same *, but was afterwards perverted by the adulation of the partizans of the popes, to signify “*the Vicegerent of JESUS CHRIST,*” which, by a singular concurrence, meant the same as the obnoxious term *Αντιχριστος*, “*Antichrist,*” originally signifying a “*Pro-Christ, or Deputy-Christ,*” (like *Αντι-βασιλευς*, a “*Viceroy,*” *Ανθυπατος*, a “*Pro-Consul, or Deputy Consul,*”) or “*a false Christ,*” who assumed his authority, and acted in his stead; Compare 1 John ii. 18, 19, with Matt. xxiv. 5—24, as well as an “*adversary of Christ*—denying both THE FATHER and THE SON,” 1 John ii. 22, by the assumption of their titles; the popes being blasphemously styled “*Our Lord God,*” “*King of kings, and Lord of lords,*” as foretold of *the man of sin*, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

THE JUDGMENT.

“*I beheld till the thrones were erected, and THE ANCIENT OF DAYS sate: His vesture was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; His throne was flames of fire, his wheels glowing fire; A torrent of fire issued and proceeded from before HIM; thousands of thousands ministered unto HIM; and myriads of myriads stood before HIM. THE COUNCIL sate, and the books were opened.*”

“*I beheld then, on account of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast [which supported it] was slain, and its body destroyed, and delivered up to the burning of fire. As to the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away, but a prolongation of life was given them for a time and a season,*” vii. 9—12.

From this mysterious description, it seems as if the fourth beast, in its last stage, of the empire of *France*, (since *Buonaparte* has been formally crowned by the pope; has adopted “*the iron crown*” of the kings of the *Lombards*, and now “*sits in the throne of the Cæsars,*” by his *German* conquests,) is doomed to a tremendous destruction, with the little horn, which

* *Vicarius*, in the classic authors, signified “*a servant of servants.*”

Sive VICARIUS est qui SERVO PARET, uti mos vester ait.

“*Whether he be a vicar, who obeys a servant; according to your phrase.*”

Hor. Sat. II. 7, 9.

Esse sat est SERVUM, jam nolo VICARIUS esse!

“*It is enough to be a servant, I desire not to be a vicar!*” Martial. II. 18.

“*it hates,*” and has abolished its temporalities, though still upholding its spiritualities, at *the end of the time*, or period appointed. But the lives of the other three beasts in the east, are still to be prolonged for a further period, called “*a time and a season.*” What that period may be, is “*sealed,*” or unrevealed in *Daniel*.

7. The vision concludes with the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of the *stone* over all the earth, by the MESSIAH.

“*I saw in the visions of the night, and beheld, as [it were,] a SON OF MAN, came himself with the clouds of heaven unto THE ANCIENT OF DAYS, and was made to approach before HIM. And [HE] gave Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, and nations, and languages, should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom, which shall not be destroyed.*”
 ——“*And the saints of the MOST HIGH shall assume the kingdom, and shall possess the kingdom for ever, even for evermore,*” vii. 13, 14.

This indefinite period seems to intimate the continuance of the kingdom of “*the mountain,*” during the *Millennium* upon earth, and its subsequent translation to heaven through all eternity, as described more fully in the NEW TESTAMENT, Luke i. 33, 1 Cor. xv. 25—28, 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, Matt. xxiv. 30—34, xxv. 31—46, Rev. xx. 4—15.

THE SECOND VISION.

This vision describes, more particularly, the succession of the second, third, and fourth kingdoms. It is dated near the close of the first, which therefore is omitted. The scene, accordingly, is laid at *Shushan*, in the kingdom of *Persia*, on the banks of the *Ulai*, or *Choaspes*, according to *Rennel*, Geography of *Herodotus*, p. 203.

The emblems in this vision are of a different class from those of the former, and are still more appropriate. *Caranus*, the founder of the *Macedonian* kingdom, B.C. 814, being in quest of a settlement, was instructed by the Oracle to follow the guidance of *goats*, which he accordingly did, and following a flock of goats flying from a violent storm of rain to *Edessa*, surprized the city, and made it the seat of his kingdom. Mindful, therefore, of the Oracle, he assumed the *goat* as his ensign, wherever he marched. Justin, lib. vii. 1.

The *ram*, in like manner, was the armorial ensign of the *Persian* empire, as we learn from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. xix. And *rams'* heads with unequal horns, one higher than the other, are still to be seen on the ruined pillars of *Persepolis*. The lower horn denoted the *Median* power; the higher, which came up later, the *Persian*, viii. 1—3.

1. *Daniel* saw “the *ram* standing,” or established in his strength, after the succession of the *Persian* power under *Cyrus*; and then, “butting westward, and northward, and southward,” or subduing *Lydia*, *Babylonia*, and *Egypt*, with their dependencies, (represented in the former vision by *three ribs* in the *bear's* mouth,) And “he did according to his will, and became great.”

2. While he was considering the *ram*, a *he-goat* from the west, with a notable horn between his eyes, (*Alexander* the Great,) who touched not the ground [for swiftness,] came across the whole earth, (or the *Persian* empire,) and ran at the *ram*, (*Darius Codomannus*,) in the fury of his power; and “was moved with choler against him, and smote the *ram*, and brake his two horns, and cast him down to the ground, and trampled upon him. And there was none that could deliver the *ram* out of his hand.”

“Therefore the *he-goat* waxed very great. And when he was strong, the great horn was broken, and from it came up four notable horns, toward the four winds of heaven; (namely, the four kingdoms of *Macedo-Greece*, *Thrace*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, erected by his successors, *Cassander*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*,) viii. 4—8.

This interpretation is confirmed in the sequel, and also in the fourth vision.

“The *ram* which thou sawest, having two horns, are the kings [or kingdoms] of *Media* and *Persia*. And the rough goat is the king [or kingdom] of *Grecia*; and the great horn between his eyes, is the first king, (*Alexander*.) Now whereas that was broken, and four arose in its stead, *four kingdoms* shall arise out of the nation, but *not in his power*,” viii. 20—22.

“And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there shall yet stand up *three* kings [after him, from whom the vision commenced, *Darius Nothus*; namely *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Ochus**,

* *Ochus* was immediately succeeded by his son *Arogus*, or *Arses*, who nominally reigned two years, and was put to death by his prime minister; who then appointed

and *Darius Codomannus*] and the *fourth*, [*Darius Codomannus*,] shall be far richer than they all: and in his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up the whole [realm] against the realm of *Græcia*.”

“ And a mighty king, [*Alexander*,] shall stand up, and rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. But when he shall stand up [in his strength] his kingdom shall be broken, and divided toward the four winds of heaven: but *not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion* with which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, and given to *others beside them*,” [namely, to his four generals,] xi. 2—4.

The fourth and last king of Persia, *Darius Codomannus*, was indeed “ far richer ” than his three predecessors, on account of the reduction of *Egypt*, which had revolted from the days of *Darius Nothus*. *Alexander*, after the victories of *Issus* and *Arbela*, found immense riches in his camps, in *Babylon*, *Ecbatana*, and *Persepolis*. And *Alexander* only anticipated the invasion which *Darius* had designed to make against *Greece*, on the death of *Philip of Macedon*; as will be shewn more fully in the ensuing *Analysis of Persian Chronology*.

3. The former vision having represented the fourth beast, or *Roman* empire, in its *full strength*, destroying the other beasts, or empires, which strongly excited the uneasiness and curiosity of the prophet to be further informed about it; this proceeds to satisfy his curiosity still further, by pointing out the *rise* and *progress* of that tremendous power, until the *Roman* captivity.

“ And out of one of the four horns, [or kingdoms, founded by *Alexander's* successors, namely, the *Grecian* or *Western*,] came forth a *little horn*; which waxed exceeding great toward the *south*, [*Sicily* and *Africa*,] and toward the *east*, [*Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Syria**,] and toward the pleasant land [*Judea*.]

Darius Codomannus in his room. Though noticed in *Ptolomy's Canon*, he is therefore justly omitted here. *Justin* also, omitting *Arogus*, reckons *Codomannus* the immediate successor of *Ochus*. Lib. x. 3.

* The successive changes of empire from the *Assyrians* to the *Romans*, and the progress of the *Roman* conquests, are thus recorded by the Latin historians, *Paterculus* and *Florus*.

1. *Assyrii* principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt; dein *Medi*, postea *Persæ*, deinde *Macedones*; exinde duobus regibus, *Philippo* et *Antiocho*, (qui a *Macedonibus* oriundi erant) haud multo post *Carthaginem* subactam victis, summa imperii ad populum *Romanum* pervenit.

“ Of all nations, the *Assyrians* first possessed the sovereignty; then the *Medes*, afterwards the *Persians*, next the *Macedonians*; afterwards the two kings, *Philip* [of *Mace-*

And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven. And it cast down to the ground some of the *host*, and of the *stars* [of the *Jews*,] and trampled upon them, [*Antigonus* and his adherents.] Yea, it magnified itself even against THE PRINCE OF THE HOST. And by it was *the daily* [*sacrifice*] taken away, and *the place of His sanctuary* cast down. And a host was given [it] against *the daily* [*sacrifice*,] by reason of [*Jewish*] transgression; and it cast down THE TRUTH to the ground, and did [according to its will,] and prospered," viii. 9—12.

According to *Varro* and *Dionysius Hal.* *Italy* was first colonized from *Greece*, and the first *Greeks* who settled there were from *Arcadia*. And *Reineccius* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* are inclined to think, from several passages in *Strabo*, *Dion. Hal.* *Pliny*, and *Justin*, that *Italy* derived its name from a colony of the *Ætoli*ans, who settled there: for the Greek name *Αἰτολία*, *Aitolia*, in the *Æolic* dialect, used by the *Ætoli*ans, and which is the basis of the *Latin* tongue; was pronounced *Æthalia*, (as found in an island of that name, near *Italy*, peopled by the *Ætoli*ans,) whence *Italia* was easily formed; and the lower part of *Italy*, in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, which was founded by a colony from *Lacedæmon*, was called *Magna Græcia*, in which the Greek language prevailed for a long time.

Rome, founded B. C. 753, and inhabited by *Grecian* colonists, was originally a *little horn*, small and inconsiderable during its *regal* state; but increased rapidly when it became *republican*, B. C. 448, from its thirst for military glory, or conquest, as *Sallust* remarks: *Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, quantum brevi creverit adeptâ libertate; tanta cupido gloriæ*

don,] and *Antiochus* [of *Syria*,] (both descended from the *Macedonians*,) having been subdued, not long after the conquest of *Carthage*, the supreme power descended to the *Romans*."—*Patercul.* lib. i. cap. 6.

2. *Cedente Hannibale, præmium victoriæ Africa fuit; et secutus Africam terrarum orbis. Post Carthaginem, vinci neminem pudit, secutæ sunt statim Africam gentes Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteraque omnia quodam quasi æstu et torrente fortunæ: sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus.*

"*Hannibal* being worsted, *Africa* became the prize of victory, and was followed by the *whole globe*. After *Carthage*, no state was ashamed to be conquered. The fall of *Africa* was soon followed by that of *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Syria*, and all other countries; as if swept away by the tide and torrent of Fortune: and first of all, the *Macedonians*, who once had affected empire." *Flor.* lib. ii. cap. 7.

Such undesigned coincidences of profane *history* with sacred *prophecy*, are highly gratifying, and furnish the most satisfactory and convincing confirmations of the truth of the foregoing interpretations of these mysterious visions.

incesserat. And this rapid increase of territory is marked in the prophecy *geographically*, by the progress of their conquests: *Sicily* was made a *Roman* province in the first *Punic* war, B.C. 240; *Carthage* was subdued in the second *Punic* war, B.C. 200, and destroyed in the third, B.C. 145; and *Africa* reduced to a *Roman* province, by the conquest of *Jugurtha*, B.C. 105.

Macedon was subdued, B.C. 168; *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, B.C. 145, *Syria* and *Asia Minor* humbled, B.C. 187, and reduced to a *Roman* province, B.C. 66. *Jerusalem* was stormed by *Pompey*, B.C. 63; *Antigonus* the last king of the *Asamonean* race, and his adherents, were slain by *Anthony*, at the instigation of *Herod*, who was made king of *Judea* in his room, B.C. 37; *Judea* was made a *Roman* province on the deposal of *Archelaus*, A. D. 6. *Pontius Pilate*, the *Roman* governor, sentenced *CHRIST* to be crucified, A. D. 31; and *Jerusalem* was destroyed by *Titus*, A. D. 70.

And the *Roman* captivity was still more minutely described in the angel *Gabriel's* explanation.

“And at the end of their kingdom, [*Alexander's* successors,] when the transgressions [of the *Jews*] are come to the full, a [*Roman*] king, of *fierce countenance*, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up; and his power shall be great, but not by his own power. And he shall destroy wonderfully, and prosper, and do [according to his will.] And he shall destroy the nobles, and the people of the saints. And through his policy also, fraud shall prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and in peace shall destroy many. He shall also stand up against *THE PRINCE OF PRINCES*. But he shall be [finally] broken without hand,” viii. 23—25.

This is a critical description of the *Roman* power and policy, in subduing the world by force or fraud. That peculiar characteristic of the *Romans*, “*the fierce countenance*,” first noticed by *Moses*, Deut. xxviii. 50; and again by *Isaiah*, xxiii. 19, is here repeated, a third time, so as to leave no doubt of its application; “*the dark sentences*” or “*enigmas*,” may refer either to those *apologues* of which the *Romans* were fond, (as that remarkable one of the *belly and the members at variance*, by which *Menenius Agrippa* quelled an insurrection of the *Plebeians* against the *Patricians*,) or it may denote their eagerness to pry into futurity by the arts of divination. They were “*mighty, but not by their own power*,” the singular progress of

their greatness was owing, not so much to their own strength, as to the assistance of their allies, and not seldom to the feuds and divisions of their enemies, of which they were always on the watch to take advantage. And “*they destroyed wonderfully,*” both by their arms and their arts; and even “*in times of peace,*” by their cruel and bloody combats of gladiators and captives. “*They magnified themselves in their hearts,*” for their pride and haughtiness, as “*the lords of the world,*” was intolerable. And a *Roman* magistrate stood up against the PRINCE OF THE HOST, or the PRINCE OF PRINCES, and sentenced him to crucifixion, like the vilest of their slaves!— But this power was to be finally broken without hand, by divine power, as foretold in the first dream.

This description of the *little horn* throughout, from its rise to its destruction, is so exactly applicable in all its parts, to the Roman *temporal* power, and to no other, that we cannot hesitate to adopt it; being sanctioned also by the prevailing opinion of the generality of commentators*.

THE PROPHECY OF THE 2300 DAYS.

Moses had predicted that the desolation to follow the *Roman* captivity, would be of *very long continuance*, Deut. xxviii. 59. And *Isaiah* had enquired from THE ORACLE, in vision, *How long it should continue?* Isai. vi. 11; to which no definite answer was then given. That was reserved for the highly favoured *Daniel*; in a remarkable *episode* introduced into the midst of the second vision, and intimately connected therewith; immediately following the account of the destruction of the *temple* by the *Romans*.

* Mr. *Faber*, following *Whitaker*, has laboured to prove that this *little horn* denotes *Mohammedism*, and that it arose out of the eastern, or *Syrian* horn of the *Macedonian* beast; struck with its close resemblance in spirit, to *Poper*y, the corresponding *little horn* of the *Roman* beast. But to this hypothesis there are insuperable objections.

1. *Mohammedism* sprung up in *Arabia*, which never was subdued by *Alexander* or his successors; and not till long after the end of their kingdom. It could not, therefore, destroy the *Jews*, nor take away their *daily sacrifice*, nor stand up against THE PRINCE OF PRINCES; all which was done above 530 years before. The *anachronism* is obvious.

2. It breaks the uniformity of the scheme of *Daniel's* visions, which no where else, either introduces, or alludes to this second *ecclesiastical* persecuting power. That was reserved for the *Apocalypse*.

Mr. *Faber* seems here to have receded from one of his own excellent fundamental rules.

“To allow no interpretation of a prophecy to be valid, except the prophecy agree, in every particular, with the event to which it is supposed to relate.”

VIII. 13. "Then I heard *one saint* speaking: and *another saint* said unto that EXCELLENT SAINT who was speaking, *How long [shall continue] the vision concerning the daily [sacrifice,] and the transgression of desolation; [which is destined] to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trampled upon?*

14. "And He said unto him, *Until two thousand and three hundred* evening-mornings, [or days:] Then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.*"

* There is no number in the Bible whose genuineness is better ascertained than that of the 2300 days. It is found in all the printed Hebrew editions, in all the MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi's collations, and in all the ancient Versions, except the Vatican copy of the Septuagint, which reads 2400, followed by Symmachus; and some copies noticed by Jerom, 2200; both evidently literal errors in excess and defect, which compensate each other, and confirm the mean, 2300.

By a radical and unfortunate error, which has misled many, the great Jewish historian, Josephus, in his interpretation of the *second vision*, chap. viii. mistook the "little horn," ver. 9, and "the king of fierce countenance," afterwards, ver. 23, for Antiochus Epiphanes, the great oppressor of the Jews, the profaner and the spoiler of their temple; and he unjustifiably altered the number 2300 to 1296, in order to make it square with his hypothesis. Ant. x. 11, 7, p. 445, 446, Hudson. Compare p. 540. But although there may be some traits of resemblance, yet, as Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Newton justly observe, "By tracing the particulars, it appears, that though some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else; so that the application of the character to them, must be the right application." Newton on Daniel, chap. ix. p. 123; and Bp. Newton, Proph. Vol. II. p. 52—80.

There is reason, however, to think, that the number 1296, in the present text of Josephus is corrupt, and that he wrote 1260 days, or *three years and half*; which is the precise time that he assigns to the desolation: "Antiochus having taken Jerusalem by storm, and kept possession of it for *three years and six months*, was expelled from the country by the sons of Asamoneus."—"He stopped the celebration of the *daily sacrifices for three years and six months.*" Bell. Jud. Proem. and i. 1, 1, pp. 956—958, Hudson.—But this does not correspond to Scripture; for from the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus, to the expulsion by Judas Maccabeus, was about *five years*; compare I Mac. i. 20 with iv. 36—52; and the *daily sacrifices* were suspended precisely *three years*, compare I Mac. i. 59 with iv. 52.

Wintle, in his notes on the place, wavers between the application to Antiochus and to the Romans, but rather inclines to the former. He retains the genuine number 2300: and to make it square with his hypothesis, he supposes "that the 2300 mornings [and] evenings*, only made up 1150 days, which divided by 365, will give *three years and fifty-five days*:" which is not exact. So he concludes with Gijerus and Michaelis: "Perhaps we cannot count these days, nor those in Dan. xii. exactly; but in the time of Antiochus they could, when it was most needful!—which," says he, is "an ingenious conjecture."

————— Hic onus horret,
Ut parvis animis et parvo corpore majus. Hor.

* The evening-morning was a civil, or calendar day. See Vol. I. p. 10.

This EXCELLENT SAINT, who uttered the response, was THE ORACLE himself; who before appeared to *Isaiah* in glory, sitting on his throne between the *Seraphim*, *Isai. vi. 1*, and now appeared to *Daniel*, “as a man, standing before him,” and bidding the other angel, whom he called *Gabriel*, to explain the vision to the prophet; who was so overpowered with the divine presence, that he fell on his face, in a deep sleep or trance, towards the earth, till *Gabriel* touched him, and restored him to his senses, and set him upright, and then explained to him, more particularly, (as we have seen,) the former *historical* part of the vision; concluding with a reference to the latter *chronological* part, or “*vision of the evening-mornings*,” that it “was true,” or would be verified by the accomplishment; but that the accomplishment was remote, or “for many days,” and that “the vision was sealed,” and its further disclosure shut up for the present.

Shocked at the calamities predicted to befall his people, during some long continued period of desolation and oppression, “*Daniel* fainted, and was sick for some days. Afterwards he arose, and did the king’s business. And he was astonished at the vision, but none understood” how the *daily sacrifice* should be taken away, or when the period of 2300 days should begin or end, *viii. 15—27*.

THE THIRD VISION.

Three years after, a further insight into the last mysterious vision was given to the prophet, immediately after his admirable prayer and confession of his own sins, and the sins of his people, and supplication for the holy mountain of his God; that *his people* might be restored from the *Babylonian* captivity, now drawing to a close, and *the city* be rebuilt: “Yea, while I was speaking in prayer, even the man *Gabriel*, whom I had seen in the foregoing vision, (*viii. 16*), *flying swiftly*, touched me about the time of the evening oblation, and informed me, and spake to me, and said:

IX. 22. “O *Daniel*, I am now come forth to give thee understanding and information.

23. “At the beginning of thy supplications THE ORACLE came forth, and I am come to tell thee [His response,] for thou art greatly beloved. Therefore consider the matter, and understand the vision.”

THE PROPHECY OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS*.

24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and

* This illustrious prophecy Sir Isaac Newton justly represents as "the foundation of the Christian religion; for "we have, in this short prophecy, a prediction of all the main periods relating to the coming of THE MESSIAH; the time of his birth, that of his death, that of the rejection of the Jews, the duration of the Jewish war, whereby he caused the city and sanctuary to be destroyed, and the time of his second coming,"—"for it is not to be restrained to his first coming only." Newton on Daniel, p. 25, 137.

To deny these, and their application to JESUS CHRIST, has been the great object of Jewish writers. And David Levi, treading in the steps of his predecessors, has attempted to explain away the meaning of the prophecy in these respects, while he undesignedly verifies the present interpretation in others; and, upon the whole, is a valuable auxiliary to the present interpretations. See his Letters to Dr. Priestley.

1. He judiciously counts the time by weeks of years. "These seventy weeks," says he, "are, without doubt, 490 years." Thus adopting the authority of the *ancient Versions*, and most approved Jewish and Christian expositors, and rejecting the reveries of Michaelis, Dathè, Blaney, those Christian professors of Hebrew, who count not "70 weeks," but "70 seventies," 4900, or "many seventies," by a vague and indefinite hypothesis.

2. He correctly terminates the prophecy with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, with Mede and Scaliger, A.D. 70.

3. Though he nominally begins the prophecy with the former destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, professing to follow the incorrect chronology of Ganz, (shewn before to fall short of the truth no less than 166 years,) yet, in reality, he dates the commencement from the time of Nehemiah's reform, B.C. 420, as may appear from the following sketch of his argument: *Letters, &c.* Part II. 80—102.

"The Jewish nation, at their return from Babylon, did not undergo a thorough reformation, but on the contrary, still continued in many of their sins; for, in the first place, they had not entirely put away the strange women, (Neh. xiii. 4—24,) neither did they give the proper portion to the Levites, (ver. 10,) they also profaned the sabbath, (ver. 15,) and oppressed each other with usury, (ver. 1—3.) And they persisted in their sins during the second temple. The prophet Daniel, therefore, foretold that GOD, of his long suffering toward Judah, would wait, not only seventy years, (as in the Babylonish captivity,) but even seven times seventy years; after which, their kingdom should be cast off, and their dominion cease, and they themselves return in captivity by the Romans."

4. And he thus excellently explains the magnificent exordium of the prophecy.

"Seventy weeks are determined," 1. "to finish the transgression," i. e. IDOLATRY; 2. "to accomplish their sin," i. e. WHOREDOM; and 3. "to make atonement for iniquity," i. e. MURDER, which they added to their former sins, instead of repenting, during the second temple.

Here Levi candidly confesses the leading sins of his nation, especially that crying sin of MURDER, from "the murder of the prophet Zechariah the son of Barachiah, even between the sanctuary (*vaon*) and the altar," Matt. xxiii. 35, soon after their return, to the murder of JESUS CHRIST, which filled up the measure of theirs and their forefathers' iniquities, and which was retaliated by "the oppression, misery, and almost universal contempt under which, he complains, the Jewish nation are still labouring."—"All this was to come upon them," says he, "for the abominations which they had committed

upon thy *holy city*, to complete the transgression and consummate sins; to expiate iniquity, and introduce everlasting righte-

during both the *first* and *second* temples." And he apprehends that "this is to last until they shall either *thoroughly repent*, or receive the *full punishment* for all their *iniquities*," and then "to bring in everlasting righteousness," or by means of the *restoration of the Jews*, to bring all nations to the knowledge of the ONE TRUE GOD, Isai. ii. 2, 3, and xviii. 3, and Zeph. ver. 3—9. Letters, Part I. and II.

5. He supposes the parenthetical prediction, ver. 25, to refer to the first return, after the *Babylonish* captivity, and "the continued troubles and alarms they underwent from their enemies, during the building of the temple and repairing the wall," as mentioned by *Ezra*, iv. 1—12, and *Nehemiah*, iv. 16. But this cannot be; for the promise to *Daniel*, "thou shalt return," was not fulfilled at the first return, which he survived, and soon after died in captivity; it remains, therefore, to be fulfilled, at the last return, at the resurrection of the just, as expressly repeated to *Daniel* at the close of the book. "But go thou thy way till the end, for thou shalt rest [till then,] and shalt stand in thy lot at the end of [the 1260] days," xii. 13.

6. He rightly considers the important term דָּבָר, *Dabar*, both in ver. 23 and 25, as equivalent to the fuller expression, דָּבָר יְהוָה, *Dabar Iahoh*, "the word of the Lord," at the beginning of the chapter, ix. 2; and, indeed, that the PERSONAL WORD, or ORACLE, is meant in this prophecy, appears from the parallel prophecy of *Ezekiel*, evidently alluding to *Daniel's* intercession and supplication for his people, which THE ORACLE declared to *Ezekiel* should be ineffectual to avert the second captivity, even though it were supported on each side by those two most powerful intercessors, *Noah* and *Job*, Ezek. xiv. 12—20.

Levi justly censures the rendering of this term, "commandment," in the English Bible, "by which Christians have confounded the prophecy, and bewildered themselves, so as to have no fixed period from whence to begin the seventy weeks." See the preface to this volume.

7. The last clause of the exordium, "to anoint the Holy of Holies," he understands of "the consecration of the second temple." But the most learned Jewish doctors, *Abarbanel*, *Manasseh ben Israel*, &c. confess, that the Holy of Holies, or sanctuary of the second temple, was never anointed or honoured with the *Shechinah*, or divine glory, like *Solomon's*. And *Nachmanides* has given the true exposition: "This Holy of Holies is the MESSIAH who is sanctified (or separated) from the sons of *David*." It should therefore be rendered THE SAINT OF SAINTS, to remove the ambiguity.

And THE SAINT OF SAINTS was actually "anointed with the HOLY GHOST, and with POWER," at his baptism, and again, at his transfiguration, Acts x. 38; and "with the oil of gladness above his fellows," at his resurrection, Psalm xlv. 7, ii. 7, Heb. i. 1—8. *Levi* unskilfully objects, that the ה emphatic, or demonstrative prefix, is wanting to מְשִׁיחַ, *Messiah*, or "anointed;" but it is superfluous, because of "THE LEADER," to which it is adjoined.

And THE MESSIAH was also "THE LEADER," as we have seen that epithet applied to him, 1 Chron. v. 2, Isai. lv. 4, Matt. ii. 6, citing Micah v. 2. Both, therefore, are epithets of CHRIST; *David Levi*, then, is guilty of a palpable violation of the unity of the prophecy, (of which he can scarcely be conceived to have been ignorant,) when he split these terms; applying *Messiah*, or the anointed, to king *Agrippa*, who, he says, was cut off by *Vespasian*, in the middle of the last week, A.D. 66; and the Leader, to *Cyrus*, ver. 25, and to *Titus*, ver. 26, thus introducing a trinity of persons into the prophecy, the most revolting and incomprehensible.

ousness; and to seal up vision and prophecy, and ANOINT THE SAINT OF SAINTS.

The hypothesis indeed, confutes itself: *Cyrus* could not be the first leader, nor *Titus* the second. For the first was to come after *seven* weeks and *sixty-two* weeks, or sixty-nine weeks, near the close of the prophecy. Nor could *Cyrus* come after the seven weeks singly, as he understands it; because the seven weeks actually commenced long after his death. And *Titus* could not be the second leader, because the word of the original is uniformly applied in the Old Testament, either to the kings of *Israel* or *Judah*, or to the rulers of their households, and never to a *foreign* or *hostile* prince. See *Calasio's* Concordance.

Agrippa was king of *Galilee*, and never was "anoointed" king of the *Jews*; nor was he cut off in A. D. 66: for both he and his sister *Berenice*, (the mistress of *Titus*,) were alive in A. D. 69, when they assisted *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*. *Josephus* also cites two letters of *Agrippa*, written after his history of the *Jewish war*. And *Photius*, in his *Bibliotheca*, cites *Justus the Tiberian*, as representing that *Agrippa* received an enlargement of his kingdom from *Vespasian*; and died after a long reign of fifty-one years, in the third of *Trajan*, A. D. 100.

8. *Levi* renders literally the concise phrase, ver. 26, וְאֵין לוֹ, "and not to him," as if signifying "there shall be no more of him," (*Agrippa*,) for "after his death, there shall be no more kingly power to the Jewish nation unto this day." But the Vulgate expresses its true meaning: *Et non erit ejus populus qui eum negaturus est.* "And the people that shall deny him shall not be his;" as *Moses* predicted,

"Their own iniquity hath corrupted his children, (now) not his,
A perverse and crooked generation," Deut. xxxii. 5.

9. Following the English Bible, *Levi* renders the Hebrew כְּנָף, *Chanaph*, "overspreading;" but it literally signifies "a wing," and here probably denotes the same as πτερύγον του ἱεροῦ, the "pinnacle of the temple," Matt. iv. 5, or the portico, or battlement of the temple, or "holy place," where "the abomination of desolation," or the idolatrous, and therefore abominable desolating standards of the *Romans* were to be "placed" at the siege, Matt. xxiv. 15. See Vol. I. p. 430. "The daily sacrifice, then absolutely taken away" at the destruction of the temple, was "virtually abrogated" when THE MESSIAH was cut off, according to *Eusebius*. See Vol. I. p. 94—100.

P.S. The three aforesaid professors of Hebrew, *Michaelis*, *Dathè*, and *Blaney*, conspired to set aside the prophet *Daniel's* testimony to the violent death of the MESSIAH, by a most unwarrantable change of the received punctuation; reading the verb יִכְרֹת, actively, *iachreth*, "He shall cut off" [the people of the *Jews*,] instead of *ichareth*, passively, "he shall be cut off;" in defiance of all the ancient Versions, and the grammatical construction of the whole passage, and of the parallel passage of *Isaiah*, liii. 8.

"He was cut off from the land of the living;
Through the wickedness of my people [*Isaiah's* people,]
He was smitten to death."

Here the corresponding verb נִגְזַר, *Nigazar*, is indisputably passive, and must be rendered, "He was separated, or cut off." See a critique on the German professors, *Michaelis*, *Dathè*, and *Eichorne*, respecting this prophecy, in the *Inspector*, p. 194—199. *Eichorne* rejected the book of *Daniel* entirely; and *Michaelis*, after labouring with much perverse ingenuity, like the cuttle fish, to perplex and confound the meaning, concludes, that "so far from counting the prophecy of seventy weeks, the great bulwark of the

25. "Know then and understand :

From the going forth of THE ORACLE to restore [thy people] and to rebuild *Jerusalem*, until MESSIAH THE LEADER, shall be *seven weeks* and *sixty-two weeks*.

(*Thou shalt return*, [and *thy people*, at the end of the vision of 2300 days,] and *Jerusalem* shall be *rebuilt* *, both *the street* and the *breach* [of the wall,] even in straitness of times.)

26. "And after *the sixty-two weeks* shall MESSIAH be cut off †; and [thy people] shall not be *His* ‡: a people of THE LEADER TO COME shall destroy both *the city* and *the sanctuary* §; and its end shall be in a deluge. And until the end of the war, *desolations are decreed*.

27. "But *one week* shall establish a [new] covenant with many ||; and *half of the week* shall abrogate the [daily] sacrifice and oblation ¶. And upon the pinnacle [or battlement of the temple shall stand] *the abomination of desolation* **, even until the consummation [of the 2300 days ††:] But, then the decreed [desolation] shall be poured [in turn] upon *the Desolator* ††.

This *chronological* prophecy, (which I have attempted to render more closely and intelligibly, supplying the ellipses necessary to complete the sense of the concise original,) was evidently designed to explain the foregoing vision, especially in its *chronological* part of the 2300 days: at the end of which the predicted "*desolation of the Jews*" should cease, and their "*sanctuary be cleansed*," or their temple finally be rebuilt; by determining a certain fixed point or epoch within it, namely, the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, A.D. 70, for, counting backwards from thence seventy weeks of days, or $70 \times 7 = 490$ years §§, we get the beginning of the period,

Christian religion, he, on the contrary, was most apprehensive of its cause being undermined thereby."

* Deut. xxx. 3; 2 Sam. vii. 10; Isai. lx. 10; Tobit xiv. 5, &c.

† Isaiah liii. 8.

‡ Exod. vi. 7; Deut. xxxii. 5; Hos. i. 9; John xix. 15.

§ Dan. viii. 12; Matt. xxii. 7; John xi. 48.

|| Isai. xlix. 8; Jer. xxxi. 31; Heb. ix. 15; John xi. 42; Acts ii. 41, iv. 4, vi. 1—7.

¶ Heb. vii. 27.

** Matt. xxiv. 15.

†† Dan. viii. 14; Luke xxi. 22; Rom. xi. 25.

‡‡ Numb. xxiv. 24; Isai. li. 22, 23; Luke xxi. 24.

§§ *Days* are put for *years* in scriptural and prophetic language, see Levit. xxv. 8; Numb. xiv. 4; Ezek. iv. 6.

B.C. 420; and this being known, the end of the period also, A.D. 1880; for $420 + 1880 = 2300$.

The destruction of *Jerusalem*, therefore, divides the whole period into two unequal parts; the former, consisting of 490 years, beginning B.C. 420; the latter, of 1810 years, ending A.D. 1880.

I. The former part, and its divisions, noticed in this vision, are first to be considered.

1. The seventy weeks, or 490 years of which it consists, are *historically* divided into 62, 7, and 1, weeks; and the one week, subdivided into a *half week*. At the expiration of $62 + 7 = 69$ weeks, or 483 years, MESSIAH THE LEADER was to send forth "*his armies, (the Romans,) to destroy those murderers, (the Jews,) and to burn their city,*" Matt. xxii. 7. And, accordingly, the *Jewish war* commenced in the last, or seventieth week, A.C. 65, during the administration of *Gessius Florus*, whose exactions drove the *Jews* into rebellion, according to *Josephus*, Ant. XX. 10, 1.

2. "*After the sixty-two weeks,*" but not immediately, "*the MESSIAH was cut off;*" for the sixty-two weeks expired A.D. 14; and the *one week, or passion week*, in the midst of which OUR LORD was crucified, A.D. 31, began with his public ministry, A.D. 28, and ended with the martyrdom of *Stephen*, A.D. 34. (See the Articles of THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST, and GOSPEL CHRONOLOGY, Vol. 1. p. 94—101, in which is given the luminous account of the *passion week*, in reference to *Daniel's* prophecy, by *Eusebius*.) The *passion week*, therefore, began two weeks after the sixty-two weeks, or at the end of sixty-four weeks; and there were five weeks, or thirty-five years, after the *passion week*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. So that the seventy weeks must be *chronologically* divided into sixty-four, one, and five weeks*. For the *one week* in the prophecy is evidently not the *last week* of the *Jewish war*, and cannot, therefore, follow in the order of time, the sixty-two and seven weeks.

The magnificent opening of the prophecy itself, seems to blend

* This simple and ingenious adjustment of the *chronology* of the seventy weeks, considered as forming a branch of the 2300 days, was originally due to the sagacity of *Hans Wood*, Esq. of *Rossmead*, in the county of *Westmeath*, IRELAND, and published by him in an anonymous Commentary on the *Revelation of St. John*, London, 1787. Payne. 8vo. Whence I republished it in the *Inspector*, 8vo. 1799. And afterwards, in the *Orthodox Churchman's Magazine*, 1803; and now more correctly, 1809.

the fortunes of the *Jews* and of *mankind* together, in the important period destined, 1. "To complete the transgression, and consummate the sins" of the *Jewish* nation, "when their transgressions should come to the full," or they should "fill up the measure of the iniquity of their forefathers," Matt. xxiii. 32, by rejecting and "cutting off" THE MESSIAH, Isai. liii. 8; Acts ii. 23, iii. 13—15, v. 30, 31. 2. "To cover or expiate the iniquity of the human race, by the voluntary sacrifice of himself," Isai. liii. 4—6; 1 Pet. i. 19; Heb. ix. 26; John i. 29, &c.; and also "to introduce everlasting righteousness," during "*the kingdom of THE GOD OF HEAVEN,*" and of *his saints,*" which he was to found and establish upon earth; thence to be translated to heaven at the end of the world, Dan. vii. 13, 14, &c.; 1 Cor. xv. 23—28, &c. And, 3. "To seal, or close *prophetic vision,*" when the grand scheme of Divine economy, in the *Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Evangelical* dispensations, should be sufficiently revealed to mankind by OUR LORD and his *apostles,* before the end of the seventy weeks; after "THE SAINT OF SAINTS should, on his resurrection, be anointed," or "invested with *all authority in heaven and earth,*" Matt. xxviii; Rom. i. 4, &c.

"The decree of THE ORACLE for restoring the *Jews,* and rebuilding *Jerusalem,*" could not refer to their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, which was now past, and the city rebuilt by *Nehemiah,* long before the commencement of the prophecy, B.C. 420, in the fourth year of *Darius Nothus*; it must, therefore, relate to the *final* restoration of the *Jews,* and rebuilding of their city, after the long-continued desolation which was to follow the *Roman* captivity, and to end with the period of 2300 days. Then follows a parenthetical apostrophe to the prophet himself, foretelling his, (and his people's,) final return, at "the end of 2300 days," or "resurrection of the just," Dan. xii. 13; Luke xiv. 14, &c. analogous to the parenthetical remark in *Nathan's* prophecy to the same effect, 2 Sam. vii. 10, and the rebuilding of the city, Isai. lx. 10; Ezek. xlvi. 30; Zech. ii. 4.

When the *Jews* should reject and cut off THE MESSIAH, they should also be rejected by him, and "no longer *his*" peculiar people, as expressly foretold by *Moses,* Deut. xxxii. 5, (more correctly translated,) and by the *prophets,* Hosea i. 9, &c., until their final adoption, Zech. viii. 8; and "the *Roman armies*" were to be sent, as "a people of MESSIAH TO COME" in judgment, in order to be the executioners of indignation against

that "wicked and apostate generation" of the *Jews*, Matt. xxiii. 35, 36.

"*The abomination of desolation,*" were the *desolating* standards of the *Roman armies*, which were held in *abomination* by the *Jews*, on account of the *idolatrous* worship paid to the images of their gods which they displayed. The phrase occurs in the same sense afterwards, xi. 31, xii. 11; and its signification is ascertained by OUR LORD himself, in his reference to, and citation of this very prophecy of *Daniel*, Matt. xxiv. 15, as explained of "the Roman *encampments* besieging *Jerusalem,*" Luke xxi. 20. This testimony of OUR LORD himself, is decisive to prove that the seventy weeks expired with the destruction of *Jerusalem**, A.D. 70, and, consequently, that they began, B.C. 420. And the fourth and last vision of *Daniel* is also decisive to prove, that the joint beginning of the 2300 days and seventy weeks, was in the reign of *Darius Nothus*, xi. 1, 2.

II. The latter part of the grand period of 2300 days, consisting of 1810 years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in like manner, contains three remarkable numbers of dates, 1260, 1290, and 1335 days, noticed in the last chapter.

THE 1260 DAYS.

This was the disastrous period of a *time, times, and division* (or *half*) of a *time*, during which the *papal little horn* of the *fourth beast*, or *Roman empire*, now become *Christian*, should "*make war with the saints of THE MOST HIGH, prevail against them, and wear them out,*" by various modes of persecution and oppression, until the time of the end, and the judgment of the

* This also is the opinion of the *Jews*, as we have seen in the foregoing note, reviewing *Levi's* interpretation, and of the most skilful Christian commentators and chronologers, *Mede, Scaliger, Wood, &c.* The fullest exposition of *Mede's* opinion, is in the following passage of his works, p. 663.

"These seventy weeks of *Daniel* are a *little provincial kalendar*, containing the time that the *legal worship* and *Jewish state* was to continue, from the rebuilding of the sanctuary under *Darius Nothus*, until the final destruction thereof, when the kalendar should expire: within the space whereof their commonwealth and city should be restored; and sixty-two weeks after that, the *Messias* be slain for sin; and at the end of the whole seventy, their city and temple again destroyed, and their commonwealth utterly dissolved."

Mede, however, confounded *Darius Nothus* with *Darius Hystaspes*, "in the second year of whose reign, the whole temple, after a long interruption, began to revive," p. 697. It was in the fourth year of *Darius Nothus*, that *Nehemiah's* reform was completed, B. C. 420.

ANCIENT OF DAYS, Dan. vii. 21—26. And this is afterwards described, as during which, “the power of the *holy people* should be scattered,” xii. 7.

A *time* in the Chaldee language frequently signifies a *year*; and is so understood by *Daniel* himself, iv. 25—34; and in the phrase “at the end of *the times*, even of *years*,” which is paraphrased in the English Bible “after certain *years*,” xi. 13, the period therefore denotes *three years and half*, or forty-two months, or (allowing thirty days to the primitive month,) 1260 days, as this mysterious period is explained in the apocalypse, Rev. xii. 14, xi. 2, 3, xii. 6. This woful period of persecution is to expire along with the grand period in A. D. 1880, “after which the *holy people*, or *saints*, are to be delivered;” therefore, counting backwards from thence, we get A. D. 620 for the time of its commencement: which corresponds, as we have seen, with the *Bangorian* war in *Britain*.

It is truly remarkable, that the *Mahometan* power in the east, sprung up the very same year; for “*the false prophet*,” as *Mahomet* is styled in the Apocalypse, in A. D. 620 or 621, broached his celebrated journey to heaven in company with the angel *Gabriel*, which was so ill received by his countrymen at first, that he was forced to fly from *Mecca*, A. D. 622, whence the *Arabian* era of the *hejira*, (“flight,”) commenced; upon which he published his commission from GOD, in the *Koran*, to persecute *infidels* *.

The joint persecutions of the eastern and western *apostacy*, are foretold in the Apocalypse, chap. xiii. as will be shewn in the sequel.

This commencement of the 1260 days, analytically deduced, by a chain of reasoning from the context, is surely preferable to A. D. 606, adopted by Bishop *Newton*, *Faber*, and others; upon the hypothetical ground that this was the year in which the title of *universal Bishop* was conferred on the Pope, by the usurper *Phocas*; and the same year also in which *Mahomet* retired to his cave in Mount *Hara*, to fabricate his imposture. Neither of these events, in themselves, properly *constituted*, though they were the *forerunners* of *persecution*, not long after.

To comfort the faithful under the gloomy prospect of the corruptions of the *Romish* Church in the west, and the consequent

* See *Salé's Prelim. Discourse*, p. 39—49; and *Koran*, p. 236, and 149, 273.

persecutions of the *saints* produced thereby throughout this period; the prophet was favoured (and by the spiritual HIGH PRIEST himself, who solemnly announced the term of it,) with a cheering, but transient glance of the BLESSED REFORMATION, which took place in the course of it, by those wise and pious persons, who *protested* against the errors of the Church of *Rome*.

THE 1290 DAYS.

“Many shall be purified, and made white, and proved, [in the furnace of persecution,] while the wicked shall do wickedly [in persecuting them.] And none of the wicked shall understand [these prophecies,] but the wise shall understand. Now, from the time that the *daily [sacrifice] shall be taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up, there shall be 1290 days,*” xii. 5—10.

The date of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 70, is here marked by its two peculiar characters, in the second, third, and fourth visions. Counting forwards, therefore, from thence 1290 years, we get A.D. 1360, the precise year in which *John Wickliffe* first began to preach against the errors of the Church of *Rome*, at *Oxford*, in *England*, who may justly be styled *the harbinger of the Reformation, England's morning star*.

1. This is no novel hypothesis: it is as old as the Reformation itself. So early as the year 1390, *Walter Brute*, an *Englishman*, in the reign of *Richard II.* published a treatise *Of the revelation of Antichrist in Britain*, in which is the following remarkable passage, cited by *Fox*, in his *Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 441.

“Yet is she [the Church of *Rome*,] ignorant that within a *little while*, shall come the days of her destruction:—Because, that from the time *the continual sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation placed, there be passed 1290 days, according to Daniel.* And the chronicles added, do agree to the same,” [A.D. 70 + 1290 = A.D. 1360.] Indeed from this, and other passages of his work, *Walter Brute* appears to have been a man superior to the dark age in which he lived, and to have had a surprising insight into the principal prophecies respecting popery.

2. *John Bale*, Bishop of *Ossory*, who flourished about the time of the introduction of the Reformation into *Ireland*, A.D.

1535, in his valuable work, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, delivers the following encomium upon *Wickliffe*.

“THE ETERNAL FATHER raised him up, by his Spirit, in the year after our Saviour’s nativity, 1360, to stand forth a magnanimous champion of JESUS CHRIST, in defence of his truth, amid the darkness of *impious locusts*, (Rev. ix. 2, 3,) and to become the most invincible instrument of that age, against *Antichrists*.”

3. *Henry Wharton*, that very learned English divine, who flourished near the close of the seventeenth century, in his Appendix to *Cave’s History*, thus describes him and his doctrines :

“He began to be famous in the year 1360. About which time he first sharply attacked, both in his preaching and writings, the grievously encreasing *superstitions* of the age,—the enormous *tyranny* of the pope of Rome over the Church, now grown inveterate,—the *erroneous dogmas of faith* universally received in the schools,—and that most scandalous depravity of *vicious morals*, admitted by all, and even defended by most ; and especially he maintained, with equal constancy and erudition, the *rights of the royal authority*, and of the *ecclesiastical order* against the *enormous usurpations of the see of Rome*, and of the *Mendicant Friars*.”

4. The author of *Sacræ Heptades*, or a Treatise on *Daniel’s* seventy weeks, cited by the learned *Whiston* *, in his Treatise on the *Revelation* in 1706, p. 240, explains it in the same way.

“If we take *Daniel’s* era, that is, the *ceasing of the daily sacrifice*, by the destruction of the temple, which was in the year of our Lord 70, and add unto that number 1290, limited by the same prophet, it cometh to the year of our Lord 1360. About which time the excellent *John Wickliffe*, in *England*, and shortly after *Johannes de Rupescissa*, in *France*, (whose labours on the Apocalypse are said to be extant,) prophesied, or rather declared, many prophecies of the Apocalypse concerning *Antichrist*.”

5. The learned and judicious *L’Enfant*, *Concile de Constance*, Tom. I. p. 201, thus describes *Wickliffe* and his doctrines.

* This simple and obvious solution, adopted by *Whiston*, above a hundred years ago, has been strangely overlooked by succeeding commentators, down to the present time ; arbitrarily assuming, that the 1290 and 1335 days began along with the 1260. Hence *Faber’s* perplexities, and new coinage of “*the afterhood of the times*.”

“ He began to make a noise in 1360, by strongly opposing the attempts of *the Monks*, who, under colour of their *exemptions*, violated the rules and statutes of the university of *Oxford*.—In 1380, he undertook an English translation of the Bible.—In 1381, he began to attack the dogma of *transubstantiation*.—Among other things, he said, that for several years past, [from about the time of *Radbertus*, A.D. 820,] the Church had erred respecting the *sacrament of the Eucharist*; and that *he was resolved to bring her back from idolatry to the service of THE TRUE GOD.*”

The determination of the commencement of *Wickliffe's* testimony, in the year 1360, by so many *independent* authorities, is really remarkable.

THE 1335 DAYS.

—“ *Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the 1335 days,*” xii. 12.

This is evidently a continuation of the former sentence, announcing a later period to be counted from the same fixed date, A.D. 70, which will bring us to a more advanced stage of the *Reformation*, when *John Huss* began to preach against the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, A.D. 1405. The correctness of this date is also vouched by the following authorities :

1. The author of *Sacræ Heptades* thus proceeds :

“ Besides that number of 1290, the number 1335, to which the prophet *Daniel* gives a *blessing*, is also fulfilled : for, account that from the *desolation of the temple*, and *ceasing of the daily sacrifice*, which happened about the same year of our Lord 70 ; add, I say, to that 70 the number 1335, and it cometh fully to the year of our Lord 1405.—Soon after which time, was assembled the great Councill of *Constance*.—In the same Councill, the godly Bohemians, *Johannes Huss*, and *Hieronymus Pragensis*, openly *protested* against the Pope ; saying, that *if he did not follow CHRIST in his life, he was not CHRIST'S VICAR.*”

2. *L'Enfant* gives the following account : Tom. I. p. 26, 205.

“ *John Huss* rendered himself very famous in 1405, by his preachings in *Bohemia*, at the celebrated chapel of *Bethlehem*, [in *Prague*,] of which he was curate.—It does not appear that he was accused of any innovation before this time.”

These luminous interpretations of our early *Protestant* divines, derive additional force and authority from the *Apocalypse*. For, as we owe to the visions of *John* the true interpretation of *Daniel's* mysterious *time, times, and half a time*; so to his subsequent visions we likewise owe a fuller revelation of the illustrious harbingers of the Reformation, *Wickliffe* and *Huss*, and also of its founder, *Luther*; in the following remarkable description of the three detached *angels*, or *luminaries* of THE CHURCH, following each other in succession.

1. *The first angel* is thus described, Rev. xiv. 6, 7. "And I saw *another angel* flying in mid-heaven, having THE EVER-LASTING GOSPEL to preach to the dwellers upon the earth, even to every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and people; saying, with a loud voice, *Fear GOD, and give glory to Him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship Him who made the heaven and the earth, the sea and water-springs.*"

This angel, who is styled "*another*," as being different from those of the celestial choir who sung *the new song* of THE LAMB, Rev. xiv. 3, vii. 11, excellently represents the evangelist *Wickliffe*, who, by his vernacular translation of the Bible, first made, as it were, a republication of the *primitive Gospel*; which heretofore had been *sealed* or locked up from the vulgar of every nation of *Europe*, in the learned languages, and prohibited from the *laity*, by the spiritual tyranny of the see of *Rome*, wishing to rivet the chains of her votaries, by the blindness of ignorance. This first harbinger of the Reformation, warned the western world against "*worshipping the creature instead of THE CREATOR*," in compliance with the reigning superstitions and idolatries of the Church of *Rome*. By a usual anticipation in Scripture, GOD'S impending "*judgments*" are denounced as already come.

2. *The second angel* is thus described, ver. 8.

—"And another angel followed, saying, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city! because she hath made all the nations drink of the poisonous wine of her fornication.*"

This second angel, with equal propriety, represents *Huss*, the disciple and the follower of *Wickliffe*: who preached still more pointedly against the errors and corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; and foretold her doom, under the title of the *mystical Babylon*, that *mother of harlots*, or fruitful parent of *superstition* and *idolatry* in the west, as *Babylon* had been in the east, even

from the days of *Nimrod*, Gen. x. 9, 10, and of rebellion, Gen. xi. 1—9; whose fall he anticipates in the language of *Isaiah's* watchman, "*Babylon is fallen, is fallen, and all the graven images of her gods He hath broken to the ground,*" Isai. xx. 9.

3. The *last angel* is thus described, ver. 9—11.

—"And a third angel followed them, saying with a *loud voice*, *If any one worship the wild beast and his image, and receive [his] mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of God's wrath, poured out, unmixed, into the cup of his indignation: and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before THE LAMB; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth for ever,*" &c.

In this third angel, the sagacity of *Mede* first descried the faithful representative of *Luther**, who, in the next century, A. D. 1517, "followed the other two; and warned the votaries of the *beast*, of the dreadful danger that impended over them, if they still persisted in following him; and therefore persuaded them, casting off all delay, to withdraw themselves forthwith from his company; that by this means, they would consult their own salvation; for that after this [notice,] his adherents could not be saved. This preaching, the most remarkable of all, was most happily discharged in the age before this, (says *Mede*,) by means of *Luther* and his successors: which, indeed, was followed by that excellent REFORMATION OF THE CHURCHES, when men every where, now not *singly*, as at the voice of the preceding angel, but by *provinces* and *tribes*, in order to assert and purify RELIGION, shook off the yoke of the *beast* every where." *Mede's Works*, p. 518.

Wickliffe and *Huss*, indeed, were the harbingers of this illustrious champion of the Reformation, who so boldly and successfully proclaimed "the *terrors of THE LORD* to persuade men." *Their* preaching was local, and confined to their own pale, or neighbourhood, and could not have an extensive influence. But in the riper age of *Luther*, many powerful causes co-operated to disseminate and propagate his doctrines, which either did not exist before, or did not till then combine their full and irresistible force.

* *Whitaker* and *Faber* suppose, that the first angel was *Luther*, the second *Calvin*, and the third either *their* disciples or the Church of *England*, which is neither *Lutheran*, *Calvinistic*, nor *Arminian*. But the present *earlier* arrangement of *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, and *Luther*, is surely preferable.

1. *Luther's* republication of the EVERLASTING GOSPEL in the *German* language, spread, with inconceivable rapidity, throughout the continent of *Europe*, and laid the axe to the root of the corrupt tree of *Romish idolatry, superstition, and immorality*, by exposing them in all their hideous deformity, to public view and abhorrence.

2. The invention of the art of printing in *Germany*, some time before, greatly facilitated the circulation of the writings of the Reformers, *Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Beza, Erasmus, Cranmer, Ridley, &c.* among all ranks in *Europe*, from the highest to the lowest of the *laity*, among whom the Bible and its doctrines had been hitherto, in a great measure, *sealed* or shut.

3. The *revival of letters* in the west, after the dark middle ages of *Gothic* ignorance, and the introduction of the *Greek* classics, on the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, and the avidity with which all the ancient authors were then studied, contributed to open the minds of men, and lead them to assert the right of *private judgment* in matters of *religion* and *morals*, and to emancipate them from the *spiritual tyranny* of the Church of *Rome*, impiously claiming *infallibility*, and *implicit belief* and *obedience* to her decisions and decrees, however revolting or repugnant to REASON and SCRIPTURE*.

In the lives and deaths of those illustrious *reformers*, we have "a noble specimen of the *patience of the saints*; of those who keep the *commandments of GOD*, and the *faith of JESUS CHRIST*!" Rev. xiv. 12.

FOURTH VISION.

This last vision, in the third year of *Cyrus*, not long before the prophet's death, was ushered in with circumstances of peculiar solemnity; with the presence of CHRIST himself and his *angels*; both appearing in human form. First, the spiritual HIGH PRIEST *cloathed in linen*, as on the great day of *atonement*, appeared in glory to *Daniel*, and spoke to him; and when he heard the voice of his words, he fell into a trance with his face to the ground. The prophet alone saw this great vision, for his trembling attendants fled to hide themselves, x. 1—9.

Daniel was raised from his trance by *the hand* that touched

* See in *Robertson's History of Charles V.* a masterly account of the rise and progress of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 78—121.

him, (probably of the angel *Gabriel*,) who encouraged him nearly in the same terms as in the former vision of the seventy weeks. And who again came in human form, and touched and strengthened him, that he might shew him the *Scripture of truth*: representing himself as assisted by MICHAEL, one of the *chief princes*, and *Daniel's prince*; who therefore could be no other than the Spiritual HIGH PRIEST, or CHRIST, signified by the name, "*Who is like God*," ver. 10—21. *Cyrus* is supposed to be "*the prince of Persia*, who for one and twenty days withstood" the decree of the return of the *Jews*, Ezra i. 2.

This last prophecy contains four parts in the eleventh chapter, and an *appendix* in the twelfth.

1. The first part explains the overthrow of the *Persian* empire, under *Darius Codomannus*, the last king, by *Alexander the Great*; and the division of his great empire among his four generals, xi. 2—4, as already explained.

2. The second details, with minute *historical* precision, the intermariages and wars of the kings of the *north* and *south*, or of *Syria* and *Egypt*; and the oppressions and persecutions of the *Jews*, between these two contending powers, till the depression of *Syria* by the *Romans* *, ver. 5—30.

3. The third takes up the conclusion of the second vision, and relates in continuation, the proceedings of the *Romans*, after the removal of the *daily sacrifice*, and setting up the *abomination of desolation*, at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 70, their various persecutions, blasphemies, apostacies, and innovations, *Heathen* and *Christian* †, ver. 30—39.

4. The fourth recounts the war of the *wilful king* with the king of the south, his expedition into the glorious land, of *Palestine*; his conquests of many countries in the east, except *Moab*, *Edom*, and *Ammon*, and in the south of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*. His return, in consequence of tidings from the *east* and *north*, which shall trouble him; his planting the tabernacles of his palace in the glorious holy mount, between the two seas; and his final destruction, without any to help him, ver. 40—45.

This last part of the prophecy appears to be unfulfilled; and to coincide, in point of time, with the *third woe* in the *Apoca-*

* This second part is particularly explained in the ensuing period.

† This third part is explained in the last period, in the *Apocalypse*.

lypse. They are therefore both *sealed* or shut up at present, till further lights shall be furnished by the events.

THE APPENDIX.

1. *Michael's* vindication of the saints, seems to correspond to the war in heaven between *Michael* and his angels and the *Devil* and his angels, Rev. xii. 7—11, probably when *Christianity* was established in the *Roman* empire, on the ruins of *Paganism*, under *Constantine* the Great.
2. A time of great trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, till the time of the end, or expiration of the persecuting period of a *time, times, and half a time*, or 1260 days, when the *first resurrection* shall take place of all that shall be found written in the book of life, Rev. xx. 4, John v. 25, &c.
3. The *general resurrection*, when the *wise* and *good* shall awake to *everlasting life*, and the wicked to shame and *everlasting contempt*, Rev. xx. 11—13, John v. 28, 29, &c.
4. The commencement of the *Reformation* in England, by *Wickliffe*, 1290 days after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 70, or A.D. 1360.
5. Its progress in *Germany* by *Huss*, 1335 days after, A.D. 1405.
6. Promise to *Daniel* that he shall stand in his lot, at the end of 1260 days, or first resurrection.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

FROM NEHEMIAH'S REFORM TO THE BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, 415 YEARS.

PERSIAN DYNASTY.

JEWISH HIGH PRIESTS.

	Y.		B.C.
<i>Eliashib</i>	7 last	.....	420
<i>Joiada</i> or <i>Judas</i>	40	.....	413
<i>Jonathan</i> or <i>John</i>	32	.....	373
<i>Jaddua</i> or <i>Jaddus</i>	20	.....	341

MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY.

<i>Onias</i>	21	.....	321
<i>Simon</i> the Just	9	.....	300

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Eleazer</i>	15	291
<i>Manasses</i>	26	276
<i>Onias II.</i>	33	250
<i>Simon II.</i>	22	217
<i>Onias III.</i>	20	195
<i>Jesus or Jason</i>	3	175
<i>Onias or Menelaus</i>	9	172

ASAMONEAN PRINCES.

<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	}	3	.....	163
<i>Jachim or Alcimus, high priest</i> .....	} ....	—	.....	163
<i>Jonathan</i>	}	17	.....	160
appointed high priest .....	} ....	—	.....	153
<i>Simon</i>		7	.....	143
<i>John Hyrcanus</i>		30	.....	136
<i>Aristobulus I. and Antigonus</i>		1	.....	106
<i>Alexander Jannæus</i>		27	.....	105
<i>Q. Alexandra</i>		9	.....	78
<i>Hyrcanus II.</i>		3 M.	.....	69
<i>Aristobulus II.</i>		6	6 M.....	69

ROMAN DYNASTY.

<i>Hyrcanus II. again</i>	23	.....	63
<i>Antigonus</i>	3	.....	40

IDUMÆAN KINGS.

<i>Herod the Great</i>	32	first	.....	37
Birth of <i>John the Baptist</i>	415		.....	5

The chronology of this period is collected from *Nehemiah*, the *Maccabees*, *Josephus*, and the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. *Nehemiah* has given the succession of six high priests, from the return of the Jews after the Babylonish captivity, to the end of his own time, *Nehem.* xii. 10—26, *Josephus* has added nine more, to the regency of *Judas Maccabæus*. *Ant.* xx. 9, 1. But his present amount is incorrect; for it assigns to the fifteen, 414 years, instead of 372. The *Fasti Siculi*, or *Chronicon Alexandrinum**, gives the detail more correctly, as published in *Prideaux* chronological tables, with some emendation, Vol. II. p. 127. *Prideaux* has judiciously altered the administration of

* This valuable record was found in an old library in *Sicily*. It was published with a Latin Version, A.D. 1624; and a short preface, written by *Peter*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

Simon the Just, from fourteen years to nine; following *Eusebius*, as more conformable to the *Maccabees* and *Josephus*. But the regency of *Judas Maccabeus*, which he dates at his father's death, B.C. 166, is here postponed till the death of *Menelaus* the high priest, when it was formally acknowledged by *Antiochus Eupator*, king of Syria, three years after, B.C. 163, which agrees with the duration of the *Asamonean Dynasty*, according to *Josephus*, reckoning it 126 years till the death of *Antigonus*. And the accession of *John Hyrcanus*, is dated B.C. 136, a year earlier than by *Prideaux*, because it agrees with Scripture, 1 Mac. xvi. 14; and with *Josephus*, stating that the year after his accession, B.C. 135, was a sabbatical year, as it actually appears to have been, according to the present system of chronology.

The last act of *Nehemiah's* reform, was the expulsion of a son of *Joiada*, and grandson of *Eliashib* the high priest, for marrying the daughter of *Sanballat* the Horonite, or Moabite, Nehem. xiii. 18, in the thirty-third year of *Eliashib's* pontificate of forty years, and therefore when *Eliashib* was old. This critically harmonizes with B.C. 420, the commencement of *Daniel's* grand prophetic period of 2300 days, and also of the seventy weeks*.

Nehemiah lived to a very advanced age; for from the date of his commission, B.C. 444, to the succession of *Jaddua*, B.C. 341, whom he notices, xii. 22, was an interval of 103 years. His age, therefore, could scarcely have been less than 130 years, equalling *Jehoiada's*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15. Thus did "GOD" hear his repeated prayers, and "remember him for good," and for "his good deeds," his exalted piety, patriotism, and disinterestedness, bless him with uncommon "length of days, riches, and honours," in this life.

The apocryphal books of *Maccabees* and *Josephus*, are our chief guides in the history of this period. The first book of *Maccabees*, and the most correct, ending with the accession of *John Hyrcanus*, was probably written by the direction of that prince. The second, which is more minute and circumstantial, and abounds more in the marvellous, does not reach so far. It is an abstract of the five books of *Jason*, a Jew of *Cyrene*. There are two more books of *Maccabees* attached to the *Alexandrine* copy of the Septuagint Version. The apocryphal books

* *Prideaux* dates this last act too low, B.C. 409, to accord with his scheme of the seventy weeks, when "Joiada was high priest, who was the son of *Eliashib*," which offers violence to the text, Vol. I. p. 326.

use the *era of Seleucida*, beginning B.C. 312, with the murder of *Alexander's* son, *Ægus*, but with some variation, as explained in the first volume, p. 173, 174.

JEWISH HIGH PRIESTS.

After *Nehemiah*, there were no more *Persian* governors sent to *Judea*. It was annexed to the province of *Cœle Syria*, and the administration of *Jewish* affairs left to the high-priests; subject however to the controul of the provincial governors.

Jonathan, (or, as *Josephus* calls him, *John*,) who came from the bad stock of *Eliashib*, in the eighth year of his pontificate, atrociously murdered his own brother *Jesus*, within the sacred precincts of the sanctuary itself, jealous of his superior interest with the *Persian* governor, *Bagoses*, who intended to make him high-priest. On hearing the horrible deed, *Bagoses* went to the temple, and when the priests attempted to hinder him from entering the sanctuary, he indignantly replied, *Am not I purer than the murdered person there!* For this he persecuted the *Jews*, and laid a heavy tribute on the lambs offered for burnt sacrifices, which was not remitted till the accession of *Ochus* to the crown of *Persia*, B.C. 358.

Afterwards the *Jews* incurred the displeasure of this prince, by joining, probably, with the revolted provinces of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt*. For which he took a severe revenge, for he marched into *Judea*, besieged and took *Jericho*, and carried away a great number of captive *Jews*, whom he transplanted into *Egypt* southwards, and into *Hyrcania* northwards.

This severity, perhaps, deterred the *Jews* from joining *Alexander* the Great at first, when he invaded the *Persian* dominions. For they declined his overtures, and refused to send him provisions while he was engaged in the siege of *Tyre*. Provoked at this, he threatened to punish them. Accordingly, in B.C. 332, after he had reduced *Tyre*, he marched towards *Jerusalem* with his army, but he was met at *Sapha*, an eminence near *Jerusalem*, which commanded a view of the city and temple, by a solemn procession, consisting of the high-priest dressed in his pontifical robes, attended by the priests in their proper habits, and the rest of the people in white garments, as *Jaddua* had been commanded, in a vision of the night. When they approached, *Alexander*, struck with awful respect, advanced alone to meet the high-priest, saluted him first, and adored the sacred

name of God, written on the front of his mitre, to the great surprise and disappointment of the *Phœnicians* and *Chaldeans*, who attended the king, expecting his orders to destroy the priests and plunder the city. While they stood amazed, suspecting that *Alexander* had lost his senses, *Parmenio*, his confidential friend, came up, and asked him the reason of his conduct. The king replied, “*I adore not the high-priest, but the God with whose priesthood he is honoured. When I was at Dios in Macedonia, and considering in myself how to subdue Asia, I saw in a dream such a person, in his present dress, who encouraged me not to delay, but to pass over with confidence, for that himself would lead my army, and give me the Persian empire.* Since, therefore, I have seen no other person in such a dress as I now see him, and recollect the vision and exhortation in my dream, I think, that having undertaken this expedition by a *divine* mission, I shall conquer *Darius*, overthrow the *Persian* empire, and succeed in all my designs.” Having spoke thus to *Parmenio*, he presented his right hand to the priest, and went into the city, attended by the priests, and going to the temple, he sacrificed according to the high-priest’s directions, and treated the pontiff and the priests with distinguished honours. The book of *Daniel* was then shewn unto him, in which it was foretold that one of the *Greeks* should overthrow the *Persian* empire; pleased at which, and thinking that he was the person meant, he dismissed the multitude. The day after, summoning them to his presence, he desired them to ask whatever favours they chose, and at the high-priest’s request, he granted them the free enjoyment of their national laws, and an exemption from tribute every seventh year. He also promised to permit the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media* to enjoy their own laws, and offered to take with him, on the expedition, any of the people that chose to share his fortune, promising them the free use of their own customs and laws, which induced many to join him. Ant. XI. 8, 4, 5.

This relation of *Josephus* is confirmed by *Origen*, cont. *Celsum*, Lib. V. p. 265, and is perfectly credible in itself. The same *spiritual* high-priest who revealed to *Daniel* the vision of the *he goat*, and the overthrow of the *Persian* empire by *Alexander* the Great, might also have thus induced and encouraged the *Macedonian* himself to undertake the expedition. And surely as an instrument of Divine chastisement, he was as worthy

of being favoured with Divine communications as *Nebuchadnezzar* or *Belshazzar*.

A fact of such public notoriety as the change of *Alexander's* wrath suddenly into mildness, in the presence of such a multitude of spectators, could not have been fabricated without detection; nor could it have been more rationally accounted for than by *Alexander's* relation. The historian *Justin* seems also to allude to this transaction, where he remarks that "*Alexander* was met by many kings of the east with *mitres**."

"When *Alexander* afterwards wanted to rebuild the temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and employed all his soldiers in *turn* to remove the rubbish, the *Jews* alone refused to assist in the work, and suffered many stripes for their refusal, and paid heavy fines, until the king, being struck with their firmness, pardoned, and gave them an exemption. They also, on their return home, pulled down the temples and altars that had been erected by the colonists in their land, and paid a fine for some to the satraps or governors, and received a pardon for others." This account *Josephus* cites from the Greek historian *Hecataeus*, contr. Apion. I. 22, p. 1348; and it tends to confirm *Alexander's* visit to *Jerusalem*, and the recruiting of his army among the *Jews*. Their zeal on this occasion leads us to conclude, that *Jaddua* was a wise and good pontiff, and that during his administration he endeavoured to uphold *Nehemiah's* reform. Of this he gave a signal instance in the expulsion of his own brother *Manasses*, for marrying the daughter of *Sanballat* †, governor of *Samaria*, as we learn from *Josephus*, Ant. XII. 8, 2. He and his people, therefore, who concurred therein, were likely to be favoured with divine support and protection.

The apostate *Manasses* was made high-priest of the temple built by *Sanballat*, on Mount *Gerizim*, near *Samaria*, and proved a great annoyance to the *Jews*, by harbouring all that were banished or fled for this and other offences, by fomenting disturbances at *Jerusalem*, and by promoting a rivalry between the two temples at *Jerusalem* and Mount *Gerizim*; the *Jews* contending that sacrifices ought to be offered only at *Jerusalem*; the *Samaritans* at Mount *Gerizim*, where *Joshua*, they

* *Alexandrum* obviam cum *infulis*, multos orientis reges habuisse. Lib. XI. 10.

† This *Sanballat*, who was a *Cuthite*, sent by *Darius Codomannus*, the last king of *Persia*, to be governor of *Samaria*, is not to be confounded with "*Sanballat the Horonite*," or *Moabite*, Neh. xiii. 28, in the reign of *Darius Nothus*.

said, built the first altar, Joseph. Ant. XII. 1, 1. And this controversy subsisted till OUR SAVIOUR'S time, and created a mortal antipathy between the two sects, John iv. 9—20; Luke ix. 51—56; John viii. 48.

THE SAMARITANS.

These originally were a heathen colony of *Babylonians* and *Cuthites*, settled in the country of *Samaria*, by *Esarhaddon*, king of Assyria, on the captivity and deportation of the ten tribes, who “feared THE LORD, and served their own gods,” at the same time, 2 Kings xvii. 24—34, or worshipped the God of *Israel*, but in an idolatrous manner, until *Manasses*, and the fugitive *Jews* who flocked to him, taught them to reject all idolatry, and worship the true God only, according to the *Mosaical* law. And from this time they may truly be reckoned a sect of the *Jewish* religion.

The *Samaritans*, in common with the *Jews*, admitted the authority of the *Pentateuch*, but rejected all the other books of the *Jewish* Canon, or rather held them to be *apocryphal*, or of inferior authority. That they did not entirely reject them is evident from their expectation of the MESSIAH or CHRIST, not only as a “*prophet*” or divine instructor, like *Moses*, but also to be “the SAVIOUR of the world,” John iv. 25—42. But these titles of MESSIAH and SAVIOUR were borrowed from the *Psalms* and the *Prophets*. Nor is it likely that *Manasses* himself, a *Jewish* priest, and a reformer of their religion, would have disclaimed the *prophetical* Scriptures, when he established the paramount authority of the books of *Moses*, and introduced them in the *Samaritan*, or ancient *Phœnician* character, transcribed therein from the *Chaldee* of *Ezra's* canon.

It has been imagined, but rather without sufficient foundation, that the present *Samaritan* copy of the *Pentateuch* was first introduced at the time that *Esarhaddon* sent to the heathen colonists one of the *captive* priests to teach them *the way* (or worship) *of the God of the land*, who came and dwelt at *Bethel*, and taught them *how they should fear* THE LORD, 2 Kings xvii. 27, 28. But it is no where mentioned that he brought with him a copy of the law of *Moses*; he might have taught them by tradition; or, if otherwise, it is clear the *Samaritan* copy, now extant, was transcribed from the *Jewish* of *Ezra*; for 1. It retains all the supplemental passages attributed to that

scribe, and therefore could not have been of earlier date. 2. Many of the variations in the *Samaritan* copy are evidently occasioned by the mistake, or confounding of similar letters in the *Chaldee* character, *Beth* and *Caph*, *Daleth* and *Resh*, &c. which are unlike, and therefore in no danger of being confounded in the *Samaritan*. And 3. Some passages are wilful corruptions of *Ezra's* text, as in Deut. xxvii. 4, where, to uphold their heresy of erecting an altar upon *Gerizim*, and making it the mount of blessing, rather than *Ebal*; and after the ten commandments, in the twentieth chapter of *Exodus*, they interpolated an additional precept from the eleventh and twenty-seventh chapters of Deuteronomy, for erecting the altar in Mount *Gerizim* instead of Mount *Ebal*, and offering sacrifices to God thereon. Still, however, a *Samaritan* copy, even so early as the time of *Manasses*, is highly valuable, as furnishing several important various readings, which are a considerable improvement upon the present *Masorete* text; such as Gen. iv. 8, Exod. xii. 40, &c. noticed before; and a confirmation of the prolongation of the patriarchal generations, from the flood to *Abraham*, adopted in this work. See Vol. I. p. 282, &c.

The second point of difference between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, was, and still is, their rejection of all *traditions*, strictly adhering to the *written law*. Hence they were better disposed for the reception of THE GOSPEL than the *Jews*, who often “made the law of none effect, or transgressed it by their *traditions*,” “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,” Matt. xv. 3—9; and, accordingly, the spiritual “harvest” of the Gospel, “ripened” much sooner among them than among the *Jews*, John iv. 35—42.

The belief of the *resurrection* of the dead, and of a *future state* of retribution, prevailed among the *Samaritans* as well as the *Jews*. And this furnishes a popular refutation of Bishop *Warburton's* paradox, that “*Moses* stands single amongst ancient and modern legislators, in teaching a religion without the sanction, or so much as the mention, of a future state of rewards and punishments:” for, not to insist on the *internal evidence* to the contrary, already adduced in the foregoing part of this volume, we may reasonably ask, *Whence then did the Samaritans derive this doctrine, if not from the religion of Moses?*

The death of *Alexander* the Great, B.C. 324, in the midst of his prosperity and of his excesses, during his ominous attempt

to rebuild the temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which had been devoted to destruction, never to be rebuilt, by the sure word of prophecy, was calamitous to the *Jewish* nation. For, amidst the contests that prevailed among *Alexander's* successors, each striving for the mastery, and celebrating his death, as he himself foretold, with funeral games the most bloody; "*evils were multiplied in the earth,*" 1 Mac. i. 9; and the *Jews*, from their intermediate situation, lying between the two powerful kingdoms of *Syria northward*, and *Egypt southward*, were alternately harassed by both*. "They resembled a ship tossed by a hurricane, and buffeted on both sides by the waves, while they lay in the midst of contending seas," according to the imagery of *Josephus*, Ant. XII. 3, 3.

At the first partition among the generals, after *Alexander's* death, the provinces of *Cœle Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, were allotted to *Laomedon*, as governor, and confirmed to him by a second. But *Ptolemy Lagus*, the natural brother of *Alexander* the Great, and governor of *Egypt*, soon wrested them from him, and besieged *Jerusalem*, which adhered to *Laomedon*, with a great army, and taking advantage of the Sabbath-day, stormed it, without any resistance from the inhabitants, B.C. 322. He treated them at first with great severity, and carried away a hundred thousand captives to *Egypt*, and, according to *Appian*, demolished their walls. But afterwards, wishing to attach a people so faithful to their governors, and so important as a barrier on his northern frontier, he restored all their former privileges under *Alexander*, entrusted to them the garrisoning of the most important fortresses of *Egypt*, *Judea*, and *Samaria*, and gave great encouragement to the *Jews* to settle in his new capital of *Alexandria*, by a wise and liberal policy. He also extended his conquests to *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Libya*, and *Ethiopia*, and became great.

But *Seleucus*, the governor of *Babylon* and of the eastern provinces, was greater; for, first he conquered *Antigonus*, and seized his provinces of *Syria* and *Asia Minor*; and at last he conquered *Lysimachus*, governor of *Thrace*, who had before annexed *Macedon* to his dominions. Thus *Seleucus*, surnamed *Nicator*, "conqueror," united three of the four kingdoms into which *Alexander's* empire was split; and was reckoned by *Ap-*

* See the Tables of *Egyptian* and *Syrian* kings, Vol. I. p. 164 and 175.

pian, "the greatest king after *Alexander*." And so *Daniel* represents him :

"And the king of the south, [*Ptolemy*,] shall be strong; but one of his [*Alexander's*] princes, shall be strong above him, and have dominion : his dominion shall be a great dominion," Dan. xi. 5.

Ptolemy retained the possession of *Judea*, until the ambitious and turbulent *Antigonus* wrested it from him in turn, B.C. 312. But after the decisive battle of *Issus*, B.C. 302, in which *Antigonus* was defeated and slain, by the confederate forces of *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, *Ptolemy* quietly recovered and retained this important province, and by the wisdom of his government, he promoted the prosperity of the *Jews*, and gained their affection. The reign of *Ptolemy* is dated in the Canon, B.C. 305. For he did not assume the title of king, until after the extinction of "*Alexander's* posterity," by the murder of his natural son, *Hercules*, the year before; when the other generals also "put on crowns," 1 Mac. i. 9.

Judea was happy during his reign, in an excellent and patriotic high-priest, *Simon*, surnamed *the Just*. He repaired and fortified the city and the temple, with strong and lofty walls, and made a spacious cistern, or reservoir of water, "in compass like a sea," as we learn from his beautiful eulogy, the last in the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, l. 1—24. But his greatest and most important work, was the completion of the Canon of the Old Testament, by the addition of the books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Chronicles*, *Esther*, and the prophecies of *Malachi*. He was the last president of the great council, or *sanhedrim*, among the high-priests; and was succeeded in that office by *Antigonus Sochaus*, a man of great learning and consummate piety. His doctrines, however, were too refined and spiritualized for ordinary apprehensions; he held that God was to be served, wholly from disinterested motives of pure love and reverence, founded on the contemplation of his infinite perfections, uninfluenced by the sordid expectation of reward, or servile fear of punishment. Hence they were either misunderstood, or perverted by his followers; of whom was *Sadok*, the founder of the atheistical sect of the *Sadducees*, who ultimately denied a *resurrection*, or future state of rewards and punishments; contending that there was neither *angel* nor *spirit*, but that death was an eternal sleep, Matt. xxii. 23; Acts xxiii. 8. This pernicious sect prevailed

principally among the rulers, the rich, and noble, and even among several of the priests. They agreed with the *Samaritans* in receiving only the books of *Moses* as canonical, and in rejecting the traditions of the elders; and were the most violent persecutors of the *Christians* after our Lord's resurrection, Acts xxiii. 6.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, who succeeded his father *Lagus*, B.C. 285, was a great encourager of learning, and patron of learned men. Under his auspices was executed that excellent translation of the Old Testament into Greek, called the *Septuagint*, from the seventy or seventy-two interpreters, said to have been employed therein. At this time *Eleazer*, the son of *Simon the Just*, was high-priest, who furnished the king with a correct copy of the Hebrew Scriptures. *Usher* dates this translation, B.C. 278. At first, it is probable that only the Version of the *Pentateuch* was completed, and at the same time, perhaps, of the *Psalms* and *Proverbs*; for these three are much more correct, and written in a purer style than the rest; the whole, however, was finished not long after.

Seleucus Nicator survived his victory over *Lysimachus* only seven months, when he was treacherously slain, B.C. 280, by *Ptolemy Keraunus*, the younger brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, who was then a refugee at the court of *Seleucus*, and had been most kindly received by him. He was succeeded in his eastern dominions by *Antiochus Soter*, his son, to whom he resigned his favourite queen, *Stratonice*, because the prince was passionately in love with her. From this incestuous marriage, sprung all the kings of *Syria*, who so tyrannically oppressed the *Jewish* nation.

Antiochus Soter was succeeded by his son *Antiochus Theus*, B.C. 261, who carried on a long war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; and at length concluded a peace with him, on the condition of divorcing his wife and sister, *Laodice*, and disinheriting her two sons, and marrying *Berenice*, the daughter of *Philadelphus*, on whose issue he agreed to settle the crown of *Syria*, B.C. 252. But *Philadelphus* dying in B.C. 247, he took back his former wife, *Laodice*; who, fearing his fickleness, poisoned him, and set her son, *Seleucus Callinicus*, upon the throne, B.C. 246. *Callinicus*, in the beginning of his reign, at the instigation of his mother, seized *Berenice* in the asylum of *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, and slew her, with her young son,

and many of her attendants. Whereupon *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, slew *Laodice* in return, made war upon *Callinicus*, took from him *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and several of his eastern provinces, and carried back into *Egypt* 40,000 talents of silver, and 2500 images of gods, among which were the gods of *Egypt*, carried away by *Cambyses**; and survived *Callinicus* four years. Which is thus described in

DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

“*And at the end of [several] years, they, [the kings of the south and north,] shall connect themselves together [by marriage:] for [Berenice,] the king's daughter of the south, shall come to the king of the north, to make an agreement. But she shall not retain the power of the arm, [or her interest with Antiochus; who, after some time, brought back his former wife, Laodice, and her children, to court:] Neither shall he, [Antiochus,] stand, nor his arm; [for he was poisoned;] and she, [Berenice,] shall be given up, and they that brought her, [her Egyptian attendants,] and he whom she brought forth, [her young son,] and he that strengthened her in those times. [Her father, Philadelphus, who died shortly before.]*

“*But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate, [her brother Euergetes,] who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortresses, [or the fenced cities,] of the king of the north, and shall act against them, and prevail: and shall carry captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes and precious vessels of gold and silver. And he shall continue some years after the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into the kingdom [of the north,] and shall return into his own land [of Egypt,]” Dan. xi. 6—9.*

During the reign of *Euergetes*, *Onias*, the high priest of the *Jews*, the son of *Eleazer*, who succeeded *Manasses* the son of *Juddua*, by his sordid avarice, and embezzlement of the tribute of twenty talents of silver, usually paid to the *Egyptians*, so provoked the king that he threatened to confiscate the lands of *Judea*, and sent a colony of soldiers to occupy them. But fortunately for the whole nation, he was appeased by the policy and address of *Joseph*, the high priest's nephew; who gene-

* For this restoration of their gods, the idolatrous *Egyptians* gave him the title of *Euergetes*, “benefactor.”

rously borrowed the money upon his own credit, paid the tribute, and so ingratiated himself at the *Egyptian* court, that he obtained the lucrative post of farming the king's revenues in the provinces of *Cœle Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*.

In *Syria*, *Seleucus Keraunus*, inheriting the remains of his father's kingdom, B.C. 225, and thinking to recover the rest, raised a great army against the revolted king of *Pergamus*; but was poisoned by two of his generals, after a short reign of two years. His brother and successor, *Antiochus Magnus*, B.C. 223, carrying on the war, recovered almost all *Asia Minor*, *Media*, *Persia*, and *Babylonia*. In the third year of his reign he invaded and recovered great part of *Cœle Syria*; and the next year returning to invade *Phœnicia*, he beat the army of *Ptolemy Philopator*, who in B.C. 222, had succeeded his father *Euergetes* in *Egypt*. He then invaded *Palestine*, and the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*; and the third year returned with an army of 78,000 men; but *Ptolemy* coming out of *Egypt* with an army of 75,000, fought and routed him at *Raphia*, near *Gaza*, between *Palestine* and *Egypt*, and recovered all *Phœnicia* and *Cœle Syria*. These wars are thus described in

DANIEL'S NEXT PROPHECY.

“*But his sons*, [*Seleucus Keraunus* and *Antiochus Magnus*, the sons of *Callinicus*,] *shall be stirred up, and shall gather a great army. And one* [of them, *Antiochus Magnus*,] *shall come effectually, and overflow* [*Cœlesyria*,] *and pass through. Then shall he return*, [the next year,] *and be stirred up*, [marching even] *to his fortresses*, [the frontier towns of *Egypt*.] *And the king of the south*, [*Ptolemy*,] *shall be moved with choler, and come forth*, [the third year,] *and fight with him, even with the king of the north*, [*Antiochus*;] *and he*, [*Antiochus*,] *shall lead forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his* [*Ptolemy's*] *hand* [at the battle of *Raphia*,”] Dan. xi. 10, 11.

After this decisive victory, *Ptolemy* made an imprudent peace with *Antiochus*, whom he might have dispossessed of his dominions, if he had pursued his success. He then visited the cities of *Cœle Syria* and *Palestine*, which had submitted to him, and among the rest in his progress, *Jerusalem*. Here he offered sacrifices in the temple, and was desirous of entering into the

sanctuary, being *greatly lifted up by pride and presumption* *. When *Simon II*, at that time high priest, remonstrated that it was unlawful even for the priests to enter the inner sanctuary, he answered haughtily, that *although they were deprived of that honour, he ought not* †, and pressed forward. But while he was passing through the inner court of the temple, he was shaken “like a reed, and fell speechless on the ground,” either by the terrors of the Lord, or by his own superstitious fears; and was carried off from the temple half dead; and departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the *Jews*. At his return, therefore, to *Alexandria*, he began a cruel and impolitic persecution against the *Jewish* inhabitants, B.C. 216, in which, according to *Eusebius*, 40,000 *Jews* were slain, or 60,000 according to *Jerom*. These proceedings are thus foretold in

DANIEL'S ENSUING PROPHECY.

“*And the multitude being taken away [of the Syrians,] his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many myriads [of his own subjects;] but he shall not be strengthened by it; for the king of the north shall return,*” &c. Dan. xi. 12, 13.

About twelve years after the battle of *Raphia*, *Ptolemy Philopator* died, B.C. 205, a monster of cruelty and profligacy of every kind. He is accused, by some historians, of having murdered his father, his mother, and his brother; he killed his high-minded wife and sister, *Arsinoe*, who had shared with him the dangers of the battle; he gave himself up to the harlot *Agathoclea* and her brother his minion; and his death was followed by the massacre of all his unworthy favourites. He left his crown to his son, *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. Thereupon *Antiochus Magnus*, confederated with *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, to invade and divide between them the dominions of *Epiphanes*. Hence arose a various warfare between *Antiochus* and the generals of the Egyptians; each of them, seizing, in turn, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle Syria*, whereby these countries were much afflicted by both parties. First *Antiochus* reduced them, B.C. 203, the *Jews* willingly submitting

* Ὑβρεὶ καὶ θρασεὶ μεγάλως ἐπηρμενον, 3 Mac. ii. 21. N.B. The third and fourth books of *Maccabees* in Greek, are to be found in the *Alexandrine* Septuagint Version.

† Ἐι ἐκεῖνοι ἐστηρηγνται ταυτης της τιμης, ἐμε οὐ δεῖ, *ibid*.

to him ; but *Scopas*, the Egyptian general, recovered them in B.C. 199, who was odious for his rapacity. Next year, B.C. 198, *Antiochus* fought and routed *Scopas*, near the fountains of *Jordan*, besieged him in *Sidon*, took the city, and easily recovered *Syria* and all *Palestine* from *Egypt*. And in order to attach the *Jews* to his interest, who were now hostile to the *Egyptians*, he published an edict prohibiting all strangers from entering the temple of *Jerusalem* ; and he colonized *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and other districts of doubtful fidelity, with *Jews* from *Babylonia* as well as *Palestine* ; and frequently reinforced their colonies. A circumstance which accounts for the great numbers of *Jews* scattered throughout those countries at the preaching of the gospel, 1 Pet. i. 1, James i. 1.

The defeat of his ally, *Philip* of *Macedon*, at the battle of *Cynocephalæ*, next year, B.C. 197, by the *Romans*, to whom he imprudently gave no support ; and his apprehensions of that republic, now growing formidable to the east, induced him to temporize with the *Egyptians*, and to offer his beautiful daughter, *Cleopatra*, in marriage to the young king, *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, when he should become of age ; promising, as her dower, to restore the provinces of *Cœle Syria* and *Palestine*, which he had wrested from *Egypt*. She was then betrothed to him, and the marriage took place at *Raphia*, when he was eighteen, B.C. 192. But *Antiochus* still kept possession of the provinces to be ceded *, and endeavoured to corrupt his daughter to betray her husband's interests. But he was disappointed. She was more attached to *Ptolemy* than to her father ; and being probably dissatisfied at his breach of promise, she joined her husband in an embassy to *Rome*, next year, to congratulate the *Romans* on driving *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, and to assure the senate of the readiness of the king and queen of *Egypt* to obey their directions.

For *Antiochus* having, as he imagined, secured peace with *Egypt* by this marriage, imprudently embarked in a war with the *Romans*, invading their allies, instead of directly invading

* *Jerom* and *Appian* say that *Antiochus* surrendered these provinces ; and *Josephus* appears to concur with them, intimating that their revenues were paid to the king of *Egypt*, Ant. XII. 4, 1. But *Po'ybius* denies it ; and they were certainly in the possession of the sons of *Antiochus*, namely, *Seleucus Philopator*, 2 Mac. iii. 3, and *Antiochus Epiphanes*, 2 Mac. iv. 7, the great persecutor of the *Jews*, who received tribute from them, 1 Mac. i. 29.

Italy itself, and carrying the war into their own country, according to the sage advice of *Hannibal*. With a formidable fleet he subdued most of the maritime towns of *Asia Minor*, *Thrace*, and *Greece*, and several of the islands, *Samos*, *Eubœa*; thus strengthening their attachment to the *Romans*; who by an artful and refined policy, had proclaimed liberty to all the cities and states of *Greece*, B.C. 196, in order to detach them from *Philip* of *Macedon*, and to break the power of the *Achean* league; and thereby had rendered themselves highly popular.

The *Romans*, therefore, readily espousing the cause of their allies, and *Philip* cordially concurring, *Acilius*, the *Roman* consul, defeated *Antiochus* at the straits of *Thermopylæ*, and drove him out of *Greece*; and soon after, *Livius* and *Æmilius* defeated his fleet near *Phocœa*, B.C. 191. Next year, *Cornelius Scipio*, and his brother *Africanus*, crossing over into *Asia*, obtained a decisive victory over *Antiochus*, near the city of *Magnesia*, principally by the assistance of *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamos*, B.C. 190. From *Antioch*, the fortified capital of *Syria*, to which *Antiochus* fled after the battle, he was forced to sue for peace; which was granted to him by the conquerors, upon the most humiliating conditions. 1. That he should surrender all *Asia Minor*, westwards of Mount *Taurus*, to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamos*; 2. That he should defray the whole expences of the war; 3. That he should pay an annual tribute of a thousand talents*; and 4. That he should send twenty hostages to Rome, and among them his younger son, *Antiochus*, afterwards called *Epiphanes*, as pledges for the performance of these conditions.

After this, *Antiochus* retired to the eastern provinces that still remained to him, where he endeavoured to collect the arrears of tribute due to him, in order to defray his heavy engagements to the *Romans*. There he was slain two years after, in a sacrilegious attempt to rob the rich temple of *Jupiter Belus*, at *Elymais* in *Persia*, by the natives. These transactions of his reign are thus foretold in

DANIEL'S CONTINUATION.

“ For [*Antiochus*,] the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former; and shall

* The writer of the second book of *Maccabees* says, two thousand talents, viii. 8. But this might have included an arrear due at that time.

certainly come after certain years, [twelve,] with a great army, and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south, [particularly the Macedonians.] Also the sons of the revolters of thy people, [the Jews, Samaritans, &c.] shall exalt themselves, [or affect independence,] to establish the vision, [or bring on the predicted calamities,] but they shall fall [by Scopas.] So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and the arms of the south [Scopas, &c.] shall not withstand; but he, [Antiochus,] that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him. And he shall stand in the glorious land, [Judea,] which shall be perfected, [or prosper] in his hand.

“He shall also set his face to go with the strength of all his kingdom [to Raphia,] and make an agreement [or treaty] with him, [Ptolemy,] and shall give him [in marriage his] daughter [Cleopatra, the fairest] of women, corrupting her; but she shall neither stand on his side, nor be for him, [but for her husband.]

“And after this he shall turn his face to the isles, [westward,] and shall take many. But a [Roman] prince, for his own behalf, [and to support his allies,] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease: without his own reproach, he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land, [Antioch, in his flight eastward:] but he shall stumble, and fall at [Elymais,] and not be found,” Dan. xi. 13—19.

Antiochus was succeeded by his eldest son, *Seleucus Philopator*, B.C. 187, during the pontificate of *Onias III*. “when the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of *Onias* the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness.”—“And *Seleucus* himself, out of his own revenues, bore all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices,” 2 Mac. iii. 1—3. But upon the information of *Simon*, who was made governor of the temple, and had quarrelled with *Onias*, that the treasury of *Jerusalem* was exceedingly rich, and abundantly more than sufficient to supply the sacrifices; the king, who was straitened for money to raise the *Roman* tribute, sent his treasurer, *Heliodorus*, to seize and bring him the money. This sacrilegious attempt, however, failed; for *Heliodorus* was encountered by a celestial apparition, scourged severely by two angels, and carried off speechless by his guard for dead,

until restored by the prayers of *Onias*, iii. 4—40. *Josephus* repeats the same, but attributes it to *Apollodorus*, governor of *Cœle Syria and Phœnicia*. De Maccab. § iv. p. 1395.

Seleucus was inclined to shake off the *Roman* yoke, but had not courage to attempt it. He was indeed no more than a tax-gatherer for them, during the twelve years of his reign; when he was murdered by his ambitious and wicked treasurer, *Heliodorus*, who usurped the kingdom.

These circumstances are thus foretold by *Daniel*.

“Then shall [*Philopator*] stand up in his estate, a raiser of taxes, in the glory of the kingdom. But within a few days, [or years,] he shall be destroyed; neither in anger, nor in battle, [but by domestic treason.]”

At the time of his death, his younger brother, *Antiochus*, who had been exchanged as a hostage, for his son *Demetrius*, at *Rome*, was then on his way home at *Athens*; and had sufficient address to ingratiate himself so with *Eumenes*, as to prevail on him to expel the usurper, and place him on the throne; and with the *Syrians* and *Romans*, to suffer him to reign in exclusion of the rightful heir, young *Demetrius*. On his accession, B.C. 175*, he was styled *Epiphanes*, “illustrious,” by the usual adulation of the *Syrians*; but from the wild and disgraceful freaks and excesses into which he ran, joined to the utmost profusion and extravagance, to support his interest with his subjects, and the *Romans*, he was nicknamed *Epimanes*, “the madman;” in greater conformity with his scriptural titles of “a vile person,” and “a wicked root.” With the history of his persecution of the *Jews*, the books of the *Maccabees* properly commence, 1 Mac. i. 10, 2 Mac. iv. 7.

The first act of his reign was the deposal of the worthy *Onias* III. whose sacred office he sold for 440 talents of silver, to his younger brother, the unprincipled *Jesus*, who assumed a Greek name, *Jason*; who gave him 150 more, for licence to erect a place of exercise at *Jerusalem*, for the youth of the city, according to the heathenish customs of the *Greeks*. *Jason*, however, did not long enjoy his ill-gotten dignity; three years after, he was supplanted, in turn, by his younger brother, *Onias* IV. or, by his Greek name, *Menelaus*, who gave the king three hundred talents more for the high priesthood than *Jason* had given;

* “In the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*,” or era of *Seleucidæ*, 1 Mac. i. 10.

and *Jason* was compelled to fly into the country of the *Ammonites*; mean while, the wickeder *Menelaus* stole some golden vessels out of the temple, and sold them at *Tyre* and the neighbouring cities; and when reproved by his brother, the exiled *Onias*, he prevailed on *Andronicus*, the king's deputy at *Antioch*, to murder him: for which *Andronicus* was justly slain on the same spot, by the king. *Josephus* omits these circumstances of the sale of the pontificate; but from the character of all the parties concerned, they are highly credible.

Upon the accession of his young nephew, *Ptolemy Philometor*, to the throne of *Egypt*, which took place after the death of his mother and guardian, *Cleopatra*, in B.C. 172, he sent ambassadors to *Alexandria* to assist at the coronation; and there discovered that the ministers of the young king meant to renew their master's claim to the provinces of *Cœle Syria*, in right of the original partition treaty, in the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, and of his mother's dower.

Antiochus denied the claim, and despising the youth of *Ptolemy*, repeatedly invaded *Egypt*. In his first expedition, B.C. 171, he, on his way, was bribed to acquit the infamous *Menelaus* of a charge brought against him by the *Jews*, of robbing the temple of many of the golden vessels, 2 Macc. iv. 39—50, and afterwards gained a victory over the Egyptians at *Pelusium*. Next year, B.C. 170, he not only completely defeated the *Egyptian* army, but took *Philometor* prisoner, and subdued the whole country, except the capital, *Alexandria*. While he was thus employed, on a rumour of his death, *Jason*, with a party, surprized the city of *Jerusalem*, massacred the citizens, drove *Menelaus*, his brother, into the castle, and possessed himself of the principality. But he was soon expelled a second time, and perished miserably at length, a refugee in the strange land of *Lacedæmonia*. *Antiochus*, thinking mean while, that *Judea* had revolted, returned in great wrath from *Egypt*, took the city by assault, destroyed fourscore thousand persons, during a massacre of three days, plundered the temple of all its treasures, vessels, and golden ornaments, and carried away eighteen hundred talents to *Antioch*, 1 Mac. i. 20—28, 2 Mac. v. 1—23.

In his third expedition to *Egypt*, B.C. 169, he laid siege to *Alexandria*, where the *Egyptians* had proclaimed the younger brother of *Philometor* king, under the name of *Euergetes* II, nicknamed afterwards *Physcon*, from his corpulency. In oppo-

sition to whom, *Antiochus* left *Philometor* at *Memphis*, as titular sovereign, and also a strong garrison in *Pelusium*, the key of *Egypt*. But the brothers came to a mutual good understanding, united against their unnatural uncle, and sent an embassy to *Rome*, imploring protection. This brought on a fourth invasion, B.C. 168; but when *Antiochus* was within four miles of *Alexandria*, he was met at *Eleusis* by the *Roman* ambassadors, at the head of whom was *Popilius Lænas*, with whom he had been acquainted during a residence of thirteen years at *Rome*. Rejoiced to see him, *Antiochus* stretched out his arms to embrace him, but the *Roman* rejecting his salute, first sternly demanded an answer to the written orders of the senate, which he presented. The king declaring that he would deliberate on their contents with his friends; *Popilius* traced a circle round the king on the sand, with his rod; saying “*I require your answer before you quit this circle;*” then *Antiochus*, with a faltering accent, replied, “*I will obey the senate;*” and immediately withdrew his army from *Egypt*. Such was the terror inspired by these haughty republicans of “*fierce countenance;*” as they were characterized by the prophets, *Moses*, *Isaiah*, and *Daniel*. But this was after the conquest of *Macedon* that same year.

Upon this disgraceful repulse, while he was marching homeward, he sent *Apollonius* his general, with twenty-two thousand men, to vent his fury upon the unfortunate inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who had been groaning for two years under the complicated tyranny and rapacity of *Philip*, the *Phrygian* governor, “more barbarous than his master;” and of *Menelaus* the apostate high priest, “worse than all the rest, who bore a heavy hand over the citizens, having a malicious mind against his countrymen the *Jews;*” 1 Mac. i. 29, 2 Mac. v. 22—24.

Apollonius, who was also “chief collector of tribute,” coming, in appearance, peaceably to *Jerusalem*, suddenly attacked it on the sabbath-day, slew great multitudes of men, and sold the women and children for captives; and then fortified the city of *David* on Mount Sion, for a citadel, “to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and to be an evil adversary unto *Israel;*” 1 Mac. i. 29—36, 2 Mac. v. 24—26.

To crown the extravagance of his rage, *Antiochus* now issued a decree for establishing the *Grecian* idolatry throughout his dominions, “that all should become one people, conform to his religion, worship his idols, and relinquish their own laws, and

follow the strange laws of the land, under the pain of death*.” To this decree all the heathen conformed; and many also of the *Jews* apostatized to his religion, sacrificed to idols, and profaned the sabbath. And in the course of the same ominous year, B.C. 168, about six months after the capture of the city, the temple of *Jerusalem* was dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, and by the consent of the *Samaritans*, the temple on Mount *Gerizim* to *Jupiter Xenius*, “the defender of *strangers*,” as the inhabitants now affected to consider themselves disclaiming kindred with the *Jews*; an idol, or “*the abomination of desolation*,” was set up on the altar of the Lord at *Jerusalem*, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month *Casleu*; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, sacrifices were offered upon the idol altar, built beside the altar of God; and idol altars were erected on every side, throughout the cities of *Judea*; on which the king’s commissioners enforced obedience to the edict. And an old *Athenian* minister, well versed in all the heathenish rites, was sent to *Jerusalem* to take care that they should be duly executed, 1 Mac. i. 41—59, 2 Mac. vi. 1—3.

The remarks of the sacred historian on the profanation of the temple, and on the sufferings of the *Jews*, are equally pious and judicious.

“THE LORD was angry *for a while*, on account of the sins of them that dwelt in the city; and therefore his eye was not on the [*holy*] place, [to protect it from profanation.]”—“FOR GOD did not chuse the people for the place’s sake; but the place for the people’s sake.”—“These punishments were designed, not for the *destruction*, but for the *chastening of our nation*:—for it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered for *any long time* [to persist in their wickedness,] but are punished *forthwith*,” &c. 2 Mac. v. 17—19, vi. 12—17.

Antiochus commanded and superintended the most horrible tortures of the Recusants: witness the martyrdom of the venerable *Eleazar*, in his 90th year; for refusing to eat swine’s flesh, 2 Mac. vi. 18—31; witness the heroic mother and her seven

* This *general persecution* seems to have been raised, not from any regard to his own religion, but from a regular plan, and deep laid scheme of plundering the temples throughout his dominions, after he had suppressed their worship. For the temples were not only enriched by the offerings of the votaries, but from their sanctity were the great *banks of deposit*, and grand *magazines of commerce*. *Gillies’s History of the World*, Vol. II. p. 46.

sons, who nobly set the tyrant at defiance, and professed their faith and hope that "THE KING OF THE WORLD *would raise them up who died for his laws, to everlasting life;*" and threatened their tormentor, that "*he should have no resurrection to life, but receive just punishment for his pride, through the judgment of God,*" chap. vii.

When this dreadful persecution had raged about half a year, God raised up a deliverance for his people in the noble family of the *Asamoneans*, *Mattathias* and his sons. He was the son of *John*, the son of *Simeon*, the son of *Asamoneus*, 1 Mac. ii. 1, Joseph. Ant. XII. 6, 1; and a priest of the course of *Joarib*, the first of the twenty-four courses appointed by *David*, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, descended from *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar*, the elder branch of *Aaron's* family, 1 Mac. ii. 54, whose five sons were *Johanan*, *Simon*, *Judas* called *Maccabeus*, *Eleazar*, and *Jonathan*. He was also "a ruler, and an honourable and great man in the city of *Modin*; and strengthened with sons and brethren." *Modin* was a town near the sea side, 1 Mac. xiii. 26, about four miles from *Diospolis*, or *Lydda*, and a mile from *Joppa*, or *Jaffa*. Wells.

Apelles, the commissioner of *Antiochus*, having attempted to carry into execution the royal edict at *Modin*, endeavoured to persuade *Mattathias*, as a person of the first distinction and consequence there, to set the example; but he undauntedly refused, and said aloud, "*Though all the nations under the king's dominion hearken unto him, to apostatize every one from the religion of their fathers, and consent to his commandments; yet will I, and my sons, and my brethren, walk in the covenant of our fathers. God forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words to transgress our religion, on the right hand or on the left;*" and animated with the zeal of his ancestor *Phineas*, in the *Midianite* fornication and idolatry, Numb. xxv. 7, 8, he slew an apostate *Jew*, who was going to offer sacrifice on the idol altar; and killed the commissioner himself, who compelled men to sacrifice, and pulled down the altar, and proclaimed throughout the city, "*Whosoever is zealous for the law, and a maintainer of the covenant, let him follow me.*" Then he and his sons fled to the mountains, (only *ten* persons in all,) and forsook all that they had in the city, 1 Mac. ii. 15—28, 2 Mac. v. 27. Joseph. Ant. XII. 6, 2.

To quell this insurrection, when many of the inhabitants had left the city, with their wives, children, and cattle, to dwell in the wilderness, the *Syrian* garrison at *Jerusalem* pursued them, and destroyed them all on the sabbath day, to the number of a thousand persons, without any resistance on their part; from a scrupulous adherence to the law of the sabbath, 1 Mac. ii. 29—38.

Whereupon *Mattathias* and his small party, agreed to fight in their own defence on the sabbath day, that they might not be exterminated; and being joined by a gallant band of *Assideans*, or “volunteers, wholly devoted to the law,” and by others that fled from persecution, they went, (chiefly by night,) throughout the country, and pulled down the altars, and pursued the proud persecutors; and the work prospered in their hand, till the death of *Mattathias*, B.C. 167, who recommended his second son *Simon*, to be their counsellor, and the valiant *Judas*, his third, to be their captain*, 1 Mac. ii. 49—70. *Judas*, most probably, derived his surname, *Maccabeus*, from a cabalistical word, formed of M. C. B. I. the initial letters of the Hebrew text, *Mi Chamoka Belim Iahoh*, “*Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord?*” Exod. xv. 11, which letters might have been displayed on his sacred standard; as on the *Roman* ensigns, S. P. Q. R. *Senatus populus que Romanus*.

ASAMONEAN PRINCES.

JUDAS MACCABEUS.

This valiant chieftain, with his noble brothers, maintained a *religious war* for twenty-six years, from the time of the insurrection of *Modin*, with five successive kings of *Syria*; destroyed above two hundred thousand of their best troops, and finally established the independence of their own country, and the aggrandizement of their family. Such a triumph of a petty province over a great empire, is scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of history. But **THE LORD fought for Israel**, while they were re-

* In the year B.C. 167, the insurrection began to be embodied by the appointment of a chief, *Judas Maccabeus*, round whose standard the insurgents could rally; but it was not until the death of the high priest, *Menelaus*, and the appointment of *Judas* to be governor, by *Antiochus Eupator*, B.C. 163, that the *Asamonean dynasty* began.

ligious and virtuous, and put their whole trust in Him; and the inflexible spirit of the *Jewish* nation has ever grown more rigid under persecution, and their zeal waxed hotter in the furnace of adversity.

The first enterprize of *Judas*, B.C. 167, and his small but resolute band, was against “*Apollonius* that detestable ring-leader,” in massacring the citizens of *Jerusalem*, whom he defeated, though at the head of a great host, and slew, and took his sword, like that of another *Goliath*, slain by *David*, with which he afterwards fought all his life long, 1 Mac. iii. 10—12.

His next was the defeat of *Seron*, a *Syrian* general, and a mighty host of Græcising *Jews* and apostate *Samaritans*, with a small company, whom he encouraged in the language of *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*; “*With THE GOD OF HEAVEN it is all one to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company,*” &c. 1 Mac. iii. 13—24.

The king of *Syria*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, filled with indignation at the successes of *Judas Maccabeus*, whose fame had spread through all the neighbouring nations; while he went himself into the eastern provinces to recruit his exhausted finances, appointed his kinsman *Lysias*, regent of all the western provinces, from *Euphrates* to *Egypt*, and commissioned him to raise and march an army to extirpate the *Jews*, and to plant a colony of strangers in their room.

Lysias, therefore, the next year, B.C. 166, sent a great army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, under *Nicanor* and *Gorgias*, an experienced general, to invade *Judea*; and so confident were they of victory, that *Nicanor* proclaimed a sale of the captive *Jews* beforehand, at the rate of ninety for a talent, or about two pounds sterling a head, which drew a thousand merchants from the sea coast of the *Syrian* camp at *Emmaus*, near *Jerusalem*, to make a cheap purchase of slaves. In this imminent peril, *Judas* and his party assembled at *Maspeh*, or *Mizpeh*, where they fasted and prayed at that sacred place of national congress, in time of old, and afterwards, *Judas*, in obedience to the law, Deut. xx. 5, dismissed all such of his men, as in the course of the passing year had built houses, betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful; which reduced his little army from six thousand to three thousand men, 1 Mac. iii. 27—57, 2 Mac. viii. 1—16.

Gorgias, with a chosen party of troops, 5000 foot, and 1000

horse, marched by night to surprize the army of *Judas*; but the *Jewish* general being apprized of his design, left his camp, and marched to attack, separately, *Nicanor* in the morning; routed his army, and slew three thousand of them, and set fire to their tents; and then quitting the pursuit and the spoil, returned to attack *Gorgias* and his party; who fled at the sight of the smoke of their tents, and the appearance of the conquerors drawn up in battle array; after which the *Jews* spoiled their camp, and got great riches, and seized all the money brought by the slave merchants. *Nicanor*, after his defeat, fled in disguise to *Antioch*, declaring that “*the Jews* had *GOD* to fight for them; and that they could not be hurt, because they followed the laws which he gave them,” 1 Mac. iv. 1—25, 2 Mac. viii. 21—36.

Immediately after, the *Jews* defeated another *Syrian* army under *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, and slew above twenty-thousand men, reduced several strong holds, and charitably divided the united spoils with the *maimed*, the *orphans*, the *widows*, and the *aged*, 2 Mac. viii. 28—30.

Next year, B.C. 165, *Lysias* assembled a greater army of sixty thousand choice foot, and five thousand horse, and marched himself at their head, to invade *Judea* on the eastern side; and entered *Idumea*, which was now confined to the region westward of the *Asphaltite* lake, which formerly had belonged to the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, but after the captivity, when it lay desolate, had been occupied by the *Edomites*, from *Arabia Petraea* (the ancient *Idumaea*) who made *Hebron* their capital city, and rebuilt the strong fortress of *Bethsura*, on their frontier, originally built by *Rehoboam*, 2 Chron. xi. 7. At this advantageous post *Lysias* encamped, and was encountered by *Judas* with only ten thousand men, who gained a most signal victory, killing five thousand on the spot, and putting the rest to flight. Observing that the *Jews* fought like men determined to conquer or die, *Lysias* did not venture to renew the engagement with his disheartened troops, though still much exceeding the *Jews* in number, but retired to *Antioch*, designing to bring a much greater army next year, 1 Mac. iv. 28—35.

Judas, availing himself of this respite from war, marched with his army to *Jerusalem*, which he recovered; he purified the city and the temple from the heathen pollutions, took down the old altar which had been profaned, and laid by the stones in a convenient place of the temple mount, *until there should come a*

prophet to shew what should be done with them, in evident expectation of the prophet like *Moses*. He then built a new altar of whole or unhewn stones; repaired and furnished the temple and sanctuary with all the sacred utensils; and on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month *Casleu*, B.C. 165, (precisely *three** years after its profanation) he restored the regular service of the temple, offered sacrifice according to the law, on the new altar of burnt-offering, and celebrated the feast of the *new dedication* of the altar, (εγκαίνισμον.) And this was “the feast of *new dedication*” (εγκαίνια) “*in winter*,” or about the winter solstice, which *OUR LORD*, the *true prophet like Moses*, attended, John x. 22, the time exactly corresponding. It could not be the feast of dedication of *Solomon’s* temple, which was celebrated in the seventh month, about Autumn, 1 Kings viii. 2, 2 Chron. v. 3, nor of *Zerubbabel’s* temple, in the last month *Adar*, about the beginning of Spring, Ezra vi. 15, 1 Mac. iv. 36—59.

To secure the temple service from the incursions of the *Syrian* garrison in the citadel, he fortified the temple mount (now called *Sion*) with high walls and towers, and set a garrison therein; and he also fortified *Bethsura* on the frontier, to be a defence against *Idumea*, lying nearly midway between *Jerusalem* and *Hebron*, 1 Mac. iv. 60, 61.

During this disastrous war which he had kindled in the west, *Antiochus Epiphanes* was not more successful in the east. Like *Antiochus*, his father, he attempted to plunder the rich temple at *Elymais*, in *Persia*, and was repulsed and wounded, and, according to *Jerom*, slain in the attempt; but according to the *Maccabees*, he lingered for some time with a loathsome and incurable disease, confessing that he was smitten by the hand of God, as a judgment for his plunder and profanation of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and his persecution of the *Jews*. He died in the beginning of the year, B.C. 164, soon after the foregoing transactions, 1 Mac. vi. 1—16, 2 Mac. ix. 1—28.

The leading occurrences of his reign are thus foretold in

DANIEL’S CONTINUATION.

“*And in his [Seleucus Philopator’s] estate shall stand up a vile person, [Antiochus Epiphanes] to whom they [the Syrians,*

* The author of the second book of *Maccabees* says, “*after two years*,” according to his later commencement of the *era of Seleucidæ*, 2 Mac. x. 3. See Vol. I. p. 175.

who set up *Heliodorus*] shall not give the honour of the kingdom. Yet he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries, [to *Eumenes*, king of *Pergamus*, the *Syrians*, and the *Romans*.] And the arms of the overflower [*Heliodorus*] shall be overflowed with a flood before him, and be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant, [the Jewish high-priest, *Onias*, deposed by him.]

“ And after the league made with him, [his nephew, *Ptolemy Philometor*, king of *Egypt*] he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong, [in *Phœnicia*] with a small people [or retinue.] And he shall enter into the quiet and plentiful cities of the province [of *Phœnicia*] and shall do that which his fathers and his fathers’ fathers have not done: [or shall outdo them in donations] he shall scatter among them [profusely] the prey, and the spoil, and the riches; [he had collected by plunder elsewhere, and from his own revenues, in order to attach the *Phœnicians* to his interest.] Yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, [of *Egypt*] even for a [convenient] season.

“ And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south, [*Ptolemy Philometor*] with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand: for they [even *Antiochus* and his counsellors] shall forecast devices against him; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, [*Ptolemy’s* tutor, *Eulæus*, and *Macron*, governor of *Cyprus*] shall [betray and] destroy him: [so that *Ptolemy* shall be taken prisoner.] And both these kings’ hearts shall be to do mischief [to each other;] and they shall speak lies at one table. [*Antiochus* shall pretend to restore the crown to *Ptolemy*, and *Ptolemy* shall pretend to oppose his brother, set up by the *Egyptians* on his captivity.] But it shall not prosper [on either side, for the war shall not cease, or come to] the end, which shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he [*Antiochus*] return into the land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant, [or the Jewish temple and religion] and he shall do [according to his will, and spoil the temple of *Jerusalem*] and return into his own land.

“ At the time appointed he shall come again towards the south [*Egypt*]; but the latter [coming] shall not be as the former. For the ships of *Chittim* [or the *Romans*] shall come

against him, [with ambassadors from Rome, commanding him to desist.] Therefore he shall be grieved, and return [towards Syria].

“And he shall have indignation against the holy covenant; so shall he do, he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant, [the apostate Menelaus, and his party, to set up the Grecian idolatry, and abolish the Jewish religion.”] Dan. xi. 21—30.

These prophecies of *Daniel*, foretelling the sufferings and persecutions of the *Jews*, from *Alexander's* successors in *Syria* and *Egypt*, till the end of the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, during a disastrous period of 160 years, are, if possible, more surprising and astonishing than even his grand prophetic period of 2300 years, and the several successions of empire, or the four temporal kingdoms, that were to precede the spiritual kingdom of God upon earth. The magnificence of the whole scheme, comprising the fortunes of all mankind, seems to be an object suitable to the OMNISCIENT GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, calculated to excite awe and admiration; but the minuteness of detail exhibited in this part, exceeds that of any existing history of those times. The prophecy is really more concise and comprehensive, and yet more circumstantial and complete, than any history. No one historian has related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time and place, as the prophet; so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, *Greek* and *Roman*, *Jewish* and *Christian*, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. And if the authors who wrote of these times were all extant, or all entire, (neither of which is the case,) we should unquestionably have still greater reason to be astonished at the consummate exactness of the prophecy. Even the infidel *Porphyry*, who had access to several sources of information, now lost, was so confounded by this exactness, that he was driven to deny the authenticity of the *prophecy* itself, declaring that it could not possibly have been written *before*, but *after*, the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. But the prophecy is so intimately connected with the preceding and following parts of the vision, which relate to the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, that it must have been written by the same hand, and therefore be esteemed equally genuine with the whole book of *Daniel*. The astonishing exactness, indeed, with which this minute prophetic detail has been

fulfilled, furnishes the strongest pledge, from *analogy*, that the remaining prophecies were, and will be, as exactly fulfilled, each in their proper season.

Antiochus Eupator, the son of *Epiphanes*, a child of nine years old, was set up as king by his guardian *Lysias*, B.C. 164. His reign was short and turbulent, and his end unfortunate. *Lysias*, at the beginning, renewed the war against the *Maccabees*, with an army of four-score thousand foot, to revenge the signal defeat of the army of *Timotheus*, who was killed with his brother *Chereas*; but he was put to flight shamefully, with the loss of eleven thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse slain in the battle. Considering, then, with himself, as a man of understanding, that *the Hebrews could not be overcome, because the ALMIGHTY GOD helped them*, he offered them peace, on condition that they would be loyal to the state: to which they agreed; and *Lysias* obtained a decree from the king, dated the same year, that they should no more be required to conform to the heathen customs and worship, but allowed to live according to their own laws; and *Menelaus*, the apostate, who had laboured to promote it, was sent back “to comfort them,” and to be reinstated in the pontificate, 2 Mac. x. 14—38, xi. 1—38.

But this peace was of short continuance. The *Jews* were again molested by the governors of the *Syrian* provinces, and by the neighbouring nations, the *Joppites*, *Jamnites*, *Arabians*, and *Idumeans*, whom *Judas* successively reduced, after a bloody warfare, the particulars of which are detailed, 2 Mac. xii. 1—37.

All this while, the citadel of *Jerusalem*, which was garrisoned by *Syrians* and renegade *Jews*, proved a great annoyance to the temple worship, and, in the absence of *Judas*, actually “shut up the *Israelites* round about the sanctuary.” *Judas*, therefore, on his return, after the defeat of *Gorgias*, the governor of *Idumea*, purposed to destroy such pestilent neighbours, and besieged them with all the people, B.C. 163; but some of the besieged, forcing their way through in a sally, went to the king, and complained of the hostility of the *Jews* to the *Syrian* government, that they persecuted its friends, had fortified the temple and *Bethsura*, and were besieging the citadel; and would soon withdraw themselves from his dominion, unless they were speedily prevented, 1 Mac. vi. 18—27.

Provoked at this intelligence, the king assembled a vast army

of a hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, and thirty-two war-elephants, and with *Lysias* marched to *Idumea*, and besieged *Bethsura*. *Judas*, therefore, quitting the citadel, advanced to attack the king's army on the way, and slew about six hundred men; and his brother *Eleazar*, in the battle, attacked, as he thought, the king's elephant, got under him, stabbed him in the belly, and was crushed to death by the fall of the huge animal upon him. Finding the *Syrian* army, however, too strong, the *Jews* desisted from the attack, and retreated; and *Bethsura* soon after surrendered for want of provisions, for it was a *sabbatical* year of rest to the land*. The *Syrians* next proceeded to *Jerusalem*, and besieged the temple fortress, which was reduced also to the last extremity by famine, and must have soon surrendered, had not *Eupator*, and his guardian *Lysias*, been recalled by a civil war at home, commenced by *Philip*, whom the late king, when dying, had appointed regent, in exclusion of *Lysias*, with whose ill success against the *Jews* he was highly dissatisfied. Whereupon, hearing of this competitor, the king and his council renewed the peace with *Judas* upon the former terms, that the *Jews* should be allowed in future to live according to their own laws; broke up the siege, but violated the treaty by demolishing the strong walls of the temple mount; and then marched to attack *Philip*, who had got possession of *Antioch*, the capital, and defeated and slew him there, 1 Mac. vi. 28—63.

On this occasion, the high-priest *Menelaus*, the author of all these mischiefs, met with his deserts. At the approach of the *Syrian* army, he had abandoned his countrymen, and encouraged the king to invade *Judea*, "with great dissimulation;" not "for the safeguard of the country," nor regard to the *Syrian* interest, as he pretended, but because he thought "to have been made governor himself," if *Judas* and his party were destroyed. But the intended mischief recoiled on his wicked head: when the peace was concluded, he was sentenced to be suffocated in ashes, and died miserably at *Berea*, while *Judas* was promoted

* This is confirmed by the *Chronology*. The first general sabbatical year, after the second division of the conquered lands by *Joshua*, began B.C. 1589, as shewn before. From this, subtracting B.C. 162, the remainder, 1427 years, gives the length of the whole period inclusively; which, divided by the sabbatical period of seven years, leaves no remainder. Therefore, the last year, B.C. 163, was itself a sabbatical year.

to be *chief governor**, from *Ptolemais* unto the *Gerrhenians*, 2 Mac. xiii. 3—24.

Jacimus, or *Alcimus*, was appointed high-priest in his room, B.C. 163, to the exclusion of the rightful successor, *Onias*, the son of the worthy *Onias*, who, at the instigation of his wicked brother *Menelaus*, had been slain at *Antioch*. Upon this disappointment, *Onias* retired in disgust to *Egypt*, where he was appointed high-priest to a temple which he built at *Heliopolis*, and which subsisted nearly as long as that at *Jerusalem*, when both were destroyed in the reign of *Vespasian*.

But *Alcimus*, for his profligacy, and attempt to revive the heathenish rites, was soon expelled by the *Jews*, 1 Mac. vii. 5.

Soon after the defeat and death of *Philip*, another and more formidable competitor sprung up, to the destruction of *Eupator* and *Lysias*. *Demetrius*, the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, and the rightful heir of the crown, had been kept as a hostage, and afterwards in an honourable captivity at *Rome*, during the reign of his uncle *Epiphanes*, and on his death, solicited the senate for leave to return to *Syria*, but that politic body, preferring a minor like *Eupator* on the throne of *Syria*, to a prince in the prime of life, of considerable talents and ambition, refused his request; whereupon *Demetrius* privily escaped from *Rome*, and landed with "a few men †," only eight friends and their servants, at *Tripolis*, in *Phœnicia*; was joined by several of his adherents, under the persuasion that he was patronised by the *Romans*, and advanced to *Antioch*, where the army declared for him, and secured *Eupator* and *Lysias*, and, as a proof of their sincerity, brought them to *Demetrius*. But he said, "let me not see their faces;" so they were slain by the army, B.C. 162, 1 Mac. vii. 1—4; 2 Mac. xiv. 1, 2.

Now when *Demetrius* was established upon the throne of his kingdom, all the wicked and ungodly men of *Israel*, the traitors and apostates, with *Alcimus* at their head, came to him, and accused *Judas* and his party of killing the king's friends, and

* From this year, B.C. 163, *Josephus* dates the accession of *Judas Maccabeus* to the principality of *Judea*; reckoning from thence to the death of *Antigonus*, the last of the dynasty, (B.C. 37,) 126 years current, *Ant.* XIV. 16, 4, or 125 years complete, *Ant.* XVII. 6, 3.

† *Demetrius* is represented, 2 Mac. xiv. 1, as "having entered the haven of *Tripolis* with a great power and navy;" but *Polybius*, the intimate friend of *Demetrius*, and the adviser of his flight from *Rome*, confirms the correcter account, 1 Mac. vii. 1.

expelling themselves; whereupon the king appointed *Alcimus* high-priest, (who was *desirous* of recovering the office,) and sent *Bacchides*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, in whom he could confide, to reinstate *Alcimus*, and take vengeance on his enemies with a great force. After in vain attempting to entrap *Judas* and his friends deceitfully, by fair professions, *Bacchides* slew sixty of the *Assideans*, who were the foremost of the children of Israel to seek peace on this occasion, and came to treat, foolishly concluding, that “ a priest of the seed of *Aaron*, *Alcimus*, who came with this army, would do them no wrong.” After this perfidious massacre, *Bacchides* committed the country to *Alcimus*, left him a force to support him, and returned to the king, 1 Mac. vii. 4—22.

But *Judas* and his party having got the upper hand, *Alcimus* was again expelled, and went a second time to *Demetrius*, bitterly complaining of *Judas* as a fomentor of war and sedition, and that as long as he lived, it was not possible that the state should be quiet. Whereupon the king sent *Nicanor* (who had been defeated before), with a great army, to destroy *Judas* and his brethren. At first, he endeavoured to entrap him by fair professions, but the wary *Jewish* general was not to be so caught, He then attacked *Judas*, but was defeated with the loss of five thousand men. *Nicanor* then waited for reinforcements from *Syria*, and when he had received them, renewed his attacks, but was defeated again, and slain, and his army so completely destroyed, that not a man out of thirty-five thousand escaped to carry the news to *Antioch* *. Thus the land obtained rest for a little while. This great victory was obtained on the thirteenth day of the month *Adar*, B.C. 160, in the beginning of the Julian year, 1 Mac. vii. 23—50; 2 Mac. xiv. 2—46; xv. 1—37.

Judas, having heard of the power, prowess, and policy of the *Romans*, how they had made extensive conquests in *Spain*, *Macedon*, and *Asia*, supported their friends, and humbled their enemies, took the opportunity of this respite to send an embassy to *Rome*, proposing an alliance with them, in order to be protected from the oppression of the *Syrians*. This, says *Josephus*,

* This is the simple account of the first book of *Maccabees*, and it is much more probable than the long detail of the second. The supposed reconciliation of *Nicanor* with *Judas*, “ that he would not willingly have *Judas* out of his sight, for he loved the man from his heart,” 2 Mac. xiv. 24, is inconsistent with his character, that he bore a deadly hate unto Israel, 1 Mac. vii. 26, and with his subsequent conduct.

was the first treaty between them and the *Romans*, who received their ambassadors graciously. The senate, according to their systematic scheme of subjugation, *readily granting liberty to those who were under foreign dominion**, that they might detach them from their rulers, and afterwards enslave them, when a fit opportunity offered. Accordingly, they made a defensive and offensive alliance with the *Jews*, and also wrote a letter to *Demetrius*, commanding him to desist from persecuting the *Jews*, and threatened him with war if he persisted. But before the ambassadors returned from *Rome*, (for “it was a very great journey,”) *Judas* was slain in a furious conflict with *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, whom *Demetrius* had sent with the flower of his army to avenge the destruction of *Nicanor* and his host. For *Judas*, with desperate resolution, at the head of eight hundred men only, the rest having deserted him, charged the *Syrian* host, defeated the right wing, and pursued them to *Azotus*; but the left wing, being unbroken, pursued him closely in turn, and, after a most obstinate engagement, slew him, and the remnant of his men fled. Then *Simon* and *Jonathan*, his brothers, having made a truce, buried his body in the family sepulchre at *Modin*, in the neighbourhood, and all *Israel* mourned for him many days, saying, *How is the valiant fallen that delivered Israel!* 1 Macc. viii. 1—32; ix. 1—21.

Judas Maccabeus has been censured, as having taken a very improper step in courting the protection of the *Romans*, who were idolaters; a measure which was attended with fatal consequences to himself and his nation; for in consequence of this distrust in THE LORD, who had hitherto so wonderfully protected him and his men, he was left to fight his own battle with disheartened troops; THE LORD withholding the aid he expected from his new allies, which was altogether unnecessary while THE LORD fought for *Israel*. See Mrs. *Trimmer's* Sacred History, Vol. IV. p. 352—355.

In vindication, however, of this heroic patriot, we may observe that he had devoted his life to the service of his country, according to his father's dying advice, “*Be zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers,*” 1 Mac. ii. 50.

* This is the reflection of *Justin*: A *Demetrio cum defecissent Judæi, amicitia Romanorum petitâ, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt: facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus*, Lib. XXXVI. cap. 3.

And there were strong reasons for him to think that the time was now come for this sacrifice of himself:—1. His principal friends and steadiest supporters heretofore, the *Assideans*, had betrayed symptoms of disaffection, and were the foremost to seek peace with *Bacchides*, and to receive *Alcimus* as high-priest, whose enmity to him was notorious. 2. Immediately before the last battle, he was basely deserted by a great majority of his army of three thousand *chosen* men, who, if they had remained, would probably have defeated the left wing of the enemy, as easily as he, with eight hundred, defeated the right. His grief, indignation, and despair, indeed, are strongly depicted in his answer to his men advising a retreat:—*God forbid that I should do this thing, and fly: IF OUR TIME BE COME, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour**. This was not the language of a man “troubled in mind and sore dismayed,” “because *danger* presented itself to his view in all its horrors,” as inconclusively argued by Mrs. *Trimmer*, for danger he was inured to, and braved rather too rashly; but because “he was solicitous for his country’s honour, and his own fame,” as she admits in the very next sentence. This, indeed, is a just interpretation of his answer, and the true explanation of his conduct. 3. The *Jews* were not prohibited by the law of *Moses* from forming alliances with *foreign* nations, provided they were beyond the pale of the devoted land of *Canaan*, and *Joshua* readily concluded a treaty with the *Gibeonites*, supposing them to be such, nor durst he break it, notwithstanding the imposition on their part. Even within the pale, *David* and *Solomon* made alliances with the *Tyrians*, and are not censured for so doing by the sacred historians. And now, in a case of the most imminent peril, when *Judas* was contending with the whole force of a mighty empire, bent on his destruction, was he not fully warranted, in *self-defence*, to seek succour from the most powerful nation at that time in the world? who had conquered *Macedon*, and humbled *Syria* and *Egypt*, and were then renowned for their “moderation, good government, obedience to their consuls, and freedom from envy and emulation;” according to the sacred historian, reciting his motives, without the slightest imputation on his conduct, which was afterwards wisely adopted and followed by his brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*.

* *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.* HOR.

JONATHAN.

The death of *Judas* was followed by a merciless persecution of his adherents, and "there was great affliction in *Israel*, such as was not since the time that *a prophet was not seen among them*," i. e. from *Malachi's* death. Whereupon they elected his youngest brother, the valiant *Jonathan*, to be their prince and leader, as the fittest to supply his place, 1 Mac. ix. 23—31.

Bacchides, hearing this, sought to slay *Jonathan*, but he and *Simon*, and his party, fled to the fens of *Jordan*, and sent off their goods and baggage, under the care of their eldest brother *John*, to a place of security among the *Nabathean* Arabs of the desert. But on the way thither, they were attacked by another Arab tribe, the *Jambrians*, who slew *John* and the escort, and plundered the baggage, for which *Jonathan*, soon after, inflicted a severe retaliation upon a bridal procession of the *Jambrians*, whom he attacked, and slew the greater part, and took their spoils. Upon this, *Bacchides* attacked them in their camp on the sabbath-day, but the *Jews* repulsed him, slew a thousand of his men, and then swam across the *Jordan* and escaped. Not venturing to pursue them, *Bacchides* returned to *Jerusalem*, and repaired several of the fortresses in *Judea*, strongly garrisoned the *citadel*, *Bethsura* and *Gazara*, took the sons of the principal *Jews* as hostages for their good behaviour, and confined them in the *citadel*; and after the sudden death of *Alcimus*, the high-priest*, who was struck with a palsy while he was giving orders to pull down the walls of the sanctuary, which separated it from the outer court of the *Gentiles*, *Bacchides* returned to *Syria* that same year, B.C. 160, and molested the *Jews* no more for two years, 1 Mac. ix. 32—57.

But at the end of that time, the adverse faction, envying his tranquillity, framed a plot to surprise and seize *Jonathan* and his adherents in one night throughout the land, and prevailed on *Bacchides* to return with his army to carry it into effect.

* *Josephus*, by mistake, assigns the three years of the pontificate of *Alcimus* to *Judas*, Ant. XII. 11, 2, for *Judas* never was high-priest. But he tacitly corrects the mistake afterwards, Ant. XX. 9, in his catalogue of the high-priests, stating that *Alcimus* held the office three years, (instead of four years, in the former place, Ant. XII. 10, 6,) and that it was then vacant for seven years, until the appointment of *Jonathan*.

But *Jonathan* discovered it, and slew about fifty of the conspirators, and retreated with *Simon* and his friends to *Bethbasi*, in the wilderness, which they fortified. There they maintained a long siege against *Bacchides*, and finally defeated him; so that in his rage and disappointment he slew several of his unlucky advisers, and accepted proposals of peace from *Jonathan*, exchanged prisoners, and swore to molest him no more, and then returned into his own land, and came not any more unto their borders. Thus the sword ceased from *Israel*. We may date this peace, B.C. 156.

Jonathan now dwelt peaceably at *Michmash*, about nine miles north of *Jerusalem*, and a strong post; and began to govern the people according to the law, and to reform the state, by destroying the ungodly men, the apostates, out of *Israel*. 1 Mac. ix. 58—73.

Three years after, B.C. 153, a new competitor for the crown of *Syria* sprung up, *Alexander Balas*. This roused *Demetrius* from the shameful indolence and debauchery in which he indulged himself, living secluded in a strong castle near *Antioch*, and utterly neglecting the administration of the kingdom. *Balas* was the reputed son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, but in reality an impostor of *Rhodes*, set up in opposition to *Demetrius* by the kings of *Egypt* and *Pergamus*, whom he had offended, and patronized by the *Romans*, who never forgave his flight from *Rome*, and assumption of the throne of his ancestors, without their consent; and now by a decree, empowered the impostor to raise forces for the recovery of the kingdom, with which he sailed to *Ptolemais*, secured that city, and was joined by numbers of the *Syrians* disaffected to *Demetrius*, 1 Mac. x. 1, 2.

This competition proved highly advantageous to *Jonathan* and the *Jews*, the rivals vying with each other who should purchase his assistance by honours and immunities. First *Demetrius*, by letter, appointed *Jonathan* his general in *Judea*, and empowered him to levy forces, and furnish them with arms, as auxiliaries, and restored the hostages in the citadel, whom *Jonathan* delivered to their parents. Then, quitting *Michmash*, he settled himself at *Jerusalem*, and recovered all the fortresses in *Judea* which *Bacchides* had garrisoned, the *Syrians* forsaking them, except the citadel and *Bethsura*, which still held out, they being garrisoned by apostate Jews, who had no other refuge. He also repaired the city, and rebuilt the walls of the

temple mount, which *Eupator* had thrown down, 1 Mac. x. 3—14.

On the other hand, *Balas*, who had assumed the title of *king*, under the name of *Alexander*, by letter also, appointed *Jonathan* high priest*, and sent him a purple robe and crown, as *Ethnarch*, or prince of *Judea*, to gain his friendship and assistance. So in the seventh month of that same year, B.C. 153, at the feast of tabernacles, *Jonathan* put on the holy robe of the high priest, and levied forces, and provided arms, x. 15—21.

Hearing this, *Demetrius* resolved to outbid *Alexander*, and offered *Jonathan* further immunities and rewards, a release from tributes, customs on salt, and crown taxes, and the addition of the three governments of *Apherema*, *Lydda*, and *Ramathem* in *Samaria*, and the government of *Galilee*, to that of *Judea*; the freedom of the holy city, and exemption of its borders from tenths and tributes; the restoration of all captives that had been carried out of the land of *Judea* from all parts of the kingdom of *Syria*, with remission of their tribute, and even of their cattle; and immunity and toleration for all the *Jews* within the realm to celebrate their festivals, sabbaths, new moons, and solemn days, without molestation or hindrance in these, or in any other respects; and in return, he required an enrollment of thirty thousand *Jews*, to be paid by the crown, and to serve in the garrisons and places of trust, with liberty to live according to their own laws. He also offered the sea port of *Ptolemais*, in *Palestine*, with its territory, as a free gift to the temple of *Jerusalem*, for the necessary expences of the temple; and a remission of the five thousand shekels of silver, which had been annually paid to the king out of the revenues of the temple, because they appertained to the officiating priests; and to make the temple itself an asylum for debtors to the king, or for any other matter; and to pay the expences of repairing and fortifying *Jerusalem*, and the temple mount, out of the royal treasury. The list of these offered exemptions, immunities, and privileges, is curious: it demonstrates the greatness and extent of the oppressions and exactions of the *Syrian* government, respecting the *Jews*, throughout the empire; and it furnishes a sufficient excuse for *Jonathan* and the people, for rejecting them from

* This dignity continued in the *Asamonean* line till the usurpation of *Herod* the Great. It was conferred on *Jonathan*, after it had been seven years vacant from the death of *Alcimus*. *Joseph. Antiq. xx. 9.*

the insincere *Demetrius*, and preferring the alliance of *Alexander*, x. 22—47.

Both kings having taken the field with their armies, next year, B.C. 152, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when sober, gained the victory in the first battle; but *Alexander*, being supported by the confederate kings, and by the *Romans*, the next year, B.C. 151, fought a decisive battle, in which he defeated and slew *Demetrius*, x. 48—50. Justin, lib. xxxv. c. 2.

Alexander now sought *Cleopatra* in marriage, the daughter of his friend, *Ptolemy Philometor*, king of *Egypt*, whom he met, and married with great pomp, at *Ptolemais*; and there treated *Jonathan*, who had ably supported him in the war, with distinguished honours, ranking him among his chief friends, and making him a duke and partaker of his dominion, x. 51—66.

But *Alexander*, when established in the kingdom, fell into the same fatal excesses as his predecessor, took no care of the government, but left it solely to his favourite *Ammonius*, who slew *Laodice**, the sister of *Demetrius*, and the unfortunate widow of *Perseus*, king of *Macedon*, and *Antigonus*, a remaining son of *Demetrius*; whose two other sons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, had been sent during the war for security to *Cnidus*, in *Crete*.

When *Ammonius* had made *Alexander* and himself odious to the *Syrians*, in the third year of his reign, B.C. 148, young *Demetrius* came out of *Crete*, with a band of *Cretans*, whom *Lasthenes*, his friendly host, had hired; landed in *Cilicia*, and soon collected a great army to assert his right to the crown, and gained over to his interest *Apollonius* †, governor of *Cæle Syria*, whose first proof of attachment to his new master was the invasion of *Judea*, which adhered to *Alexander*; and having encamped at *Jamnia*, on the sea coast, as we have seen, sent a challenge to *Jonathan*, to come down from the mountains, and fight him there in the level plain. *Jonathan* accepted the challenge, and with ten thousand men took *Joppa* in the sight of

* Among the *Arundel* marbles is an inscription to this queen, upon a statue erected to her. "The people of *Delos* erected this for queen *Laodice*, the daughter of king *Seleucus*, and wife of king *Perseus*, because of her virtue and piety to the temple, and her beneficence to the people of *Delos*." Prideaux, Vol. II. p. 116.

† *Apollonius* was one of the eight *Syrian* friends, with whom *Demetrius* had escaped from *Rome*, and now therefore naturally espoused the cause of his old master's son.

the enemy, defeated them, pursued them to *Azotus*, which he took, and burnt the temple of *Dagon*, and slew with fire and sword nearly eight thousand men. For this essential service, *Alexander* sent *Jonathan* a gold buckle or clasp, such as was worn only by the royal family, and gave him *Accaron*, or *Ekron*, on the sea-coast, with the territory thereto belonging, x. 67—89.

Alexander, who had shut himself up in *Antioch*, now applied for succour to his friend and father-in-law, *Ptolemy Philometor*, who accordingly brought a considerable army and fleet to his assistance, B.C. 147, and entered *Syria*; but having discovered a plot formed to take away his life, by the wicked minister *Ammonius*, who was afraid that the king of *Egypt* came to conquer *Syria* for himself; and the infatuated *Balas* refusing to surrender his favourite to public justice, thereby making the crime his own; *Ptolemy* therefore, in resentment, took away his daughter *Cleopatra*, and offered her in marriage to *Demetrius*, the rightful heir of the crown, whose cause he now espoused. *Demetrius* thankfully accepted the offer; and the Greek citizens of *Antioch*, having mutinied against *Ammonius*, slew him, endeavouring to escape in the disguise of female apparel; and *Balas* avoided a similar fate by flight. The inhabitants of *Antioch* then offered the crown of *Syria* to the king of *Egypt*, whose character for justice and clemency, even to a fault, was well known; but he refused the offer, and recommended to them the lawful heir, saying, that the crown of *Egypt* was sufficient for him. And sound policy recommended the dictates of justice, for he would probably have drawn down upon himself the indignation of the *Romans* by uniting both kingdoms, and their invasion would have been coloured by the claim of his new son-in-law. The battle of *Antioch*, next year, decided the contest in favour of *Demetrius* II. *Balas* was defeated, and fled for shelter into Arabia, but his host *Zabdiel* sent his head to *Ptolemy* five days after the battle, who died himself the third day after, of the wounds he had received. The death of these two kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* in the same year, B.C. 146 *, forms a *chronological* character for adjusting the reigns of both, as in the foregoing tables of the first volume of this work.

This representation of the disinterested conduct of *Ptolemy*

* This year was remarkable for the destruction of the two cities of *Carthage* and *Corinth* by the *Romans*.

Philometor, and the provocation he received, is furnished by *Josephus*, Ant. XIII. 4, 6—8, and differs from that of the author of the history of the *Maccabees*, who represents *Ptolemy* as setting out with a deceitful design to get *Alexander's* kingdom, and join it to his own; that he slandered *Alexander*, in charging him with a design to slay him; and that when he entered *Antioch*, he set the two crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt* upon his own head. This account, written evidently by a partial friend of *Alexander's*, carries with it internal marks of misrepresentation; and thence, we may conclude, that *Josephus*, to whom it was well known, tacitly rejected it, 1 Mac. xi. 1—19.

Demetrius II. chose *Lasthenes*, the *Cretan* friend, with whom he had found an asylum, and whom he considered as “a father,” 1 Mac. xi. 31, his prime minister. But *Lasthenes*, by his imprudence, or his inexperience for such an office, injured materially his master's interests. The first false step of the government was the massacre of the *Egyptian* soldiers, whom *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, had left to assist in garrisoning the fortresses in the maritime towns, who, by the orders of *Demetrius*, were put to death by their *Syrian* associates; upon which, in disgust, the rest of the *Egyptian* army returned to *Egypt*, and would no longer support him. The next was, that in his security, thinking he had no other enemies to fear, he disbanded the greatest part of his army by a mischievous economy, retaining in his pay only his *Cretan* band, and some other mercenaries, thus depriving himself of the sheet anchors of his throne.

In the mean while, *Jonathan* availed himself of this respite, to besiege the citadel of *Jerusalem*, which had so long been a serious annoyance to him while in the hands of the *Syrians* and apostate *Jews*. Whereupon complaint having been made to *Demetrius* by some of the latter, he cited *Jonathan* to answer for his conduct before him at *Ptolemais*. *Jonathan* obeyed the summons, but left orders to prosecute the siege with vigour, and took with him divers rich presents for the king and his ministers, and so ingratiated himself into the favour of *Demetrius*, that he confirmed him in the high priesthood, and all his other honours, and ratified all the offers of his father, which *Jonathan* had declined when he preferred the friendship of *Balas*, xi. 19—38.

But the citadel still holding out, *Jonathan* applied to *Demetrius* to withdraw his garrisons from it, and from the other for-

tresses of *Judea*; which the king promised to do, provided *Jonathan* would send him a reinforcement, to quell the disturbances that broke out at *Antioch*, by his misconduct and cruelty, in persecuting his father's enemies, after he had disbanded and alienated his veteran troops. Accordingly, he sent three thousand *Jews* to *Antioch*; who, in a great insurrection, supported the king, and slew a hundred thousand of the citizens, and forced the rest to sue for peace; and then returned home loaded with honours and spoils. But *Demetrius* repaid the services of *Jonathan* with ingratitude; when he thought that the land was quiet, and that he had no further occasion for him. He broke his engagements at *Ptolemais*, demanded taxes, tribute, and tolls, as before, and threatened him with war, unless they were paid: whereby he alienated the *Jews* as much as the rest of his subjects, xi. 41—53.

At this juncture, *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, who had served *Alexander Balas* as governor of *Antioch*, and was therefore hostile to *Demetrius*, went into *Arabia*, and at length prevailed upon *Zabdiel*, who had murdered *Alexander*, and retained his son *Antiochus* in his hands, to send the young prince with him to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. Whereupon all the disbanded soldiers and malcontents joined him, and in a pitched battle defeated *Demetrius*, took his elephants, and won *Antioch*, xi. 39—56.

As soon as *Antiochus* was crowned, under the title of *Epiphanes*, B.C. 144, he wrote to invite *Jonathan* to join him, offering him all the conditions which *Demetrius* had broken; and appointing his brother *Simon* lieutenant from the mountain between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, on the sea coast, called "the ladder of *Tyre*," unto the borders of *Egypt*. *Jonathan* accordingly espoused his cause, and by the assistance of the *Syrian* forces, expelled the hostile garrisons from *Gaza*, *Bethsura*, and *Joppa*; only the citadel at *Jerusalem* still held out for *Demetrius*, and maintained a long siege, xi. 57—62.

Jonathan now renewed the former alliance with the *Romans*, and made a league with the *Lacedemonians*, because the *Jews* and *Lacedemonians* were "brethren, both of the stock of *Abraham*," xii. 1—23.

Tryphon designing to remove the young king, *Epiphanes*, out of the way, in order to put the crown upon his own head, first invaded *Jonathan*, as the principal obstacle to his ambition.

But *Jonathan* advancing to meet him with an army of forty thousand chosen men, *Tryphon* did not venture an engagement, but under pretext of receiving him honourably, gave him gifts, and prevailed on him to disband the greater part of his men, assuring him that he came only with the design of putting him in possession of *Ptolemais*, and the rest of the stipulated fortresses. *Jonathan* was over-reached, and dismissing the rest, went, with a thousand men only to *Ptolemais*, where he was taken prisoner, and all his men slain, when they had entered the town peaceably; and not long after he was put to death by the perfidious *Tryphon*, who next slew his young master, and put on his blood-stained crown, B.C. 143, xii. 39—48, xiii. 1—31.

SIMON.

On the base capture of *Jonathan*, his brother *Simon* offered his services to his drooping countrymen: “*Since all my brethren are slain for Israel’s sake, and I alone am left, far be it from me to spare my own life in any time of trouble, for I am no better than my brethren: doubtless I will avenge my nation and the sanctuary, and our wives and children; for all the heathen are gathered to destroy us of very malice.*” Encouraged and animated by this generous offer, the people elected him their leader in the room of *Jonathan*, xiii. 1—9.

The first act of *Simon* was to repair the fortresses in *Judea*, and furnish them with provisions, in order to put the country in a posture of defence; the next was, notwithstanding the ill-treatment the *Jews* had received from *Demetrius*, (who after his defeat by *Trypho*, had abandoned himself to sloth and luxury at *Laodicea*,) yet preferring him to his perfidious rival, *Simon* sent respectfully to treat with him about a renewal of the former terms of accommodation; to which *Demetrius* gladly agreed, and confirmed them all; with an act of amnesty for all past offences. From this grant, the *Jews* date the independence of their country, and freedom from the *Syrian* yoke, B.C. 143; and thenceforth computed the times from this era of *Simon’s* reign, as *high priest*, and *ethnarch*, or *prince* of the *Jews*, instead of the *era of Seleucidæ*, of *Contracts*, or of *Alexander’s successors*, as before, xiii. 33—42.

At his election, however, by the people, there was a very remarkable reservation made on their part: that “the *Jews* and

priests were well pleased that *Simon* should be their *governor* and *priest*, [he and his sons] for ever; *until there should arise a FAITHFUL PROPHET,*" or THE MESSIAH, xiv. 41.

The next care of *Simon* was to reduce the strong fortresses that still held out. He besieged *Gaza*, and when his men had scaled the walls, the inhabitants threw themselves upon his compassion: "*Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy;*" whereupon he generously spared their lives, but for their idolatries made them evacuate the city. After which, the citadel at *Jerusalem*, which had been so long a thorn in the sides of the *Maccabees* and their friends, was compelled, by the rigorous blockade, and by famine, to surrender next year, B.C. 142, xiii. 43—51.

Finding his son *John* a valiant man, *Simon* made him captain-general of all his forces, and sent him to reside in *Gazara*, near *Joppa*, on the sea coast; while he made the temple mount at *Jerusalem* his own residence, which he strongly fortified. His palace, probably, stood on the site of the castle of *Antonia* afterwards, xiii. 52, 53.

In the third year of his reign, B.C. 141, *Simon* renewed the former alliance with the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians*, and sent a present to *Rome* of a great shield of gold, weighing 1000 *minæ*, and worth, at the lowest computation, fifty thousand pounds sterling. This was accepted; the senate not only renewed the league, but sent letters also to *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, *Attalus*, king of *Pergamus*, *Ariarathes*, king of *Cappadocia*, *Demetrius*, king of *Syria*, and *Arsaces*, king of *Parthia*, and to all the cities and states of *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, and the isles in alliance with them, to treat the *Jews* as their friends and allies; and to deliver up to *Simon*, the high-priest, all such traitors and fugitives, as should fly to them for protection, xiv. 24—27, xv. 15—24.

The same year *Demetrius* invaded, with a great army, the eastern provinces which had revolted, and was at first successful; but at last was surprised, and made prisoner by *Arsaces*, the founder of the *Parthian* empire. For his exploits in *Hyrkania*, during this war, *John*, the son of *Simon*, was surnamed *Hyrceanus*. During his captivity, *Demetrius* married the sister of the *Parthian* king; which gave such offence to his queen, *Cleopatra*, who had fled to *Seleucia*, for protection against the usurper *Tryphon*, with her two sons by *Demetrius*, that she offered the crown of *Syria* to his brother *Antiochus*, (afterwards called

Sidetes, from his passion for hunting,) on condition that he would marry her. He accepted her offer, and assumed the title of “king,” and wrote a letter next year, B.C. 140, “from the isles of the sea;” from *Cyprus*, his residence, where he had remained after his brother’s accession, “to *Simon* the high-priest and *ethnarch*, (or prince of his nation,) and to the people of the *Jews*,” announcing his intention of coming to recover his father’s dominions from the usurper *Tryphon*; and to secure their assistance, confirmed all the grants of his father and of his brother, in their full extent, with the additional prerogative to *Simon*, of “coining money for his country with his own stamp*,” xv. 1—4.

The next, or fifth year of *Simon’s* reign, B.C. 139, *Antiochus* “came into the land of his fathers,” to attack *Tryphon*, who was deserted by most of his forces, so that few were left with him. He fled, therefore, to *Dora* from *Antiochus*, who besieged him there; and afterwards, by ship, to *Orthosia*, another maritime town of *Phœnicia*; and again, from thence, to *Apamea*, his native city, where he was taken, and put to death, as he most richly deserved, xv. 10—37. Joseph. Ant. XIII. 7, 2.

Elated with success, and forgetting the services of *Simon* and the *Jews* against his rival, *Antiochus* basely broke his engagements, reclaimed the citadel of *Jerusalem*, the strong cities of *Joppa* and *Gazara*, or a hundred talents in lieu of the two latter, and demanded five hundred talents for tribute and damages, otherwise, that he would make war against them; and he sent *Cendebeus*, with a powerful army, to invade *Judea*; but he was defeated by the *Jews*, under the conduct of *Simon’s* two eldest sons, *Judas* and *John*, xv. 26—41, xvi. 1—10.

The peace, however, procured by this victory, was not permanent. In the year, B.C. 136, the venerable *Simon*, and two of his sons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*, were treacherously assassinated at an entertainment given by his own son-in-law, *Ptolemy*; who then sent a party to destroy *John Hyrcanus* also; but he

* A curious confirmation of this fact, is furnished by a genuine copper coin of *Simon’s*, struck this very year; which was purchased by Dr. *Kennicott*, in the east, with the following inscription on the front, שנת ארבע, “the fourth year;” and on the reverse, לגאולת ציון, “from the deliverance of *Sion*.” The character is not *Chaldee*, (as here given,) but the ancient sacred character. An engraving of the coin, or medal, and of the inscription, is given in *Kennicott’s* Observations on the first Book of *Samuel*, vi. 19. Oxford, 1786, p. 49. The letter *Thau*, which twice occurs, is represented by “the mark X, or sign of the cross:” excellently explaining the vision of *Ezekiel*, ix. 4—6.

escaped, and fled to *Jerusalem*; where the people elected him in his father's room, and shut their gates against the wicked and ambitious *Ptolemy*, who thought to have secured the crown for himself. Disappointed in this, he wrote to *Antiochus* for an army to assist him in reducing the country and cities again under the *Syrian* dominion, 1 Mac. xvi. 12—22. Joseph. Ant. XIII. 7, 4.

JOHN HYRCANUS.

As soon as *Hyrcanus* had performed the necessary sacrifices upon his appointment to the pontificate, he marched on an expedition against *Ptolemy*, and besieged him in a fortress near *Jericho*, to which he had fled; but the siege being protracted till the next year, B.C. 135, which was a *sabbatical* year*, it was broke up, probably for want of provisions; and *Ptolemy* fled to *Zeno*, tyrant of *Philadelphia*, and waited there till *Antiochus* should arrive. What became of him afterwards is uncertain, for no further mention of him is made by *Josephus*. Though *Antiochus* might have liked the treason, he must have hated and abhorred the traitor. And how could he trust an ungrateful viper, who had stung his best friend and benefactor to death? Ant. XIII. 8, 1.

Shortly after, *Antiochus* marched with a great army into *Judea*, and having ravaged the country, besieged *Hyrcanus* in *Jerusalem*, and reduced him to the last extremity, for want of provisions that year. On the approach of the feast of *tabernacles*, in the seventh month, about autumn, *Hyrcanus* applied to the king for a week's truce, during the celebration of the feast; which he not only granted, but supplied him with victims for sacrifice, and at length concluded a peace with the *Jewish* nation, when he had it in his power to have extirpated them, and was importuned so to do, but generously refused. However, he again reduced them under the *Syrian* dominion, dismantled

* The year B.C. 163, was proved in a former note to be sabbatical; consequently, B.C. 135, which was twenty-eight years after, (or 4×7), was also sabbatical. This fixes the accession of *Hyrcanus*, to the year before, B.C. 136; and corrects a mistake now in *Josephus*, who dates the invasion of *Judea* by *Antiochus*, in the 162d Olympiad; whereas, the year B.C. 135, in which it happened, was the second year of the 161st Olympiad. And this, probably, was the correct reading, according to *Petit's* conjecture. See *Hudson's* Note (b), p. 582.

Jerusalem, and made them pay a tribute for *Joppa* and the other towns, which they held under the grants of his predecessors.

Four years after, B.C. 131, *Antiochus Sidetes* marched with a great army against *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, under pretence of liberating his brother *Demetrius Nicator* from captivity, and was accompanied in the expedition by *Hyrchanus*, prince of the *Jews*; who returned home at the end of the year, leaving *Antiochus* victorious over the *Parthians* in three battles, which put him in possession of *Babylonia*, *Media*, and all the revolted provinces, and confined *Phraates* within the original limits of the *Parthian* kingdom. But while the *Syrian* army was dispersed in winter quarters, the *Parthians*, assisted by the natives, who had been grievously oppressed by the enemy, conspired against them, and massacred them all in one day, and slew *Antiochus* himself, so that scarcely a man escaped to carry back the news of the catastrophe to *Syria*.

Upon this signal success, *Phraates* sent to apprehend *Demetrius*, whom he had released and sent back to *Syria*, in order to create a diversion, after having been thrice vanquished in the former campaign; but *Demetrius* had made such haste, that he escaped the pursuit, and again recovered his crown, B.C. 130.

After the death of *Antiochus*, *Hyrchanus* took advantage of the divisions and disturbances that ensued through the whole *Syrian* empire, not only to enlarge his territories, by seizing *Madeba*, *Samega*, and several other places in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*, and annexing them to his dominions; but also to render himself totally independent. For after this, neither he nor his descendants, paid any more tribute, service, or homage, to the kings of *Syria*.

Hyrchanus next invaded *Samaria*, and took *Shechem*, the chief seat of the sect of the *Samaritans*, and destroyed their temple on Mount *Gerizim*, which had been built by *Sanballat*. However, they still continued to have an altar there, on which they offer sacrifices according to the Levitical law, even to this day. See *Prideaux Connex.* B.C. 130.

After this, B.C. 129, *Hyrchanus* subdued the *Idumeans*, and gave them the choice either to embrace the *Jewish* religion, or else to quit the country, and seek a settlement elsewhere. Chusing, therefore, to relinquish their idolatry rather than their country, they became proselytes to the *Jewish* religion, and were then afterward incorporated with the *Jews*, so as to be

reputed one and the same people ; and at length, the name itself was lost, or absorbed in that of the *Jews*. The later *Rabbis*, indeed, speak of *Edom* and *Edomites* long after, but they mean thereby, not the *Idumeans*, but *Rome*, and the *Christians* of the *Roman* empire, under these feigned names of reproach, for fear of incurring the displeasure or punishment of the Christian states in which they live.

About B.C. 128, *Hyrcanus* sent an embassy to *Rome*, to renew the league made with the *Romans* by his father *Simon* ; to which the *senate* readily consented, and decreed that the peace which they had been compelled to make with *Antiochus Sidetes*, should be null and void ; that *Hyrcanus* should hold *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the other places, free of tribute or homage to the *Syrians* ; and that the *Syrian* kings in future should not presume to march their armies through the *Jewish* territories ; and that ambassadors should be sent to see all this executed. The *Jewish* ambassadors were also furnished with money to bear their expences home, and letters were written to all the *Roman* allies and confederates in their way, to give them a safe and honourable passage through their respective countries. In return for this, the *Jews* sent another embassy to *Rome* next year, with a present of a cup and shield of gold, valued at fifty thousand gold pieces of their money ; when another decree was passed by the *senate*, confirming the former. *Josephus*, who recites this decree at large, Ant. xiv. 16, by mistake, supposes it was granted to *Hyrcanus* the second, the grandson of *John Hyrcanus*. But this cannot be, for the decree is dated in “ the ninth year of *Hyrcanus*,” and one of the ambassadors, “ *Numerius*, the son of *Antiochus*,” mentioned in the body of the decree, had been sent to *Rome* on the former embassy by *Jonathan* ; but could not be alive in the reign of *Hyrcanus* the second. See *Prideaux Connexions*, B.C. 127.

Demetrius, after his restoration, having, by his tyranny, rendered himself odious to the *Syrians*, many of them revolted from him, and joined an impostor, supported by *Physson*, king of *Egypt*, as the son of *Alexander Balas*, who called himself *Alexander Zebina*, but was in reality the son of a broker at *Alexandria*. A battle was fought, in which *Demetrius* was defeated, and soon after slain, B.C. 126. To secure his conquest, *Zebina* made a strict alliance with *John Hyrcanus*, who took all the advantages of these divisions, that might justly be expected

from a wise prince, attentive to the interests of his people, and his own security.

During the divisions and distractions that henceforth harassed and weakened the *Syrian* empire, *John Hyrcanus* increased in wealth and power; and about the year B.C. 110, undertook the entire reduction of *Samaria*, and sent his two sons, *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, to besiege the city, who took it next year, and totally demolished it. After this victory, *Hyrcanus* became master of all *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and of several other places in the adjacent countries; and raised the glory of the *Asamonean* princes to its height; and spent the remainder of his reign respected by his neighbours, and free from foreign wars.

In the latter end of his reign, he discovered the symptoms of disaffection in the *Pharisees*, a proud and turbulent sect among the *Jews*, who boasted of superior sanctity, and derived their name from the Hebrew verb *parash*, to “separate or set apart” for sacred uses; and envied the prosperity of *Hyrcanus*. Upon which he quitted their sect, and attached himself to that of the *Sadducees*; who probably, at that time, went no further than to deny the authority of the oral or unwritten *traditions*, of which the *Pharisees* were too fond, and for which they were afterwards reproached by OUR LORD himself, as “rendering *the law* of no effect by their vain *traditions*,” Matt. xv. 6. For it is not to be imagined, that so pious and good a prince could have denied the *resurrection* and a *future judgment*. To the *Pharisees*, who courted popularity, may justly be ascribed the declension, and at length, the downfall of the state, by their continual opposition to their own princes, and afterwards to the *Romans*.

After he had reigned thirty years, *Hyrcanus* died. In addition to the government and pontificate, according to *Josephus*, he was gifted with prophecy, and foretold that his two eldest sons would not long reign; which was verified by the event. Ant. XIII. 10, 7.

ARISTOBULUS,

his eldest son, succeeded him. He first assumed the ominous title of *king*, which by their law was appropriated to the *MES-SIAH*; for whose rights a reservation was made by the people, as we have seen, when they elected *Simon* their *ethnarch*, or *prince*, 1 Mac. xiv. 41. He next imprisoned his mother, whom *Hyrcanus* had left in possession of the government, and starved

her to death ; and then killed his next brother, *Antigonus*, who reigned jointly with him, upon a false suspicion of seeking his death. Finding his error, he fell sick and died, after a reign of only one year. Ant. XIII. 11.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS.

He was the third son of *Hyrceanus*, and succeeded his brother, B.C. 105. His first act was an attempt to recover the important sea-port of *Ptolemais*, which he besieged. But the inhabitants having applied for succour to *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, then reigning in *Cyprus*, who came to their assistance with a great army, he was forced to raise the siege ; and *Alexander* having endeavoured to circumvent *Ptolemy* in a treaty of peace, while he was underhand treating with *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, his mother and his rival, *Ptolemy*, provoked at this duplicity of conduct, invaded the territories of *Alexander*, defeated him in a pitched battle, in which he lost 30,000 men, overran the whole country, ravaging and destroying it in a grievous manner, and *Alexander* must have been undone, had not *Cleopatra* brought an army to his relief next year ; which compelled *Ptolemy* to retreat from his territories, and at length, *Ptolemy*, being successfully opposed by his mother, returned to *Cyprus* in B.C. 101, foiled in all his attempts to recover the crown of *Egypt* out of her wicked and ambitious hands.

Alexander availed himself of this riddance, to recover several of the fortresses on his frontiers, which had been taken from him, or had revolted. But at the siege of *Amathus*, beyond *Jordan*, and the strongest in all those parts, he was surprized and defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, by the prince of *Philadelphia*, whose treasures were deposited there, and sent back, with loss and disgrace, to *Jerusalem*. This was highly gratifying to the faction of the *Pharisees*, who alienated the affections of the people, and stirred up a bloody intestine war against him during the greater part of his turbulent reign.

This first broke out B.C. 95, in the eleventh year of his reign. Having entered the temple at *Jerusalem*, to officiate as high priest in the feast of tabernacles, he was insulted by the populace, and pelted with citrons while he was offering sacrifices upon the great altar ; to which they added opprobrious language, intimating him to be unworthy of that sacred office. This so

enraged him, that he fell upon them with his guards, and slew six thousand of them. And to prevent the like insult, he inclosed the priest's court, which contained the altar and sanctuary, with a wooden partition, excluding the approach of the people; and for the safety of his person, he employed a guard of six thousand foreign mercenaries, and endeavoured by severity, and the terror of his executions, to allay the storm that had been raised against him by the adverse faction; but he could not quell it by such methods. And three years after, in consequence of a great defeat he received from *Obodas*, an Arabian king, in *Gaulonitis*, on the eastern side of the lake of *Gennesareth*, the *Jews* broke out into open rebellion for six years, in which, though he repeatedly defeated them, he could not subdue their refractory spirit. Wearied at length, with punishing and destroying his people, he sought an accommodation, and offered to grant them any reasonable conditions they chose. With one voice, they desired him to cut his throat, for they could be at peace with him on no other terms; and that considering the great mischiefs he had done them, it were well that they could be reconciled to him, even in his grave. They then sent for succours to *Demetrius Eucharès*, king of *Damascus*, who brought a powerful army to their assistance, and overthrew *Alexander*, with the loss of all his Greek mercenaries to a man, B.C. 89; and he would have been utterly ruined, had not six thousand of the *Jews* themselves, compassionating his distress, revolted from the *Syrians*, and joined him. Being a man of most undaunted spirit, and possessing great resources in himself, he continued the war with his own people after the departure of the *Syrians*, and at length he defeated them with great slaughter, and shut up the remainder in *Bethome*, which he besieged and took the year after, B.C. 86. On this occasion he was guilty of a most barbarous act of cruelty, which got him the appellation of *Thracidas*, "the *Thracian*." He brought eight hundred of the prisoners to *Jerusalem*, and there crucified them all in one day, and put their wives and children to death before their faces, as they hung dying on the crosses; while he, his wives and concubines, were feasting in view of the horrid scene, to glut their eyes with the spectacle! After this, *Alexander* had no more disturbance; the rebels who survived flying the country; after he had destroyed above fifty thousand of them in the course of the war.

After this, he spent three years in recovering fortresses, which

had revolted during the civil war, and extended his conquests beyond *Jordan*. He returned to *Jerusalem* victorious in B. C. 82, and gave himself up to luxury and drunkenness, which brought on a quartan ague, under which he languished for three years, and at length died at the siege of *Ragaba*, beyond *Jordan*, in the country of the *Gerasenes*.

In his last moments he advised *Alexandra* his queen, to conceal his death, until the capture of the fortress, and then on their triumphant return to *Jerusalem*, he recommended her to convene the heads of the *Pharisees*, and offer to be guided by their counsels in the administration of the kingdom; and to lay his dead body before them, and resign it wholly to their discretion, whether to treat it with ignominy, in revenge for all the evils they had suffered from him, or otherwise; adding, that if she followed this advice, she would not only procure him an honourable funeral, but security for herself and her children. And the event justified the prediction: for his funeral obsequies were more splendid than those of any of his predecessors; and *Alexandra*, according to his will, was quietly established in the government, B. C. 78.

Q. ALEXANDRA.

And now the *Pharisees*, having gotten the upper hand in the state, released the prisoners, and recalled the exiles of their party, and being strengthened by this accession, they demanded justice against the advisers of the crucifixion of the eight hundred; which in fact involved all the adherents of the late king. They began with *Diogenes*, a chief confidant of *Alexander*, and having cut him off, proceeded to the most obnoxious of the royalists. The queen, much against her will, acquiescing in their vindictive measures, for fear of involving the country again in a civil war; and submitting to a less evil, in order to avoid a greater.

Alexandra had two sons; the elder, *Hyrchanus*, who was of a quiet, indolent temper, she appointed high priest; but the younger, *Aristobulus*, inherited his father's spirit, and highly disapproved of his mother's proceedings. In the seventh year of her reign, B. C. 72, he came to her at the head of the royalists, seeing no end of the prosecutions, and proposed, either that they should go into voluntary exile; or else, that they might be

dispersed through the several garrisons of the kingdom, in order to avoid the fury of their enemies. The queen agreed to the latter proposal, and put them in possession of the fortresses, except *Hyrcania*, *Alexandrium*, and *Machæra*, where she kept her treasures.

Next year she sent *Aristobulus* with an army to attack *Ptolemy Menæus*, at *Damascus*; but he returned without doing any thing memorable in the expedition; only making use of this opportunity to secure the army in his interest.

The following year, B.C. 70, she was threatened with a formidable invasion by *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*; to whom the *Syrians*, harassed by the perpetual competitions of the different royal families for the crown, had voluntarily surrendered it, B.C. 84, and put themselves under his protection. From this danger she was relieved by the *Roman* invasion of *Armenia*, which took place shortly before her death, next year, B.C. 69.

HYRCANUS II.

After her death, *Hyrcanus* took possession of the throne. The year of his accession is doubly determined by *Josephus*, Ant. XIV. 1, 2, as the third year of the 177th Olympiad, which ended in the *Julian* year, B.C. 69; the same year in which Q. *Hortensius* and Q. *Metellus Creticus*, were consuls at *Rome*. This, therefore, is a useful character for adjusting the chronology of this period. But his reign was short, only three months; for his brother, *Aristobulus*, having got most of the fortresses of the kingdom into his hands, during his mother's sickness, and the people being weary of the tyranny of the *Pharisees*, and fearing their ascendancy over the weak *Hyrcanus*, joined *Aristobulus*, and the army of *Hyrcanus* deserting him, he was forced to surrender the crown and pontificate to his brother, and willingly agreed to lead a private life under his protection. "So *Aristobulus* went to the palace, and *Hyrcanus* to the house of *Aristobulus*," as *Josephus* relates.

ARISTOBULUS II.

Antipater, the father of *Herod* the Great, an *Idumean*, whose name originally was *Antipas*, was much in the confidence of

Alexander Jannæus, and his wife *Alexandra*, and had been appointed by them governor of the province of *Idumæa*. He had amassed considerable wealth, and formed a connexion with the *Arabs* in the east, and the *Gazites* and *Ascalonites* in the west. Fearing *Aristobulus*, he instigated *Hyrceanus*, to whom he had attached himself, to fly for refuge to *Aretas*, king of the *Arabs*, for that his brother meant to put him to death; and with much solicitation prevailed on him at length to escape by night to *Petra*, the residence of *Aretas*. Espousing the interest of *Hyrceanus*, the Arabian prince brought him back to *Judea*, with an army of fifty thousand men; and being there joined by the Jews of his party, gave battle to *Aristobulus*, defeated him, and compelled him and his party to take refuge in the temple mount, and besieged him there.

While *Pompey*, who succeeded *Lucullus* in the command of the war against *Tigranes*, was employed in *Armenia* against him and *Mithridates*, he sent *Scaurus* into *Syria*; who finding that *Lollius* and *Metellus* had taken *Damascus*, marched directly to *Judea*. The two brothers having separately attempted to gain him to their side, by the offer of four hundred talents each; he preferred that of *Aristobulus*, not only because he was more solvent, being in possession of the royal treasures, while *Hyrceanus* was poor, but because it was easier to intimidate the fugitives with their *Arabian* auxiliaries, than to reduce a fortress of the greatest strength. He therefore commanded *Aretas* to withdraw his troops, threatening him with war from the *Romans* if he refused. After which *Scaurus* returned to *Damascus*. Meanwhile *Aristobulus*, having raised a powerful force, invaded *Aretas* and *Hyrceanus* in turn, and defeated them with great slaughter; among others of the *Jews* attached to *Hyrceanus*, who fell in that battle, was *Cæphalion*, the brother of *Antipater*.

Not long after the conquest of *Armenia* and *Iberia*, *Pompey* having finished the war in the north, B. C. 65, came to *Damascus*, and went through *Cœle-Syria*; and stripping *Antiochus Asiaticus* of all his dominions, (the last of the *Seleucian* family,) he reduced them to a *Roman* province, under the pretext that he was a weak prince, and unable to protect the country from the ravages and depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*; and that the *Romans* having taken this country, by conquest, from *Tigranes*, were not to lose the fruits of their victory. Here *Pompey* was met by ambassadors from all *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Judea*; and

Aristobulus sent him a golden vine, of the value of 400 talents; which *Strabo* afterwards saw in the capitol at *Rome* with the inscription, *Alexander the king of the Jews*, which he had presented as an offering to the temple, and his son now sent to the *Romans*.

Pompey, on his return next year, B.C. 64, from the *Mithridatic* war in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, to *Cœle-Syria*, was addressed by *Antipater* and *Nicodemus*, the deputies of the two brothers, *Hyrchanus* and *Aristobulus*, to settle the controversy between them; but he put them off till the ensuing spring, in order to finish the conquest of *Syria*, and repress *Aretas*, who had taken advantage of his absence in *Pontus*, to recover a good part of his dominions, and to make incursions into *Syria*. Accordingly, next year, B.C. 63, on his return to *Damascus*, the two brothers came in person to plead their cause before him; several of the *Jews* complaining of both, that they had changed the form of government to *regal*, instead of *pontifical*, contrary to the established usage, in order to enslave the people. *Hyrchanus* pleaded his prior claim to the crown, as the elder brother, and complained of the usurpation of *Aristobulus*; while *Aristobulus* alleged the imbecility of *Hyrchanus*. This last circumstance, probably, decided the artful Roman in favour of *Hyrchanus*; he did not, however, openly declare his sentiments, but left the matter undecided, till he should have leisure to come in person, and settle the matter at *Jerusalem*.

Disappointed in his expectations, *Aristobulus* prepared for war. *Pompey*, therefore, on his return from an expedition against the *Nabathean* Arabs, marched against *Aristobulus*, and summoned him into his presence from his strong fortress of *Alexandrium*. *Aristobulus* unwillingly complied, for fear of irritating the Roman general by a refusal, who, when he had got him into his power, compelled him to sign an order for the surrendering of all his fortresses to the *Romans*. But he grievously resented this imposition, and when he was dismissed, fled to *Jerusalem*, and there prepared for a siege. *Pompey* followed him with his army. On his approach, *Aristobulus*, wavering in his resolution, went again to *Pompey*, promising submission and a sum of money to prevent a war. His proposal was accepted, and *Gabinus*, one of *Pompey's* lieutenants, was sent with a body of troops to recover the city and the money. But when he came to *Jerusalem*, he was disappointed; the gates were

shut against him, and no money to be had, because the soldiers of *Aristobulus* would not agree thereto, indignant at his detention. Whereupon *Pompey* marched directly, with his whole army, to *Jerusalem*, keeping *Aristobulus* in custody, and being admitted into the city and palace by the faction of *Hyrchanus*, he besieged the adherents of his brother in the Temple Mount, and at length, after three months' siege, took it by assault, in the first year of the 179th *Olympiad*, ending B.C. 63, the same year in which *C. Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* were consuls, which ascertains the year of its capture, and of the commencement of the *Roman dynasty* in *Judea*. Ant. XIV. 4, 3.

On this occasion *Pompey* was guilty of violating the sanctity of the Temple. For not content with viewing the outer court, he, with his principal officers, by a sacrilegious curiosity, entered into the inner Sanctuary, or Holy of Holies. And here, it has been remarked, his prosperity ended. He was ever after unsuccessful in all his undertakings, as if to punish him for this act of sacrilege against THE LORD. And this the *Jews* resented more than their sufferings. However, he spared the sacred treasury, in which there were above 2000 talents, besides the sacred utensils, and other articles of great value, and left them for the sacred uses to which they had been devoted. The next day he restored *Hyrchanus* to the pontificate, and made him prince of the country, and tributary to the *Romans*, but forbade him to wear a crown, and dismantled the walls of *Jerusalem*. And he took with him *Aristobulus* and his two sons, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, and two of his daughters, to grace his triumph at *Rome*.

HYRCANUS II. again.

From the first accession of *Hyrchanus*, B.C. 69, to his restoration, B.C. 63, was an interval of six years and nine months, being the amount of his first reign of three months, and his brother's of six years and six months*.

* This is the rectification of a double error in the present text of *Josephus*, dating the reign of *Aristobulus* "three years and six months," Ant. XIV. 6, 1; but "three years and as many months," Ant. XX. 9. That it must have been six years at least is demonstrated by *Josephus* himself, both from the *Olympiads* and *Consuls* above-mentioned; and as the "six months" are specified in the former passage, and in the latter are said to be "as many" as the years, the two passages correct each other, and furnish six, the true number of years.

The reign of this meek and quiet prince, who was unfit to guide the helm of the state in such tempestuous times, was disastrous throughout.

While *Pompey* was returning to *Rome* with his royal captives, *Alexander*, the eldest son of *Aristobulus*, contrived to escape on the way, and returning to *Judea*, created fresh disturbances. In the year B.C. 57, he collected an army of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, and seized *Alexandrium*, *Machærus*, *Hyrkania*, and several other strong fortresses, and garrisoned them, and from thence ravaged the whole country. *Hyrcanus* was not in a condition to suppress him, and wished to have rebuilt the walls of *Jerusalem*, but the *Romans*, in their jealousy, not permitting this, he was forced to call upon them for succour. Accordingly, *Gabinius*, president of *Syria*, sent *Mark Anthony*, his general of horse to his relief, who being joined by *Antipater* and *Malichus*, with the forces of *Hyrcanus*, defeated *Alexander* near *Jerusalem*, with the loss of three thousand men, and shut him up in *Alexandrium*, and besieged him there. But by the prudent mediation of his mother, *Gabinius* concluded a peace with him, on condition of his surrendering *Alexandrium*, and the other fortresses, which were demolished by the advice of this lady, that they might not give occasion to future revolts.

To please the *Jews*, *Gabinius*, at this time, made a change in the government of *Judea*, from *regal* to *aristocratical*. Hitherto the administration of public affairs had been managed under the prince, by the two *sanhedrims*, or councils, or courts of justice; the lesser, consisting of twenty-three persons, was instituted in every city; each of these lesser was subject to the jurisdiction and controul of the great *sanhedrim* of seventy-two members, sitting at *Jerusalem*. *Gabinius* suppressed both, and in their room appointed five independent tribunals, at *Jerusalem*, *Jericho*, *Gadara*, *Amathus*, and *Sephoris*, and invested each with power to administer summary justice to all the inhabitants within their respective districts. This threw the whole power into the hands of the nobles of the land, who presided in these courts, leaving *Hyrcanus* only the name.

But ten years after, *Julius Cæsar*, on his passing through *Syria*, after the *Alexandrian* war, in gratitude for the effectual assistance he had received from *Antipater*, the general of *Hyrcanus*, reinstated *Hyrcanus* in the Principality, restored the an-

cient form of government, and appointed *Antipater* procurator of *Syria* and *Judea*.

Gabinus was succeeded in the government of *Syria* by *Crassus*, B.C. 54, who, to make preparation for the *Parthian* war, which he meditated, plundered the Temple at *Jerusalem* of all the treasures which *Pompey* had respected, and of every thing else worth taking, and carried off to the amount of ten thousand talents, or about two millions sterling. But this sacrilegious plunder proved the prelude to his ruin; for having invaded the *Parthian* territories without provocation, and when the *Parthians* were unprepared for war, he overran a great part of *Mesopotamia* without opposition. But the next year, B.C. 53, the *Parthians* encountered him, and by his own misconduct principally, in listening to traitors, and neglecting the advice of *Cassius* and his best friends, was defeated with great slaughter, and himself and his son killed, near *Charrae*, the site of the ancient *Charran*, in the days of the *Patriarchs*, in the north-west quarter of *Mesopotamia*.

Cassius, having escaped to *Syria*, collected an army there, and defended that province successfully against the *Parthians*, who invaded it next year, B.C. 52. He then marched into *Judea*, and forced *Alexander*, the son of *Aristobulus*, who was raising fresh disturbances, on the news of the defeat of *Crassus*, to terms of peace.

Aristobulus, two years before, had found means to escape, with his younger son *Antigonus*, from captivity at *Rome*, and returning to *Judea*, excited a revolt; but by the activity of *Mark Anthony*, and the troops sent against him by *Gabinus*, was defeated, taken with his son, and sent back again to his former prison. *Gabinus*, however, having represented the services of his wife in suppressing *Alexander's* insurrection, his family was set at liberty, and he only kept in custody. But in the civil war which broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, thinking it would promote his interest, released *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him with two legions into his own country to reclaim the crown. But *Pompey's* party contrived to poison him on the way, B.C. 49. And *Alexander*, his son, in expectation of his arrival, having raised forces, *Pompey* sent orders to *Scipio*, his father-in-law, whom he had appointed president of *Syria* in the room of *Bibulus*, to put him to death, who had him taken, brought to *Antioch*, and, after a formal trial, beheaded.

Two years after, *Antigonus*, the surviving son, applied to *Julius Cæsar*, on his return from the *Alexandrian* war, to be restored to his father's Principality, stating the calamities that had befallen his family for their adherence to his cause. But *Cæsar*, from regard to *Antipater*, who then attended him, rejected his petition, and treated him as turbulent and seditious, B.C. 47.

Antipater had now great credit with the *Romans*, and influence at home, and in fact governed *Hyrchanus*. He appointed *Phasaëlis*, his eldest son, to be governor of *Jerusalem*, and *Herod*, his second, governor of *Galilee*, when he was at least twenty-five years old*, and took a progress with *Hyrchanus*, through *Judea*, to settle the affairs of the kingdom. Bell. Jud. I. 10, 1—4.

Herod having exerted himself with great spirit and activity in clearing his province of robbers, or *banditti*, and put *Hezekiah*, their leader, and several of his associates, to death, by his own authority, without any formal trial, excited the envy and jealousy of several of the leading *Jews*; who forced *Hyrchanus* to summon him to appear before the *sanhedrim*, to answer for his conduct. *Herod* attended the summons, and came clothed in purple, and with a numerous retinue, and brought a letter from *Sextus Cæsar*, then president of *Syria*, to *Hyrchanus*, with express orders to acquit him, under pain of incurring his highest displeasure, which *Hyrchanus* was sufficiently inclined to do without this mandate. All this, however, so intimidated his accusers and the *sanhedrim*, that they all sat silent; until *Sameas*, a man of great wisdom and integrity, had at length the courage to arraign him, not only for the crime imputed to him, but also for his arrogance and presumption in daring to appear before them, not as a criminal, but as their superior. And he predicted, that this *Herod*, whom they now iniquitously spared, would execute the just judgment of God upon them all, which afterwards came to pass; for *Herod* afterwards put *Hyrchanus* and the whole *sanhedrim* to death, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*, whom he spared for recommending the surrender of the city to

* The present text of *Josephus* reckons *Herod's* age only *fifteen* years at this time, Ant. XIV. 9, 2. But he was seventy at his death, B.C. 4, and consequently was born B.C. 74, from which subtracting 15, we should have the date of this appointment B.C. 59, considerably too early. If it was B.C. 47, as we may collect from the history, he was rather 27 years old.

Herod and *Sosius*; because “*the crimes of the people were such that they could not escape him.*” Ant. XIV. 9, 4.

On this occasion, however, *Hyrcanus*, seeing the *sanhedrim* provoked against *Herod*, adjourned the court till next day, and advised him to fly from the city that night, which he did, to *Damascus*; and was with difficulty dissuaded by his father and brother from marching with an army to *Jerusalem*, to avenge the insult he had received, in being summoned to clear himself before the *sanhedrim*.

After *Julius Cæsar’s* return from the *African* war, in which he subdued the remains of *Pompey’s* party, B.C. 44, when he entered on his fifth and last consulship, *Hyrcanus* sent an embassy to him, for permission to repair the walls and fortifications of *Jerusalem*. *Cæsar* not only granted this request, which *Antipater* immediately executed; but by a decree, confirmed *Hyrcanus* in his prerogatives of high-priest and ethnarch; and remitted the annual tribute to be paid to the *Romans* every seventh or sabbatical year; and granted such further privileges and immunities to the *Jews*, throughout the empire, that they could hardly be said to feel the weight of the *Roman* yoke.

But this happy state was of short continuance.

The assassination of *Sextus Cæsar* in *Syria*, by *Bassus*, and of *Cæsar* himself at *Rome*, by *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and their confederates, rekindled the flames of war. *Cassius* soon seized and secured the province of *Syria*, and was forced to levy heavy contributions there, for the support of an army of twelve legions, which he had raised. He assessed *Judea* in 700 talents; of which *Antipater* commissioned his sons, *Phasaëlus* and *Herod*, to raise the one half, and *Malichus*, a *Jew*, (one of the principal supporters of *Hyrcanus*,) and some others, to raise the remainder. *Herod* ingratiated himself with *Cassius*, by the speedy payment of his quota; but *Malichus*, being dilatory, *Cassius* would have put him to death, had not *Hyrcanus* redeemed him at the expense of a hundred talents, which he sent him out of his own coffers.

Malichus, and the heads of the *Jewish* nation, jealous that an *Idumean*, and a foreigner, as they accounted him, should govern the state, plotted to destroy him and his whole family. Soon after he poisoned *Antipater* with a glass of wine, which he prevailed on the high-priest’s butler to give him at an entertainment in the palace. *Phasaël* and *Herod*, in turn, revenged

this, by procuring the assassination of *Malichus*, by a party of the *Roman* garrison at *Tyre*, in obedience to the orders of *Cassius*, which *Herod* procured.

After the defeat and death of *Cassius* and *Brutus* at *Philippi*, B.C. 42, by *Antony* and *Octavius*, the troubles broke out afresh in *Judea*. The faction of *Malichus* gained *Hyrchanus* to their side, and *Felix*, the commander of the *Roman* forces at *Jerusalem*, by representing the overgrown power of the sons of *Antipater*. But *Phasaël* and *Herod* soon mastered the faction, drove *Felix* out of *Jerusalem*, and recovered *Massada*, and all the fortresses that they had taken; and upbraided *Hyrchanus* with favouring the adverse faction, who had always strove to curb his power, while he owed his support to the wise and vigorous counsels of their father *Antipater*. *Hyrchanus* judged it imprudent to oppose "these sons of *Zeruah*," who controuled him as much as *David* was controuled by *Joab* and *Abishai*. And a match was set on foot between *Herod* and *Miriam*, or *Mariamne*, the beautiful and accomplished grand-daughter of the high-priest, which for the present reconciled all differences between them.

But the adverse faction, though repressed, was not extinguished. It soon found another head in *Antigonus*, the younger son of *Aristobulus*, and under pretence of restoring him to his father's throne, raised new disturbances in the state. And his claim was supported by *Marion*, king of *Tyre*, *Fabius*, governor of *Damascus*, and *Ptolemy*, prince of *Chalcis*, who had married a sister of *Antigonus*.

The next year, B.C. 41, after the victory at *Philippi*, *Anthony* passed over into *Asia*, to secure that important country in the interest of the conquerors. At *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, a deputation of a hundred of the principal *Jews* came to complain against the sons of *Antipater*. *Anthony* gave them a hearing, and asked *Hyrchanus*, then present, whom he thought the fittest to conduct the administration of affairs under them? to which he replied, the two brothers; induced, probably, by the contract of marriage between *Herod* and his grand-daughter. Whereupon *Anthony*, who was well disposed towards them before, made *Herod* and *Phasaël* Tetrarchs, committed the affairs of *Judea* to their administration, imprisoned fifteen of the deputies, and would have put them to death, had not *Herod* saved them by his intercession. Still not baffled, they renewed their complaints to him against the two brothers at *Tyre*, in a body

of a thousand deputies. But *Anthony*, considering this as an insult, and a tumult, ordered his soldiers to disperse them, who slew several, and wounded more.

No sooner had *Herod* weathered this storm, than he assayed another, more dangerous to encounter. The following year, B.C. 40, the *Parthian* general, *Pacorus*, who had taken *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, was induced to undertake to restore *Antigonus* to his father's kingdom, for the promise of a thousand talents, and five hundred *Jewish* women. Accordingly, he sent a part of his forces, under his cup-bearer, called also *Pacorus*, to see the contract put in execution. After frequent engagements with the two brothers, in which the *Antigonians* were rather worsted, finding they could not prevail by force, they had recourse to fraud. The cup-bearer proposed to *Phasaël* to go on an embassy to *Barzaphanes*, who governed *Syria* under *Pacorus*, as the best mode of settling their differences. Contrary to *Herod's* advice, *Phasaël* went, and took *Hyrchanus* with him; but the treacherous *Parthian* seized them both, and put them in chains, while the cup-bearer endeavoured to entrap *Herod* at *Jerusalem*. But he, having timely intelligence of the treachery, fled with his family and most valuable effects, to *Massada*, the strongest fortress in the country, built on the top of a very high mountain, near the *Asphaltite* lake. Finding that *Herod* had escaped, the *Parthians* first plundered the country, made *Antigonus* king, according to agreement, and delivered up *Hyrchanus* and *Phasaël* to him, before they left the country. *Phasaël*, knowing that his death was determined on, dashed out his brains against the walls of his prison. *Antigonus* spared his aged uncle's life, but barbarously cut off his ears, to incapacitate him from being any longer high-priest, and then sent him into exile to *Seleucia* in *Babylonia*.

ANTIGONUS.

In this emergency, *Herod* went to *Egypt*, took shipping at *Alexandria*, and sailed to *Italy*, intending to implore assistance of *Anthony* and the *Romans*, to place *Aristobulus*, the brother of his espoused *Mariamne*, on the throne of *Judea*; who was the son of *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrchanus*, by *Alexander*, the eldest son of *Aristobulus*; so that he united the titles of both brothers to the crown: proposing nothing further for him-

self, than to govern the country under *Aristobulus*, in the same manner as under *Hyrchanus*. But *Anthony* chose to make *Herod* himself king, in reward of his past services, and for the promise of a great sum of money; and by his interest with *Octavian*, procured from the senate, contrary to their usual policy, a decree to that effect, in the course of that same year, B.C. 40. *Herod* made such dispatch, that he returned to *Judea* before the end of it, and raising forces of every kind, foreigners as well as *Jews*, relieved his friends at *Massada*, who had been closely besieged all the while by *Antigonus*. At one time they were reduced to the utmost distress for want of water, and must have surrendered next day, had not a providential rain fallen the night before, and filled all their cisterns, so as to enable them to hold out until *Herod* came to their succour.

Next year, B.C. 39, *Herod* carried on the war against *Antigonus*, with various success. The Roman generals sent to his assistance, by order of *Anthony*, namely, *Silo* and *Machæras*, doing him more hurt than good. And his brother *Joseph*, who had defended *Massada* so gallantly, being left to command in *Judea*, while *Herod* attended *Anthony* in *Syria*, contrary to his orders, went on an expedition against *Jericho*, in which he was slain, and most of his forces cut in pieces. This disaster encouraged a revolt of the disaffected in *Galilee* and *Idumæa*. Afterwards *Herod* himself was wounded and repulsed at *Jericho*, but near the end of the year obtained a signal victory over the army of *Antigonus*, commanded by *Pappus*, whom he slew.

The following year, B.C. 38, *Herod* besieged *Jerusalem*. During the siege, he consummated his marriage with *Miriam*, or *Mariamne*, whom he had espoused four years before. This affinity with the *Asamonean* family, he hoped would conciliate the people to his government. On his return to the siege, he was joined by *Sosius*, president of *Syria*, with a powerful force which *Anthony* sent to his assistance. Their joint army, at the lowest computation, amounted to 60,000 men. At length, after they had vigorously besieged the city about half a year, they stormed it, the year following, B.C. 37. And the *Roman* soldiers, exasperated at the opposition they had experienced, plundered the city, and massacred the inhabitants without mercy, *Sosius* encouraging his men. Insomuch that *Herod* complained, that the *Romans were going to make him king of a desert*; and was forced to redeem the city from total destruction, by the present

of a considerable sum of money, to satisfy the rapacity of the *Romans*.

Antigonus surrendered himself to *Sosius*, and implored his clemency. But the Roman general, despising his pusillanimity, rejected him with scorn, calling him, in the feminine gender, *Antigona*, and sent him in chains to *Anthony*, at *Antioch*; who, not long after, was prevailed upon, by the solicitations of *Herod*, and a large sum of money, to execute him, like a common malefactor, by the rods and axe of the lictor: intending, by this ignominious death, to which the *Romans* never before had subjected any crowned head, to lessen the attachment of the *Jews* to the *Asamonean* family; who, during his lifetime, could not, in general, be prevailed on to acknowledge *Herod* as king, by any tortures; as we learn from *Strabo*, cited by *Josephus*. Ant. xv. 1, 2.

Such was the end of the *Asamonean* dynasty, after it had subsisted 126 years. "A noble and illustrious house," says *Josephus*, "distinguished by their descent, by the dignity of the pontificate, and by the great exploits of their ancestors for the nation."

The fortunes of this house seem to be referred to in the following obscure

SEQUEL OF MICAH'S PROPHECY.

- V. 5. "When the *Assyrian* shall have come into our land,
Then shall be raised up against him *
Seven Shepherds, and *eight princes* of men.
6. And they shall waste with the sword
The land of *Asher*, and the land of *Nimrod*, in its coasts;
Thus shall HE deliver [us] from the *Assyrian*,
When he shall have come into our land,
And when he shall have trampled on our borders."

"The *Assyrian*" here, (according to the ingenious conjecture of Dr. *Gregory Sharpe* †,) aptly denotes *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the succeeding kings of *Syria*, who ruled in *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, and greatly oppressed the *Jews*, as we have seen. The "*seven shepherds*" to be raised up by THE MESSIAH for the deliverance of his people, represent the *seven Maccabees*,

* Instead of the *Masorete* reading, וְהִקְמַנּוּ, "Then shall we raise against him," the *Sept.* read, וְהִקְמוּ, καὶ ἐγερθησονται. "Then shall be raised up against him."

† See his *Second Argument in Defence of Christianity*, &c. p. 162, &c.

old *Mattathias*, his five sons, and his grandson *John Hyrcanus*, who signalized themselves in the defence of their country, and carried the war into the enemies' land of "*Asher* and of *Nimrod*;" and the last, in particular, raised the glory of his house to the highest pitch, and derived his name, *Hyrcanus*, from his exploits in these countries. These are aptly termed "*shepherds*," because they were *leaders* of the people, acting under the great SHEPHERD of ISRAEL, and the prime "*LEADER*," CHRIST, noticed in the foregoing part of the prophecy.

Their successors are distinguished from them by the title of "*princes*," because, not satisfied with the modest title of "*Ethnarchs*" and "*High Priests*," they assumed the crown as "*kings*," following the example of *Aristobulus*, the eldest son of *Hyrcanus*; who, with his two brothers, *Antigonus* and *Jan-næus*, *Alexandra*, her two sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus* II, and the two sons of the latter, *Alexander* and *Antigonus*, make up eight. Queen *Alexandra* may justly be reckoned in the number; for as *Josephus* observes, "she was a woman free from the weakness of her sex, and more practised in the arts of government than most *men*."

If this interpretation be admitted, (which certainly is less objectionable, and more exact and consistent throughout, than any other that has been proposed hitherto,) it fills up an important chasm in the prophetic series of the *Asamonean* dynasty, between the *Macedo-Grecian* dynasty and the *nativity* of CHRIST, at *Bethlehem*, under the *Romans*, with which the prophecy commences, perfectly corresponding therewith; and thus renders the whole the most comprehensive and important single prophecy in the OLD TESTAMENT.

HEROD THE GREAT.

His accession is dated by *Josephus*, in the consulate of *Marcus Agrippa* and *Caninius Gallus*, B.C. 37, and in [the third year of] the 185th Olympiad.

To secure himself on the throne, he began his reign by cutting off the heads of the *Asamonean* party; and among them, all the members of the *Sanhedrim*, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*, who alone had recommended the surrender of the city to *Herod*; whereas the rest joined in the general cry, *the temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!* As if GOD would protect it;

though they had such dear-bought experience to the contrary, when the *national* sins drew down Divine chastisement upon the people; as before remarked in the second of *Maccabees*, v. 19, 20.

The *Pollio* and *Sameas* of *Josephus* were the *Hillel* and *Shammai* of the Rabbins; two of the most eminent among the ancient doctors of their nation. *Hillel* was of the royal line of *David*, being descended from *Shephatiah*, the son of *Abital*, *David's* wife, 1 Chron. iii. 3. He was born in *Babylonia*, and came to *Jerusalem* in the fortieth year of his age, and for his eminence in the study of the law, was appointed president of the great *Sanhedrim*, forty years after, in the eightieth of his age, and held that high station for forty years more; and it continued in his family till the tenth generation. For he was succeeded by *Simeon*, the same who is supposed to have taken CHRIST in his arms, when he was presented in the Temple, Luke ii. 25—35. His son, *Gamaliel*, was president of the *Sanhedrim*, when *Peter* and the Apostles were summoned before them, Acts v. 34; “At whose feet the Apostle *Paul* was bred up,” or educated, in the sect and discipline of the *Pharisees*, Acts xxii. 3. He lived till within eighteen years of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and in the *Jewish* writings is distinguished by the title of *Gamaliel the Old*. He was succeeded by *Simeon* II. who perished in the destruction of *Jerusalem*. His son was *Gamaliel* II. and his again *Simeon* III. He was succeeded by his son, the celebrated *R. Judah Hakadosh*, or “the holy,” who composed the *Mishna*, or *Traditional Law*. His son and successor was *Gamaliel* III.; after him *Judah Gemaricus*; after him, *Hillel* II. the ingenious compiler of the present *Jewish Calendar*, or technical Chronology, about A.D. 358.

Shammai had been a disciple of *Hillel*, and approached the nearest to him in learning and eminence of all the Mishnical Doctors. He was vice-president of the *Sanhedrim*, and disagreed in several points with his master. *Hillel* was of a mild and peaceable temper, but *Shammai* of an angry and fiery spirit. Hence proceeded violent disputes and contests between the two schools, which at length ended in bloodshed. At last they were allayed by a fictitious *Bath Col*, or voice from heaven, deciding in favour of the school of *Hillel*, to which the school of *Shammai* submitted.

In the room of *Antigonus*, *Herod* appointed *Ananelus* high priest, B.C. 36. He was an obscure priest, of the pontifical family, residing among the *Jews* of *Babylonia*, whom *Herod* had formerly known, and now promoted, for his insignificance, to that high office, that he might not interfere with the royal authority. But this appointment produced great disturbances in his family. For *Mariamne*, his favourite wife, and her mother *Alexandra*, took umbrage at the exclusion of *Aristobulus*, her brother, the rightful successor to the pontificate. *Mariamne* was perpetually teasing him on the subject, and *Alexandra*, who was a woman of high spirit, and of great understanding, went further, for she complained to *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, by letter, and began to engage *Anthony* himself to interfere, by means of *Dellius*, a favourite of his. *Herod* therefore found it necessary, for his own quiet and safety, to depose *Ananelus*, and appoint *Aristobulus*, then a youth of only seventeen years, high priest in his stead, next year, B.C. 35.

Alexandra having thus extorted from *Herod* the pontificate for her son, pursued the same means for obtaining the crown also, which *Herod* had usurped; by intriguing with *Cleopatra* to gain over *Anthony*. But *Herod* detecting their intrigue, confined her to the palace, and set spies to watch her proceedings. Resenting this imprisonment, she formed a plot for escaping to *Egypt* with her son, but *Herod* seized them both on the road, when they attempted to put it into execution; and out of an affected clemency, pardoned both, because he dared not punish either; determined, however, to rid himself of such a dangerous competitor, whenever a convenient opportunity should offer. And the attachment of the multitude was soon publicly shewn to the young prince; for at the ensuing feast of *Tabernacles*, he discharged the functions of the high priest with so much grace and dignity, and the beauty of his person was so set off by the splendour of the pontifical robes, that he charmed the whole assembly, and every tongue was loud in his praises. This raised the tyrant's jealousy to such a pitch, that he could not brook any further delay, but immediately after the festival was over, took him down to an entertainment at *Jericho*; and after dinner, several of *Herod's* attendants, bathing in a pond, he was persuaded to bathe also, and was dipped, and held so long by them under water, that he was drowned. *Herod* expressed the greatest grief at this unfortunate accident, as he affected to consider it,

and interred him with great pomp. But every one saw through his hypocrisy, and none more clearly than *Alexandra*, who was inconsolable, and could not have survived her loss, but for the desire of revenge. Accordingly she acquainted *Cleopatra* with the treacherous murder of her son, and engaged her so effectually in her interest, that she never ceased importuning *Anthony* to call *Herod* to an account. *Anthony* therefore cited *Herod* to appear before him in Syria, next year, B.C. 34. But *Herod*, by fair words and large presents, so mollified *Anthony*, that nothing could be done against him; though *Cleopatra*, who attended the trial, prosecuted this cause to the utmost; not so much to gratify *Alexandra*, or to promote justice, as to gain *Herod's* kingdom for herself, if he should be put to death. *Anthony* satisfied her covetousness, by giving her *Cœle-Syria* instead of *Judea*, and so she dropped the prosecution.

This prosecution, however, gave great rise to another tragedy in *Herod's* family. For when *Herod* was summoned to appear before *Anthony*, apprehensive of the event, he left directions with his uncle *Joseph*, who had married his sister *Salome*, to put *Mariamne*, his beloved wife, to death, if he should be condemned; fearing lest *Anthony*, who admired her even upon the fame of her beauty, might take her to himself, after his death. But *Joseph* imprudently divulged the secret to *Mariamne*, which exceedingly offended her and her mother *Alexandra*; and the latter plotted to fly for protection to a *Roman* legion, stationed near the city. Upon *Herod's* return, his sister *Salome*, the fire-brand of her family, disclosed to him all that had happened, and malignantly accused her own husband *Joseph* of too great familiarity with *Mariamne*, ready to sacrifice him to her hatred of the latter; who being a woman of high birth, and still higher spirit, looked down on *Salome* as her inferior, and treated her with contempt. An offence not to be forgiven by an haughty and revengeful woman. *Herod*, though struck with jealousy, restrained himself through love to *Mariamne*, and questioned her in private about the charge. But she vindicated herself so fully, with all the persuasiveness of conscious innocence, that the king was satisfied, and asked her pardon for listening to such injurious reports; and assuring her of his love, pressed her to return it; but she resentfully remarked, that his conduct did not correspond with his professions, for that *if he loved her, how could he order her to be put to death, though innocent, in case*

Anthony should determine against him? This imprudent declaration rekindled his jealousy, and convinced him that the charge was true; he flung her from his arms, ordered *Joseph* to be put to death, without admitting him into his presence; and though his love at this time restrained his rage against *Mariamne*, he put her mother *Alexandra* into custody, as the cause of all these mischiefs. Ant. XV. 3, 9.

In the year B.C. 32, the civil war between *Anthony* and *Octavius* broke out, and when *Herod* was raising forces to assist the former, his patron, he was commissioned by him, at the desire of *Cleopatra*, to invade *Malchus*, king of *Arabia Petraea*, who now withheld from her the tribute which he had paid for a part of his territory adjoining *Egypt*, that had been unjustly granted to her by *Anthony*. This wicked and rapacious queen, hoping that one or the other of these kings would be slain in the war, and that his kingdom would become a prey to her. *Herod* at first defeated *Malchus*, but in a second engagement, being treacherously deserted by *Cleopatra's* general, *Athenion*, who turned his arms against him, was overthrown with great slaughter, and hardly escaped himself with the remnant of his army.

To aggravate this disaster, the next year, B.C. 31, opened with a dreadful earthquake in *Judea*, which destroyed thirty thousand souls: this fresh calamity induced *Herod* to sue for peace to the *Arabians*; but they thinking this a favourable opportunity of reducing the whole country, haughtily refused it, put his ambassadors to death, and invaded *Judea*. *Herod*, whose army had not suffered by the earthquake, which only overthrew their tents, marched against them, and in two successive engagements, either killed or took prisoners the whole of their army, and compelled them, in turn, to sue for peace, which he granted on his own terms, and returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*, having reduced the *Arabians* under his dominion.

The battle of *Actium*, Sept. 2. B.C. 31, gave *Octavius* a decided victory over *Anthony*, who fled to *Egypt*, as his last retreat. There, *Herod*, by a special messenger, recommended him to put *Cleopatra* to death, who had been the cause of all his misfortunes, to seize her kingdom and treasure, raise a new army, and carry on the war; promising to support him to the utmost. But the infatuated *Roman* rejected this advice; and *Herod* thought it high time to look to himself, and make his

peace with *Augustus*, on the best terms he could. Apprehensive, however, that he might be deposed, and *Hyrchanus* restored to his throne, (which he had formerly held under the protection of the *Romans*, until he was dispossessed by the *Parthians*;) he trumped up a sham plot against the poor old prince, as if he held a treasonable correspondence with *Malchus*, king of *Arabia*; and under this pretence caused him to be beheaded, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age.

Of all the atrocious cruelties of *Herod*, this was marked with the highest perfidy, ingratitude, and breach of hospitality. *Hyrchanus* had lived in exile, for some time, at *Seleucia*, where he was treated with the highest respect by the king of *Parthia*, and honoured as their king by the *Jews* of *Babylonia*, and of the *Parthian* empire, who composed a body altogether more numerous and wealthy than those of *Judea*, and supplied him with a maintenance suitable to his rank and dignity. But on hearing of the death of *Antigonus*, and advancement of *Herod* to the throne of *Judea*, his love of his country prompted him to return home, and put himself under the protection of *Herod*, who owed to him the rise of all his fortunes, his affinity with the royal family, and even his life, when arraigned before the *Sanhedrim*. *Herod* also was anxious for his coming, in order to have him in his power, that he might, by his death, prevent his restoration to the throne, in case of a reverse of fortune. And therefore not only importuned *Hyrchanus* to come, but sent an embassy to *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, to solicit his permission. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of all his friends, *Hyrchanus* returned to *Jerusalem*, in the second year of *Herod's* reign; who treated him with all seeming respect; until his wicked policy tempted him to cut off his king and his benefactor, six years after.

Herod's next care, before he went to make his peace with *Octavius*, (who came to *Rhodes* in his way to *Egypt*, the ensuing year, B.C. 30, after he had settled matters in *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*, and secured those nearer countries in his interest,) was to secure his own family and his treasures, in case he should be unsuccessful, in consequence of his known attachment to *Anthony*. His mother, sister, wives, and children, he placed in the strong fortress of *Massada*, under the care of his brother *Pheroras*. But *Mariamne*, and her mother *Alexandra*, who disagreed with his mother and sister, he left in *Alexandrium*,

under the care of *Sohemus*, a trusty *Idumæan*, with orders to put them both to death, if *Octavius* should treat him harshly, and then that he should endeavour to secure the crown for his children, in conjunction with *Pheroras*.

Octavius, however, gave him a most favourable reception, struck with the dignified frankness of his demeanour; openly avowing his attachment to *Anthony*, as long as he could serve him, and now offering his friendship to *Augustus*, promising to serve him with the like fidelity. That artful politician not only restored him his diadem, which, on entering, he had laid aside, but afterwards enlarged his dominions, by the restoration of a part which *Anthony* had taken from him to give to *Cleopatra*, and by further grants, and always treated *Herod* with more distinction and regard than any of the tributary kings of the *Roman* empire.

But however successful *Herod* was in his public proceedings, he was most unhappy at home. The affections of his wife *Mariamne* were still further alienated from him, by the discovery of his last directions to *Sohemus*, which, by her address, she extorted from him. And she received *Herod*, on his return home, after his good fortune, with coldness and sadness, so as to provoke him most highly; and presuming too much on her unbounded influence over him, she failed not to aggravate his displeasure, by her reserve and haughtiness. While he was fluctuating between love and resentment for a year, sometimes wishing to put her to death, but again fearing to punish himself still more severely, she brought matters to a crisis, by one day refusing his proffered love, and upbraiding him with the murder of her father, (or grandfather, *Hyrchanus*,) and of her brother. Enraged at this, and spurred on by the false accusations of *Salome*, he put her confidential chamberlain to the torture, who declared that her hatred towards him proceeded from what *Sohemus* had told her. This instantly excited his jealousy of *Sohemus*, who he concluded must have been too intimate with her, for that otherwise he would not have betrayed the secret. He ordered him to be immediately seized and put to death, and had *Mariamne* tried and condemned, by intimidated judges, and at the instigation of his sister *Salome*, fearing he might relent, executed immediately, under the alarming suggestion, that if her life was spared it might excite a public commotion.

While she was leading to execution, her unworthy mother,

Alexandra, fearing to be involved in her doom, met her on the way, reproaching her with ingratitude to her husband; adding that she was justly punished, and even dared to pull her by the hair; but *Mariamne*, without uttering a word, bore it with dignified composure, ashamed of her mother's baseness, and without changing colour, submitted to death, retaining her nobleness of mind even to the last.

Alexandra did not long escape, for when *Herod* fell sick next year, B. C. 28, oppressed with the most poignant grief and remorse for the injured *Mariamne's* death, she laid a plot for seizing the government, but it was disclosed to *Herod* by the officers whose fidelity she endeavoured to corrupt, and he instantly ordered her to be put to death.

The next year B.C. 27, *Augustus* got that name, instead of *Octavius*, and with it the whole power of the state, which was vested in him by the senate and *Roman* people, with the liberty to resign it every ten years, when he should find the burden too heavy for him; but he retained it till his death. That he might not seem, however, to assume the whole authority to himself, he divided the empire into two parts; the quiet and peaceable provinces he assigned to the senate, to be governed by consular and prætorian officers, according to former usage; these were called *senatorial*; but the turbulent and insecure, which lay on the outskirts of the empire, he reserved for himself; these were called *imperial*, and governed by his presidents and procurators. By this profound political arrangement, under the appearance of leaving to the senate the most settled parts of the empire, and the easiest to be governed, and taking the most troublesome to himself, he secured the whole military power, which was necessarily stationed in the imperial provinces, to keep them in awe; such as *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt* in the east, and *Spain* in the west.

Herod was still harassed with domestic troubles. His turbulent sister, *Salome*, having fallen out with her second husband, *Costobarus* the *Idumean*, the year following, B.C. 25, sent him a bill of divorce, contrary to the law and usage, which confined that privilege to the husband, Deut. xxiv. 1, 2, &c. Matt. v. 31, xix. 7, and accused him to *Herod* of plotting with *Lysimachus*, *Antipater*, and others of the *Asamonean* party, and of having concealed the sons of *Babus*, whom *Herod*, at the taking of *Jerusalem*, had entrusted to him to be executed. Finding this last

information of *Salome* to be true, he believed the rest, and put them all to death. But he was still harassed with tumults and conspiracies during the remainder of his reign, which, though he punished with encreasing severity and cruelty, as he advanced in years, he could never entirely subdue.

To secure himself the better against such tumults and conspiracies, he built several strong cities and fortresses in the land. He rebuilt *Samaria*, which *John Hyrcanus* had destroyed, and restored it to its former splendour, calling it, in Greek, *Sebaste*, "the city of *Augustus*." Having finished this, he began another city at *Strato's* tower, on the sea coast of *Palestine*, between *Dora* and *Joppa*, which, in honour of his other name, *Cæsar*, he called *Cæsarea*. Here he made the most convenient and safest port in all the coasts of *Phœnicia*, by running out a vast semi-circular mole, of great depth and extent, into the sea, so as to form a spacious and secure harbour against the stormy south and west winds leaving only an entrance into it from the north. Some of the stones employed in the work were fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, and the foundation was sunk twenty fathom, or one hundred and twenty feet in the sea. When *Judea* became an *imperial* province, after the banishment of *Archelaus*, *Herod's* son, it was usually the residence of the *Roman* procurator, or governor, Acts xxiii. 23, 24.

He also built a strong and magnificent palace for himself on Mount *Sion*, the site of the original fortress of *Jebus*, which *David* took, 2 Sam. v. 7, and of the citadel which had so much annoyed the *Maccabees* in the *Syrian* wars. It was remarkable for two large and sumptuous apartments, the one called *Cæsareum*, in honour of the emperor; the other *Agrippæum*, in honour of his favourite *Agrippa*.

But his greatest and noblest work was the rebuilding of the temple, which had gone greatly out of repair, by length of time, and had also been materially injured in the civil wars. By this pious work, he probably thought to make atonement to God for all the blood that he had shed, as well as to conciliate the minds of his subjects, who were wonderfully attached to the forms of their religion, however they denied its power, and to erect a lasting monument to his own honour; and, perhaps, it was to disappoint him in this last expectation, that the *Jews* affected to call *Herod's* "the second temple" still, though the second, built by *Zerubbabel*, had been pulled down to the foundation

on this occasion; or rather, perhaps, because the daily sacrifices had never been intermitted while it was building.

Herod made this proposal to a general assembly of the people, in the eighteenth year of his reign, probably at the passover, B.C. 19, but they were startled thereat, apprehending that when he had pulled down the old temple, he might not be able nor willing to build the new; he therefore promised them that he would not attempt to demolish the present, until he had provided all the materials for immediately rebuilding it. And he kept his word; for he employed a thousand carts to draw stones and materials, ten thousand of the most skilful workmen, and a thousand priests, whom he had instructed to be masons and carpenters; and, after two years' preparation, pulled down the old temple, and began the new, in the twentieth year of his reign, B.C. 17. And such was their expedition, that *the sanctuary* (ὁ ναός) was built in a year and a half, and the rest of the *temple* (το ἱερόν), containing the outer buildings and porticos, in eight years more, so as to be then fit for divine service, according to the king's intention. But the expense of adorning and finishing the whole was still carried on from the sacred treasury, and was not completed till the administration of *Gessius Florus*, A.D. 62, when eighteen thousand workmen were discharged at once.

To find further employment for these, king *Agrippa*, who then had the care of the temple, under *Claudius*, was recommended by the people to take down and rebuild the eastern outermost portico, which had been originally built by *Solomon*, *not wishing that the sacred treasure should be laid up, for fear it might become a prey to the Romans*, but *Agrippa* unwisely refused their request, on account of the length of time, and the greatness of expense the work would require. So these men, for want of support, began those robberies and seditions which ended in the destruction of the temple. Joseph. Ant. XV. 11, 1—6; xx. 8, 7.

This determines the date of our Lord's first passover, A.D. 28, which was *forty-five* years complete, or the *forty-sixth* current, from the foundation of the temple, B.C. 17. And leads us to an emendation of the English translation of John ii. 20. "*Forty and six years hath this temple been in building, [and is not finished yet,] and wilt thou erect it in three days?*" For such is the proper rendering of the Greek aorist, *ἠκοδομηθη*. *Herod*,

indeed, only began the work, which the funds of no individual were competent to finish; especially his, which must have been considerably exhausted by his other public buildings, carrying on at the same time, the city and harbour of *Cæsarea*, &c. *The Temple*, as *Tacitus* remarks, was a work of “*immense opulence*,” on which a great many years, and all the sacred offerings sent from all parts of the world, for the use of the temple, were expended. The free will offerings and gifts to the sacred treasury are noticed as considerable in OUR LORD’S days, Mark xii. 41—44; Luke xxi. 1—5. And were continued in those of *Paul*, Acts xxiv. 17.

The year after the foundation of the temple was laid, *Herod* went to *Rome*, to visit *Augustus*, and to see his two sons by *Mariamne*, *Alexander*, and *Aristobulus*, who had been educated there for three years past, under the immediate inspection of the emperor himself, who had them lodged in the royal palace. He was received with great honour and kindness by *Augustus*, and took back his sons, whose education was now complete, to *Judea*; and soon after married the elder to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, and the younger to *Berenice*, the daughter of *Salome*, his sister. But the wicked *Salome*, notwithstanding her closer affinity, envied the young princes their merited popularity, fearing also that she might suffer for having advised their mother *Mariamne’s* death; and she never ceased to calumniate them both to *Herod*, until at length his jealousy got the better of his paternal affection. For she was so base, as to alienate her own daughter’s affections from her husband, and prevail on her to betray his confidential conversations, respecting the king’s cruelty and ill-treatment; which she reported, with aggravations, to *Herod*.

To check the pride and insolence of *Mariamne’s* sons, who certainly were not sufficiently guarded in their conversation respecting their father; three years after their return, *Herod* brought to Court, B.C. 13, his eldest son, *Antipater*, whom he had by his first wife, *Doris*, when he was in a private station, and whom he had divorced on his marriage with *Mariamne*. But this measure only provoked them to greater discontents, and more intemperate language than before. Of which, *Antipater*, who was no less artful than ambitious, failed not to avail himself; and took care to have them constantly reported to his father, by his own emissaries; while he openly espoused their cause, and

endeavoured to excuse them from the charges, so as to persuade the old king that he was no less attached to his brothers than to his father: and at length to recommend him to *Augustus* as his successor, and obtain the emperor's permission to leave the crown to him, in the first instance, and afterwards to the sons of *Mariamne*, two years after, B.C. 11.

Josephus gives a full detail of all the various plots that were laid by *Antipater* and his wicked associates, *Salome*, the sister, and *Pheroras*, the brother of *Herod*, to compass the destruction of the unfortunate princes, which they at length accomplished, by a false charge, that they intended to poison their father; and *Herod*, in his rage, at last ordered them both to be strangled, at *Sebaste*, after he had accused, and got them to be condemned to death, in a council held at *Berytus*, before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, governors of *Syria*, B.C. 6. By the death of these two unfortunate brothers, the noble family of the *Asamoneans* became utterly extinct; and this disastrous period, marked by civil wars, and domestic treasons and massacres, was brought to a conclusion, according to prophecy, about the birth of *John the Baptist*, Mal. iv. 5, 6.

END OF VOL. II.

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A

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 OBIVIATE THE CAVILS OF
SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.*

BY THE

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ANALYSIS
OF
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.
CONTAINING A
CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY
OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT.

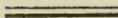
Των παντων κακων αιτιον, μη αναγνωσκειν ΒΙΒΑΙΑ, ΨΥΧΗΣ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΑ.
CHRYSOSTOM.

“ *The cause of all these evils, not to read
THE SACRED BOOKS, those MEDICINES OF THE SOUL.*”

ANALYSIS

OF

SACRED CHRONOLOGY.



NINTH PERIOD.

FROM THE BIRTH OF JOHN BAPTIST TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 75 YEARS.

ROMAN DYNASTY.

IDUMÆAN KINGS.

	B.C.
<i>Herod the Great</i>	2 last
<i>John Baptist</i> born about Spring	} 5
<i>Roman Enrollment</i> by <i>Cyrenius</i>	
Nativity of <i>JESUS CHRIST</i> about Autumn	
Visit of the <i>Parthian Magi</i> to <i>Jerusalem</i>	
Massacre of the Infants at <i>Bethlehem</i>	} 4
<i>Archelaus</i> Ethnarch of <i>Judea</i> 10	
<i>Passover</i> , April 12	

ROMAN PROCURATORS.

	A.D.
<i>Roman Assessment, or Taxing, by Cyrenius</i>	} 6
1. Procurator, <i>Coponius</i> 2	
<i>CHRIST</i> visits the Temple	8
2. <i>P. Marcus Ambivius</i> 4	9
<i>Tiberius</i> made Colleague of <i>Augustus</i>	12
3. <i>P. Annius Rufus</i> 1	13
4. <i>P. Valerius Gratus</i> 11	14
5. <i>P. Pontius Pilate</i> 10	25
<i>John's Ministry</i> , about Autumn	26
<i>CHRIST</i> baptized about Autumn	27

CHRIST'S MINISTRY.

	A. D.
I. PASSOVER	28
CHRIST purges the Temple.....	
—— opens his Ministry in <i>Judea</i>	}
<i>John</i> imprisoned by <i>Herod Antipas</i>	}
CHRIST'S Ministry in <i>Galilee</i>	}
<i>Sermon on the Mount</i>	}
II. PASSOVER	29
12 <i>Apostles</i> sent to proclaim CHRIST.....	}
<i>John</i> beheaded	}
III. PASSOVER	30
70 <i>Disciples</i> sent to proclaim CHRIST	}
CHRIST'S Transfiguration	}
IV. PASSOVER	31
CHRIST'S <i>Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension</i>	}
<i>Church of CHRIST</i> founded at <i>Pentecost</i>	}
<i>Church</i> encreased	32
<i>Church</i> multiplied	33
Martyrdom of <i>Stephen</i> about Autumn	}
I. <i>Jewish</i> persecution of the <i>Church</i>	}
<i>Paul's Conversion and Ministry</i>	}
6. P. <i>Marcellus</i>	1 } 35
7. P. <i>Marullus</i>	5 } 36
<i>Jewish Embassy to Caligula</i>	40
<i>Herod Agrippa</i> , King of <i>Judea</i>	3 } 41
Martyrdom of <i>James</i> the Elder	}
II. <i>Jewish</i> Persecution of the <i>Church</i>	}
<i>Famine</i> in <i>Judea</i> in the reign of <i>Claudius</i> ..	}
8. P. <i>Cuspius Fadus</i>	2 } 44
9. P. <i>Tiberius Alexander</i>	1 } 46
10. P. <i>Ventidius Cumanus</i>	5 } 47
I. <i>Council</i> at <i>Jerusalem</i>	49
11. P. <i>Felix</i>	10 } 52
<i>Paul</i> imprisoned at <i>Jerusalem</i>	59
12. P. <i>Porcius Festus</i>	1 } 61
<i>Paul's</i> first visit to <i>Rome</i>	}
13. P. <i>Albinus</i>	1 } 63
14. <i>Gessius Florus</i>	1 } 64
<i>Paul's</i> second visit to <i>Rome</i>	}
The <i>Jewish</i> war	5 } 65
Martyrdom of <i>Peter</i> and <i>Paul</i>	}
I. <i>Roman</i> Persecution of the <i>Church</i> }.....	65
<i>Vespasian</i> invades <i>Judea</i>	68
<i>Titus</i> destroys <i>Jerusalem</i>	70

The *Chronology* of this short, but most eventful and important

period, is exceedingly intricate and embarrassed. The *Evangelists*, in their concise *memoirs*, notice but few dates, and even these are not easily reconcilable with each other, nor with the corresponding annals of *ecclesiastical*, *Jewish*, and *profane history*. Nor is *Josephus*, to whom we are principally indebted for this outline, sufficiently explicit in determining the several years of the reigns and administrations of the *Roman* emperors and procurators. However, from those that he has determined, the rest may be supplied with a considerable degree of precision. A fuller outline of the *Gospel Chronology*, during the former part, to the *conversion* and *ministry* of *Paul*, A.D. 35, and of the principles upon which it was constructed, may be seen, Vol. I. p. 96—99.

Before we enter upon the *history* of this period, it will be requisite to enquire into the nature and extent of the evidence afforded by those *incomparable historians*, the *Evangelists*, in

THE CANONICAL GOSPELS,

respecting their, 1. *authenticity*, *genuineness*, and *integrity*, or freedom from *adulteration*; 2. *order*; 3. *time* of composition; 4. *inspiration*; 5. *style*; and, 6. *credibility*.

AUTHENTICITY.

The four Gospels have been uniformly attributed, by the uninterrupted tradition of the Church, to the Apostles *Matthew* and *John*, and, the companions of Apostles, *Luke* and *Mark*. The two former personally attended CHRIST throughout the greater part, or the whole, of his ministry. And *Luke*, “the physician” of Antioch, was the intimate friend and companion of *Paul* in his travels, who mentions him honourably, Philemon 24; Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; whose ministry forms the latter part of his second work, the *Acts of the Apostles*. *Mark* also, was the nephew of *Barnabas*, Col. iv. 10, and the joint companion of him and *Paul*, Acts xii. 25, and afterwards of *Barnabas*, when they parted, Acts xv. 39, and also the intimate friend of *Peter*, Acts xii. 12, whom he accompanied to the mystical “*Babylon*,” or *Rome*, 1 Pet. v. 13. All, therefore, had the best opportunities of procuring the most authentic and correct information; as stated by *Luke*, in the classical preface to his Gospel, which may thus be more clearly rendered, 1—4.

“Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to compose a narrative of the things that are fully believed among *us*, [Christians]; according as they delivered them to *us*, who, *from the beginning*, were *eye-witnesses* and *ministers* of THE ORACLE: it seemed good to *me also*, having been *accurately informed* in all things *from the very first*, to *write* unto thee, *in order*, most excellent *Theophilus*, that thou mightest well know the certainty of those matters, in which thou hast been *instructed by word of mouth*.”

In the original, the term *πολλοι*, may reasonably include the preceding Evangelists, *Matthew*, and perhaps *Mark*, among other *writers* of Gospels. The verb *επεχειρησαν*, “*have taken in hand*,” or “*undertaken*,” is used with latitude, both in a good and a bad sense. Several commentators, following *Origen*, take it in the latter; but that it should rather be taken in the former, may justly be inferred from St. *Luke* classing himself among those writers, *εδοξε καμοι*, “It seemed good *to me also*.” *Πραγματων*, the general subject of their writings, is rightly rendered “*things*,” as including both *facts* and *doctrines*; and seems to be synonymous with *λογων*, “*matters*” afterwards; by a usual Hebraism, denoting *words* and *things*. *Οι αυτοπται, και υπηρεται ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ*, in strictness, can only denote the *eye-witnesses* and *ministers* of the PERSONAL WORD, or ORACLE, who conversed with, and ministered unto Him, *απ’ αρχης*, “*from the beginning*” of his mission; as understood in the parallel passages, John xv. 27; Acts i. 22, 23; 1 John ii. 14, &c.; and *παρεδσαν*, “*delivered them by tradition*,” either in speech or writing; and these were the *apostles* and *disciples* in general; from whom likewise St. *Luke*, *παρηκολουθηκοσι*, “*derived information, as an attendant*,” on St. *Paul* especially, *ανωθεν πασιν ακριβως*, “*in all things, accurately, from the very first*,” or from the very commencement of the GOSPEL dispensation, in all the wonders accompanying the *birth of the Baptist*, the *annunciation to the Virgin Mary*, &c. which he alone records in his curious and valuable Introduction. And he wrote *καθεξης*, “*in order*,” or *methodically*, in a regular, well connected narrative, though more observant of the *order of place*, than of *time*. And his chief object in writing his Gospel, was that *Theophilus*, *επιγνως*, might *well*, or *intimately know*, (which is the proper import of the verb, 2 Cor. vi. 9; Matt. xi. 27, &c.) by a *written* and *authentic* record, *ασφαλειαν*, “*the certainty*”

of the matters, in which *κατηχηθης*, he had been *instructed by word of mouth*, or by some preachers of the Gospel.

This, it is hoped, will be found a more correct translation and explanation of this concise and difficult Preface; suggested, chiefly, by *Townson's* judicious Observations, Vol. I. p. 212, &c.

Some *German* critics, *Le Clerc*, *Michaelis*, *Koppe*, *Lessing*, *Eichhorne*, &c. have supposed that the three first Evangelists did not see each other's Gospels; and to account for the remarkable *verbal* harmony notwithstanding, that appears between their Gospels, they have supposed that all the Evangelists made use of a *common document* in the *Hebrew* or *Syrochaldee* dialect, which contained a short narrative of the principal transactions of CHRIST'S ministry, which served as a basis for their Gospels; and which they altered and enlarged, according as they got fuller information.

This hypothesis has been adopted and modified by the learned and ingenious Dr. *Marsh*, in his elaborate *Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels*, annexed to his Notes on the third volume of *Michaelis*; who conjectures that *Luke* meant to express the title of this common document, which was *Διηγησις περι των πεπληροφορημενων πραγματων*. κ. τ. λ. p. 197.

At the same time, he candidly notices an objection, which he leaves to the decision of the learned, whether it may not destroy the whole conjecture: namely, that *Luke* omits the article *την*, in his account, *αναταξασθαι διηγησιν*, κ. τ. λ. p. 199, note.

But that profound Greek critic, *Middleton*, in his *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 288, gives a verdict against him, observing, that "The title of a book, as prefixed to the book itself, should be anarthrous, [without the article:] but when the book is *referred* to, the article should be inserted." And he instances, in *Hesiod's* Poem, entitled *Ασπις Ἡρακλεους*, [*Hercules' Shield*,] which *Longinus* thus cites, *εγχε Ἡσιοδου και ΤΗΝ Ασπιδα θετερον*. ["If the *Shield* also is to be ascribed to *Hesiod*."]

And surely, *Luke's* preface militates against this hypothesis throughout: for *Matthew* and *John*, who were "*eye-witnesses* and *ministers*" of the "ORACLE," had no need of a common document; and *Luke* expressly asserts, that he derived his information from *Apostles**; and we may conclude the same of

* *Luke* accompanied *Paul* the *Apostle* to *Jerusalem*, Acts xxi. 8, and continued there for two years, during *Paul's* imprisonment, till the administration of *Festus*, A.D. 62.

Mark; while, according to *Origen*, all were impelled to write, and inspired by THE HOLY SPIRIT; whom CHRIST had solemnly promised to send, to guide them into *all the truth* of the Gospel, John xvi. 13.

That the succeeding Evangelists *did not see* the Gospels of their predecessors, upon which the whole hypothesis hinges, is a negative which cannot be proved. Whereas, the affirmative, that they *did*, is not only highly probable, if we consider the intimate connexion and correspondence subsisting between them, but appears to be sufficiently proved, from *internal evidence*, namely, by the *verbal* agreement between the first three Evangelists: as appears by comparing, 1. *Matthew* and *Mark* together, and *Matthew* and *Luke* together; 2. *Mark* and *Luke* together; and 3. *all three* together.

1. *Matthew* and *Mark* agree together, verbally in several passages; especially one long passage of *Matthew* xxiv. 9—36; compared with *Mark* xiii. 13—32; and *Matthew* and *Luke* also; compare Matt. xi. 4—19, with *Luke* vii. 22—35. In each of these cases, the variations are so trifling, that they might easily pass, as belonging to one and the same text. At least they do not differ more from each other, than each differs from itself in different manuscripts. *Marsh's* Dissert. p. 4, note.

2. *Mark* and *Luke* agree together, and differ from *Matthew* in many places. For instance, if we compare *Mark* x. 14—19, with *Luke* xviii. 16—20, we shall find every word of the latter contained in the former, which is somewhat fuller; while both differ from the *Hebrew* and from the *Sept.* of Exod. xx. 12—17, in the order and in the enunciation of the moral commandments of the Decalogue. Dissert. p. 73.

3. *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, agree word for word, in several passages; for instance, Matt. xxiv. 33—35, *Mark* xiii. 29—31, *Luke* xxi. 31—33, &c.

And this agreement is strongly marked in several *unusual* words and phrases.

They all agree in the citation, ὅς κατασκευασει την ὁδον σου εμπροσθεν σου, Matt. xi. 10, *Mark* i. 2, *Luke* vii. 27, which differs from Mal. iii. 1, both in the *Hebrew* and in the *Sept.* Diss. p. 133.

They all use the same phrase, and only once, ου μη γενσωνται

He had, therefore, abundant leisure and opportunity to acquire the fullest and most authentic information, at the fountain head, from the *Apostles* themselves.

θανατου, though they differ from each other in the remainder of the sentence, Matt. xvi. 22, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27. This expression is not found in the *Old Testament*; it occurs only in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*. Dissert. p. 69.

They all use the verb *απαροθη*, once only, and that unusually, in the passive voice, Matt. ix. 15, Mark ii. 20, Luke v. 35. p. 55.

They all use the adverb *δυσκολως*, once only, and in the earlier sense of *δυσχερως*, or *χαλεπως*, "hardly" or "difficultly," with *Thales*; which in classical usage signifies "morosely," Matt. xix. 13, Mark x. 23, Luke xviii. 24. It is remarkable that this adverb occurs no where else, neither in the *New Test.* nor in the *Sept.* nor in the *Greek Apocrypha*, p. 75.

To these curious and critical instances, selected from the copious and valuable Tables of parallel and coincident passages in the first three Evangelists, given in the *Dissertation*, p. 44—147, we may add,

4. That two or more independent Translators of the same common *Hebrew* document, who had not seen each other's translations, would not be likely to agree so often, critically, in expression. Dr. *Marsh* himself, p. 167, has produced the following instances of verbal disagreement in three distinct translators of *Luke's* foregoing introduction, ver. 1. to which a fourth is here adjoined.

1. ENGLISH BIBLE.

"*Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us.*"

2. DODDRIDGE'S VERSION.

"*Whereas many have undertaken to compose the history of those facts which have been confirmed among us.*"

3. CAMPBELL'S VERSION.

"*Forasmuch as many have undertaken to compose a narrative of those things which have been accomplished among us.*"

4. WAKEFIELD'S VERSION.

"*Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to write an account of those things about which we have been fully satisfied.*"

The foregoing translation, the fifth and latest, differs from them all. And yet all had the advantage of the *common document* of the English Bible; without which, we may be assured, their verbal disagreement would have been still greater.

Even in the English Bible, the same Greek text, as Dr. *Marsh** himself observes, p. 169, 170, is rendered differently in several places. Thus, CHRIST'S censure of the *Pharisees*, related nearly in the same words by Mark, xii. 38—40, and by Luke, xx. 45—47, exhibits the following variations in the translation.

GREEK in <i>both</i> .	ENGLISH, <i>Mark</i> .	ENGLISH, <i>Luke</i> .
— των θελοντων.....	— “which <i>love</i>	— “which <i>desire</i>
περιπατειν.....	to <i>go</i>	to <i>walk</i>
εν στολαις,	in long <i>clothing</i> ,	in long <i>robes</i> ,
— ασπασμους	— <i>salutations</i>	— <i>greetings</i>
ενταις αγοραις.....	in the market <i>places</i> ,	in the markets,
και πρωτοκαθεδριας	and the <i>chief seats</i> ,	and the <i>highest seats</i> ,
και πρωτοκλισιας	and the <i>uppermost rooms</i> .”	and the <i>chief rooms</i> .”

“ In the compass of one short sentence, (says he) we have here, not less than seven easy *Greek* expressions, all of which are rendered differently in two places of the same Version. Is it credible then, if our first three Gospels contained three *independent translations* of the same original, that they would resemble each other in the manner in which they do? The numerous and long examples of *verbal* coincidence, which have been produced in the preceding table, are surely proofs to the contrary.

“ In translating [also] from *Hebrew* into *Greek*, there is still less probability of agreeing by *mere accident*, than in translating from *Greek* into *English*; because the Greek language admits of *much greater variety* both in the *choice* and in the *position* of the words, than the English language.” Dissert. p. 170.

Thus are we indebted to the learned and ingenious author of this Dissertation, for a plain and simple refutation of his own abstruse and complicated hypothesis, in all its parts; satisfactory, as it should seem, to every unprejudiced and unbiassed critic. And we are persuaded, that should it attract his notice, it will so appear, on mature consideration, to himself, from the

* Dr. *Townson* had before produced the same passage, and for the same purpose. Vol. I. p. 62.

candour evidently pervading his Translation and Notes, which form a valuable and important accession to *Biblical Literature*.

The remarkable coincidence of expression between the Evangelists, especially in OUR LORD'S *discourses*, in which it prevails most, may rather be ascribed to the uncommon *attention* with which his sayings were treasured up in the memories of his hearers, and to the *supernatural aid* promised, "to bring all things to their *remembrance*, whatsoever he had said unto them," John xiv. 26, while they all exercised the freedom of *original historians*, in the use and arrangement of their common materials, as they judged fit, to follow or to vary from their predecessors.

ORDER.

Of the three Evangelists, *Matthew* is generally allowed to have written the first. His Gospel, in all the codes or volumes of the Gospels, and most ancient manuscripts, is placed first; and the priority is given thereto in the citations of the primitive Fathers, and of the early heretics. Its precedence therefore is unquestionable.

Whether he wrote in *Hebrew* or in *Greek*, is a point one of the most litigated among critics. The presumption is strongly in favour of the latter. *Greek*, at that time, was the prevailing language*. And as not only the rest of the Evangelists, but also the Apostles, *Peter, James, John, Jude, and Paul*, wrote all their Epistles in Greek, to *Christians, Jews, and Gentiles*, throughout the known world; and as *Matthew's* Gospel was designed for universal dissemination, not less than theirs, (Matt. xxvi. 13, xxviii. 19,) it is unlikely that it was originally written in any other language than that employed by all the other writers of the New Testament.

And this is strongly confirmed by the foregoing numerous and remarkable instances of *verbal* agreement between him and the other Evangelists; which, on the supposition that he wrote in *Hebrew*, or the vernacular *Syro-Chaldaic* dialect, would not be credible. Even they who maintain that opinion, are forced to confess, that an early *Greek* translation of his Gospels, existed

* This is vouched by *Cicero*. *Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus: Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.* "Greek authors are read in almost all countries: Latin are confined to their own narrow boundaries."

before *Luke* and *Mark* wrote theirs; which they saw and consulted.

The main point in dispute, after all, is, whether the present *Greek* copy is entitled to the *authority* of an original or not. And as this is a question of real and serious importance, the principal arguments on both sides deserve and require to be considered in this place.

The advocates of the *Hebrew Gospel*, *Campbell*, *Michaelis*, *Marsh*, &c. lay most stress on the testimonies of *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, in *Phrygia*, A.D. 116, *Irenæus*, A.D. 178, and the learned *Origen*, A.D. 230, which have been followed by several of the Fathers, *Jerom*, &c.

1. *Papias*, as cited by *Eusebius*, says, “*Matthew* composed the [sacred] oracles in the *Hebrew* dialect, and each interpreted them as he was able *.”

2. *Irenæus*, as cited by *Eusebius*, says, “*Matthew* published also a Scripture of the Gospel among the *Hebrews*, in their own dialect †.”

3. *Origen*, as cited by *Eusebius*, says, “As I have learned by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received, without dispute, by the whole Church of God under heaven: The first was written by *Matthew*, once a publican, afterwards an Apostle of JESUS CHRIST; who published it for the believers from *Judaism*, composed in *Hebrew letters* ‡.”

On the other hand, their opponents, *Whitby*, *Lardner*, *Jones*, *Jortin*, &c. contend,

1. That the testimony of *Papias* is vague and indecisive; that he had not seen the *Hebrew Gospel* itself; that it could not have been intended for universal circulation by his own account, because every one was not able to interpret it; and that the *Greek Gospel* was published before his time, as appears from the express or tacit references thereto, of *Barnabas* the Apostle, A.D. 71; *Clemens Romanus*, A.D. 96; *Hermas*, A.D. 100; *Ignatius*, A.D. 107, and *Polycarp*, A.D. 108, who were all prior to *Papias*, who all wrote in Greek, and who, unques-

* Ματθαίος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλεκτῷ τὰ λόγια συνεγραψάτο· ἠρμηνεύσει δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος.

† Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαίος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλεκτῷ, καὶ γραφὴν ἐξηνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου.

‡ Ματθαίου, ἐκδεδωκότα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεῦσαι γραμμασί· Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον [εὐαγγελίου].

tionably, referred to the *Greek* Gospels. See those references collected by *Lardner*, Vol. II. p. 15—93.

2. *Irenæus*, more critically translated, may well be understood to signify, that in addition to his *Greek* Gospel, *Matthew* published also a *Hebrew* Gospel for the benefit of the Hebrews, or converts from *Judaism*, who used the vernacular language of *Palestine*. This surely is the unstrained import of the particle *καί*, in the original *καί γραφήν ἐξηνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου*. And this was most probably the fact *. This was the original basis of the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, the Gospel of the *Ebionites*, the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, cited by *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*, which, in process of time, became so adulterated by these *Judaizing* converts, as to lose all authority in the Church, and to be reckoned spurious.

3. The testimony of *Origen* perfectly corresponds therewith ; for surely when he cited *tradition* for the existence of a *Hebrew* Gospel written by *Matthew*, for the converts from *Judaism*, he by no means denied, but rather presupposed his *Greek* Gospel, written for all classes of Christians, composing *the whole Church of God under heaven* ; for whose use the *Hebrew* Gospel would be utterly inadequate.

And that *Origen* himself considered the *Greek* as the only authentic original in *his time*, is evident for the following reasons.

1. *Origen*, in his *Hexapla*, was accustomed to correct the *Greek* versions of the Old Testament by the *Hebrew* original ; but he virtually confesses that he had none such by which he could correct the *Greek* text of *Matthew's* Gospel. See his own words, Tom. III. 671, edit. Delarue, or *Marsh's* citation and explanation of their meaning, in his Notes on *Michaelis*, Vol. III. p. 114, 115.

2. *Origen* expressly cites “ a certain Gospel, according to the *Hebrews*, if any one, (says he) chuses to receive it, not as of *authority*, but for *illustration* of the present question : “ A certain rich man,” says *that Gospel*, “ said to him, Master, what good thing shall I do, and live ? He said unto him, *Man*, keep the law and the prophets. He answered him, I have done so.

* This derives additional weight even from the incorrect reports of *Eutychius* and *Theophylact* ; that *Matthew* wrote his *Hebrew* Gospel at Jerusalem, which *John* the Evangelist translated into *Greek*. *Matthew* probably wrote first indeed in *Greek*, and afterwards translated into *Hebrew* himself.

He said unto him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor, and come, follow me. But *the rich man began to scratch his head, and it displeased him. And the Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets? seeing it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and behold many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are clothed with filthy rags, dying for hunger, whilst thy house is filled with many good things, and nothing of it goes out of it unto them.* And turning about he said to his disciple *Simon, who was sitting by him, Simon son of Joanna, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.*" See the original, Lardner, Vol. II. p. 505.

Who does not see that this is an incongruous parody of the genuine Gospel, Matt. xix. 16—24, and a medley of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 20—25, with some detached texts of Scripture interspersed, which are irrelevant: For, "*thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,*" is but a bad substitute for "*If thou desirest to be perfect.*" The question being now, not about the observance of the *moral* commandments, but about *Christian perfection*, to which the young man aspired. *Michaelis* has mistaken this: and also asserted, without foundation, that "*Jerom was inclined to believe that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, was the original of Matthew's Gospel.*" Introduction, Vol. III. p. 137, 138. *Jerom* believed no such thing; he only stated a current report of the ignorant many:—*In evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaïco quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos**, sive ut *plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, &c.* See *Marsh's* Notes, Vol. III. p. 115, 116.

II. Whether of the twain, *Mark* or *Luke*, wrote first, is a matter of more difficult determination.

It was long the received opinion, that the Gospels were written exactly in the order in which they are placed in our Canon, from the testimonies of *Irenæus, Origen, Jerom, Augustine, Chrysostom, &c.* who so cite the Evangelists. Hence *Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Townson, &c.* entertained no doubt of the pri-

* *Origen*, we have seen before, when speaking of the four *canonical Gospels*, considered this, according to the *twelve Apostles*, to be spurious.

ority of *Mark's* Gospel to *Luke's*. But later critics have found reason to question the validity of this assumption, *Owen*, *Busching*, &c. And the critical penetration of that skilful editor and collator, *Griesbach*, by an elaborate process, has furnished internal evidence of the priority of *Luke's* Gospel; shewing that *Mark* copied both from *Matthew* and *Luke*; that his Gospel is a compilation from both; the whole of it being contained in their Gospels, with the exception of about four and twenty verses, which contain facts not recorded by either of his predecessors, but illustrative of the general subject.

To render this investigation more perspicuous to those who have not access to the *Commentationes Theologicae*, Lipsiæ, 1794, Vol. I. p. 374—384, in which *Griesbach* published it, we shall copy here, from *Marsh's* Dissertation, p. 14, his Table of the contents of *Mark's* Gospel, compared with those of *Matthew* and *Luke*. The middle column contains the whole of *Mark's* Gospel: and those to the left and right, the corresponding portions of *Matthew's* and *Luke's*.

TABLE OF PARALLEL PASSAGES.

MATTHEW.	MARK.	LUKE.
iii. 1—4. 22.	i. 1—20.	
	21—39.	iv. 31—44.
	40—iii. 6. ..	v. 12—vi. 11.
xii. 15, 16.	iii. 7—12.	
	13—19.	vi. 12—16.
22, 23.	20—21.	
24—32.	22—30.	
46—50.	31—35.	
xiii. 1—23.	iv. 12—20	
	21—25.	viii. 16—18.
24—30.	26—29.	
31, 32.	30—32.	
34, 35.	33, 34.	
	35—41.	22—25.
	v. 1—43.	26—56.
53—58.	vi. 1—6.	
	7—13.	ix. 1—6.
xiv. 1, 2.	14—16.	7—9.
3—12.	17—29.	
	30, 31.	10.
13—21.	32—44.	11—17.
22—xvi. 12. ..	45—viii. 21.	

MATTHEW.	MARK.	LUKE.
	viii. 22—26.	
xvi. 13—xviii. 9. . .	27—ix. 50. . .	18—51.
xix. 1—12.	x. 1—12.	
13—xxiii. 1. . .	13—xii. 38. . .	xviii. 5—xx. 45.
	xii. 38—44. . . .	xx. 45—xxi. 4.
xxiv. 1—36.	xiii. 1—32. . . .	xxi. 5, &c.
	• 33—36.	
xxvi. 1—xxviii. 8 . .	xiv. 1—xvi. 8.	
	xvi. 9.	
	10—13.	xxiv. 10—35.
	14.	36—43.
xxviii. 18—20.	15—18.	
	19.	50, 51.
	20.	

In the *Commentationes Theologicæ*, “this Table is accompanied with *Notes*, in which the learned and ingenious author endeavours to explain why *Mark* copied this portion from *Matthew*, and that portion from *Luke*; why he sometimes attended to both, and why at other times certain portions of their Gospels were wholly omitted by him;” as we learn from Dr. *Marsh*, p. 15. And we regret that these notes, or rather the substance of them, was not given in the *Dissertation*. I shall endeavour, in some measure, to supply the defect.

1. In general, it appears that *Mark* rather adopted the *language of Matthew*, but the *order of Luke* in their joint sections, but neither implicitly.

2. He is usually more circumstantial and correct than they are in the relation of joint facts. Compare, for instances, their accounts of the death of John the Baptist with his, *Mark* vi. 17—29. His masterly description of the storm on the lake of *Galilee*, quelled by CHRIST, iv. 36—41; his account of the barren *fig-tree* cursed, and of the *temple* purged, xi. 12—26, in which he has judiciously separated those two transactions, as happening on two successive days, which *Matthew* had concisely blended together, on the day of OUR LORD’S triumphal entrance. In the joint parable of the vineyard, he has critically corrected a verbal inaccuracy of *Matthew*, *ωρουξεν ληνον*, “he dug a wine-press,” *Matt.* xxi. 23, into *ωρουξεν υποληνιον*, “he dug a wine-vat,” *Mark* xii. 1. It being the usage, in hot countries, in order to prevent too great a fermentation, and souring of the *must*, or new wine, that issues from the press, to dig a *vat* for its reception under ground, lined with mason’s work, or hewn

out of a rock, for coolness ; as remarked in *Michaelis's* Introduction, Vol. III. p. 157, from *Lowth's Isaiah*, v. 1. Note. And in the conclusion of the parable, the sentence against the rebellious tenants, “*He will miserably destroy them, and let out the vineyard to others,*” which *Matthew* has put in the mouths of the chief priests and elders, xxi. 41 *, is restored by *Mark* to its true owner, CHRIST, xii. 9, while *Luke* has recorded their true answer, perceiving the drift of the parable against themselves, “*God forbid!*” xx. 16. *Matthew's* expression, therefore, λεγουσιν αυτω, “*they say unto him,*” must be rejected as an interpolation, injurious to the sense, upon their joint authority, and yet to its genuineness, all the ancient versions, all the printed editions, and all the ancient manuscripts, with the single exception of the Codex *Leicestrensis*, bear witness. We must, therefore, either suppose it to be an inaccuracy of the Evangelist himself, or rather, that it glided into some of the earliest transcripts of his autograph, or original copy.

In their joint accounts of blind *Bartimæus* restored to sight, he follows *Luke*, in preference to *Matthew*, who notices two blind men ; while he follows the order of *Matthew* in preference to that of *Luke*, in representing the miracle as having been performed *after* our Lord left *Jericho* in his way to Jerusalem, Matt. xx. 29, 30, Mark x. 46, which *Luke* had represented as *before* his entrance into *Jericho*, Luke xviii. 35, xix. 1 ; and yet *Luke* himself allows that CHRIST at the time was attended by a “*multitude,*” (collected, we may suppose, at *Jericho,*) Luke xviii. 36—39. Whereas, *Matthew* and *Mark* both agree that he came to *Jericho*, attended only by the twelve. Here, therefore, *Mark* has receded from *Matthew* in one point, and corrected *Luke* in another, and noticed the leading blind man's name, omitted by both.

3. Indeed, to the accurate fidelity of this well informed Evangelist, *Mark*, we owe several important facts and illustrations, omitted by his predecessors. Thus, he alone mentions that CHRIST was with the *wild beasts* in the wilderness during his temptation, i. 13. That additional circumstance in our Lord's first preaching, “*the time is fulfilled,*” foretold by the prophets, i. 15. *David's* eating the shew bread in the days of

* *Michaelis*, upon his hypothesis, that *Matthew* wrote in Hebrew, supposes that his Greek translator mistook ויאמר, “*And he said,*” for ויאמרו, “*And they said,*” p. 158, but he does not depend upon it, and the account in the text seems preferable.

Abiathar, ii. 16. *Boanerges*, the emphatic surname of the Apostles *James* and *John*, signifying "sons of thunder," iii. 17. Our Lord's *anger* and *grief* at the obduracy of the *Jews*, iii. 5. The expression of his unbelieving friends, *he is beside himself*, iii. 21. The beautiful parable of the spontaneous growth of the seed, iv. 26—29. The number of the herd of swine, 2000, v. 13. CHRIST'S expression, *Talitha kumi*, "*Damsel arise*," v. 41, and *Epphatha*, "*Be opened*," vii. 34. The 5000 fed on the "*green grass*," characterizing the spring of the year, vi. 39. This circumstance is noticed by his successor, *John*. The distribution of the *two fishes* as well as the loaves of bread, vi. 41. This also is noticed by *John*. The first *cock crowing*, during *Peter's* denial of CHRIST, xiv. 68. The addition of *Salome* to *Matthew's* party of women who went to visit the holy sepulchre, xv. 40. CHRIST'S resurrection about *sun rise*, xvi. 2. The vision of the *second angel* at the holy sepulchre, xvi. 5. The silence of the women respecting his message to *Peter*, xvi. 7, 8. Christ's appearance after his resurrection to *Mary Magdalen* first, xvi. 9. His appearance under *another form* to the disciples in the way to *Emmaus*, xvi. 12. The disbelief of their report by the rest, and OUR LORD'S censure, xvi. 13, 14. His commission to the *Apostles* to preach and work miracles, xvi. 15—18. Their discharge of the commission, xvi. 20. All these important facts and circumstances were judiciously added to the conciser accounts of his predecessors, *Matthew* and *Luke*. Whereas had *Luke* followed him, it is not credible that he would have omitted them *all*, since we see that *John* noticed those of *Mark* that coincided with his scheme, or came within the range of his Gospel.

Hence we seem to be fully warranted by the internal evidence, to conclude that *Mark* wrote after *Luke*, and not before. Indeed, the hypothesis, that *Luke* was the first Evangelist of all, and wrote even before *Matthew*, has been patronized by *Busching*, in the preface to his German Harmony of the four Gospels, Hamburg, 1766, 8vo. p. 109—119. As we learn from *Marsh's* Dissertation, p. 6. It was also the opinion of the learned *Basnage*, *Beza*, *Macknight*, &c. and *Lardner* cites it rather with approbation. "For any thing that I know, St. *Luke's* Gospel may have been written first," Vol. II. p. 65, and so does *Michaelis*, Introd. Vol. III. p. 243.

To this *internal evidence* in favour of the priority of *Luke's*

Gospel to *Mark's* at least, we may add some *early testimonies* of considerable weight.

1. The learned *Clemens Alexandrinus*, A.D. 194, explicitly asserts, that the Gospels containing the *genealogies* were first written. Lardner, II. p. 194. This gives the precedence to *Luke* before *Mark*. *Tertullian*, A.D. 200, enumerates the Evangelists, *Matthew* and *John*, *Luke* and *Mark*, *ibid.* p. 282. And the same order is followed by *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, A.D. 274*. And *Lardner* remarks that "this was *very probably* the order of *many* codes or volumes of the four Gospels," *ibid.* p. 101. And that intelligent adversary of Christian faith, the Emperor *Julian*, the Apostate, A.D. 361, expressly cites the Evangelists *Matthew*, *Luke*, *Mark*, and *John*, in order. Lardner, VIII. p. 400.

And if to these ancient authorities we add the modern of *Basnage*, *Büsching*, *Griesbach*, and *Marsh*, founded on the internal evidence, and of *Lardner* and *Michaelis*, founded on the testimonies, the proposed order will be found much better supported than the received.

We can also rationally account for the introduction of the present canonical order. From the time the notion prevailed that *Mark's* Gospel was merely an *abridgement* of *Matthew's*, as it did in the days of *Augustine*, A.D. 395, who speaking of *Matthew*, says, "*Marcus eum subsecutus, tanquam pedisequus, et breviator ejus, videtur;*" *De consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. I. cap. 4, it was natural to change the order of his Gospel, and place it next to *Matthew's*, with which it was supposed to have the closest connection.

This, however, was an unfair representation of *Mark*, for though he was an "*abridger*," he was by no means a "*foot-man*," or servile copier, as the foregoing analysis abundantly proves. He selected most judiciously, and sometimes enlarged, as we have seen, the most important parts of *Matthew's* and *Luke's* Gospels, adapted to his peculiar plan; which was "to give a succinct history of OUR LORD'S ministry, commencing from the preaching of the Baptist, Mark i. 1, 2, to his *ascension*, xvi. 19, and concluding with the preaching of the Apostles every where, throughout the world, ver. 20, thus comprising, in

* This is also in general the order of the ancient *Latin* manuscripts. Marsh's Notes, Vol. III. p. 156.

a short compass, the substance of *Matthew's*, and also of *Luke's Gospel*, and *Acts of the Apostles*.

3. Hence also, we can satisfactorily account for his *omission* of certain portions of their Gospels entirely : such as the *introductions* of both ; the *Sermon on the Mount*, which had been given collectively, or in detail, by both, &c. precisely on the same principle, that *John* coming after him, omits considerably more than *Mark*, so as to form nearly a distinct Gospel, which may be considered as a *supplement* to the rest, only inserting so much common matter as was necessary to connect his Gospel with theirs, and to give a short, but masterly outline of the *chronology* of the whole ; which had been so vague and undetermined before ; by recording the four passovers that included our Lord's public ministry. Respecting the omission of the Evangelists in general, *Augustine* has the following judicious remark : "The Evangelists mutually bear witness to each other, even in some things which *they themselves* do not relate, but yet shew that they knew them to have been related [*by others* *."] Indeed, that the *omissions* of the Evangelists were *designed*, not less than their *correspondences*, incontestibly appears from critical comparison of their Gospels : both concurring to promote their common design, which was to collect, in their admirable *memoirs* of CHRIST, (as their *Gospels* were originally termed,) the most authentic and important materials from the common mass of *original* or *traditional* evidence, well known to them all, and to condense, or rather concentrate them into the smallest compass possible, for the edification of the Church of CHRIST ; with a simplicity of style and manner peculiar to themselves ; adapted to all ranks, from the highest to the lowest ; and "they were written" for the highest and noblest of all purposes, to instruct the world how to attain everlasting happiness in the mansions of bliss ; "that *mankind* might believe," upon reasonable evidence, "that JESUS is the CHRIST, the SON OF GOD ; and that believing, they might have *life* in his name," John xx. 31.

These observations on *Mark's* Gospel, some may think

* Meminerimus quemadmodum Evangelistæ invicem attestantur de quibusdam etiam quæ ipsi non dicunt, et tamen dicta noverunt. Index Augustin. No. 515. See the *Omissions of John*, ably considered by *Michaelis*, *Introduct.* Vol. III. p. 305—310, as a presumptive proof that the facts he has left unnoticed, which are recorded by the other Evangelists, are true, otherwise he would have corrected them in his later Gospel.

rather drawn out to a length greater than a mere matter of curiosity required. But they have a further and a higher object, to raise to its proper level the character of this Evangelist, from that of an humble compiler, to that of an *original* historian. And also to lower the undue preference of *Luke's Gospel* above the rest, which it has been the fashion of the *Unitarian* school, *Wakefield, Evanson, &c.* to represent as the only genuine Gospel: reviving an ancient error of the *Manicheans*, and other early heretics. Thus *Marcion* received *Luke's Gospel* only, and curtailed even that. See Lardner, II. p. 261, III. p. 502, 514, 515.

The *authenticity*, indeed, of *all the canonical Gospels*, is vouched by the high estimation in which they have ever been held in the Christian Church, since the days of the Apostles, and by the concessions of early Heretics. Their general *integrity*, purity, or freedom from corruption also, either by alteration, mutilation, or interpolation, is supported by a cloud of witnesses; 1. By the wide dissemination of the *Greek copies*, *through the whole Church of God under heaven*, in the language of *Origen*. 2. By the *ancient versions*, made into all languages, the *Italic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Persic, Coptic, &c.* All these, however they may differ in minuter points, various readings, &c. yet retain all the essential members and compartments of the originals, entire and unadulterated. For instance, the two introductions of *Matthew's* and *Luke's Gospels*, are found in all the *unmutilated** Greek manuscripts extant; and in *all the*

* Some of the oldest Greek manuscripts, in uncials, or capital letters, the *Alexandrine, &c.* are imperfect, and want the two introductory chapters of *Matthew*. But fortunately, a manuscript, equal at least, if not superior in antiquity, to the *Alexandrine*, was discovered some years ago, in the library of *Trinity College, Dublin*, by the Rev. Dr. *Barret*, containing a fragment of *Matthew's Gospel*, beginning with the 17th verse of the 1st chapter, *οὐν αἱ γενεα Αβρααμ ἕως Δαδ,* and containing the greater part of the 2nd chapter. A *fac-simile* engraving of the whole, reaching (with lacunæ) to Matt. xxvi. 71, was published at the University press, 1801, quarto, by the learned Doctor; furnishing some valuable various readings, not to be found elsewhere.

The Rev. Dr. *Bell*, Prebendary of *Westminster*, in his able *Arguments, &c.* prefixed to the second edition of *Enquiries into the divine Missions of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ*, 1795, 8vo. has fully and satisfactorily proved the *authenticity* of these chapters: 1. From the internal evidence; or their *essential connexion* with the sequel, in the plans of both Gospels. 2. From the references thereto of the early Fathers, *Justin Martyr, Tertullian, &c.* 3. From the objections of the first heretics and infidels, the *Ebionites, Cerinthians, Marcion, Julian* the apostate, *Porphyry, &c.* And 4. From the *absurdity* of interpolation by enemies, and *impossibility* of interpolation by friends, without detection, during the life-time of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*; and a *fortiori* afterwards, when *copies* and *versions* were multiplied.

versions without exception. They have, therefore, withstood the attacks of *Manicheans*, *Socinians*, *Unitarians*, &c. wishing to expunge them, as militating against their favourite tenets; and they will continue to do so, until the end of time, with increasing evidence. Attacks upon the *authority* of the Holy Scriptures, have only contributed to strengthen it, by calling forth able vindications of the *orthodox*, from the earliest days.

The sufficiency of the *canonical Scriptures* to satisfy, in every respect, the most scrupulous enquirers into the validity of their evidence, by an appeal to the primitive Churches every where founded by the *Apostles*, is thus stated by the eloquent *Tertullian*.

“Come now, ye who may wish to exercise your curiosity profitably in the business of your salvation, traverse the *apostolical Churches*, where the very chairs of the Apostles still preside, where their own *authentic Scriptures** are recited, resounding the voice, and representing the countenance of each. Is *Achaia* nearest to you? consult the *Corinthians*: if you are not far from *Macedonia*, consult the *Philippians*, consult the *Thessalonians*: if you can go to *Asia*, consult the *Ephesians*: if you are adjacent to *Italy*, consult the *Romans*; where also their *authority* is ready [to be vouched] to us.” See the original passage, Lardner, II. p. 268.

TIME.

Still more various are the opinions of critics respecting the time of the composition of each Gospel; as may be seen in *Jones*, *Lardner*, *Michaelis*, *Owen*, *Marsh*, &c. We here shall confine ourselves to the earliest and the fullest testimony of the venerable *Irenæus*, Bishop of Lyons, in *Gaul*, A.D. 178, both respecting the *time* and *order* of the Evangelists.

“*Matthew* then, (says he,) published also a Scripture of the Gospel among the *Hebrews*, in their own dialect; while *Peter* and *Paul* were preaching the Gospel, and establishing the Church at *Rome*. And after their decease, *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, also delivered to us in writing, the things preached by *Peter*. And *Luke*, the follower of

* The original expression, *ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum*, does not signify “*authentic letters*,” or epistles, in the hand-writing of the Apostles; but rather *well attested copies* of the *Scriptures* of the New Testament. *Tertullian* uses *Literæ Divinæ*, *Literæ nostræ*, in this sense, as remarked by *Lardner*.

Paul, set down in a book the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards, *John*, the disciple of THE LORD, who leaned upon his breast, also published a Gospel, while he dwelt at *Ephesus*, in *Asia*." *Lardner*, Vol. II. p. 158. *Marsh's Notes to Michaelis*, Vol. III. p. 95—107. On which we may observe,

1. *Epiphanius* states, that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death at *Rome*, in the twelfth year of *Nero*, or A.D. 65, according to the *Pascal Chronicle*, *Pagi*, *Basnage*, and *Lardner*, Vol. VI. p. 300, 301. We are warranted, therefore, to date *Matthew's Hebrew Gospel* about A.D. 64, or A.D. 65. For *Paul's* second visit to *Rome* could not have been earlier than A. D. 64; and *Peter*, who joined him there, must have written his second Epistle from thence, shortly before his death, in which he says, "I think it right, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to awaken your recollection; knowing that *shortly* I must put off this my tabernacle; according as our LORD JESUS CHRIST signified to me. Moreover I will endeavour, that after *my decease*, ye may be enabled to have these things always in remembrance," 2 Pet. i. 13—15. At the same time also, *Paul* seems to have written his second Epistle to *Timothy*; in which he says, "I am now *ready to be offered* as a libation, and the time of my *dissolution is at hand*," 2 Tim. i. 6. These passages determine the meaning of the expressions of *Irenæus*, ἐξοδον, "*decease*," and θεμελιουντων, "*establishing*," the former being actually used by *Peter*; and the latter, corresponding to his expression, εστηριγμενους εν τη παρουση αληθεια, "*confirmed in the present truth*," in the preceding verse, 12*.

Matthew's Greek Gospel was probably written during the two years *Paul* spent at *Rome*, on his first visit; in consequence of his appeal to *Cæsar*, from *Portius Festus*, who was appointed governor, A.D. 62, Acts xxv. 1—12, xxviii. 30. That it was not published before, is highly probable, from the ingenious conjecture of *Marsh*. Notes, Vol. III. p. 107. "If *St. Matthew's Gospel* had existed at the time when *St. Luke* was in *Judea*, during the two years of *Paul's* imprisonment by *Felix*, Acts xxiv. 27, it would hardly have escaped the notice of a writer,

* Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος, ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῷ αὐτῶν, καὶ γραφὴν ἐξενεγκὲν εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων, καὶ θεμελιουντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἐξοδον, Μαρκοῦ ὁ μαθητῆς καὶ ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσομένα ἐγγραφῶς ἡμῖν παραδεδωκε. κ. τ. λ.

who professedly made such diligent enquiries. But *Luke* accompanied *Paul* to *Rome*." We are warranted, therefore, to date *Matthew's Greek Gospel* about A.D. 63*.

And this date, A.D. 63, above thirty years after the resurrection, is more credible than the earlier dates of A.D. 49, according to the *Pascal Chronicle*, or A.D. 41, according to *Theophylact*. Because a writer of the second century, and such as *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, and the friend of *Polycarp*, had surely better means of *historical* information, in respect to a recent fact of the first century, than those subsequent writers of the seventh and eleventh centuries. *Internal evidence* also supports the first date: *Matthew* observes, that "the *potter's field* was called the field of blood, *unto this day*," xxvii. 8; that "the report of the *Roman* soldiers, that the disciples had stolen the body of *JESUS*, was circulated among the *Jews*, *until this day*," xxviii. 15; both intimating a considerable interval of time between these facts and the publication of his Gospel.

This also was the fittest time of all. For while the *eye-witnesses* and "*ministers of THE ORACLE*" were performing their arduous and important commission of "*disciplining all nations*," by "*preaching* the Gospel every where," they had scarcely leisure for writing; but when they were "*finishing* their course," to supply the place of their *oral* instructions, after their decease, the *written* became necessary. This it was which induced *Peter* to write his Epistles to the *Jewish* converts of "*the dispersion*," 1 Pet. i. 1; *Paul*, his Epistle to the *Hebrews*; and *James* and *John* their general Epistles; and likewise the *Evangelists*.

2. Though *Irenæus* names *Luke* before *Mark*, it is not decisive to confirm the received order, because he had named *Peter* before *Paul*, and therefore, in the order of composition, "the disciple of *Peter*" should precede "the follower of *Paul*." All that we can fairly collect from his account is, that neither of them wrote until *after* the death of those Apostles, whose doctrines they communicated to the world. Hence then, we cannot assign an earlier date than A.D. 65, to either of their Gospels; and we are warranted to assume, that *Luke* wrote his *Gospel* and *Acts* about A.D. 66, and *Mark* about A.D. 67. Both are allowed to have written before the destruction of *Je-*

* We may add, that *Paul* himself, in the whole course of his *Epistles*, takes no notice of any *written Gospel*.

rusalem, A.D. 70, the *signs* of which, the three first Evangelists so minutely described, as a warning to the faithful to quit that devoted city betimes, Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, Mark xiii. 14, Luke xxi. 20, 21.

3. Whether *John* wrote his Gospel before or after that catastrophe, does not appear from this passage of *Irenæus*. All that can be collected from it is, that he followed the other Evangelists. But there is another passage of *Irenæus*, which intimates that it was a *long time* after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. He states, that "*John*, the disciple of OUR LORD, announcing this [true] faith, and designing, by the annunciation of the Gospel, to remove the *error* which had been *sown* among men by *Cerinthus*, and *much earlier*, by those called *Nicolaitans*,—began thus, in that doctrine which is according to the *Gospel*, *In the beginning was the Word*." Lardner, VI. p. 187*.

Here, *Irenæus* observes, that the doctrine of the *Cerinthians* was taught *much earlier* by the *Nicolaitans*. *Cerinthus*, therefore, must have flourished in the latter days of the Apostle; and this is confirmed by *Theodoret*, A.D. 340, who says, that "according to report, *Cerinthus* sowed the tares of his peculiar heresy, while the celebrated *John*, who wrote the divine Gospel, was *still living*." Lardner, IX. p. 323, Note. And that *Theodoret* alluded to the testimony of *Irenæus*, may be collected from the expression, *παρασπειραι ζιζανια*, "*sowed the tares*," corresponding to "*the error sown*."

Epiphanius, A.D. 368, says, that "*John* also, moved by the Spirit, wrote a *Gospel*, after he had long declined it through humility, when he was more than *ninety* years of age, and when he had lived many years in *Asia*; after his return thither [to *Ephesus*] from *Patmos*." Lardner, IV. p. 314.

Jerom, A.D. 392, also states, that *John* was banished to the Isle of *Patmos* by *Domitian*, (raising the second persecution after *Nero*,) in the fourteenth year of his reign, [A.D. 95,] where he wrote the *Apocalypse*; which *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* interpreted, [respecting the *Millennium*,] that when *Domitian*

* Lardner has cited a contrary passage in appearance of *Irenæus*, stating that "*John* wrote his Gospel for the reason mentioned, xx. 30, *foreseeing* (*providens*) those blasphemous notions that divide the Lord, as far as in their power," p. 187. But as *Michaelis* justly remarks, *providens* should be rendered, not "*foreseeing*," but "*guarding against*." St. Paul also speaks of *Gnostic* errors, long before *John* wrote his Gospel. 1 Tim.

had been killed, and his edicts repealed by the senate, because of their excessive cruelty, he returned to *Ephesus*, in the reign of *Nerva*, [A.D. 96,] and living there to the reign of *Trajan*, [A.D. 97,] he established and governed all the Churches of *Asia*; dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year of our Lord's passion, [A.D. 31 + 68 =] A.D. 99.

Jerom also observes, that "last of all the Evangelists, *John* wrote a Gospel, at the desire of the Bishops of *Asia*, against *Cerinthus*, and other heretics, and especially against the dogma of the *Ebionites*, then springing up, who affirmed that CHRIST did not exist before his birth of *Mary*: whence he was compelled to declare his *divine nativity*." Lardner, V. p. 40. And in another passage more fully, "When he was in *Asia*, and the seeds sown by the heretics, *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, and others, who denied CHRIST to have come in the flesh, were now springing up, (whom also in his Epistle he calls *Antichrists*,) he was compelled, by almost all the Bishops of *Asia*, and by deputations from many Churches, to write more fully of OUR SAVIOUR'S *Divinity*; and *ecclesiastical history* informs us, that when he was thus urged by the brethren to write, he answered that he would, provided that they would all join in prayer and fasting to God; which being done, and he being fully inspired, he burst forth into that divine preface, "In the beginning was THE ORACLE," &c. p. 35.

From this concurrent testimony of *Irenæus*, *Theodoret*, *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*, we may collect, that *John* wrote his Gospel about A.D. 97, and not earlier, about two years before his death; which is the date adopted by *Mill*, *Fabricius*, *Le Clerc*, and *Jones*, Lardner, VI. 190, and seems greatly preferable to A.D. 68, adopted by *Lardner* himself, upon two considerations, which appear to be very weak: 1. That it is likely *St. John* wrote a short time after the other Evangelists, either to confirm them, or to supply omissions; and so to complete the history of CHRIST; 2. That at a very great age, (supposing that *John* was born about the same time with CHRIST,) he could have been scarcely fit for such a work as this, p. 191.

For, 1. It is rather unlikely that *John* wrote soon after the other Evangelists. He waited until the doctrine of CHRIST'S human nature was sufficiently established, by means of the preceding Gospels; before the world could be prepared for that higher and more mysterious doctrine of his *divine nature*,

as observed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, A.D. 194, whose testimony critically concurs with the preceding. See Lardner, IV. p. 512. 2. *Lardner* followed the modern opinion of a *Socinian*, *Wetstein*, in the latter objection, rather than these respectable ancient testimonies, which himself furnished. And if *John's* life was prolonged to "a very great age," of near a century, by his divine Master, for the wise and gracious purpose of remaining a pillar and a bulwark of the Church of CHRIST against heresies; can we question whether his faculties were not also continued unimpaired? Can it be a question, whether the sublime writer of the *Apocalypse*, in A.D. 95, was competent or not to write a *Gospel** in A.D. 97? Was not *Moses' Song* the most brilliant of all his compositions, written at the age of 120, shortly before his death? And if *John*, in his Epistle, warned the faithful of the "many Antichrists" that sprung up towards the close of the first century, in his Epistle, 1 John ii. 18; if he warned the Asiatic Churches, by the divine command, of the errors of the *Nicolaitans*, twice, in his *Apocalypse*, ii. 6—15, can it be questioned, at the present day, whether he might not also have designed to combat the errors of *Cerinthus* and others, in his *Gospel*? *Michaelis* has endeavoured to prove, and with much appearance of probability, that his *Gospel* was also designed to confute the errors of the *Gnostics* and of the *Sabeans* (or *Baptists*,) who acknowledged *John* the Baptist as their founder; and ascribed to him a greater authority than to CHRIST; and he ingeniously remarks, that unless it had been asserted, it would have been unnecessary for the Evangelist to remark, i. 8, that "*John* was not the light, itself, but only bore witness to the Light." See his Introduction, Vol. III. p. 285—302.

Lardner adduces a specious argument from the *Gospel* itself, to prove that it was written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. "Now there is ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$) at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue, *Bethesda*, having ($\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$) five porches," v. 2. "St. *John*," says he, "does not say there was, but there is; and though the pool might remain, it could

* The publication of the *Apocalypse*, naturally led to that of the *Gospel*. In the former, Christ's leading character of "THE LAMB that was sacrificed from the foundation of the world," though intimated incidentally, was not expressly noticed in the three first Gospels. It was necessary, therefore, to describe "THE LAMB OF GOD, that (by his sacrifice of himself) taketh away the sins of the world," John i. 29, in his mediatorial capacity more fully.

not be said, after the ruin of the city, that the *five porches* subsisted. Vol. VI. p. 204. But, as *Michaelis* justly remarks, "Authors do not always weigh their words with such exactness as to warrant this inference." And we may add, that *John* frequently uses the present participle in the past sense; *ων*, for "*was*," iii. 13, ix. 25, xii. 7, and *εχων*, for "*had*," Rev. iv. 7, viii. 9, ix. 17, xiii. 17, &c. with the most correct writers, ancient and modern.

Hence we are warranted to conclude, that the most probable dates of the canonical Gospels are,

	A. D.
1. <i>Matthew's</i> , about	63
2. <i>Luke's</i>	66
3. <i>Mark's</i>	67
4. <i>John's</i>	97

INSPIRATION.

The prevailing opinion of the primitive Fathers of the Church, as we have seen, was the *plenary inspiration* of *all* the Evangelists. Hence originated that high authority and veneration, in which they have ever been held by the *orthodox*, from the beginning. The doctrine of their inspiration, therefore, must not be hastily surrendered to ancient or modern *infidels* and *heretics*, making unfounded distinctions, and questioning what they cannot conceive; idly presuming to measure the depths of *revelation* by the scanty plummet of *reason*: while it equally concerns the interests of sober and rational religion, that the genuine nature, and scriptural limits of *inspiration*, should be carefully explained and correctly ascertained.

Its necessity in general is thus ably stated by Bishop *Warburton*, in his *Doctrine of Grace*, B. I. Ch. 5.

"The *Apostles* [and *Evangelists*] were fully gifted for the business of their mission: they worked miracles, they spake with tongues, they explained mysteries, they interpreted prophecies, they discerned the true from the false pretences to the Spirit: and all this for the *temporary* and *occasional* discharge of their ministry. Is it possible then, to suppose them to be deserted by their DIVINE ENLIGHTENER, when they sat down to the other and more important part of their work, to frame an [*infallible*] *rule* [*of faith*] for the *lasting* service of the Church? Can we believe, that THE SAME SPIRIT, who so bountifully

assisted them in their *assemblies*, had withdrawn himself when they retired to their private *oratories* [or *closets* ?] or that when their “*speech was with all power,*” their *writings* should convey no more than the weak and fallible dictates of *human knowledge*?—No candid man, therefore, will be backward to conclude, that whatever powers the Apostles [and Evangelists] had, for the *temporary* use of their ministry, they had, *in at least as large a measure*, for the *perpetual* service of the Church.” B. I. Ch. 5.

And he represents the HOLY SPIRIT as having operated on the sacred writers, by “*watching over them incessantly*, but with so suspended a hand, as permitted the use, and left them to the guidance of *their own faculties*, while they kept clear of *error*; and then only interposing, when, without the Divine assistance, they would have been in danger of falling,” Ch. 7.

The sacred writers, indeed, had various sources of information besides. They had their own experience and observation for many *facts* which they record; and the testimony of others, who were *eye-witnesses* and *attendants* of THE ORACLE, CHRIST; and they had authentic documents of *history* for many more; such as the *genealogies*, the *Roman Census*, the dates of *John the Baptist's* ministry, &c.

In such cases *inspiration* would have been superfluous. Nor is it by any means necessary to suppose, that the sacred writers were, *on every occasion*, favoured with immediate revelations, or direct communications with heaven; but rather, that acting under the same energetic influence which guided their *preaching*, (“*we cannot but speak what we have seen and heard,*” Acts iv. 20,) they at “*sundry times,*” and in “*divers degrees*” of illumination, committed to *writing*, the mysterious truths of the Gospel, which had been previously revealed to them; and of which they either retained, or were gifted with an accurate recollection. Such was the Apostle *John's* commission to write the *Apocalypse*, Rev. i. 1—19, and his *Gospel* also, as we learn from ecclesiastical history: and such, we may presume, from analogy, was that of the other Evangelists likewise; not making a difference, in the inspiration of the Apostles, *Matthew* and *John*, and of the Disciples, *Luke* and *Mark*; their Gospels being all equally dictated by ONE and THE SAME SPIRIT, *dividing severally* their allotted tasks to each, according to his *own good pleasure*, 1 Cor. xii. 11.

Even in cases of *immediate* revelation, we are warranted to conclude, that the *plenary inspiration*, for which we contend, with the primitive Church, related rather to the *substance* than to the *language* in which it was to be delivered to the world. The great object of Divine instruction, is *things*, not *words*. The subject-matter, or whatever concerned the *thoughts*, was most fully communicated to them; the *expression* or enunciation, was left, in great measure, to themselves. This was the grand distinction between the *Jewish* and *Christian*, and the *Pagan* Prophets; “the *spirits*,” or “*spiritual gifts*” of the former, were “*subject to the Prophets*” themselves, or amenable to their controul, 1 Cor. xiv. 32; they had free agency, they might speak, or forbear, begin, or desist, when they pleased; they might even decline the task, like *Jonah*, and disobey the divine command*; while the latter were usually entranced, and underwent a temporary suspension of their faculties. Even the celebrated prophecies of the heathen diviner, *Balaam*, were delivered, contrary to his usual mode of “*vision and trance*, when he sought for *enchantments* ;” to mark their superior authority, as coming immediately from GOD himself, Numb. xxiv. 1—23.

In extraordinary cases, however, we may be assured, that the *words* were communicated by inspiration, as well as the matter: wherever the revelation was of such a *sublime* and *abstruse* nature, that it could not be understood by the Prophet himself; and that an improper expression might defeat the very design of the revelation, and convey an idea different from what was intended. Such were *Jacob's* prophecy of *SHILOH*; *Moses' Song*, or *Divine Ode*; *Daniel's Seventy Weeks*; *CHRIST'S Prophecies*, the *Apocalyptic Prophecies*, &c. Ezek. xx. 49, Dan. viii. 27, 1 Pet. i. 11.

But in ordinary cases THE SPIRIT seems to have left them at liberty to use their own expressions; this is both reasonable in itself, and conformable to the divine procedure in the whole economy of grace, which is to *assist*, not to *supersede* our natural powers; and it is rendered unquestionable by the writings themselves, which have the same characteristic differences of *style* that we find in other literary compositions. Sometimes also,

* When *Samuel* the Prophet communicated to *Saul* that he should be *inspired*, and *turned into another man*, still he advised him to *act as occasion should serve*, or to use his own discretion, which *Saul* accordingly did, 1 Sam. x. 6—16.

for greater clearness, the succeeding Evangelists were allowed even to alter the *original terms* of prophecy. A very remarkable instance of this kind occurs in our Lord's prophecies respecting the destruction of *Jerusalem*; the last sign, or prognostic of which, was "when they should see *the abomination of desolation*, foretold by *Daniel* the Prophet, standing in the Holy Place," Matt. xxiv. 15. But for the benefit of those who might "*read*," but could not "*understand*" that mysterious expression, denoting the "*idolatrous and desolating standards*" of the *Romans*; the next Evangelist clearly explained its meaning—"when they should see *Jerusalem* surrounded by *encampments*," (στρατοπεδοις,) Luke xxi. 20. This deviation from OUR LORD'S prophetic expression, furnishes a sufficient voucher for *Luke's* inspiration: for surely otherwise he would not have *dared*, not only to alter the terms of the prophecy, but even to put the alteration in CHRIST'S mouth, without "the *guidance*" of the HOLY SPIRIT into "*all the truth*," or meaning thereof.

While we hold fast, however, the *plenary inspiration* of the Apostles and Evangelists, respecting the *matter* of their compositions, we are not bound to contend for that of every *word* and *particle*, like the superstitious *Jews*, for every "*jot and tittle*" of their *Masorete* Hebrew Bible; because such scrupulousness is neither reasonable nor necessary. For example, when *Paul* directed *Timothy* "to take a *little wine* for his stomach's sake," 1 Tim. v. 23, and "to bring the *letter-case* *, *books*, and *parchments*, from *Troas*," 2 Tim. iv. 13, we see no occasion, in such ordinary cases, for a special interposition of THE HOLY SPIRIT. And indeed, this great Apostle, elsewhere is careful to distinguish what "he *spake*" or wrote of himself, by "*permission*," from what, "by *command*" of the HOLY SPIRIT, 1 Cor. vi. 6. Yet even such passages, though not of equal importance with the mysterious truths, or moral and religious precepts of the Gospel, may be occasionally instructive and useful, for the regulation of our diet, and of our studies. The former recommending a prudent attention to our health, in opposition to the abstinences and mortifications of *hermits* and *fanatics*; the latter

* Φελονην, here, is improperly rendered "*cloke*," (as if it were corruptly put for the Latin φαινολη, *Pænula*.) *Hesychius* explains it by ἡλατηριον, (i. e. εἰλατηριον) μεμβραινον, ἢ γλωσσοκομον, "*a parchment covering, or a letter-case*." And Lex. Reg. MS. explains γλωσσοκομον—ενθα τα βιβλια εκειντο, "*where the small books (or papers) lay*."

teaching us, by the example even of this most highly gifted Apostle, to whom was "expressly revealed the mystery of the Gospel" in its fullest extent, Eph. iii. 3, not to undervalue nor despise, with some illiterate *enthusiasts*, the adventitious aids of *human learning*; and who also, in addition to his masterly instructions, advised his favourite pupil, *Timothy*, "to attend to *reading*" as well as "to *exhortation* and *doctrine*," for his own improvement, as well as that of his hearers, 1 Tim. iv. 13—16.

The spiritual gifts of the writers of the NEW TESTAMENT, appear to have been higher in general than those of the OLD. To the former, *inspiration* is attributed, to the latter, that fuller measure of it also, called *illumination*. Πασα γραφη θεοπνευστος*, may more closely be rendered, "every scripture-prophecy is *divinely inspired*," 2 Tim. iii. 16, for this is the usual acceptance of γραφη, by OUR LORD and his *Apostles*, applying it to the OLD TESTAMENT, before the publication of the *written GOSPEL*, Luke iv. 21, xxiv. 27, John xix. 36, 37, Rom. i. 1, 2, &c. whereas, the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* were not only "*inspired*," Rom. viii. 23, 1 Cor. ii. 16, vii. 40, 1 Thess. iv. 8, 1 John iii. 24, Rev. i. 10, Acts ii. 4, v. 31, &c. but also "*illuminated*," Eph. i. 18. with "the *illumination* of the Gospel," 2 Cor. iv. 4—6, or 2 Tim. i. 10, "with the word of *wisdom*," as distinguished from "the word of *knowledge*," 1 Cor. xii. 8.

The curious reader may see much useful information collected on this mysterious but important subject, in *Van Mildert's* excellent Sermons at *Boyle's Lecture*, and learned Notes, Vol. II. Serm. XXIII. and *Appendix*, p. 85, &c. and also in *Campbell's* Preliminary *Dissertations on the Gospels*, Vol. I. p. 24, &c.

STYLE.

Though the *Evangelists* were "*unlettered* and *private* persons," neither trained in the schools of the synagogue, nor "*scribes, doctors, nor Pharisees*, who sat in *Moses' seat*," as public and authorized teachers, Acts iv. 13, they were by no means grossly ignorant or illiterate, as they have been misrepresented. They were well read in the OLD TESTAMENT, and

* This expression is well explained by πασα προφητεια γραφης, "every prophecy of Scripture" in the excellent commentary of *Peter*, 2 Pet. 20, 21, who declared that in the Epistles of his brother *Paul* were "some things *hard to be understood*," which the *unlearned* and *unstable*, wrested (as they did also the other *Scripture-prophecies*), "to their own destruction," 2 Pet. iii. 16.

well acquainted with that dialect of the *Greek* language in which they wrote, the *Alexandrine*, which was that of the Version of the Seventy Interpreters, the most generally circulated among the *Hellenists*, or Grecizing *Jews*, as distinguished from the *Hebrews*, who used the vernacular *Syro-chaldaic* dialect, Acts vi. 1. And their style, though frequently blended with *Hebraisms*, as was natural, bears a remarkable affinity to that of the *Seven Sages*, in the earliest ages of *Grecian* literature, which is much simpler, and less ornamented, than the polished periods of *Xenophon* and *Plato*, *Æschines*, and *Demosthenes*; as may appear from a few specimens.

Ερωτησεις τι ο Ζευς ειη ποιων; τα μεν υψηλα ταπεινοι, τα δε ταπεινα υψοι, εφη.

“*Chilo* having been asked, *what Jove was doing?* answered, *He is humbling the proud, and exalting the humble.*”

Ερωτησεις ει λαθοι Θεον ανθρωπος αδικων; αλλ' ουδε διανοου-μενος, εφη.

“*Thales* having been asked, *whether a man, while doing wrong, could escape the notice of GOD?* No, said he, *not even in thought.*”

Ερωτησεις τι το Θειον; το μητε αρχην εχον, μητε τελευτην, εφη.

“The same having been asked, *What is THE DEITY?* answered, *What hath neither beginning nor end.*”

Ερωτησεις τι δυσκολον; εφη, το εαυτον γνωμαι· τι δε ευκολον; το αλλω υποτιθισθαι.

“The same having been asked, *What is difficult?* answered, *To know one's-self: What is easy?—To advise another.*”

Ερωτησεις τις ευδαιμων; ο το μεν σωμα υγιης, εφη, την δε ψυχην ευπαιδευτος.

“The same having been asked, *Who is happy?* answered, *He that has a sound body, and a well educated mind.*”

Ερωτησεις τι αν ποιη τον βιον αφοβον, ειπεν, ορθη συνειδησις.

“*Bias* having been asked, *What would make life fearless?* said, *an upright conscience.*”

Θεωρει ωσπερ εν κατοπτρω τας σαντου πραξεις, ινα τας καλας επικοσμησ, τας δε αισχρας καλυπτησ.

“*Contemplate,*” said he, “*as in a mirror, your own actions; that you may adorn the good, and hide the bad,*” &c.

These admirable sayings, in a primer size, contain a fund of curious, useful, and pleasant information, respecting the *religion*, *morality*, and *politics*, of the earlier and purer age of *Greece*,

about B.C. 600, before they were spoiled and corrupted by *lying oracles, vain philosophy, and democratic rage*; free from the grovelling *polytheism*, the abandoned *licentiousness*, and the *revolutionary* principles of latter times*. It is much to be regretted, that they are not introduced into our public schools and seminaries, as an elementary class-book: they would teach, not only *words*, but *things*; and furnish an excellent preparation for the *Greek Testament*; and a desirable antidote against the gilded, but deleterious poison of the most admired classics, *Virgil, Homer, Horace, &c.*

Nor are the *Hebraisms*, or *Oriental* phrases, interspersed through the gospels, to be considered as *solecisms*, or barbarous modes of speech; they are equally grammatical, and much more energetic, than the feebler phrases of classic lore. You will seek in vain among them for such a magnificent amplification as this, *εχαρησαν [κατα] χαραν μεγαλην σφοδρα*, "*They rejoiced with exceeding† great joy*," Matt. ii. 10.

The genuine excellences of style are acknowledged to consist in *simplicity, perspicuity* and *precision, brevity, energy* and *gravity*, joined to *variety* and *copiousness* of expression; and in the combination of all these, the Evangelists will not shrink from a comparison with the most finished models of *Grecian* and *Roman* composition:

" Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull,
Strong, without rage, without o'erflowing full."

The distinguishing feature of their style, and in which they

* See the *Heathen vices* described in glowing colours by St. Paul, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*; on which the following *exhortatory address to the Greeks*, of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, may furnish an excellent comment. Edit. 1616, p. 30.

Ταυτα ὑμων της ἡδοναζειας τα αρχετυπα, αὐται της ὑβρεως αἱ θεολογιαι, αὐται των συμπορνεουτων ὑμιν Θεων αἱ διδασκαλιαι.—Πανισκοι, και γυμναι κοραι, και μωριων εντασεις ταις γραφαις απογυμνουμενοι.—Ἡταιρικεν ὑμιν τα ωτα, πεπορνευκασιν οἱ οφθαλμοι, αἱ οφεις μεμοιχενκασι! Ω βιασαμενοι τον ανθρωπον, και το ενθεον του πλασματος ελεγχει απαρξαντες!

"These are the symbols of your voluptuousness! These your insulting *theologies*! These the instructions of your co-fornicating *gods*! your *fawns* and naked *nymphs*, and contests of *satyrs*, exposed in your *scriptures*!—Your ears are defiled, your eyes incontinent, your looks adulterous, ye debasers of manhood; devoting to disgrace the first fruits of the *divine part* of your frame."

† Our Bible translators consulting *euphony*, or the harmony of their periods, often use adjectives adverbially, as here, "*exceeding*," for "*exceedingly*," judiciously imitating the majestic compound epithets of the *Greek* language, in which the English is too deficient.

excel all others, is *simplicity* both of expression and sentiment. *Simplex munditiis*, "plain in neatness," is their modest garb: the sacred writers disdaining the meretricious ornaments of heathen elocution. They "spoke, and they wrote, the words of truth and soberness," not "the enticing words of man's wisdom;" that the *faith* of believers might stand, not "in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." And the astonishing success of the preaching, and the writings of these unlettered and despised "Galileans," illustrated that idiomatic phrase, οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ παν ῥημα. "No word, or thing, shall be impossible with GOD," Luke i. 37, borrowed from the Hebrew, Gen. xviii. 14, which would probably have puzzled *Xenophon* or *Demosthenes*. The word of GOD, though contained in "earthen vessels," was "lively and powerful," sufficient to "confound the wise and the mighty," with a heaven-taught "wisdom and mouth (or eloquence) which none of their adversaries were, or ever will be, able to gainsay or resist," fulfilling their Master's promise, Luke xxi. 15. Of all the evangelists, *John* is the most simple, because he was the most highly gifted.

There is, however, a marked diversity in their styles, which appears much more plainly in the originals, than as melted down and amalgamated in the menstruum of a common translation; confirming the foregoing position, that their language was in great measure their own. Thus, the phrase, denoting the reign of THE MESSIAH upon earth, "the kingdom of heaven," is peculiar to *Matthew*, the rest preferring "the kingdom of God." The verb ῥεω, "to say," is used by *Matthew* often, by *Mark* once, but never by either *Luke* or *John*; the synonyme, εῖρω, is used by all except *Mark*; and εἶρω, by all except *John*; ἀνακλινω, "to recline," occurs in all the gospels except *John's*; κατακειμαι, "to lie down," in all except *Matthew's*. *Matthew* alone applies the title Καθηγητης, "Leader," or "Teacher," to CHRIST; *Luke* alone, the title Δεσποτης, "Sovereign," to GOD, and Επιστατης, "President," or "Master," to CHRIST. Indeed, every one of the evangelists has many words not to be found in the rest; and that, not only where he relates new things, but also the same things, actions, or circumstances, in common with the rest.

Not only the *peculiarities* of their style, but the *precision* and *copiousness* of their language, are either imperfectly represented, or totally lost, in the English Bible; and that, frequently of

necessity, on account of the poverty of the *English*, and indeed of every modern language, compared with the *Greek*; that most critical and *philosophical* of all languages, for accurately expressing the various modes of *sensation* and *reflection*.

Thus these six verbs, in the gospels, expressing various modes of speech, or conversation, λεγω, επω, φημι, ρεω, ερεω, ειρω, are all vaguely rendered in the English Testament, "to say." Three of them are so rendered in one short passage, Matt. v. 21, 22, and four of them in another, Matt. xxi. 25—27; whereas, in the original, they not only serve to diversify the style, but to give it a precision which poorer languages cannot supply.

Take another example: the word *ἑταυρος*, used only by *Matthew*, and *φιλος*, used by all but *Mark*, are indiscriminately rendered "*friend*;" yet there is but little affinity between their radical significations. The former properly signifies "*companion*," and is a term of civility addressed to indifferent persons, and even to strangers: the latter, which properly signifies "*friend*," implies the affection and regard due to an intimate, or a near relation. The former is correctly addressed to the envious and dissatisfied labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. 13; to the guest who wore not the wedding garment, Matt. xxii. 12; and by OUR LORD to the traitor *Judas*, in the very act of apprehending him, Matt. xxvi. 50. It is to be regretted that the respectable name of "*friend*," belonging to *φιλος*, should ever be prostituted to unworthy objects, though common use permits us to employ it in this latitude; and it may be questioned, whether the corrector rendering of *ἑταυρος*, "*companion*," in English, or "*mon compagnon*," would be tolerated by the usage of either language; since the former is not adopted by any English translator, and the latter only by the *Geneva* French. This remark may remove the surprise that some unlearned readers have expressed, how OUR LORD could condescend to adopt the insincere modes of worldly fashion, and denominate a man "*friend*," whom he knew to harbour the basest and most hostile intentions.

Other curious instances may be found in *Campbell's excellent preliminary Dissertations* on the *four Gospels*, Vol. I. p. 594—610.

These observations may tend to repel the charge of *ambiguities of expression*, objected to the evangelists, by writers of the *Socinian* and *Unitarian* schools. Many such are to be set down to the *translators*, as we have seen, for which the *evan-*

gelists are not accountable. And even granting that some *real ambiguities* are to be found in their gospels, arising from the various senses of the same word, or the various constructions of the same sentence, this is no more than what takes place in all languages, ancient and modern; all equally tolerating and licensing, *primary* and *secondary*, *literal* and *figurative* significations of words*. And who can question, that many *seeming* ambiguities and difficulties, which perplex the profoundest scholars of the present day, were perfectly plain and intelligible to their countrymen and contemporaries, who were familiarized to the idiom, and well acquainted with all the oriental and foreign customs and manners to which the gospels either openly refer, or tacitly allude.

Another source of *ambiguities* and *dissonances*, in the sacred text, may and must have arisen from *literal errors*, that have glided occasionally into the multiplied copies of the original autographs of the evangelists, in the course of so many ages, during their wide dissemination throughout all lands. Our enemies, who deny the inspiration of the *evangelists* themselves, will not surely contend for the inspiration of all the successive *copiers*, even from one single manuscript. This, however, we may venture to assert, that the multiplicity of *manuscripts* from widely different quarters, and of *ancient versions*, furnish, by careful collation of their various readings, more abundant critical helps for forming a *correct text* of the sacred writers, both of the Old and New Testament, than of any other ancient writers whatsoever throughout the world. And we may assert with confidence, that the *verbal inaccuracies*, which, after all our pains, will and must remain in the *original text*, without a second inspiration of the editors, (which is not to be expected by the warmest *high churchman*) are trivial in themselves, not affecting any material point of *faith*, *doctrine*, or *practice*. They resemble motes mingling in the sun-beams.

And further, if we candidly and impartially compare the evangelists with any other writers of *memoirs*, or *histories* of a given person, or period of time, the superiority of the former, in point of *consistency*, will be found immense. Take, for instance, the parallel accounts of the trial of *Socrates*, furnished by his

* Let the reader look into *Johnson's Dictionary*, and he will find, to the full, as many meanings attached to *English* words, as in any *Lexicon to Greek*.

two favourite pupils, *Plato* and *Xenophon*. The former states, "when *Socrates* was commanded by the Judges to estimate his fine, [to prevent sentence of death from being passed on him] he did so, and rated it at a *mina* of silver; adding, that if it were thirty *minæ*, his friends there present, *Plato*, *Crito*, *Critobulus*, and *Apollodorus*, had engaged to be his sureties." And *Eubulides* agrees with *Plato* as to the amount, while *Diogenes Laertius* reckons it only five and twenty drachmæ, or a quarter of a *mina*. But what says *Xenophon*?—"Socrates neither rated it himself, nor would he suffer his friends to rate it; on the contrary, he said, that to rate it would imply a confession of guilt."

Again, according to *Plato*, "*Socrates* declared, that he was always attended, from his youth, by a *demon* (or *god*) whose divine voice, when it came, always dissuaded him from what he was going to do, [if wrong] but *never persuaded* [or advised him to do what was right." Whereas *Xenophon* asserts, that "it signified to him *beforehand*, both what he ought, and what he ought not, to do. And he even urged this *inspiration*, as an answer to the charge of introducing *strange gods*." See the original passages, *Newcome's Harmony*, Pref. p. 4. Here are serious and irreconcilable contradictions, affecting both the character and doctrine of *Socrates*, equally well attested.

Take, in like manner, the four *Roman* historians, *Polybius*, *Livy*, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Dion Cassius*, or four *English* historians, *Rapin*, *Hume*, *Macaulay*, and *Henry*; and they will be found to exhibit contradictions, glaring and irreconcilable, respecting the most important facts, institutions, and dates, within the very same periods of history.

CREDIBILITY.

The foregoing observations have, in great measure, anticipated this last head; for what can be wanting to the *credibility* of historians so well informed of all the facts and doctrines which they relate, from the purest sources of *human* and *divine testimony*? What other historians could ever presume to say, "*We are Christ's witnesses of these things, and so is also the HOLY SPIRIT, whom GOD hath given to them that obey him;*" which equally applies to their preaching, and to their writings, Acts v. 32.

And the gospels themselves furnish internal evidence of their credibility throughout, the most convincing and satisfactory, in

the *fairness* and *impartiality* of their relations, respecting friends and enemies; they “*nothing extenuate*” respecting the former, but disclose the frailties, the imperfections, and the faults, even of the first and greatest of the apostles, *Peter, James, and John, Thomas, &c.*; “*nor do they set down aught in malice*” respecting the latter. Of all those who were concerned in the prosecution and death of CHRIST, they name only the high-priest *Caiaphas*, and his coadjutor *Annas*, the Roman procurator *Pilate*, and the treacherous disciple *Judas*, because the suppression of their names would have impaired the evidence of their history to posterity. And even these are barely mentioned without censure, and without resentment. The epithet attached to *Judas*, ὁ παραδους αυτον, by all the evangelists, is expressive of the simple fact, “*who delivered him up,*” rather than of its criminality; which would more aptly be signified by ὁ προδους αυτον, “*who betrayed him,*” or by προδοτης, “*traitor,*” as he is styled on one solitary occasion by Luke, vi. 16. Compare John xviii. 36, 37, where the verb παραδιδωμι signifies merely to “*deliver up,*” and is so rendered in the English Testament.

Our Lord’s biographers, while they were ready to do justice to distinguished merit, to signalize the exemplary faith of a *Roman* centurion, or of a *Syrophenician* woman, carefully avoided naming any one without necessity, of whom they had nothing to say that was not to his discredit. They direct our admiration, and our hatred, to virtues and vices, not to persons. They do nothing, they assume nothing, in their own character. In the OLD TESTAMENT, indeed, the *sacred penmen* were the voice of GOD to the people, and they not only exhorted and rebuked with all authority, but even delivered their own opinions without restraint or reserve. But the *evangelists*, like the *Baptist*, acted merely as deputed *heralds* * of CHRIST; and deeply impressed with a sense of his pre-eminence as the ORACLE and SON OF GOD, and of their own insignificance, they sink themselves in the shade, to place him in the foreground, in the most

* “AS THE FATHER delegated (απεσταλκε) me [to be his representative,] (the visible IMAGE OF THE INVISIBLE GOD, Col. i. 15.) so send I (πεμπω) you [to be my heralds,]” John xx. 21. “Go ye into all the world, publish (κηρυξατε) THE GOSPEL to all the creation,” Mark xvi. 15. Such sameness of *sentiment* in the different Gospels, which evaporates in our translation, is truly admirable.

conspicuous light; they even, as it were, *annihilate* themselves, that JESUS may be *all in all*. Never could it be more truly said of any historians, that “*they published not themselves, but CHRIST THE LORD* ;” reporting, in *singleness of heart*, what was said and done by Him, and to Him, throughout the whole course of his ministry, and nothing else, without partiality or prejudice, and without disguise, “*SACRIFICING TO THE TRUTH ALONE*,” according to *Lucian’s* precept for *writing history*, ΜΟΝῆ ὈΥΤΕΟΝ Τῆ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ.

It now remains to trace the *connection*, and shew the *consistency*, of their *memoirs* in detail, by a careful comparison, and critical harmony, of the four gospels in the originals, not depending upon *loose* translations.

JOHN THE BAPTIST.

“*THE LAW and THE PROPHETS* subsisted till *John*,” with whom commenced *THE GOSPEL* dispensation, Matt. xi. 13, Luke xvi. 16, Acts i. 21, 22. With his history, therefore, *Luke* properly begins his gospel, as introductory to the history of *CHRIST*, with which *Matthew* had begun, supplying the chasm of his predecessor.

After a long intermission for upwards of four centuries, from *Malachi*, the last of the Jewish prophets, the age of *miracles* and *prophecy* revived, as was foretold by the prophets, especially *Joel*, ii. 28. And the annunciation of the Baptist’s birth was made from heaven to “*Zechariah*, a venerable priest, who, with his wife *Elizabeth*, were both *righteous* before *GOD*, and walked in all the ordinances of *THE LORD* blameless; and they had no child, because *Elizabeth* was barren, and they were both advanced in years,” Luke i. 5—7.

It is remarkable that this annunciation was made by the same archangel, *Gabriel*, who had formerly appeared to the prophet *Daniel*, viii. 16, ix. 21, and probably to the prophet *Zechariah*, ii. 1—4, and described to both so circumstantially the coming of *CHRIST*, his rejection by the *Jews*, and the final establishment of his kingdom.

While *Zechariah* was officiating as a priest in the temple, and offering incense upon the altar in the sanctuary, during the

time of the [*evening*] oblation*, and the people were praying without in the temple court, the angel appeared to him, and said, "Fear not, *Zechariah*, thy supplication [for thy people] is heard, and thy wife *Elizabeth* shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name *John*," [the *grace* of THE LORD] expressive of the gracious purposes of his mission, namely, 1. "to go before THE LORD in the power and spirit of *Elijah*," foretold by *Malachi*, iv. 5, resembling that illustrious prophet in his *power* of conversion and *spirit* of reproof †; 2. "to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just," by promoting peace and harmony among his countrymen; and 3. "to make ready a people prepared for THE LORD," or prepared for the reception of THE GOSPEL, ver. 8—17.

Zechariah, however, for distrusting the performance of this gracious promise, on account of his own and his wife's advanced age, whereas the case of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, to whom a son *Isaac* was promised in similar circumstances, ought to have assured him, was punished in the *sign* that he required, and *struck dumb* by the angel, until the accomplishment of the promise, and the circumcision of his son, when his speech was restored to him at the naming of the child, as appointed by the angel, and he was moreover inspired to utter that admirable hymn, "praising God for the promised redemption of Israel by that *Horn of Salvation*, CHRIST, of the house of *David*, foretold by the mouth of God's holy prophets from the beginning of the world," in the blessed seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15, and styling John a *prophet of THE MOST HIGH*, and a harbinger of CHRIST, ver. 18—79.

In the sixth month of the conception of *Elizabeth*, the same angel *Gabriel* was sent by God to the virgin *Mary*, of the house of *David*, who then dwelt at *Nazareth*, in *Galilee*, and was betrothed, but not yet married, to *Joseph*, a man of the same tribe, and he hailed, or saluted her, as "*blessed among women*," "*the virgin*" foretold by the prophet *Isaiah* "to conceive and bear a son, called IMMANUEL," expressive of his divinity, signifying

* This was precisely the hour, "the ninth, or third afternoon," when *Gabriel* formerly appeared to *Daniel*, ix. 24.

† See his conversion of the people of *Israel* from *Baal*, 1 Kings xviii. 21—40; his reproofs of *Ahab*, 1 Kings xviii. 17, 18, xxi. 20—29; of *Ahaziah*, 2 Kings i. 16, 17.

“GOD WITH US,” Isaiah vii. 13, 14, ix. 6, 7, whom therefore she should call by a synonymous name, JESUS (SAVIOUR).

A case so wholly unprecedented, in the providential history of mankind, as a pure virgin’s conceiving, who *knew not a man*, naturally excited her modest doubt. The angel, therefore, not offended thereat, as he had been with *Zechariah*, gave her a sign in point, namely, the conception of her heretofore barren and aged cousin *Elizabeth*, who was now advanced in the sixth month of her pregnancy, assuring her, in the language of THE LORD formerly to *Sarah*, Gen. xviii. 14, that *nothing is impossible with God*.

Accordingly, the pious and holy virgin believed, and expressed her belief. “*Lo, the handmaid of the Lord*, be it unto me according to thy *oracular word* (*οηµα*.)”

Anxious to learn the accomplishment of the sign, “she arose in those days, and went *with haste* to the hill country of *Judea*, in order to visit her cousin *Elizabeth*,” who lived at *Hebron**, according to tradition, where she received full confirmation of her faith; for *Elizabeth*, to whom the mystery of *Mary’s* conception had been revealed likewise, immediately greeted her, by inspiration, with the angel’s salutation, as “*blessed among women*,” and “*blessed the fruit of her womb*,” with an acknowledgment of her own inferiority; since *the mother of HER LORD (CHRIST)* had thus condescended to visit her, and giving the fullest proof of her own pregnancy, by declaring that no sooner had the voice of *Mary’s* salutation sounded in her ears, than “*the babe leaped in her womb for joy*.”

On this decisive evidence, the enraptured *Mary* also gave full expression to all her mingled emotions of joy, gratitude, humility, and reliance on God’s mercies, not only to herself, but unto all those that fear him, “to generations of generations,” or to the remotest ages, in that admirable hymn, which so strongly resembles, and furnishes the finest commentary on *Hannah’s* Hymn, 1 Sam. ii. 1—10, in which the BLESSED SEED was first celebrated, and by a woman, under the title of THE MESSIAH, CHRIST, (“ANOINTED,”) or “KING OF ISRAEL,” or king of those “true *Israelites*, in whom there is no guile,” John i. 48—50; Matt. ii. 6; for “all are not *Israel*, that are of [or

* *Hebron* was allotted to *Aaron’s* family in *Joshua’s* days, xxi. 11. It was near four-score miles from *Nazareth*.

called] *Israel*," Rom. ix. 6, but only "*the Israel of GOD*," Gal. vi. 16.

And *Mary* abode there about three months, till near the time of *Elizabeth's* delivery, and then returned to her own house, Luke i. 26—56.

Mary, on her return, "being found with child of THE HOLY GHOST," perhaps, communicated the cause to *Joseph*, who could not easily give credence to such an improbable account; but "being a *just* man," and therefore not willing to marry an unchaste woman, and, at the same time, a good-natured man, "and *not willing* to expose her, was minded to *divorce her*" upon the former account, but "*privily*" upon the latter. "But while he thought of these things," doing nothing rashly in so extraordinary a case, "an angel of THE LORD (probably the same *Gabriel*,) appeared to him in a dream, and said, *Joseph*, son of *David*, fear not to take unto thee *Mary*, thy [betrothed] wife, for what is conceived in her is of the HOLY GHOST, and she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS, for he shall save his people from their sins;" thus repeating the substance of his annunciation to *Mary*, and plainly alluding to the same prophecy of *Isaiah*, vii. 13, 14, which the evangelist declares was expressly fulfilled on this occasion.

In obedience to the divine command, the pious *Joseph* now "took home his wife, but knew her not until she had borne her first-born son, and he called his name JESUS," Matt. i. 18—25.

Thus, by the mysterious dispensation of Heaven, and fulfilment of primæval prophecy, was JESUS born solely of a woman, "not abhorring *the virgin's* womb," and yet born in *wedlock*, not to give occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, or injure her fair character by the tongue of slander. The mystery, however, seems to have been confined to *Mary* herself, her husband, and two chosen friends, until the time that it was necessary to be divulged, after OUR LORD'S resurrection, and the foundation of his Church, when he had approved himself "the SON OF GOD with *power*," by his stupendous and appropriate *miracles* as the MESSIAH, which, therefore, reflected back again full credit upon the *miraculous* circumstances of his *conception* and birth as THE SON OF MAN also.

Wishing to enhance the sanctity of the blessed virgin, the Church of *Rome*, and several protestant divines, maintain that she never cohabited with her husband, but the reverse seems to

be more agreeable to the particle *ἕως οὗ*, “*until*,” and to the natural construction of the passage, “he knew her not,” *whilst she was with child*, out of reverence to the sacred burden, “*until*,” &c. That JESUS, however, was her “*first-born*,” and her *only* child, is the prevailing opinion. OUR LORD’S *brothers* and *sisters*, indeed, are noticed in Scripture, Matt. xiii. 55, 56, but they were his cousin-germans, the children of *Mary*, his mother’s sister, the wife of *Cleophas*, and the mother of *James* and *Joses*, John xix. 25, Matt. xxvii. 5, for *James*, the first bishop of *Jerusalem*, is called “*the LORD’S brother*,” Gal. i. 19, and also by *Josephus**, according to the usual latitude of signification attached to this word in the OLD TESTAMENT, including *nephews*, *cousin-germans*, and even remoter relatives. Thus *Lot*, “*Abraham’s brother*,” was his nephew, Gen. xiii. 8, as being the son of his brother, Gen. xii. 5, “*the brethren of Ahaziah*” were his cousin-germans, 2 Kings x. 13, &c. And when OUR LORD, on the cross, recommended his mother to the care and protection of his beloved disciple *John*, and said to her, “*behold thy son*,” John xix. 25, we may reasonably collect that she had no other children of her own to support her.

THE GENEALOGIES OF CHRIST.

There are two distinct genealogies given in the introductions of *Matthew’s* and *Luke’s* Gospels: the former, principally designed for the *Jews*, traces his pedigree as the promised seed, downwards, from *Abraham* to *David*; and from him, through *Solomon’s* line, to *Jacob*, the father of *Joseph*, who was the reputed or *legal* father of CHRIST, Matt. i. 1—16. The latter, designed for the *Gentiles* also, traces it upwards, from *Heli*, the father of *Mary*, to *David*, through his son *Nathan’s* line, and from *David* to *Abraham*, concurring with the former, and from *Abraham* up to *Adam*, who was the immediate “*Son of God*,” born without father or mother †, Luke iii. 23—38.

That *Luke* gives the pedigree of *Mary*, the real mother of CHRIST, may be collected from the following reasons:—

* *Josephus* calls him, *τον αδελφον Ιησου του λεγομενου Χριστου, Ιακωβος ονομα αυτου*. “The brother of *Jesus* who was called *Christ*, his name was *James*.” Antiq. XX, 8, 1.

† Ego illis potius assentio qui “*filium Dei*,” dici putant “*Adamum*,” creationis jure, atque eo gradu attolli animos ad credendam *Christi* genituram. Nam qui ex terra, sine patre, hominem primum potuit producere, idem efficere potuit ut CHRISTUS ex virgine sine patre nasceretur. *Grot.*

1. The angel *Gabriel*, at the annunciation, told the virgin, that "GOD would give her divine Son the throne of *his father David*," Luke i. 32; and this was necessary to be proved, by her genealogy, afterwards.

2. *Mary* is called by the *Jews*, בת עלי, "the daughter of *Eli*," *Lightfoot* on Luke iii. 23; and by the early Christian writers, "the daughter of *Joakim* and *Anna*." But *Joakim* and *Eliakim* (as being derived from the names of God, יהוה, *Iahoh*, and אל, *Æl*,) are sometimes interchanged, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. *Eli*, therefore, or *Heli*, is the abridgment of *Eliakim*. Nor is it of any consequence that the Rabbins call him עלי, instead of אלי, the aspirates *Aleph* and *Ain* being frequently interchanged.

3. A similar case in point occurs elsewhere in the genealogy. After the *Babylonish* captivity, the two lines of *Solomon* and *Nathan*, the sons of *David*, unite in the generations of *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, and thence diverge again in the sons of the latter, *Abiud* and *Resa*. Hence, as *Salathiel* in *Matthew*, was the son of *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, who was carried away into captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*, so in *Luke* *Salathiel* must have been the grandson of *Neri*, by his mother's side*.

4. The evangelist himself has critically distinguished the *real* from the *legal* genealogy, by a parenthetical remark: Ἰησους—ων (ὡς νομιζετο, υἱος Ἰωσηφ, [ἀλλ' οὐτως]) υἱος του Ἡλι. "JESUS—being (as was reputed, the son of *Joseph*, [but in reality]) the son of *Heli*," or his grandson by the *mother's* side; for so should the ellipsis involved in the parenthesis be supplied.

5. It has been objected, that *Elizabeth* being "of the daughters of *Aaron*," Luke i. 5, "*Mary*, her cousin," verse 36, must have been so too. And so *Gregory Nazianzen* states:

— εκ Μαρίας
 Δημιδης. Μαριαμ γαρ ἀφ' αἵματος ηεν Ααρων,
 Μαρτυς δ' αγγελος ἀμμιν.

— " [CHRIST was born] of *Mary*,
 A daughter of *Levi*. For the angel is our witness,
 That she was of the blood of *Aaron*."

* Doctor *Barret*, in his curious *fac-simile* of a most ancient fragment of *Matthew's* Gospel, found in the library of *Trinity College, Dublin*, published 1801, has brought some satisfactory arguments to prove, that the wife of *Jechoniah*, and the mother of *Salathiel*, was the celebrated *Susanna*, the subject of the apocryphal book. See his *Prolegomena*, p. 38, 39.

But the families of *Levi* and *Judah* were early intermixed, for *Aaron* himself married *Elishaba*, the daughter of *Amminadab*, and sister of *Naashon*, prince of *Judah*, Exod. vi. 20; Numb. i. 7; and *Jeremiah*, foretelling the coming of CHRIST, connects him with "the seed of *David*, and the *Levites*," as king and priest, by descent from both, Jer. xxxiii. 17—24. So it was understood by the *Testament of the twelve patriarchs*; "FOR THE LORD shall raise up out of *Levi* a high-priest, and out of *Judah* a king, GOD AND MAN," Simeon, § 7. "Honour *Judah* and *Levi*, for out of them shall arise to you THE LAMB OF GOD, by grace, saving all the *Gentiles* and *Israel*," Joseph, § 19. See *Barret*, Proleg. p. 42, and *Lardner*, Vol. II. p. 330, 331. *Mary*, therefore, was "the virgin" chosen by GOD out of both tribes, Isa. vii. 14; Mal. ii. 4, iii. 3.

It is remarkable, that in the whole pedigree, only four women are named, and these either heathen, or of bad character: "*Thamar*," who had an incestuous commerce with her father-in-law, *Judah*; "*Rahab*, the harlot," married to *Salmon*, prince of *Judah*; "*Ruth*, the *Moabitess*," who enticed *Boaz* to marry her; and "*Bathsheba*," the adulteress, the wife of *David*. These women seem to have been designedly introduced, to repress the pride and arrogance of the *Jews**, boasting that they were "*Abraham's* seed," "not born of fornication," or impure heathen mixture, John viii. 33—41, and deriving their descent from the four celebrated matrons, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and *Leah*, as may be seen in the *Jerusalem Targum*, on Gen. xlix. 26; Numb. xxiii. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 15; and in Isa. li. 2.

It may also be observed, that in three instances, the "*brethren*" are mentioned, of *Judah*, of *Pharez*, and of *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*; to signify, that the younger are often preferred to the elder in the divine counsels. See *Wetstein's* Notes.

These ancient genealogies have been handed down to us in rather an imperfect state; and from the collations of *Wetstein* and *Griesbach*, it appears, that there is a wonderful diversity, both in the names of the several generations, and in the order of some, occurring in the manuscripts now extant. Neither do the numbers of the generations in our present editions corre-

* *Ezekiel* formerly repressed this arrogance: "Thy birth and nativity is of the land of *Canaan*; thy father was an *Amorite*, and thy mother a *Hittite*," xvi. 3. See *Cruden's* Concordance, voce "*birth*."

spond to those recorded by the early Christian writers, *Irenæus*, *Africanus*, *Ambrosius*, *Augustin*, &c. who reckon the amount of *Luke's*, seventy-two or seventy; whereas the present amount is seventy-seven; proving, that there must have been some interpolations since their time. That of the *second Cainan* we know to be such, Luke iii. 36. See Vol. I. p. 289, &c.

Hence the learned *Grotius*, *Newcome*, *Barret*, &c. have laboured to correct the two genealogies, and to harmonize them together, by supplying deficiencies in the one, and retrenching interpolations in the other, by the help of *philological* criticism, founded upon similitudes, or different descriptions of names, in the manuscripts, and in the first book of *Chronicles*.

Indeed, we have reason to think, with *Wetstein*, that of the two evangelists, *Matthew* did not propose to give a full pedigree of OUR LORD, but only the most remarkable among his ancestors. This is evident, from his three series of fourteen generations each, which certainly are each of them deficient*.

1. From *Abraham* to *David* inclusively, both evangelists agree, in reckoning only fourteen generations, whereas there must have been eighteen at least. For, from the birth of *Abraham*, B.C. 2153, to the birth of *Salmon*, the son of *Naashon* by *Rahab*, which, at the earliest, we may date B.C. 1607, (the year after the destruction of *Jericho*,) there was an interval of 546 years, which, divided by nine, the number of intermediate generations, gives near sixty-one years, the average length of a generation. Again, from the birth of *Salmon*, B.C. 1607, to the birth of *Solomon*, about B.C. 1048, was a still greater interval of 559 years, which, divided by five, the *recorded* number of intermediate generations, gives near 112 years for the enormous average; but if divided by nine, (the same number as before) gives an average of sixty-two years. We may then be confident, that there were not less than nine generations also in the latter part, or than eighteen generations in the whole.

And this is confirmed by the pedigrees of *Heman*, *Asaph*, and *Ethan*, the singers, and *Zadok*, the priest, of the tribe of *Levi*, compared with the synchronizing or collateral pedigree of *David*, their contemporary, of the tribe of *Judah*, which consisted of

* That *Matthew* took his genealogy from some *public document*, or *record*, has been ingeniously collected by *Michaelis*, from the expression *Ἰησοῦς, ὁ λεγομενος Χριστος*, "JESUS, who is called CHRIST," i. 16, which is not likely to have been the evangelist's. *Townson*, before him, made the same remark, Vol. I. p. lv.

fifteen generations from *Levi**, and consequently of eighteen generations from *Abraham*, inclusively.

The four deficient generations should be introduced between *Obed*, with whom the book of *Ruth* ends, and *Jesse*, the father of *David*, iv. 17.

2. From *Solomon* to *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, and the *Babylonish* captivity, are counted only fourteen generations, inclusively, in *Matthew*, whereas there were eighteen; for *Ahaziah*, *Joash*, and *Amaziah*, ought to be inserted after *Joram*, and *Jehoiakim* after *Josiah*. These seem to have been omitted designedly.

In *Luke's* genealogy there are twenty generations from *Nathan* to *Neri*, inclusively. Doctor *Barret* reduces them to eighteen, by rejecting, as interpolations, the third and fourth, *Mainan* and *Melea*, which are omitted in some ancient manuscripts. This would equalize both.

3. From *Salathiel* to *JESUS*, inclusively, are fourteen gene-

* These pedigrees may be collected thus:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
1. <i>Levi</i> .	1. <i>Levi</i> .	1. <i>Levi</i> .	1. <i>Levi</i> .	1. <i>Judah</i> .
2. <i>Gershom</i> .	2. <i>Merari</i> .	2. <i>Kohath</i> .	2. <i>Kohath</i> .	2. <i>Pharez</i> .
3. <i>Jahath</i> .	3. <i>Mushi</i> .	3. <i>Izhar</i> .	3. <i>Amram</i> .	3. <i>Hezron</i> .
4. <i>Shimei</i> .	4. <i>Mahli</i> .	4. <i>Korah</i> .	4. <i>Aaron</i> .	4. <i>Ram</i> or <i>Aram</i> .
5. <i>Zimmah</i> .	5. <i>Shamar</i> .	5. <i>Ebiasaph</i> .	5. <i>Eleazar</i> .	5. <i>Aminadab</i> .
6. <i>Ethan</i> .	6. <i>Bani</i> .	6. <i>Assir</i> .	6. <i>Phineas</i> .	6. <i>Naashon</i> .
7. <i>Adaiah</i> .	7. <i>Amzi</i> .	7. <i>Elkanah</i> .	7. <i>Abishua</i> .	7. <i>Salmon</i> .
8. <i>Zerah</i> .	8. <i>Ililkiah</i> .	8. <i>Zuph</i> .	8. <i>Bukki</i> .	8. <i>Boaz</i> .
9. <i>Ethni</i> .	9. <i>Amaziah</i> .	9. <i>Toah</i> .	9. <i>Uzzi</i> .	9. <i>Obed</i> .
10. <i>Malchiah</i> .	10. <i>Hashabiah</i> .	10. <i>Eliel</i> .	10. <i>Zeraiah</i> .	10. —
11. <i>Baaseiah</i> .	11. <i>Malluch</i> .	11. <i>Jeroham</i> .	11. <i>Meraioth</i> .	11. —
12. <i>Michael</i> .	12. <i>Abdi</i> .	12. <i>Elkanah</i> .	12. [<i>Azariah</i>]	12. —
13. <i>Shimea</i> .	13. <i>Kishi</i> .	13. <i>Samuel</i> .	13. <i>Amariah</i> .	13. —
14. <i>Barachiah</i> .	14. <i>Ethan</i> .	14. <i>Joel</i> .	14. <i>Ahitub</i> .	14. <i>Jesse</i> .
15. <i>Asaph</i> .		15. <i>Heman</i> .	15. <i>Zadok</i> .	15. <i>David</i> .
1 Chron. vi. 39—43.	1 Chron. vi. 44—47.	1 Chron. vi. 33—38.	1 Chron. vi. 4—8.	Ruth iv. 18—22.
		1 Sam. viii. 2.	Ezra vii. 2—5.	Matt. i. 3—6. Luke iii. 31—33.

We are warranted, therefore, from the three pedigrees of *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Zadok*, to reckon fifteen generations in that of *David*, which, added to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, gives eighteen in all. In *Heman's*, some manifest interpolations are omitted, between 6. *Assir* and 7. *Elkanah*, which are retrenched, as intimating repetitions, and as greatly enhancing the number of generations beyond those of the parallel lists. These interpolations, however, rather strengthen the opinion, commonly received, by reckoning more than fifteen.

rations in *Matthew*, and twenty-two in *Luke*. The former are too few, the latter too many; for if we suppose *Salathiel* (the first of the third class in both pedigrees) to have been born B.C. 595, two years after the captivity of his father *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, who was then eighteen years old, and married at the time, 2 Kings xxiv. 8—15, and subtract therefrom, B.C. 5, the date of the Nativity, and divide the difference, 590 years, by the intermediate number of generations, thirteen in *Matthew*, and twenty-one in *Luke*, the former will give the average of generations, above forty-five years, too high for that period, the latter, twenty-eight years, rather too low. But if we assume eighteen generations in both, the quotient, near thirty-three years, approximates to the regular standard of generations. See Vol. I. p. 80. So that we are warranted, by the laws of nature, to add five generations to *Matthew's* numbers, and subtract three from *Luke's*, which will bring both to eighteen. This correction is independent of any precarious *philological* criticism, which we leave to determine, where the five generations are to be inserted in *Matthew*, and the three to be subtracted in *Luke*, for we have no *scriptural data* to assist us in this third series, as in the two foregoing.

4. The three joint series, therefore, so corrected, at eighteen generations a-piece, give fifty-four generations; to which, if we add the first nineteen in *Luke's* genealogy, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, exclusively, the sum seventy-three will give the number of generations from *Adam* to CHRIST, or seventy-two between *Adam* and CHRIST, which harmonizes sufficiently with the primitive statement of *Irenæus*, &c.

If it be asked why the interpolations are confined to *Luke's* genealogy? it may be answered, that in *Matthew's*, the whole number of generations being limited to forty-two, any interpolation could be easily detected; whereas in *Luke's*, the whole number not being specified, interpolations could not be detected, but by comparison with more correct copies. And perhaps some of the early *Christians* might have wished to include their own ancestors in the genealogy of CHRIST.

THE ROMAN ENROLLMENT, AND TAXING.

About the birth of *John the Baptist*, *Augustus Cæsar* issued a decree, that *all the land** [of *Judea* and *Galilee*, under *Herod's* dominion] should be enrolled, [preparatory to a *census*, assessment, or taxing] Luke ii. 1. The occasion of this decree may be thus collected from *Josephus*.

In the latter end of *Herod's* reign, some time before he put his sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* to death, he had a quarrel with *Obodas*, king of *Arabia*, and *Syllæus*, his prime minister. He had lent *Obodas* sixty talents, for a limited time, and was disappointed of the stipulated payment; and *Syllæus* had harboured some banditti, who had fled to him for shelter, from *Herod's* province of *Trachonitis*, having been offended with *Herod* for refusing to let his sister *Salome* marry him, as her third husband, some time before. *Herod* complained of both these wrongs to the Roman presidents of *Syria*, *Saturninus*, and *Volumnius*, who decreed that the money should be repaid to *Herod* in a month's time, and the banditti that should be found in *Arabia* given up to him.

Before the expiration of the month, *Syllæus* went to *Rome*, without troubling himself about the performance. *Herod*, therefore, by the permission of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, marched an army into *Arabia*, to redress himself; defeated the banditti, and also a party of *Arabs*, under *Nasebus*, who came to their assistance, in which *Nasebus*, and about five and twenty of his men, were killed.

Intelligence of these proceedings having quickly reached *Rome*, *Syllæus* made his complaint to the emperor, drest in mourning, alleging that *Herod* had destroyed *Nasebus*, with 2500 of the chief of the *Arabs*, and plundered the country. Provoked at this, *Augustus* only enquired of his own, and *Herod's*

* Απογραφεσθαι πασαν την οικουμενην. Here, ἡ οικουμενη, does not signify "the world," as it is rendered in the English Bible, or "the Roman empire," as generally understood, but "the inhabited land" of *Palestine*, as contrasted with the uninhabited land, or desert, Exod. xvi. 35, which is there called, την οικουμενην, by the Septuagint; and this was its proper signification in the earlier Greek classics, though in the later, *Plutarch*, &c. it was applied to the *Roman* empire. Thus *Xenophon* observes, Οικουμενη μεν γαρ χωρα πολλου αξιον κτημα· ερημη δ' ανθρωπων ουσα, ερημη και αγαθων γιγνεται. "For an inhabited country, indeed, is an acquisition worth much; but when destitute of inhabitants, it is destitute of value also." *Cyropæd.* 4.

friends who were then at *Rome*, whether *Herod* had marched an army into *Arabia*? And when they could not deny the fact, without further enquiry why he had done so, or for what provocation, the emperor wrote *Herod* a very angry letter, of which the substance was, that “*having hitherto treated him as a friend, he would now treat him as a subject.*” And when *Herod* sent an embassy to clear himself, the emperor repeatedly refused to hear them, and so *Herod* was forced to submit to all the *injuries* (παράνομιαι) offered to him. Ant. xvi. 9.

The chief of these was the degrading his kingdom to a *Roman* province. For soon after, *Josephus* incidentally mentions, that “the whole nation of the *Jews* took an oath of fidelity to *Cæsar* and the *king* jointly, except six thousand of the *Pharisees*, who, through their hostility to the *regal* government, refused to take it, and were fined for their refusal by the king; but that the wife of his brother, *Pheroras*, paid the fine for them.” Ant. xvii. 2, 6. This was shortly before the death of *Pheroras*, and coincides therefore with the time of this decree of enrollment; and the oath was administered at the same time, according to the usage of the *Roman Census*, in which a return of persons, ages, and properties, was required to be made upon oath, under penalty of confiscation of the goods of the delinquents, as we learn from *Ulpian*. And the reason for registering *ages* was, that among the *Syrians*, males from fourteen years of age, and females from twelve, until their sixty-fifth year, were subject to a capitation, or poll-tax, by the *Roman* law. This was *two drachmas* a head, half a *stater*, or about fifteen pence of our currency. See the case of *OUR LORD* and *Peter* afterwards, where “*a stater*,” the amount of both, was procured by a miracle, Matt. xvii. 24—27.

Cyrenius, a *Roman* senator and procurator, or collector of the emperor’s revenue, was employed to make the enrollment. This we learn from the joint testimony of *Justin Martyr*, *Julian* the apostate, and *Eusebius*; when *Saturninus* was president of *Syria*, to whom it is attributed by *Tertullian*, and in the thirty-third year of *Herod’s* reign, or B.C. 5, the year of Christ’s birth, according to *Eusebius**.

* Κωμη (Βηθλεεμ) τις εστιν εν τη χωρα Ιουδαιων, απεχουσα σταδιους τριακοντα πεντε Ιεροσολυμων, εν η εγεννηθη Ιησους Χριστος, ως και μαθειν δυνασθε εκ των απογραφων των γενομενων επι Κυρηνιου του υμετερου εν Ιουδαια πρωτου γενομενου επιτροπου. *Justin Martyr*.

Cyrenius, whom Tacitus calls *Quirinius*, and describes as *impiger militiæ et acribus ministeriis*, “an active soldier and a rigid commissioner,” was well qualified for an employment so odious to *Herod*, and his subjects; and probably came to execute the decree with an armed force. Without delay, therefore, “all (the inhabitants) went to be enrolled (*απογραφεισθαι*) each to his own city. And *Joseph* also went up out of *Galilee*, from the city of *Nazareth*, into *Judea*, to *Bethlehem*, *David’s* city, (because he was of the house and lineage of *David*) to enroll himself (*απογραφασθαι*) with *Mary*, his betrothed wife, being great with child. And it came to pass, while they were there, the days of her delivery were accomplished, and she bore her first-born son, and swathed him, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn,” Luke ii. 3—7.

By the wary policy of *Roman* jurisprudence, to prevent insurrections, and to expedite the business, all were required to repair to their own cities. Even in *Italy*, the consular edict commanded the *Latin* citizens “not to be enrolled at *Rome*, but all in their own cities.” And this precaution was still more necessary in turbulent provinces, like *Judea* and *Galilee*. And the decree was peremptory, and admitted of no delay. *Joseph* therefore was obliged to go with *Mary*, notwithstanding her advanced state of pregnancy, to his family town, *Bethlehem*, where the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD was born in a *stable*, and laid in a *manger*!

Thus did “the fierceness of man,” or the anger of *Augustus* towards *Herod*, “turn to the praise of GOD,” and to the fulfilment of prophecy, that CHRIST should be born at *Bethlehem*, (*Micah* v. 2.) so far from his mother’s residence; and that as *SHILOH* (the *APOSTLE*) he should come into the world when “the *sceptre* had departed from *Judah*,” (*Gen.* xlix. 10.) for *Judea* was made a *Roman* province by the introduction of a *Roman* enrollment therein. *Julian*, the apostate, unwittingly objected this to CHRIST’S claim:

“This *JESUS*, proclaimed by you [*Christians*] was one of *Cæsar’s* subjects. If ye disbelieve, I will prove it presently; or rather let it be told now; ye say then yourselves that he was enrolled, with his father and mother, in the time of *Cyrenius* *.”

* ‘Ο παρ’ ἡμιν κηρυττομενος Ἰησους εἰς ἡν των Καισαρος ὑπηκων· εἰ δε ἀπιστεῖτε, μικρον ὕστερον ἀποδειξω, μαλλον δὴ ἤδη λεγεσθω· φατε μεν τοι αὐτον ἀπο-

At the present juncture, however, the *Census* proceeded no farther than the first act of the enrollment of *persons* in the *Roman registers*, (called *tabulæ* in Latin, and *απογραφαι* in Greek.) And to these registers *Tertullian*, and the early Fathers, often appeal for evidence of the lineal descent of *JESUS* from *David*, as foretold of *CHRIST*. For *Herod* sent his trusty minister, *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, to *Rome*; who, by his address and presents, found means to undeceive and mollify the emperor, by stating the matter truly. *Augustus*, therefore, was reconciled to *Herod*, and stopped the *assessment* or *taxing*, (*αποτιμησις* or *απογραφη*.) and punished *Syllæus* with death, for this and other misdemeanors, as we collect from *Josephus*, Ant. XVI. 9, 4, x. 8, 9.

Although the *Census* was now suspended, it was afterwards carried into effect, upon the deposal and banishment of *Archelaus*, the son and successor of *Herod*, for mal-administration, by *Augustus*, upon the complaint of the *Jews*, weary of the tyranny of *Herod's* family, and requesting that *Judea* might be made a *Roman* province. Upon that occasion, the trusty *Cyrenius* was sent again, as president of *Syria*, with an armed force, to confiscate the property of *Archelaus*, and to complete the *Census*; which was submitted to by the nation, now, without hesitation, as formerly they had submitted to the enrollment, principally by the advice and authority of *Joazar*, the high priest, whose sister, the second *Mariamne*, *Herod* had married, some time before his appointment. *Joazar*, indeed, was deposed on *Herod's* death, by *Archelaus*, as inimical to his interest; and, therefore, he again recommended the measure of the *assessment*, with a view, perhaps, to his own restoration, in which he was not disappointed, for *Cyrenius* made him high priest again; though soon after he was obliged to depose him, on account of the odium he had incurred, as a partizan of the *Romans*, when the insurrection of *Judas* of *Galilee* broke out, in “*the days of the taxing*,” Acts v. 37, in which, though “*Judas*

γραψασθαι, μετα του πατρος και της μητρος, επι Κυρηνιου. *Julian.* apud *Cyri.* Lib. VI. p. 213, ed. Spanhem.

Εν τῷ λγ Ἡρωδου Κυρηνιος, απο της συγκλητου βουλης απεσταλμενος εις την Ιουδαιαν απογραφας εποιησατο των ουσιων και των οικητηρων. *Euseb.* Hist. Eccl.

Sed et *census*, constat, actos sub *Augusto*, nunc in *Judea*, per *Sentium Saturninum*: apud quas genus ejus (*CHRISTI*) inquirere potuissent. *Tertullian* de *Carne Christi*, et advers. *Marcion*. Here *Tertullian* ascribes to the principal, *Saturninus*, what was done by the deputy, *Cyrenius*.

was slain, and his adherents dispersed," of whom the chief was *Sadok*, a Pharisee, yet his principles took root among "the *zealots* *," as they called themselves; namely, that payment of tribute to the *Romans*, was downright *slavery*, and *unlawful* in itself, as repugnant to the theocracy, since GOD was their only king. Hence, the doubt expressed by the tax gatherers in *Galilee*, whether JESUS, as the reputed CHRIST, or true king of *Israel*, would pay the *Roman tax*; which he did, by a miracle; and the insidious question proposed to CHRIST afterwards, by the *Pharisees* and *Herodians* conjointly, "whether it was lawful, or not, to pay tribute to *Cæsar*?" which he evaded with such admirable address, and retorted on the *hypocritical* proposers.

The establishment of the *assessment*, or *taxing*, afterwards, which was necessary to complete the *Roman Census*, when *Archelaus* was deposed and banished, and his property confiscated, is stated by the Evangelist in the following parenthetical remark, which may be more correctly written, and rendered thus:

(Αυτη ἡ απογραφή πρώτη εγενετο ἡγεμονευοντος της Συριας Κυρηνιου.)

("The *taxing itself* was first made while *Cyrenius* was president of *Syria*.")

In all the printed editions the first word is aspirated, *αὐτη*, "this," as if it were the feminine of *οὗτος*. But this materially injures the sense, as if the *enrollment* decreed in the first verse, was the same as *this taxing* in the second; whereas there was an interval of eleven years, as we have seen, between the two. But in the most ancient manuscripts, written in uncials, or in capitals, without points or accents, the word is ambiguous; and may also be unaspirated, *αυτη*, "self," the feminine of *αυτος*. And both occur together in this same chapter, where the Evangelist, speaking of *Anna* the prophetess, says *και αυτη, αυτη τη ωρα επιστασα*, "And *this* [woman] coming in at the instant *itself*," or at "the *self same hour*," &c. Luke ii. 38, where the phraseology is precisely the same; and repeatedly occurs elsewhere. Nor can it justly be objected, that the singular, *απογραφή*, "assessment," or "taxing," is used in a different sense from the plural, *απογραφαι*, "Registers," or "Tables:" a similar

* Among OUR LORD'S disciples was "Simon the Zealot," Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13.

distinction was noticed before, between *ανατολη*, “*the rising*” of a star, and *ανατολαι*, “*the east*,” Matt. ii. 1, 2. See Vol. I. p. 73.

The ordinal *πρωτη*, “*first*,” is here understood adverbially*, and connected with the verb *εγενετο*, “*was made*,” or “*took effect* †,” signifying that the taxing itself *first took effect*, or was carried into execution, under the presidency of *Cyrenius*, or *Quirinius*; which had been suspended from the time of his procuratorship.

By this easy and obvious emendation and construction, the Evangelist is critically reconciled with the varying accounts of *Josephus*, *Justin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*; and an *historical* difficulty, satisfactorily solved, which has hitherto set criticism at defiance. See *Lardner's* elaborate dissertation on the subject, considerably longer than *Luke's* whole Gospel, which offers only a choice of difficulties to the reader. Vol. I. p. 248—329.

VISITS OF THE JEWISH SHEPHERDS, AND OF THE PARTHIAN MAGI, TO CHRIST.

These are classed together, because they probably originated from a divine annunciation to both at the same time, to render homage to the New Born MESSIAH; who was destined, indeed, to be “*a light to lighten the Gentiles, and a glory to his people Israel.*”

On the night of the Nativity, as some pious shepherds near *Bethlehem* were keeping watch over their flocks by night, in the field, Lo, an Angel of THE LORD [suddenly] came upon them, and a glory of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid. And the Angel said unto them, *Be not afraid, for lo, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people [of Israel:] for unto you, is born this day, in [Bethlehem,] the city of David, a SAVIOUR, which is CHRIST THE LORD. And this shall be a sign unto you: ye shall find the Babe swathed, lying in the manger [of the inn.]* And sud-

* That *πρωτη* cannot be understood as an adjective, connected with *απογραφη*, as rendered by *Campbell*, *Newcome*, *Wakefield*, “*this first register*,” appears from the want of the article, as in the usual form, *αυτη η αναστασις η πρωτη*. This is “*the first resurrection*,” Rev. xx. 5, as acutely observed by *Middleton*. On the *Greek Article*, p. 304, 305.

† The verb *γινομαι* bears this sense in several places, Matt. v. 18, vi. 10, xviii. 19, xxii. 42, 1 Cor. xv. 54, &c. See *Campbell's* Note.

denly, there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising GOD and saying, *Glory in the highest [heavens] to GOD: and on earth peace, good will toward men* *

“And it came to pass, as the angels were departing from them into the heaven, [or sky,] the shepherds said to each other, Let us now go even unto *Bethlehem*, and see this thing that hath been done, which THE LORD hath made known unto us. And they went, with haste, and found *Mary* and *Joseph*, and the Babe lying in the manger,” Luke ii. 8—16.

Bethlehem, about six miles south of *Jerusalem*, is seated on the utmost ridge of a hill, stretching east and west, in a happy soil, and most delicate prospect. At the east side of the city is shewn a *grotto*, hewn out of the living rock, which was em-

* The concise and simple sublimity of this circumstantial and picturesque narrative, in which nothing is redundant, nothing deficient, is above all praise. It furnishes a perfect model of *historical* composition. Here the whole solemn scene is, in a manner, represented to our view, by the liveliness and natural grandeur of the description. We see the *terror* of the shepherds accounted for, by the suddenness and the manner of the angel's approach, *επιστη*, “*he came upon them*,” by surprise, and the effect of this apparition is expressed, by one of those *oriental* amplifications, too bold and forcible for the tameness of *European* language, *εφοβηθησαν φοβον μεγαν*, “*they were afraid with great fear*,” or, as rendered in the English Bible, “*they were sore afraid*.” And then, after the angel had done speaking, the sudden manifestation of the celestial choir, (which might have *amazed* the shepherds too much, and distracted their attention before,) completes the grandeur of the scene; ending with that inimitable doxology of “*Glory to God*,” for this gracious dispensation of *divine love*, or *good will* to mankind; in which “*God's mercy*, and his *truth* or *justice*, met together” in unison; “*His righteousness* and the *peace* of fallen *man*, which seemed to be at variance, kissed each other,” in token of the fondest reconciliation, by the all-sufficient *atonement* of CHRIST, “*becoming flesh*,” to die for our sakes, and in our stead! A mystery, worthy to be celebrated by the tongues of *angels* and *men*, in and throughout the universe.

Its consummate excellence, indeed, will more strikingly appear, by comparison with the following paraphrase of the eloquent *Bossuet*, under the equal disadvantage of a literal translation:

“Some shepherds, who passed the night with their flocks in the fields adjacent, saw, at the same time, an angel who affrighted them, at first, by a very extraordinary *light*, with which he environed them; but he reassured them incontinently, by informing them of the *news* which was the occasion of this prodigy. He even told them by what *marks* they might know THE SAVIOUR that was born to them. And, at that instant, they heard in the air, a *concert* of many voices, like that of the angel, celebrating the *glory* of GOD in the heavens, and the *peace* which he had now given to men upon earth.” *La vie de Jesus Christ*. Tom. I. p. 28. Paris, 1757.

This is full as long as the original, and independently of its tameness and insipidity, omitting the angel's speech entirely, it omits several of the most important and characteristic circumstances; as the *mode* of the angel's appearance, the true *Israelites* who were to be saved, the reference to *Micah's* prophecy of *Bethlehem*, as the birth place of the MESSIAH, &c.

ployed for a *stable* at that time, and on the south side you descend, by three steps, into a lesser grotto, on the west side of which is a *manger*, hewn out in a concave, about two feet high from the floor, and a little way hollowed within, wherein they say that our new-born SAVIOUR was laid by the Virgin. In the bottom of this manger, and just in the middle, a round serpentine is set, to denote the place where he lay. On the opposite side of the grotto there is a bench in the rocks, not unlike an altar, where the *Magi* of the east, that were conducted hither by the star, disposed, as they say, of their presents. The empress *Helena*, the mother of *Constantine* the Great, erected a magnificent temple here, called *St. Mary's of Bethlehem*, now gone to decay. See *Sandys*, p. 136—141, who gives drawings of the temple, &c.

II. This same “*glory of THE LORD*,” or miraculous light, which “*shone round about the shepherds*,” and was therefore probably of a *globular* form, and of considerable diameter, might have appeared on the same night, and at the same time, to some pious *Magi** of the *Parthian* empire, diminished, at the distance of several hundred miles, to the size of a *star*, or uncommonly bright meteor, and rising in its ascent from the shepherds, in the south-west quarter of the horizon, an unusual region, which must have strongly attracted their notice, and excited

* The *Magi* (*Μαγοι*), signifying in Persic “*Diviners*,” were the established priesthood of the *Persian*, or *Parthian* empire; persons of the highest rank and consequence in the state. Their original founder, in times very remote, even before *Abraham's* days, in the time of *Nahor*, (see Vol. II. p. 51,) is supposed to have been the first *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster*. The second of that name afterwards, and the great reformer of the *Magian* religion, flourished in the reign of *Gushtasp*, or *Darius Hystaspes*, and is represented by the *Persian* historians as having been a servant, or disciple, of one of the *Jewish* prophets, supposed to be *Elijah*, but most probably *Daniel*. *Abulfaragi* relates, (what has much the air of a legend, invented after *Christianity*,) that he instructed the *Persians* concerning the manifestation of CHRIST THE LORD; ordering them to bring Him gifts, and foretelling that, in the last times, a virgin should conceive a child without the knowledge of man, and that at his birth a star should shine, *in the midst of which should be seen the figure of the virgin*: “*My sons*,” said he, “*ye shall perceive its rising before all other nations; as soon, therefore, as ye shall see the star, go, follow its direction, adore Him, offer Him your gifts, since this is He, THE ORACLE, who created the heavens*,” p. 54. And he represents them afterwards, p. 70, as telling *Herod* that a person, formerly of great name among them, in a book that he left, warned them of the future birth of a heavenly child in *Palestine*; that the sign of his appearance should be an extraordinary star, and that when they saw it, they should follow its guidance to the place of its residence, and offer it gifts, *gold*, and *myrrh*, and *frankincense*, and adore him, and then return home, lest some grievous calamity should befall them.

their attention. From its situation, they might have been led to conceive, that this was “the *star* to rise out of *Jacob*, and the sceptre from *Israel*,” foretold by the celebrated Chaldean diviner, and probably their ancestor, *Balaam*, Numb. xxiv. 17, and that it denoted THE MESSIAH, whose coming was foretold in the famous prophecy of the *seventy* weeks, by *Daniel* their *archimagus*, Dan. ii. 48, ix. 25. See Vol. I. p. 74. And besides these *prophetical* inducements, we have reason to think that GOD, who never left himself unwitnessed in the heathen world, in a dream, or vision, induced these pious sages “*from the east*,” (απο ανατολων,) to go to *Jerusalem* for further intelligence respecting the birth-place, or residence, of “*the true born*” (ὁ τεχθεις) KING OF THE JEWS, whose *star* they saw at its rising (εν τη ανατολη), “and whom they came to worship,” with royal and religious adoration, Matt. ii. 2. This may fairly be collected from the *oracular warning* they afterwards received in a dream (χορηματισθεντες), not to return to *Herod* on their way home, Matt. ii. 12.

Such a respectable deputation, and interesting enquiry, from a hostile region especially, occasioned a great and universal sensation: “*Herod* was alarmed, and all *Jerusalem* with him;” they were affected with a variety of mingled passions and emotions thereat, *fear, joy, hope, &c.* The jealous tyrant himself dreaded a formidable rival to himself and his family in the throne; the *Herodians* apprehended the downfall of their party; the *Pharisees* were rejoiced at the prospect of a revolution; and the pious and devout few, who looked forward to “the *consolation* and *redemption* of *Israel*,” by a spiritual Saviour, and also a mighty temporal prince, were cheered at the news of the birth of their long expected deliverer, Matt. ii. 3.

Herod, therefore, convened a general ecclesiastical council at *Jerusalem*, and enquired of them where the MESSIAH, or CHRIST, (whom he rightly understood by THE KING OF THE JEWS,) was to be born, according to prophecy? And they answered, at *Bethlehem*, citing *Micah’s* famous prophecy, v. 2, explained before.

The *Magi*, therefore, having received this answer, proceeded to *Bethlehem*, in quest of the heaven-born Prince, and about two miles from thence, according to tradition, “lo, the star which they had seen, at its rising, re-appeared, and conducted them, until it came and stood over where the young child was.

And when they saw the star, *they rejoiced with exceeding great joy*. And when they went into the house, they saw the young child, with *Mary* his mother, and prostrating themselves, they worshipped him, and having opened their treasures, they offered unto him gifts, "*gold, frankincense, and myrrh,*" ii. 9—11.

The circumstance of the star's going before them as a guide, and standing still over the house in which the infant JESUS was, decides the point that it could not have been an ordinary star, but a supernatural meteor, moving at no great height, or divine glory, like that which formerly conducted the *Israelites* in the desert. Indeed, the remarkably amplified expression of the joy which these pious sages felt at its re-appearance, is the surest test of its *preternatural* manifestation at the first time. And we may reasonably believe, that of all the *Gentile* world, *their* minds were best prepared for the reception of the GOSPEL, to whom it was first communicated, who first took a long and hazardous journey to visit its divine author, and to spread the *glad tidings* of his birth in their own country. It is truly remarkable, and in perfect conformity herewith, that among the *first fruits* of the Christian Church, founded on the day of *Pentecost*, by another visible appearance of the divine glory, resting on the heads of the Apostles, the fore-ground is occupied by "*Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia,*" from whence the *Magi* came, Acts ii. 9.

Thus was the knowledge of our Saviour's birth communicated to a few chosen witnesses, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*; it was revealed to "*babes*" in simplicity, innocency, and docility, while it was hidden from the great and mighty, "*the wise and prudent*" of his own nation, *Herod*, and the *chief priests*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who only "*sought the young child to destroy him.*" *Herod*, by a strange, but not unusual inconsistency, attempted "*to fight against God,*" and to counteract those very prophecies, which he appears to have believed respecting CHRIST.

To protect him from *Herod's* rage, probably, the same night, after the departure of the *Magi* homewards, by a different way, the same angel, who had warned them, appeared to *Joseph*, and directed him to fly to *Egypt*, with the holy family, from *Bethlehem*, and to remain there until further notice. It has been observed, that the rich offerings of the *Magi*, furnished a provi-

dential supply for their journey and residence in *Egypt*, till *Herod's* death.

We may date this visit of the *Magi*, and flight of the holy family to *Egypt*, B.C. 4, on the 6th of January, the day on which the feast of the *Epiphany* was celebrated by the primitive *Greek*, and still by the *Latin Church*. And this agrees remarkably well with the foregoing hypothesis of the Nativity of *CHRIST*, on the great day of *atonement*, in the preceding year, about the autumnal equinox; which would give full time for the journey of the *Magi* to *Jerusalem*; whereas, the winter solstice, (December 25,) pitched on by the Church of *Rome* for the day of the Nativity, only twelve days before, is too short for such a journey, which might require three months at least; since it employed *Ezra* and his party four months, vii. 9.

The Evangelist *Luke* observes, that when "they had performed all things, according to the law of *THE LORD*, the holy family returned to *Nazareth*, in the land of *Galilee*," ii. 39. This could not have been immediately after the purification, but after *Herod's* death, on their return from *Egypt*, during the reign of *Archelaus*, in obedience to the angel's last warning, Matt. ii. 19—23. Thus, both Evangelists are easily and naturally reconciled, *Luke* omitting what had been already noticed by *Matthew*.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

The jealous tyrant, who spared neither old nor young in his rage, when he found that "he was mocked," or disappointed by the *Magi*, "sent and slew all the male children in *Bethlehem*, and in all its borders, from *two* years old and *under*, according to the time which he had accurately enquired of the *Magi*." The extending of the massacre to children of two years old, when infants of the last year only might have suffered, seemed to have arisen from excess of precaution, to compass more surely the destruction of *CHRIST* within this wider limit, by including all that were *under* it.

Josephus has not noticed this massacre. It might, perhaps, have been not considerable enough to have attracted his attention; *Bethlehem* being but a small village, and its environs not extensive. It is noticed, however, in a Rabbinical work, called *Toldoth Jeshu*, in the following passage: "And the king gave orders for putting to death every infant to be found in *Bethle-*

hem ; and the king's messengers killed every infant, according to the royal order." *Sharpe's First Defence of Christianity, &c.* p. 40. *Cedrenus*, too, says that *Herod* was distinguished by the title of Παιδοκτονος, "*Slayer of Children.*" And *Macrobius* furnishes *heathen* testimony of the fact: "When *Augustus* had heard, that among the children whom *Herod*, king of the *Jews*, ordered to be slain in *Syria*, his own son also was put to death, he said, It is better to be *Herod's swine* than his son*." *Saturnal. Lib. II. cap. 4.*

Herod had no son of that age. The son meant must have been his eldest, *Antipater*, whom he first imprisoned, and then put to death "among them," or about the same time, for conspiring to poison him; and for having, by false accusations, compassed the destruction of his two brothers, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, sons of *Mariamne*; and for tampering with his keeper to release him from his imprisonment, during his father's last sickness; which last circumstance, when *Herod* heard, he ordered him instantly to be put to death, and died himself five days after: only a few days after a lunar eclipse, March 13, B.C. 4, incidentally noticed by *Josephus*. See Vol. I. p. 85.

ARCHELAUS.

Herod had nine wives, and by them several children. *Joseph. Bell. Jud. I. 28, 4.* By his will he bequeathed his dominions to be divided among three of his sons, *Archelaus* and *Antipas*, by *Malthace* of *Samaria*, and *Philip*, by *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*; but subject to the ratification of the emperor. *Augustus* confirmed the will, and appointed *Archelaus*, the eldest, ethnarch of *Judea*, promising him the title of *king*, if he should deserve it by his conduct. He was, therefore, considered as such by the *Jews*, and assumed the title of *Herod* †, and the *Evangelist* applies to him the term βασιλευει, "*reigned,*" *Matt. ii. 22.* *Antipas* was appointed tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Philip* of *Iturea*, *Luke iii. 1.* See Vol. I. p. 88.

The reign of *Archelaus* commenced inauspiciously. At the ensuing passover, April 12, after celebrating his father's funeral

* If *Augustus* expressed himself in Greek, which was the polished language of that age, there might have been a play upon the words, ὕν, "*swine,*" and υἱόν, "*son.*"

† Hence *Dio* calls *Archelaus* Ἡρωδης Παλαιστινος, "*Herod of Palestine;*" and *Spanheim* has noticed a coin of his, with the inscription ἩΡΩΔΟΥ on one side, and ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ on the reverse. *De præstantia et usu numismatum*, p. 521, Lond. edit.

obsequies with great magnificence, *Archelaus* gave several grants and donations to the people, to conciliate their favour; but the seditious demanded that his father's ministers should be put to death for the execution of the rioters, who pulled down the golden eagle on the night of the eclipse; and assaulted his guards; so that he was forced to order his troops to quell the insurrection, and to prohibit the celebration of the passover. On which occasion 3000 of the citizens were slain. This, probably, deterred the holy family from settling in *Judea*, on their return from *Egypt*; and induced them, by the divine admonition, to return to their former residence at *Nazareth*, in *Galilee*, under *Herod Antipas*. Indeed, the whole reign of *Archelaus* was turbulent, and disgraced by insurrections of the *Jews* against the *Romans*; in one of which, *Varus*, the president of *Syria*, crucified two thousand of the insurgents; and also, by banditti, and pretenders to the crown; of this last class were *Theudas*, Acts v. 36; (whom *Josephus* calls *Judas* *. Ant. XVII. 12, 5,) afterwards, *Simon*, *Athronges*, and others. For during this disastrous season of anarchy, the *Jews*, having no native king to restrain the multitude by his virtue and authority, and detesting *Herod's* family, as *Idumean* usurpers, and the *Romans* also, who, in quelling these disturbances, exasperated the people by their insolence and rapacity; the whole country was infested with banditti, every troop of them electing a king of their own; who did but trifling injury to the *Romans*, while they were widely calamitous to their own countrymen. Such was the miserable state of *Judea* at this period, as described by *Josephus*, Ant. XVII. 12, 6—8.

At length, after repeated complaints of the tyranny and maladministration of *Archelaus*, by the chiefs of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, joined by his own brothers, to the emperor *Augustus*, he was deposed, and banished to *Vienne*, in *Gaul*, in the tenth year of his reign, A.D. 6, when M. *Æmilius Lepidus* and L. *Arruntius Nepos*, were consuls, according to *Dio Cassius*. His territory was annexed to the province of *Syria*, and *Cyrenius* was sent by *Augustus* to make an assessment of properties in *Syria*, (ἀποτιμησομενος τα εν Συρια,) and to confiscate the goods of *Archelaus*. Ant. XVII. 15, 5. At this time the assessment

* Thus, *Thaddeus*, one of the Apostles, (which is the same as *Theudas*,) Mark iii. 18, was called *Judas*, or *Jude*, Luke vi. 16.

was made, and the tax levied in *Judea* also. Ant. XVIII. 1, 1. *Josephus* dates it in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of *Actium*; 37—B.C. 31=A.D. 6. Ant. XVIII. 2, 1. It was, therefore, carried into effect the same year, by this trusty and active commissioner.

CHRIST VISITS THE TEMPLE.

During the government of *Coponius*, the first procurator of *Judea* appointed by *Cyrenius*, CHRIST, when he was twelve years of age, went with his mother and reputed father, at the feast of the passover, to *Jerusalem*, to be made “a *disciple of the Law*,” or examined in his proficiency therein; a ceremonial corresponding to *confirmation* in the *Christian Church*. On this occasion, it was both lawful and customary for the disciples to enquire of the president of the Sanhedrim, or of the doctors, about any matter of doubt or difficulty in the law. And “the Child JESUS” availed himself of this privilege, to stay behind his parents in the temple, to hear the expositions of the doctors, and to ask them questions. And all that heard him “were astonished at his understanding and answers.” When his parents, after a search of some days, found him there, they were amazed, and his mother said unto him, *Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Lo, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.* But he said unto her, *How is it that ye sought me? Know ye not, that I ought to be in MY FATHER’S house*?* Thus gently rebuking her for calling *Joseph* “his father,” and disclaiming the connexion, by calling the temple “MY FATHER’S house,” as expressly afterwards, at his first passover, when he purged it by an act of authority, appropriated to him as the SON OF GOD, Luke ii. 41—49; John ii. 13—16.

Thus CHRIST, a true “*Nazarite*,” (Matt. ii. 23,) “separated” from the womb, like the prophet *Samuel*, and consecrated unto the LORD, 1 Sam. i. 28, resembled him in his early call, at the same age, 1 Sam. iii. 4—19, and “came suddenly,” or unexpectedly, “to his temple, as THE ANGEL OF THE COVENANT,” fulfilling prophecy, Mal. iii. 1; and also, after the appointment of the first Roman procurator, *Coponius*, in *Judea*, “when the

* “In MY FATHER’S house.” This is the rendering of the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *Armenian* Versions. “In *Haman’s* house,” Esther vii. 9, the *Septuagint* renders εἰς τοὺς Ἀμάν.

sceptre of civil government had departed from *Judah*," as the true SHILOH or "APOSTLE," Gen. xlix. 10, fulfilling the times, Gal. iv. 4.

This early assertion of his divine parentage, was not then understood by *Joseph* and his mother. JESUS, however, though conscious of it himself, returned with them to *Nazareth*, and was "subject unto them" in all filial duty and obedience: and appears to have followed his reputed father's trade, of a *carpenter*; from the reproach of the *Jews*, considering the meanness of the employment as inconsistent with his claims to be the MESSIAH. "Is not this the *carpenter*?" Mark vi. 3. In this humble occupation "He advanced in *wisdom* and *stature*, and in *favour* with GOD and *man*," Luke ii. 52. His human understanding, like that of any other son of *Adam*, however mysteriously united with his divine nature, increasing in *wisdom*, as his human body in *stature*, until he was "immeasurably endued with the HOLY SPIRIT" after his baptism, John iii. 34; so that at length in him "dwelt all the fulness of the GODHEAD bodily," Col. ii. 9. In what favour he was with GOD, his *Baptism* and *Transfiguration* declared, "THIS IS MY BELOVED SON, IN WHOM I AM WELL PLEASSED." And in what favour with *man*, the rapture of his friends evinced, "*Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked!*" and "*all*," even his most prejudiced enemies, "wondered at the *gracious words* which issued from his mouth," and declared, that "*Never man spake like this man!*" Luke xi. 27, iv. 22, John vii. 46.

THE MINISTRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

From CHRIST's first visit to the temple, to the commencement of the *Baptist's* ministry, there is a chasm of seventeen years in the *evangelical* history, which properly begins with the latter; all the preceding part being only introductory thereto. This is filled up chronologically from *Josephus*, by the administrations of the intervening procurators after *Coponius*, namely, *Marcus Ambivius*, *Annius Rufus*, *Valerius Gratus*, and *Pontius Pilate*. The last was appointed A.D. 25, the year before *John's* ministry, as shewn Vol. I. p. 87. and confirmed by *Eusebius*, who dates his appointment in the twelfth year of the sole reign of *Tiberius*, which began A.D. 14. But A.D. 14 + 11 = A.D. 25.

John's ministry began next year, A.D. 26, probably about the great day of *atonement*, Matt. iii. 1—4, Mark i. 1—41, Luke

iii. 1—3, John i. 6, 7. The time, therefore, is sedulously ascertained by the Evangelist *Luke*; supplying deficiencies in the concise accounts of his predecessor, *Matthew*. See Vol. I. p. 88, &c.

The ministry of *John* excited universal attention, upon various accounts. 1. The miraculous circumstances of his birth and circumcision, “were noised abroad throughout the hill country of *Judea*; and all that heard them laid them up in their hearts, saying, *What manner of child shall this be?*” Luke i. 65, 66. 2. The manner of his education, in the desert; in the simplicity and austerity of the ancient Prophets, living on “locusts and wild honey,” and wearing “raiment of *camel’s* hair,” or sack-cloth, and “a leathern girdle about his loins,” like another *Elijah*, 2 Kings i. 8. 3. The style of his “proclaiming the baptism of *repentance* for the remission of sins,” “*Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,*” by which they generally understood the *kingdom* of the GOD OF HEAVEN, to be erected by the MESSIAH upon earth, as foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*, ii. 44, vii. 27; (thence indiscriminately styled the *kingdom* of GOD, and the *kingdom* of HEAVEN, in the Gospels,) and of which, “all the people were in expectation” at that time, Luke iii. 15, and thought that “it would immediately appear,” Luke xix. 11, from the expiration of the *chronological* prophecies respecting the successions of *temporal* kingdoms, destined to precede it; noticed especially by the Prophet *Daniel*. 4. He represented himself as the forerunner of the expected MESSIAH, foretold by ancient prophecy, especially by *Isaiah* and *Malachi*.

[“I am] the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of THE LORD, make straight his paths. Every valley shall be filled up, and every mountain and hillock shall be levelled; and the crooked ways be made straight, and the rough smooth. And *all flesh* shall see *the salvation* of GOD*,” Isai. xl. 3—5, Luke iii. 4—6, John i. 23. “Lo, I send *my angel*, (or *messenger*,) before *thy face*, who shall prepare thy way before thee †,” Mal. iii. 1, Mark i. 2.

* This conclusion differs from that of *Isaiah*: “And *all flesh* shall see *together*” [the glory of the Lord.] Instead of יַחְדָּו, “together;” the *Sept.* (which is followed by the Evangelist *Luke*,) seems to have read יְשׁוּעָה, “the *salvation*,” as in the parallel prophecy, “And *all the ends of the earth* shall see *the salvation* of OUR GOD,” Isai. lii. 10.

† See the variation of expression in the citation from the original, accounted for in the foregoing remarks on *Malachi*.

In these magnificent prophecies, with which *John* opened and described his divine commission, as “sent by GOD,” (John i. 6, Luke iii. 2,) to be the harbinger of CHRIST, to proclaim his approach, and call upon the whole world to attend to HIM; (a distinction peculiarly honourable and appropriate to CHRIST, of which neither *Moses* nor any of the *Prophets* could boast,) there is a plain allusion to the practice of the *eastern monarchs*, to send pioneers to prepare the roads, open the passes, and remove impediments, in the rough and desert countries through which they were to pass with their pompous retinues. Thus *Semiramis*, queen of *Assyria*, in her royal expeditions into *Media* and *Persia*, and the other countries of *Asia* subject to her dominions, wherever she went, ordered mountains and precipices to be levelled, raised causeways in the low countries; and by great cost and trouble, made straight, short, and commodious high-ways, through places impassable before. *Diodorus*, B. II. In like manner, GOD sent the *Baptist* as a *spiritual* pioneer, to prepare and smooth the way before the MESSIAH; by clearing and removing the various impediments and obstructions that impeded the march of THE GOSPEL, arising from the *prejudices*, *passions*, and *VICES* of mankind.

John not only resembled *Elijah* in his sackcloth dress, spare diet, and retired mode of life, but also in his character: in his *power* of conversion, and *spirit* of reproof. Both, indeed, were raised up by PROVIDENCE, in times of general apostacy from the true faith, and corruption of morals, to reclaim and reform their countrymen. Both were commissioned to denounce vengeance from heaven, unless the nation repented, and were converted to the Lord their God; both were actuated by the same ardent and undaunted zeal, in the discharge of their commission; both were persecuted for their *labour of love*; yet nothing deterred *Elijah* from boldly rebuking *Ahab*, *Jezebel*, and the idolatrous *Israelites*; nor *John* from rebuking *Herod*, *Herodias*, and that “wicked and adulterous generation” of the *Jews*, who flocked to his baptism.

Baptism, “immersion in *water*,” or *ablution*, was a symbol of *purification* among the *Jews* and other ancient nations. It was solemnly prescribed to the *Israelites* after their departure from the pollutions of *Egypt*, in the desert of *Sinai*, preparatory to their entering into covenant with God, as his chosen people.

“*Sanctify* the people to day, and to morrow, and let them *wash* their clothes,” Exod. xix. 10.

This precept is understood to denote *baptism*, both here and in 1 Sam. xvi. 5, by *Maimonides*, the great interpreter of the *Jewish* law. *Issureh Biah*, cap. 13. And this rite was also required of heathen *proselytes*, along with *circumcision*, according to the maxim of their schools: “No man is a *proselyte* until he be *circumcised* and *baptized*.” Female *proselytes* were only to be *baptized*. See *Lightfoot* on Matt. iii. 6*.

This ancient rite, therefore, was with great propriety renewed to the *Jews* themselves, preparatory to the *new covenant* of the GOSPEL, analogous to the former, of the LAW.

The important objects of *John’s* baptism were, 1. To proclaim, as a herald, the approach of CHRIST to all the people; for “He was sent by GOD to bear witness to THE LIGHT [of the world] that *all men through HIM might believe*,” John i. 6—8. And 2. To point out JESUS personally as the CHRIST, to some true *Israelites*; for, “to manifest him unto *Israel*, came he baptizing with water,” John i. 31—49.

John held his baptism at *Bethabara*, “the ford” of *Jordan*, where the miraculous passage of the *Israelites*, under *Joshua*, took place. And his general testimony to the people who attended him, was, “I, indeed, baptize you with *water*, unto *repentance*; but He that cometh after me, is *mightier than I*, whose shoes I am not worthy to carry; (nor even to stoop down and untie the latchet of his shoes.) He shall baptize you with THE HOLY SPIRIT, and with *fire*,” [unto *regeneration*; on the memorable day of *Pentecost*; as explained by OUR LORD, and by the event, John iii. 5, Acts i. 5, ii. 3,] Matt. iii. 11, Mark i. 7, 8, Luke iii. 16.

He afterwards explained, more particularly, in what respects CHRIST was mightier: “*John* testified of him and cried, saying, This was He of whom I spake; He that cometh after me,

* Among the heathens also, from ancient times, *ablution*, or *sprinkling* with water, was practised as an initiatory rite of admission to the mysteries of *Mithras*, among the *Persians*; of *Isis* among the *Egyptians*; and of *Ceres* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

Nationes extraneæ—sacris quibusdam initiantur *Isidis* alicujus, aut *Mitræ* per *lavacrum*. *Tertull.*—*Apuleius* thus describes those of *Isis*.—“Sacerdos, stipatum me religiosâ cohorte, deducit ad proximas balneas; et prius *sueto lavacro* traditum, præfatus Deûm veniam, *purissimè circumrorans abluit*.” *Metam.* Lib. IX.

hath been, [or existed,] *before me*, for he was MY CHIEF*,” John i. 15. Thus marking, 1. the *pre-existence* of CHRIST; 2. his antecedent dignity, as THE LEADER, Micah v. 2, Matt. ii. 6, Dan. ix. 25; or PRINCE, Dan. x. 21.

These two important articles are more fully explained in the sublime Introduction of *John's* Gospel, which was immediately and primarily designed as a commentary on the *Baptist's* testi-

* Ἰωαννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κερραγε λεγων· Οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον· Ὁ ὀπισω μου ἐρχομενος, ἐμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν· ὅτι πρῶτος μου ἦν.

The Bible translation of this passage, though not altogether unfaithful, yet seems to be inaccurate, in transposing the meaning of the two last clauses: “He that cometh *after me*, is [preferred] *before me*; for He was *before me*.”

1. ἐμπροσθεν, ambiguously denotes “before,” either in point of *time* or *place*; and its appropriate sense is to be learned only from the context. Thus, it indicates the former, in such passages as these, ἡμερας τας ἐμπροσθεν, “the former days,” Micah vii. 20. Sept. οἱ ἐμπροσθεν λογοι, “the former discourses;” Æschines: but the latter, in the following, ἐμπροσθεν αὐτων πορευεται, “He, (the good Shepherd,) *goeth before them*, and the sheep follow him,” John x. 4. In the present case, however, since the antecedent ὀπισω, “after,” in strictness, refers to the *later* mission of CHRIST, the consequent ἐμπροσθεν, contrasted therewith, to preserve the propriety of the figure, must denote his earlier existence. And it may also be remarked, that where ἐμπροσθεν denotes *place*, as “before and behind,” Rev. iv. 6, it is contrasted, not with ὀπισω, but ὀπισθεν. Nor does it any where, merely by itself, appear to signify *precedence* of rank or dignity: even in the supposed parallel passage, ἐθηκε τον Εφραιμ ἐμπροσθεν του Μανασσου, “He set Ephraim before Manasseh,” Gen. xlviii. 20, Sept. the precedence is marked by the verb conjointly: “He set before,” or “preferred.”

2. Γεγονεν, the definite perfect tense middle, is rather inaccurately rendered “is,” for it properly denotes time *past*, terminating before, at, or in, the *present*; and should be rendered “*hath been*,” corresponding to the Latin, *fuit*: for it is contrasted with the present, “is,” and the future, “shall be,” Matt. xxiv. 21. That it terminates, however, at, or in, the *present* time, appears from the phrases τι γεγονεν, “*how is it?*” &c. or, “what *hath been*, and now *is*,” the reason? John xiv. 22; and, γεγονε, “*it is done*,” or “the mystery of GOD *hath been*, and *is now* finished,” Rev. xvi. 16. And so, *fuit Ilium, fuimus Troes*, intimates, that *Troy hath been* in existence, but is *now* no more. Hence, γεγονε is distinguished from the indefinite tenses, εγενετο, “*was made*,” “*became*,” or “*came to pass*,” John i. 3, or ἦν, “*was*,” which contain no reference to *present* time.

3. Πρῶτος μου ἦν is inaccurately rendered, “he was *before me*,” confounding *πρῶτος* with *προτερος*, “before,” in point of *time*; whereas, in strictness, it relates to precedence of rank, as ὅς αν θελη ὑμων γενεσθαι πρῶτος, εσται παντων δουλος. “Whosoever among you is desirous to become *chief*, shall be *servant of all*,” Mark x. 44; as exemplified by OUR LORD in washing his disciples’ feet, John xiii. 3—17, who called himself *their chief*, John xv. 18. And St. Paul, speaking of his former persecution of the Church, ranks himself among *sinner*s, ὃν πρῶτος εἰμι ἐγω, “of whom I am *chief*,” 1 Tim. i. 15. Compare Luke i. 43, 44.

4. Κερραγε—ὃν εἶπον. This relates to his first testimony, ἐγω φωνη βωντος, “I am the voice of one *crying*,” &c. for κερραγε, and βωντος, signify a public *crier* or *herald*.

mony, introduced into the midst of it, as essentially connected therewith.

INTRODUCTION OF JOHN'S GOSPEL*.

1. "In the beginning was THE ORACLE, and the Oracle was with

2. "THE GOD, and the Oracle was GOD. This same was in the beginning with THE GOD.

* The translation of this sublime *Introduction*, differing from the received, especially in the first and most important verse, attesting the proper *divinity* of THE ORACLE (CHRIST) but still distinguishing him *personally* from THE FATHER, "neither confounding the *persons*, nor dividing the *substance*," according to the judicious canon of the *Athanasian* creed, requires to be supported by a critical analysis of the terms of the original, upon the *logical* principles established by *Middleton*, in his profound *Doctrine of the Greek Alphabet*.

The definite article, ὁ, ἡ, το, usually rendered "the," he has clearly proved to be, in fact, a relative pronoun, signifying "who," "which," or "that," as Πατερ ἡμων ὁ [ων] εν τοις ουρανοις, "Our Father, *who* [art] in the Heavens," Matt. vi. 9. Here the substantive participle, ων, is understood: it is expressed in the following passage from Aristotle, οἱ μαλιστα αξιοι οντες ἡκιστα πλουτουσι, "They *who* are most worthy are least apt to be rich," p. 39. Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, και ον, και εσομενον, "I am all *that* hath been, and is, and will be," p. 43.

The article is chiefly used to express *eminence*, κατ' εξοχην, as "the Lord, he is THE GOD! the Lord, he is THE GOD!" and not *Baal*, 1 Kings xviii. 39, and is so marked in the Hebrew, by the ה, or emphatic prefix, ה'אלהה, and in the Septuagint, by Ὁ Θεος. Signifying, He, *who* is GOD, in the highest sense of the word, or invested with supreme power and dominion. In this sense it is used in the first clause. Εν αρχη ην Ὁ λογος, "In the beginning was THE ORACLE, or personified WORD." Εν αρχη, should be rendered, not "In a beginning," because the preposition often excludes the article, which is understood, as *Middleton* has shewn in many instances.

The next clause, και ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον, "THE ORACLE was with THE GOD," or THE FATHER; and the third, και Θεος ην ὁ λογος, "And THE ORACLE was GOD," as *personally* distinguished from "THE GOD;" for otherwise it would be a *reciprocating* proposition, of which the reciprocal would not be true, that "THE GOD was THE ORACLE," which is evidently incongruous.

Still Θεος, without the article, frequently denotes "THE GOD," when ὁ Πατηρ, "THE FATHER," [of all] is understood, as Θεον ουδεις εωρακε πωποσε, ὁ μονογενης υιος, ὁ ων εις τον κολπον του πατρος, εκεινος εξηγησατο, "GOD [THE FATHER] none ever saw, THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, *who* is on his bosom, that same expounded him," verse 18. Here is an elegant and a usual *Atticism*, where the genitive του πατρος is expressed instead of τον πατερα, understood after Θεον. Thus *Virgil*, "Urbem quam statuo vestra est," "The city that I am building is your's," put for Urbs quam statuo vestra est, Æn. i. 576. So in the phrases, παρα Θεου, "from God;" εκ Θεου "of God;" τεκνα Θεου, "children of God;" occurring also ver. 6, 12, 13, of this Introduction. Θεον, without the article, evidently denotes THE FATHER; for whom, it is used indiscriminately, both with, and without the article, in the following parallel passages: "Nothing shall be impossible with GOD," (παρα τω Θεω) Luke i. 37; "For, with GOD, (παρα Θεω) all things are possible," Matt. xix. 26.

Θεος also, without the article, denotes THE SON, where either ὁ λογος, or ὁ υιος, are

3. "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made that hath been. [Ps. xxxiii. 6, Heb. i. 2, xi. 3, Col. i. 16, 17, Ephes. iii. 9.

understood. As "Great is the mystery of godliness," "GOD [THE SON, or THE WORD] was manifested in *flesh*," &c. 1 Tim. iii. 16. And *Philo*, the Jew, styled *ὁ λογος*, THE ORACLE, *ὁ δευτερος Θεος*, "THE SECOND GOD."

2. The article is sometimes used simply to express *reference*. Thus 'Ο Θεος του Ισραηλ, "the God of Israel," Ο Θεος του αιωνος τουτου, "the God of this world," in which latter case it denotes *Satan*, 2 Cor. iv. 4. Sometimes it is used relatively, even where the reference is not expressed, but understood; and so *ὁ Θεος* is applied to CHRIST, in that much disputed passage, "to feed the Church of GOD, (του Θεου) which he purchased with *his own blood*," Acts xx. 28; and also to the HOLY GHOST, "Thou hast not lied unto *men*, but unto GOD," (τω Θεω) Acts v. 4, namely, THE GOD who was mentioned in the preceding verse, το πνευμα το ἅγιον, "THE HOLY SPIRIT."

Verse 3. Παντα δι' αυτου εγενετο. Here the preposition *δια*, "by," or "through," marks the *agency* of the SON of GOD in the *creation* of the world, which is ultimately ascribed to THE FATHER, in the preposition *εκ*, "of," or "originating from;" "of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things, to whom be glory for evermore. Amen."

Verse 4. It is not a little remarkable, that in the *Orphic* Mythology, the supreme principle of creation was, το φως, το ὑπερτατον παντων, και απροσιτον, το παντα περιεχον, ὁπερ ωνομασε Βουλην, Φως, Ζωην. ταυτα τα τρια ονοματα μιαν δυναμιν απεφηνατο, και ἐν κρατος του Δημιουργου παντων Θεου, του παντα εκ του μη οντος παραγαγοντος εις το ειναι, ὄρατα τε και αορατα.

"THE LIGHT *supreme of all and inaccessible*, containing the universe, which he named COUNSEL, LIGHT, LIFE. These three names he made to represent *one power*, and *one dominion*, of GOD THE CREATOR OF ALL, who produced all things into being from nothing, both *visible* and *invisible*." See *Suidas* voce *Ορφευς*. And we find these three names or titles noticed in *John's* Introduction, and applied to CHRIST as the ORACLE, which is synonymous with THE COUNSEL OF GOD, as Christ is also styled, Luke vii. 30. And that epithet of the SUPREME BEING, "*light inaccessible*," is also recorded by *Paul*, 1 Tim. vi. 16.

9. For the true light, CHRIST, "the *Sun of Righteousness*," coming into the world, (John xi. 27, xii. 46, xviii. 37,) enlighteneth "*every man*," who is willing to receive his illumination, John iii. 19—21. But the heathen world *knew him not*, as THEIR CREATOR; and the *Jews*, his own peculiar people, *entertained him not*, (ου παρελαβον,) as THEIR LORD, but rejected Him. As many, however, as received Him, (ελαβον,) whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, and *believed in his name*, or divine mission and authority, were admitted into covenant by Him, as "*children of GOD*;" whose adoption and regeneration, (εγεννηθησαν,) was owing, not to any respect of persons, Acts x. 34, 35, prerogatives or merits of their own, as proceeding "from *bloods*," (εξ αιματων,) from chosen stocks, or races, highly favoured casts, as *Hebrews*, children of *Abraham*, or children of *Israel*, &c. 2 Cor. xi. 22, 23, or from *natural instinct*, (εκ θεληματος σαρκος,) or from the *moral principle* of reason or conscience, (εκ θεληματος ανδρος,) Rom. ii. 14, 15, but from the free grace and sole will of GOD, (εκ Θεου,) 1 Pet. i. 3, Eph. ii. 8, 9, Rom. vi. 23.

14. And THE ORACLE became *flesh*, [or man,] 1 Tim. iii. 16, Phil. ii. 6, 8, and *tabernacled* (εσκηνωσε,) among us; "the *temple* of his body, containing all the fulness of the Godhead, corporeally," John ii. 21, Col. ii. 9. And He manifested *his glory*, to his chosen witnesses, the *Apostles*, by his *miracles*, John ii. 11; by his *transfiguration*, Matt.

4. "In Him was LIFE, and the life was THE LIGHT of men. [John viii. 12, xii. 46, &c.]

5. And the light shineth in *the dusk*, but the dusk comprehended it not. [Acts xiv. 17, xvii. 27, Rom. i. 19, 20, Ephes. iii, 18.]

9. He was THE TRUE LIGHT, which coming into the world enlighteneth every man.

10. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, but the world [the *Gentiles*] knew Him not. [Exod. v. 2, Isa. lv. 5, 1 John iii. 1.]

11. He came unto his own home, but his own household [the *Jews*] entertained him not. [John iv. 44, Matt. xii. 38—42, Luke x. 13, &c.]

12. But as many as received Him, [whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, Rom. ii. 10, 11, &c.] to them gave He authority to become *children of GOD*, even to them that believe in His name :

13. Who were born [again, John iii. 3, 1 Pet. i. 3—5, Tit. iii. 4—7, &c.] neither of *bloods*, [peculiar races, or favoured stocks, as of *Abraham*, Matt. iii. 9, John viii. 39—41, &c.] nor of the will of *flesh*, [suggestion of natural *instinct*] nor of the will of *man*, [suggestion of *reason*, or *conscience*] but of [the gracious will of] GOD. [James i. 18, &c.]

14. And THE ORACLE became *flesh*, [or *man*] and tabernacled among us, (and *we* [the chosen witnesses] beheld his *glory*, a glory suitable to THE ONLY BEGOTTEN [SON issuing] from THE FATHER) *full of grace and truth*.

xvii. 1—6; by his *resurrection*, Luke xxiv. 26; by his *ascension*, Acts i. 9; and by the miraculous effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT on the day of Pentecost, &c. a glory suitable to the *only genuine* [Son, issuing] from THE FATHER, (*δοξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς, παρὰ Πατρὸς.*) During his residence in the flesh, "THE ORACLE was full of, or abounding in *grace and truth*," or in true grace, or graciousness to mankind. "And of his fulness, or abundance, have we, [believers,] all received, even *grace instead of grace*;" (*καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος.*) "the *grace and the truth*," or superior grace of THE GOSPEL, effected by JESUS CHRIST, instead of the grace of "THE LAW given by *Moses*;" which was only "a *shadow* of good things to come," or a type of the GOSPEL, Heb. x. 1; and was superseded thereby, 2 Cor. v. 17.

18. The divinity of THE ORACLE, or JESUS CHRIST, is further intimated, 1. by ὁ *μονογενῆς υἱός*, "the *only genuine*, or *legitimate son*," as distinguished from *νοθός*, a *spurious son*, Heb. xii. 8. By this epithet, *Isaac* was distinguished from *Ishmael*, Heb. xi. 17. It is equivalent to *γνησιός*, 1 Tim. i. 2. 2. By ὁ *ὢν εἰς τὸν κολπὸν τοῦ πατρὸς*, "who is *reclining on the Father's bosom*:" a metaphor taken from ancient usage. So *John*, the beloved disciple, reclined on *Jesus's bosom*, John xiii. 23, as he sat next to him at table, in the highest seat. And 3. *By oracularly expounding* (*ἐξηγησατο*) the nature of the Invisible FATHER, who only knoweth likewise the nature of THE SON, Matt. xi. 27.

16. And of his *fulness*, we [believers] *all* received, even *grace* instead of *grace*: [the grace of the GOSPEL, instead of the grace of THE LAW.]

17. For the law was given by *Moses*, but the grace and the truth [of the Gospel] was effected by JESUS CHRIST. [Heb. iii. 1—6.]

18. *No one hath seen GOD THE FATHER at any time; THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON* who is on His bosom, that same *expounded* Him, [or *oracularly* explained His *spiritual nature* and *true worship* to mankind. John iv. 24, 1 Tim. vi. 16.]

This mysterious *Introduction*, (here attempted to be more closely and critically rendered, and explained from parallel passages of Scripture) furnishes the fullest evidence to the *divine* and *human nature* of JESUS CHRIST, as the original ORACLE of the OLD TESTAMENT, and the peculiar SON OF GOD of the NEW; connecting both together as parts of one grand and comprehensive system of divine economy respecting mankind. Its authenticity is unimpeachable by *heretics* and *infidels*. Even the emperor *Julian* the Apostate, A.D. 361, reluctantly admitted this in his censure: "As to JESUS, neither *Paul*, nor *Matthew*, nor *Luke*, nor *Mark*, dared to call him 'GOD;' none but the honest [or simple] *John* *."

THE PREACHING OF JOHN.

This was energetic and powerful, and drew a great concourse of people to him from *Jerusalem*, all *Judea*, and the region round about *Jordan*, who were baptized by him confessing their sins. *John*, indeed, was "a burning and shining lamp," like *Elijah*, according to our LORD'S commendation, (corresponding to *Gabriel's*,) John v. 33, taken perhaps from this following:—

Then arose *Elijah* the prophet as *fire*,
And his word burned like a *lamp*, &c.—Ecclus. xlvi. 1—10.

* Τον γουν Ιησουν, ουτε Παυλος ετολμησε ειπειν ΘΕΟΝ, ουτε Ματθαιος, ουτε Λουκας, ουτε Μαρκος· αλλ' ο χρηστος Ιωαννης. *Cyrl. cont. Julian. lib. x. p. 327.*

Julian, however, was mistaken concerning the rest, for *Paul* repeatedly styles him so, Rom. ix. 5, Phil. ii. 6, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Tit. i. 3, ii. 13, Eph. v. 5, Heb. i. 8. *Matthew* styles him from ancient prophecy, IMMANUEL, "GOD WITH US;" *Mark*, "THE SON OF GOD," i. 1; *Luke*, "GOD," Acts xx. 28. And JESUS himself freely accepted the divine titles of MY LORD and MY GOD, from his disciple *Thomas*, John xx. 28, 29; which surely he would not have done, had he not been fully entitled thereto from "the glory which HE had with THE FATHER before the world was," John xvii. 5.

But when *John* saw many of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, among the higher orders and rulers of the people, coming to his baptism, not in sincerity, but in hypocrisy, (Luke vii. 30, John vii. 48,) he thus boldly rebuked them :

“ O generation of *vipers* *, who hath warned *you* to flee from *the wrath to come*? Bring forth therefore *fruits* meet for *repentance*; and think not to say within yourselves, *We have Abraham to [our] father*; for I say unto you, that *GOD* is able of these *stones* [the *Gentiles*, whom you despise as stupid and insensible] *to raise up children to Abraham*, [who shall be adopted as *children of GOD* in your room,] Matt. iii. 5—9, Luke iii. 7, 8.

And he warned *all* of the approaching destruction of *Jerusalem*, threatened at the conclusion of the *OLD TESTAMENT*, as explained by our Lord's corresponding parable of the *barren fig-tree*, Luke xiii. 6—9.

“ And now is the axe laid to the root of the trees; *every* tree, therefore, that beareth not good fruit, is to be hewed down, and cast into the fire,” Matt. iii. 10, Luke iii. 9.

Alarmed by these awful denunciations of divine vengeance, the multitudes enquired, *What then shall we do [to be saved?]* In answer to which, this great preacher exhorted every class to forsake their ruling vices: he exhorted the hard-hearted and uncharitable *Jews* in general to be bountiful to the poor; “ he that hath *two coats*, let him share with him that hath none, and he that hath *food*, let him do likewise;” the *soldiers*, on service (*στρατευομενοι*) prone to rapine, false information, and mutiny, “ Neither *plunder*, nor *inform falsely* against any, and be *content with your pay*;” the *publicans*, or tax-gatherers, “ *Exact* no more than what is appointed you,” Luke iii. 10—14. And he did not spare the king himself, but reproved even *Herod* for his adultery, respecting his brother *Philip's* wife, *Herodias*: “ *It is not lawful for thee to have her*,” and “ *for all the wicked things* that he had done,” Luke iii. 19.

And he further warned *all* of the *future judgment*, at the general resurrection, to be held by *CHRIST* :

* This expression is equivalent to “ *children of the devil*,” as being “ *the seed of the old serpent*,” always ready to calumniate and persecute “ *the righteous seed of the woman*,” Gen. iii. 15, as they did both *John* and *CHRIST*, Luke vii. 31—35. Our Lord adopted it, Matt. xii. 34, xxiii. 33, as equivalent to a “ *wicked and adulterous generation*,” Matt. xii. 39.

“ Whose [winnowing] fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his threshing floor, and gather the *wheat* (or *good*) into his *granary* (*Heaven*) but will burn up the *chaff* [or *bad*] with unquenchable fire (in *Hell*;)” Matt. iii. 12, as explained by the similar parable of the *wheat* and the *tares*, Matt. xiii. 24—30; and the scenical representation of the last judgment, Matt. xxv. 31—46.

Thus, when all the people were in expectation of CHRIST’S appearance, did the Baptist endeavour to correct the false notions they entertained of his *temporal* kingdom, and the *worldly* prosperity they imagined was to take place among themselves. Luke iii. 15.

JESUS BAPTIZED.

“ While all the people were baptizing, JESUS also came from *Galilee* to *Bethabara*, to be baptized; but *John*, knowing his superior purity and freedom from sin, forbad him, saying, *I have need to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me?* But JESUS answering, said unto him, *Permit it now; for so it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.* Then he permitted him.” Matt. iii. 13—15, Luke iii. 21.

John indeed could have been no stranger to JESUS, from the relationship and friendship that subsisted between their families, and the frequent opportunities they had of meeting each other at the great festivals thrice a year, at *Jerusalem*. *John*, indeed, must have known him *personally*, and learned, from his righteous and enlightened parents, the miraculous and astonishing circumstances of his birth, the declarations of the angel *Gabriel* respecting his dignity, and the superior sanctity of his life and conversation; but *John* knew him not *officially*, as THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, until it was signified to him by the HOLY SPIRIT, and by the HEAVENLY VOICE, at his baptism, as he informed his confidential disciples afterwards: “ And *I knew him not*, but that he might be manifested to the *Israel* [of GOD] for this purpose came I, baptizing with water. And *I knew him not*; but HE that sent me to baptize with water, that same said unto me, upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining upon him, this is He that baptizeth with the HOLY SPIRIT,” John i. 31—33. So careful was DIVINE WISDOM, that the evidences of the *office* and *divinity* of CHRIST, before he entered upon his mission, should

rest upon no former hearsay, or secondary testimony, but upon the immediate and original testimony of the Baptist, vouching what he himself *saw* and *heard*.

This distinction between knowing the *person*, and not knowing the *office*, of JESUS, easily and naturally reconciles an apparent *dissonance* * between the evangelists *Matthew* and *John*, and is supported by the case of the *Jews* and their rulers. They knew *Jesus personally*, as the reputed son of *Joseph*, and whence he was, from *Nazareth*, but though he was in the midst of them, they knew him not as THE CHRIST †. Compare John i. 26, with John vi. 42, vii. 27, Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3.

Accordingly, the promised sign took place, for “JESUS having been baptized, and *praying*, the heavens were opened unto him, and the HOLY SPIRIT descended, and remained upon him, in a bodily form, [probably as of *fire*, Acts ii. 3,] like a dove, [or with a dove-like motion.] And a voice came from the heavens, saying, *Thou art MY SON, THE BELOVED, in whom I am well pleased,*” Mark i. 11, Luke iii. 22; or, “*This is MY SON,*” &c. Matt. iii. 17.

The only witnesses of this stupendous scene appear to have been JESUS and the *Baptist*. To the former, perhaps, was directed, “*Thou art MY SON,*” &c. to the latter, “*This is MY SON,*” &c. And this seems to be confirmed by the Baptist’s testimony: “I beheld THE SPIRIT descending, like a dove, from heaven, and it remained upon him;—and I have *seen*, and do testify [what I also *heard*] that *This is the SON OF GOD,*” John i. 32—34.

This voice from heaven was thrice repeated at different times; first, before JESUS entered upon his ministry, on the present occasion, when the *Baptist* was the single witness; afterwards more fully, and with more glorious circumstances, at his *Transfiguration*, before the chosen witnesses, *Peter, James, and John*: “*Thou art MY SON, THE BELOVED, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye Him,*” Matt. xvii. 5, Mark ix. 7, Luke

* Some commentators endeavour to harmonize the Evangelists in this case, by supposing that *John* did not know JESUS even personally, until pointed out to him by the HOLY SPIRIT, as formerly the wife of *Jeroboam*, in disguise, was made known to the prophet *Ahijah*, 1 Kings xiv. 1—6. But this supposition is improbable in itself, and inconsistent with *John’s* knowing and declining to baptize JESUS at first; after which, it appears, that the *sign* was proposed to him by THE SPIRIT.

† Thus JESUS himself said afterwards, “*Philip, have I been so long a time with thee, and yet hast thou not known me?*” John xiv. 9.

ix. 35, as *the great prophet* of the Church. And lastly, at the close of his ministry, after he had been proclaimed the CHRIST, or *king* of Israel, by the multitude, when our LORD, “for their sakes,” to confirm their faith, prayed, in their hearing, “FATHER, glorify thy name*,” a voice came from heaven and said, “I have both glorified, and will glorify it again.” And the people who stood by, and *heard it*, said that it *thundered*, the articulate voice being probably accompanied with *thunder*, as at the promulgation of the decalogue from Mount *Sinai*, Exod. xix. 19, xx. 18, 19. Others said “an *angel* spake unto him,” John xii. 28—30. These latter occasions, the second more fully attested by three chosen witnesses, and the third by the multitude, reflect credit back again on the first, depending on the single testimony of *John*, while this, in turn, gives additional weight to them.

Alterius sic

Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice. Hor.

The *miraculous* circumstances of OUR LORD’S baptism were not only marks of Divine favour, the most distinguished, to the great Author and Finisher of our Faith, but they were also signal fulfilments of *ancient prophecy*, and derive from thence additional importance.

1. CHRIST was styled the peculiar “SON OF GOD,” in *Nathan’s* famous prophecy, 2 Sam. vii. 14; by *David*, Ps. ii. 7; by *Agur*, Prov. xxx. 4; and by *Nebuchadnezzar*, probably from the instructions of *Daniel*, Dan. iii. 25.

2. He was styled, דָּוִד, “*David*,” not the proper name, but the appellative, ὁ ἀγαπητός, “*the beloved*,” as it is correctly rendered by the *Sept.* Isa. v. 1, and ought to be rendered in some most important prophecies descriptive of his future reign, Ps. lxxxix. 19, 20, Jer. xxx. 9, Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24, 25, Hosea iii. 5, &c. which are otherwise obscure or inconsistent, as usually applied to the former king, *David*.

Hence *Ethan’s* prophecy, which is a commentary on *Nathan’s*, and on *David’s*, should be rendered thus:

“I have exalted THE CHOSEN out of the people; I have found my servant THE BELOVED; with my holy oil have I

* “The name of THE LORD,” signifies “the power of THE LORD,” or his Majesty, Exod. xxxiii. 19, and sometimes perhaps CHRIST, Isa. xxx. 27, &c.

anointed him, [as THE MESSIAH, or CHRIST."] Ps. lxxxix. 19, 20 *.

And in the parallel prophecy of *Isaiah*, "Behold my servant, whom I have CHOSEN; MY BELOVED, in whom I am well pleased; I have made MY SPIRIT rest upon Him," Isa. xlii. 1, as cited by the evangelist, Matt. xii. 18, more correctly † than in the present *Hebrew* text, or *Sept.* version, in the two first clauses; the last is the rendering of *David Levi*, Vol. I. p. 85, corresponding to Isa. xi. 2. In these two last prophecies, the Hebrew term, rendered "servant," is synonymous with "son." The Greek term, *παῦς*, also ambiguously denotes both, Luke vii. 3—7, &c.

Hence *Peter* declared, "How GOD anointed JESUS OF NAZARETH with the HOLY GHOST, and with power," at his baptism, Acts x. 38; and *Paul*, "with oil of gladness above his fellows," [the angels] Heb. i. 9, citing *David's* prophecy of the MESSIAH, Ps. xlv. 7; and the *Baptist*, that "GOD gave him THE SPIRIT immeasurably, and all things into his hand, [or power] because THE FATHER loveth THE SON," John iii. 34, 35.

2. The nature and extent of this *spiritual unction* is finely retold by the prophet *Isaiah*, concerning "the offspring of *Jesse*," (the father of *David*) THE MESSIAH.

- XI. 1. "And a rod shall come forth from the stem of *Jesse*,
And a branch (*Nezer*) from his roots shall be fruitful.
2. And THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD shall rest upon Him,
The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
The spirit of counsel and fortitude,
The spirit of the knowledge and fear of THE LORD."

1. Hence OUR LORD was styled "the root of *David*," Rev. v. 5, "the root and the offspring of *David*;" Rev. xxii. 16; in his divine nature, "the root," or foundation of "the sure mercies," or salvation "of *David*;" in his human nature, "the offspring of *David*."

2. The fulness of THE SPIRIT, permanently granted to Him,

* See the whole of the 89th Psalm, newly translated and explained, in a volume of *Dissertations on the prophetic Character of CHRIST*. 8vo. 1808. p. 86, &c. Rivingtons.

† The Evangelist's version is supported by the *Chaldee* paraphrase, "Behold my servant the MESSIAH, I will choose (or adopt) him, my BELOVED, the ORACLE, in whom I am well pleased."

is indicated by the three-fold repetition of the word *spirit*, or faculty, which is remarkably applied to the gifts or qualities of the HOLY SPIRIT, not singly, but in pairs; not the spirit of *wisdom*, and the spirit of *understanding*, &c. but the “spirit of *wisdom* and *understanding*,” &c. to denote the union of the *speculative* and *practical* virtues*. The speculative are comprehended under “*wisdom, counsel, and knowledge* of THE LORD;” the practical under “*understanding, fortitude, and fear* of THE LORD.” He was perfect in the theory and practice of “*all righteousness*,” Matt. iii. 15.

“For *righteousness* was the girdle of his loins,
And *faithfulness* the girdle of his reins.” Verse 5.

Unlike his apostles, to whom *the gifts of THE SPIRIT* were “divided,” or distributed severally, “to one the word of *wisdom*, to another the word of *knowledge*,” &c. 1 Cor. xii. 8—11, but “in CHRIST are deposited all the treasures of *wisdom* and *knowledge*,” Col. ii. 3, for He was “*the wisdom* of GOD,” Luke xi. 49, “*the counsel* of GOD,” Luke vii. 30, “*the knowledge* of GOD,” 2 Cor. x. 5, Rom. xi. 33.

Such is the admirable combination of *miracles* and *prophecy*, attending and illustrating the *mysterious* circumstances of OUR LORD’S *baptism*.

JESUS TEMPTED.

Then, immediately after his baptism, JESUS, *full of THE HOLY SPIRIT*, returned from *Jordan*, and was impelled, and led by THE SPIRIT into the wilderness of *Judea*, to undergo a probation or preparation for his important ministry, like *Moses* and *Elijah*, and for the same term of forty days, by prayer and fasting; during which, he was exposed to the temptation of the *devil*, and was with “*the wild beasts*,” in a frightful solitude, excluded from all human society, and did not eat any thing.

* This is the ingenious remark of *David Levi*, Dissert. Vol. I. p. 68—80. But he has egregiously failed in his arguments for rejecting their application to *Jesus of Nazareth*. 1. Because (says he) his *lineal* descent from *David* is not proved, the genealogies of *Matthew* and *Luke* both belonging to *Joseph*, not to *Mary*. 2. Because he never was endowed with the spirit of *prophecy*. 3. Because in his agony he betrayed pusillanimity, or want of *fortitude*, when he sweated *drops of blood*, and was inferior to *Socrates*, who met death like a hero, with calmness and resignation. Such was *Levi’s* partial blindness!

After this long and total fast *, supported miraculously by THE SPIRIT, he was *hungry*, Matt. iv. 1, 2 ; Mark i. 12, 13 ; Luke iv. 1, 2.

Taking advantage of this symptom of *human* infirmity, the *devil*, who probably assailed him under the disguise of an "*angel of light*," 2 Cor. xi. 14, and in a human form, as appears from his conversation, hoped to overcome "the second *Adam*," as he had done "the first," by similar temptations, "the lust of the *flesh*, the lust of the *eye*, and the *pride* of life," (see p. 13,) not knowing that "CHRIST was to be tempted in all points, like as we are, yet *without sin*, that he might be able to *sympathize* (*συμπαθεῖσαι*) with our *infirmities*, Heb. iv. 15, that wherein he had suffered himself, when tempted, he might be able to *succour* them that are tempted, Heb. ii. 17, and point out, by his own example, the *dangers* to which we are exposed from our spiritual adversary, and also the most effectual *mode* of *resisting* him, by *vigilance*, *prayer*, and *the word of GOD*, rightly understood and interpreted," Luke xxii. 31—34 ; Matt. xxvi. 41 ; James iv. 7 ; Eph. vi. 11—17 ; 1 Cor. x. 13.

After a previous conversation on the divine suffrage to JESUS, at his baptism, evidently implied by the sequel, the *devil*, like the angel who came to feed *Elijah* in the wilderness of *Beer-sheba*, might have urged him to relieve his hunger by the miraculous exertion of his own power: "*If* † thou art THE SON OF GOD, *command that these stones be made bread*." But JESUS replied, in the authoritative language of Scripture, "It is written, *Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of GOD*," Deut. viii. 3. For so *Moses* exhorted the *Israelites* in the wilderness, to rely patiently on the DIVINE support, encouraged by the miraculous supply of *manna*, "*to cast all our care upon Him who careth for us*," 1 Pet. v. 7, "*and will sustain us*," Ps. lv. 22. And so OUR

* The *Socinian* commentators, *Rosenmuller*, *Thaddæus*, *Schulz*, &c. among the Germans, labour to do away the miraculous fast of *Moses*, *Elijah*, and *CHRIST*, by arbitrarily supposing that they only fasted from *bread*, but were sustained by *herbs*, *roots*, and *wild honey*, perverting Deut. ix. 9—18.

† The original term *ετι, si*, is frequently used for *επει, siquidem*, or *quoniam*, "*since*," "*because*," intimating not doubtfulness of supposition, but certainly of fact. As in Matt. vi. 30, xxii. 45 ; John viii. 46, xiii. 14—32, xv. 20 ; Acts iv. 9 ; 1 John iv. 11, &c. Thus *Horace* prays, that *Faunus* would be propitious to his flocks, *Si tener cadit agnus*, "*Since a tender lamb is sacrificed*" to him regularly at the end of the year, Od. III. 18. 5.

LORD afterwards declared to his disciples, "*My food is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to accomplish his work,*" John iv. 34. And the *Jews*, in like manner, afterwards tempted CHRIST, "What *sign* doest thou, that we may see, and believe thee? our fathers did eat *manna* in the wilderness, as it is written, HE gave them *bread from heaven,*" Ps. lxxviii. 24; John vi. 30, 31; evidently requiring a repetition of this miracle.

Foiled in this first temptation of *appetite*, Satan^r endeavoured to work on his *vanity* or ostentation. He took JESUS along with him, or led him to *Jerusalem*, "*the holy city,*" to the *temple*, and placed him upon the pinnacle of the temple, or went up with him to the verge or battlement of the flat-roofed portico, which formed one of the wings of the temple, and overhung a frightful precipice beneath. See Vol. I. p. 430. And he said,

"*If thou art the SON OF GOD, cast thyself down; for it is written, that HE shall give his angels charge concerning thee; and that in their hands they shall uplift thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone*.*" Ps. xci. 11, 12. This is a prophecy indeed, foretelling the ALMIGHTY'S care and protection of the MESSIAH, in figurative speech, under all dangers and difficulties, which the *devil* misinterpreting literally, urged him to encounter danger, by *casting himself down* from the battlement, and perhaps so give all the people that *sign from heaven*, of appearing in *the clouds of heaven*, or suspended in the air over the temple, (like the angel of the Lord, we may presume, in *David's* time, 1 Chron. xxi. 16.) which was expressly predicted of the MESSIAH, as SON OF MAN, by the prophet *Daniel*, vii. 13, and expected at the temple by the *Jews*, from the prophecy of *Malachi*, "*THE REGENT whom ye seek will suddenly come to his temple,*" iii. 1; and which, the *Jews*, the *scribes*, and *Pharisees*, likewise "*tempting him,*" repeatedly required, John ii. 18; Matt. xii. 38, 39, xvi. 1—4; but OUR LORD as often refused; referring them, figuratively, to a *sign from earth*, his *resurrection* on the *third day* after his crucifixion. Although at his iniquitous trial, he foretold the accomplishment of the former, at his second advent in glory, and also of *David's* prophecy: "*Nevertheless [although ye will not now believe] I say unto you, hereafter ye shall see THE SON OF MAN sitting*

* "The *devil* can cite SCRIPTURE for his purpose:
An *evil soul* producing *holy witness*,
Is like a *villain* with a *smiling cheek.*" *Shakspeare.*

on the right hand of power, [Psalm cx. 1.] and coming in the clouds of heaven," [Matt. xxvi. 64.] He also foretold, that the sign they expected should not take place till their final conversion, the last time that he visited the temple. "*Lo, your house [of THE LORD] is about to be left desolate unto you: for I say unto you, ye shall not see ME henceforth, [its brightest glory, Haggai ii. 9.] until ye can say, [with hearty repentance and true faith] blessed is he that cometh in the name of THE LORD,*" Matt. xxiii. 38, 39.

That this was indeed the full drift of this second temptation, may fairly be collected from the scene of it, *the temple*, rather than *the wilderness*, the devil thus proposing a *public exhibition*, in preference to a private, of throwing himself from one of the precipices of the mount of temptation, which was just at hand, and to which they returned, for the last and most powerful, of *ambition*.

This mountain, called *Quarantania* by travellers, (from "*forty*" days,) is represented by *Sandys, Maundrell, Mariti, &c.* as of most difficult and dangerous ascent, but affording the most charming and extensive prospect imaginable, from its summit, which overlooks the mountains of *Arabia*, the country of *Gilead*, the country of the *Ammonites*, the plains of *Moab*, the plain of *Jericho*, the river *Jordan*, and the whole extent of the *Dead Sea*. These composed, according to the most natural and unstrained interpretation, "*all the kingdoms of the world **," or of "*the land of promise **," in the midst of which they then stood, "*and the glory of them,*" their cities, villages, corn-fields, &c. "*in a moment of time,*" and from one and the same point of view; and the *devil* said, "*All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me;*" adding, according to *Luke*, "*for all this authority is committed unto me, and I give it to whomsoever I will.*" Thus representing himself as the *guardian angel*, or *protector* of the *holy land*, as the archangel *Michael* was represented in *Daniel*, x. 13—21.

This audacious and impious proposal of divine worship, which no true *angel of light*, except *CHRIST* himself, ever received, or even tolerated, Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 9, detected the false fiend to

* *Κοσμου*, Matt. iv. 8 = *οικουμενης*, Luke iv. 5. The latter was shewn to denote the *land of Judea* and *Galilee*, or *Herod's dominions*, Luke ii. 1; the former is also frequently used in a limited sense, John xii. 10, xviii. 20, &c. and expressly denotes the *promised land*, Rom. iv. 13.

be *the power of darkness* ; and to shew that he was fully known, JESUS called him by his proper name, and banished him from his presence, as his divine superior, and rebuked him in the language of SCRIPTURE :

“ *Begone from my sight, Satan**, for it is written, *Thou shalt worship THE LORD THY GOD, and him only shalt thou serve,*” Exod. xx. 3, 4 ; Deut. vi. 13 ; 1 Sam. vii. 3.

“ Then the *devil* left him,” confounded and vanquished at his own weapons. “ And lo, *angels* came and ministered unto him,” and supplied him, we may presume, with food. These *true* angels, contrasted with *Satan*, lead us to think, that the latter “ transformed himself into an *angel of light*.”

In the order of the three temptations, we have followed *Matthew*, in preference to *Luke*, who transposes the second and third, consulting the order of *place*, and bringing together the two temptations in the wilderness. But *Matthew’s* order of *time* is preferable ; for, 1. It is not likely that *Satan* would have dared to offer another temptation, after his detection and banishment, and the appearance of good angels : and, 2. the distance of *Quarantania* from *Jerusalem* was not considerable ; nor is there any time specified by the evangelists for the duration of the *temptations*, after the expiration of the *forty* days.

It is remarkable, that JESUS was afterwards twice assailed by the same temptation of *ambition* or *worldly grandeur* ; first by his own disciple *Peter*, deprecating his approaching sufferings and crucifixion, whom our Lord rebuked as an undesigned emissary of *Satan* on this occasion, “ *Begone from my sight, Satan,*” Matt. xvi. 23.

Afterwards the same temptation was repeated, when the multitude, in the wilderness, were persuaded by the stupendous miracle of the *five thousand*, fed with a few loaves and fishes, that JESUS was “ *the prophet like Moses*, foretold to come into the world,” and contended to take him by force and make him *king*, or proclaim him as their expected MESSIAH, John vi. 14, 15. But he, knowing their worldly-minded ambitious views of deliverance from the *Roman* yoke, and universal conquest and dominion, withdrew himself privately out of their reach.

Although the *devil* quitted JESUS at this time, it was only “ *for a season* ;” having been foiled in the arts of seduction, he

* This seems to be the import of the phrase, “ *Get thee behind me.*”

had recourse to open violence. He entered into *Judas* afterwards, when a fit opportunity offered of working upon his resentment, and his avarice, to betray his Lord, Luke xxii. 3, John xiii. 2, and he worked upon the inveterate malice of the Jewish council, by the agency of *Judas*, to apprehend him by night, for fear of the people, and by their clamour and importunity to intimidate the pusillanimous *Roman* governor *Pilate* to condemn him to death, knowing and declaring him to be *innocent*.

It is remarkable, in the history of the temptation, that OUR LORD did not deny *Satan's* pretensions to worldly sway. On the contrary, he rather confirmed them. He afterwards styled him "*the prince of this world*," John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, and "*the power of darkness*," Luke xxii. 53, Col. i. 13. And he commissioned his apostle *Paul*, after his resurrection, "to turn the *Gentiles* from *darkness* to *light*, from *the power of Satan* unto *GOD*," Acts xxvi. 17, 18, whence *Paul* styled *Satan* "*the god of this world*," 2 Cor. iv. 4; and *John* remarks for the consolation of believers, "Greater is *HE* [presiding] in *you*, than *he* [presiding] in the *world*," 1 John iv. 4.

THE DEPUTATION TO JOHN.

The fame of *John's* baptism at length attracted the notice of the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, and they sent a formal deputation of *priests* and *Levites*, of the sect of the *Pharisees*, to enquire of him *who he was*, whether he was "*the CHRIST*, or *Elijah*, or *the prophet like Moses*," whom they severally expected. And when he expressly denied that he was any of these, then they enquired *by what authority he baptized?* To which he answered, as the *herald* of *CHRIST*, foretold by *Isaiah*, "*The voice of one crying in the wilderness*," &c. as before, further intimating, that *CHRIST* was actually come, and "*in the midst of them**, though they knew him not," John i. 19—27.

This deputation appears to have taken place after OUR LORD'S baptism, during his absence and temptation, and before he returned to *Bethabara*, on *the day after* their departure. *John* dismissed them with the foregoing general answer, prudently declining to give them any more particular information

* Μεσος ὑμῶν, "*In the midst of you*." So *Moses* described the future *prophet like himself*, Deut. xviii. 15.

respecting the person of CHRIST, whom he judged they sought, like *Herod*, only to destroy, John i. 28, 29.

On the return of JESUS, whom *John* beheld coming towards him, he said to some of his confidential disciples, who were with him, "See the LAMB OF GOD who taketh away the sins of the world!" thus pointing out JESUS to them as "THE LAMB to be led to the slaughter," or expiatory "sacrifice," as the grand atonement for the sins of mankind, foretold by the prophet *Isaiah*, in that remarkable description of the rejection and sufferings of CHRIST, in the 53d chapter, when "he was numbered with the transgressors," as applied by OUR LORD to himself, Luke xxii. 37, and by the HOLY SPIRIT, Acts viii. 32—35. For he was the true *paschal lamb*, typified in the mysterious institution of the *passover*, who was to be "slain from the foundation of the world," in that "grand charter of God's mercy to mankind," the *judgment* of the *old serpent*, Gen. iii. 15, Rev. xiii. 8. See p. 16, &c.

The day following, *John* again pointed out JESUS, as he was walking about, to two of his disciples, *Andrew*, *Simon's* brother, and *John* the Evangelist, most probably, (who, through modesty, suppresses his own name in his Gospel, see xiii. 23, xx. 2, xxi. 7,) and said, "See the LAMB OF GOD!" alluding evidently to his former conversation, at which therefore they had been present.

This emphatic repetition they considered as a recommendation to follow "THE CHIEF," in preference to the "*harbinger*," and accordingly they enquired of JESUS where he lodged, and followed him thither, on his gracious invitation, and spent the remainder of the evening with him, from "the tenth hour," or four in the afternoon.

To these two first disciples was added *Simon*, *Andrew's* brother, whom OUR LORD afterwards surnamed *Cephas*, or *Peter*, (the former in *Hebrew*, the latter in *Greek*, signifying "a stone,") and, "on the morrow," *Philip* and *Nathanael*, surnamed *Bartholomew*, who uttered that noble confession of faith, when his prejudices against "*Nazareth*," were overcome, by our Lord's intimate knowledge of some secret transaction of his under a fig-tree, "*Rabbi*, thou art THE SON OF GOD! thou art [THE CHRIST] the KING OF ISRAEL!" John i. 35—50.

JESUS returned from *Bethabara* to *Galilee*, and on "the third day after," he worked his first miracle at *Cana*, on the

confines of *Tyre*, where, at a wedding, to which he and his disciples were invited, he turned the water into wine, to confirm the faith of his early disciples. There “he manifested *his glory*,” or “*miraculous power*,” (which marked his superiority over *John*, who did no miracles,) “and his disciples *believed on him*.”

On this occasion, he, perhaps, communicated his design of working the miracle to his mother before-hand, and when she said, “*they have no wine*,” he repressed her impatience by a gentle rebuke: “*Woman, what hast thou to do with me * ? my time is not yet come*.” In this she meekly acquiesced, saying to the servants, “*whatsoever he may say to you, do*,” John ii. 1—11.

Some time after, when *Jesus* had opened his commission publicly at *Jerusalem*, and his disciples baptized in *Judea*, *John* removed from *Bethabara* to *Ænon*, near *Salem*, or *Shalem*, northward, in the province of *Samaria*, Gen. xxxiii. 18, and also “because there was much water there,” convenient for baptizing, in a different part of the country.

While *John* was employed there, before he was cast into prison, there arose a question between some of his disciples and the *Jews* concerning *purification*, or the comparative efficacy of the baptisms of *JOHN* and of *JESUS*, which *John* decided, as before, in favour of the latter, declaring that he was only sent before *CHRIST* as his harbinger; that *CHRIST* was “*the bridegroom*” of his spiritual bride, *the Church*, as foretold by *David*, Ps. xlv. 9, Rev. xxi. 2, but that himself was only the *bridesman*, “*the bridegroom’s friend*,” or attendant, who heard and obeyed his voice, and shared in his joy upon that occasion. He then foretold *CHRIST*’s encrease, and his own decrease; that *CHRIST* came from heaven, and testified heavenly things, himself earthly things; that *CHRIST* testified what he had *seen* and *heard*, but that none received his *heavenly* testimony, generally speaking; but that whosoever did receive it, *sealed*, or subscribed to the veracity of *GOD*, in performing his promises of *redemption* to mankind by the prophets, in sending *HIS SON*, *THE ORACLE*, into the world, that whosoever believed on him should have *eternal life*, but that whosoever believed not, or disobeyed *THE*

* “*Why dost thou interfere in my concerns?*” See this phrase explained, 2 Sam. xix. 22, in the history of *David*.

SON, should not see life, but was liable to the permanent *wrath* of GOD, John iii. 23—36.

The amount of John's testimony to CHRIST was considerable, and included the leading doctrines of CHRISTIANITY.

1. He proclaimed to all the people, as his *herald*, the approach of CHRIST, in the character, though not the person, of *Elijah*, foretold by *Isaiah* and *Malachi*, and interpreted by *Gabriel* and JESUS.

2. He stated his *pre-existence* and *dignity*, as the eternal SON OF GOD, and THE ORACLE, and his own CHIEF.

3. He foretold his *atonement* for the sins of the world, as the predicted LAMB OF GOD.

4. He foretold the rejection of CHRIST by the *Jewish* nation, and the adoption of the despised *Gentiles* in their room.

5. He foretold the judgments to be inflicted on the *Jewish* nation, for their impenitence and apostacy, and the general judgment of all mankind by CHRIST, and the final separation of the *good* from the *bad*.

6. He foretold CHRIST'S encrease and his own decrease.

7. He witnessed CHRIST'S spiritual unction at his baptism, and pointed him out personally to some " *true Israelites*, without guile."

When he had thus fulfilled the important purposes of his ministry, that it might not interfere, we may presume, with that of CHRIST, by an apparent competition, or rivalry *, though there existed none in reality, " he finished his arduous course," and thankless office of a *national reformer*, being cast into prison by *Herod*, at the instigation of his wicked paramour *Herodias*, within a year after he had baptized, and borne witness to JESUS as THE CHRIST. And after spending near a year longer in prison, this holy man was at length wantonly sacrificed, in the midst of conviviality and mirth, to the licentious fascinations of a young woman, instigated by the implacable vengeance of an old one, her mother, to degrade herself, and to be guilty of a complicated crime of treachery and cruelty, repugnant to youthful simplicity and innocence, and to the rash oath of a worthless and merciless prince, which had better been broken than kept, Matt. xiv. 3—11, Mark vi. 17—28, Luke iii. 19, 20.

* The speedy termination of the Baptist's ministry and life, according to *Chrysostom*, was designed by Providence, that *the people might not be divided in their opinions between both*.

JOHN'S MESSAGE TO CHRIST.

During *John's* imprisonment, having heard of the *works* of CHRIST, he sent two of his disciples to enquire of him, "*Art thou He that should come**, or look we for another?"

This message was delivered in public, while he was employed in the specific works foretold of the MESSIAH by the prophets, his peculiar *miracles*, Isa. xxxv. 3—6, xlii. 6, 7, Ezek. xxxiv. 16, and his *doctrines*, Isa. lxi. 1, Ezek. xxxiv. 15, Zech. xi. 7, Luke xix. 10.

And JESUS answered and said unto the messengers, Go and shew *John* again these things which ye do *hear* and *see*; the *blind* receive their sight, and the *lame* walk; the *lepers* are healed, and the *deaf* hear; the *dead* are raised up, and the *poor* have THE GOSPEL preached unto them.

And blessed is he *whosoever* shall not be *offended* in me, Matt. xi. 2—6, Luke vii. 18—22.

The design of *John's* message has been variously represented: some think it was designed to remove the doubts of his disciples respecting CHRIST'S mission, others his own. The latter opinion, which was that of *Tertullian*, seems to be more probable, for the following reasons:

1. Notwithstanding the ample testimony which *John* had borne to JESUS as the CHRIST, and which surely his *miracles* were calculated to confirm, he might have entertained wrong apprehensions respecting the nature of his kingdom, with the generality of the *Jews*, and even OUR LORD'S own disciples. *John* might not have thoroughly understood the nature of CHRIST'S kingdom, and therefore expressed a jealous wonder, why JESUS who worked such stupendous miracles, did not deliver him from the hands of his enemies, but suffer his faithful *herald* to languish in prison. *John*, too, was not better instructed than the apostles *James* and *John*, who applied to be made the prime ministers of CHRIST, "*to sit the one on his right hand, the other on his left, in his kingdom,*" Matt. xx. 21, or than *Peter*, "*Behold we have forsaken all, and followed thee: what shall we have therefore?*" Matt. xix. 27. Nor were even they fully instructed in the *spiritual* nature of his kingdom, until they

* "*Blessed be He that cometh in the name of THE LORD,*" Ps. cxviii. 26, was universally understood of THE MESSIAH, and applied by the multitude to JESUS, Matt. xxi. 9, Heb. x. 37.

had been "baptized with the HOLY SPIRIT," on the day of Pentecost, a baptism, therefore, which *John* could not understand.

2. OUR LORD'S answer was directed not to the messengers, but to *John* himself, and the conclusion conveyed a gentle, but yet pointed rebuke, for "the offence" he in particular had taken, with a kind admonition not to forfeit that "blessing," by doubt or distrust, which awaited "all that trusted in Him," as THE SON OF GOD, foretold by *David*, Ps. ii. 12.

3. That *John* and his disciples were fully satisfied with this answer, and with the triple evidence of *miracles*, *doctrines*, and *prophecy*, to establish CHRIST'S mission, (more especially foretold by that evangelical prophet *Isaiah*, on whom *John* rested his own credentials, as CHRIST'S herald) we may conclude, because it was fully sufficient to convince such a wise and good man, and because when *John* was beheaded, "his disciples, after they had buried the body, went and told JESUS," which was plainly an act of respect and kindness, and the behaviour of men who entertained an honourable opinion of CHRIST, as their master's "chief," and deeply interested in his unworthy fate.

4. And this is confirmed by the testimony of JESUS to JOHN.

To remove any unfavourable impressions the multitude might have entertained of *John*, in consequence of his message, and OUR LORD'S answer, JESUS took the earliest opportunity, "while the messengers were departing," to delineate

THE CHARACTER OF JOHN.

1. "*John was not a reed shaken with the wind.*" He was no wavering or inconstant teacher, but invariably and steadily preached the same doctrine of *repentance* to the people throughout, as the only means of averting the *divine judgments*, and qualifying them for admission into CHRIST'S kingdom.

2. "*He was not a man cloathed in soft raiment.*" He was no courtier, or great man, "cloathed in purple and fine linen," but coarse in his dress, and austere in his deportment; commanding respect and veneration, as a *prophet*, by the energy of his preaching, and the sanctity of his manners, like another *Elijah* in character.

3. "*He was greater than a prophet,*" because he was himself the subject of prophecy, as the *harbinger* of the Messiah; and whereas the *prophets of old* only foresaw at a distance the

expected MESSIAH with the eye of *faith*, Numb. xxiv. 17, John viii. 56, 1 Pet. i. 11, 12, he had the more glorious privilege and the higher honour of conversing with him face to face, as a man with his *friend*, and of opening the new dispensation of THE GOSPEL, which dated its commencement from him, as the old dispensation of THE LAW and *the prophets* terminated in him, Acts i. 21, 22, Matt. xi. 13.

4. His powerful preaching *turned many to righteousness*, and produced a considerable reformation among the people, inso-much that they eagerly and “*violently pressed*” for admission into CHRIST’S kingdom, Matt. xi. 12.

However, as a drawback from this high character, OUR LORD observed,

5. “*He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he;*” that is, one of my inferior disciples, after the *baptism of THE SPIRIT*, shall be superior to *John*, in knowledge of *the mystery of THE GOSPEL*, in *spiritual gifts*, and power of *working miracles*.

Such was the *honest and impartial* testimony which the *Baptist* and HIS CHIEF reciprocally bore to each other. The *offence* taken by *John* is not disguised, nor his *reprehension* by CHRIST suppressed, in the *memoirs* of those *most candid of all historians*, the *Evangelists*.

From their combined evidence, we are abundantly warranted to believe, that *John* and JESUS were neither *enthusiasts* nor *impostors**, but that their testimony to each other was *true*, and proved by mighty *signs, wonders, and prophecies*, fulfilled in both.

CHRIST’S PUBLIC MINISTRY.

FIRST PASSOVER †.

After JESUS had worked his first miracle at *Cana*, he went

* This important question is ably discussed in Doctor *Bell’s* critical examination of the missions of *John the Baptist* and of JESUS CHRIST.

† The assumed date of this passover, A.D. 28, is confirmed, 1. By the time that had then been spent in rebuilding *Herod’s* temple, this year being the *forty-sixth* from the time he laid its foundations; see the preceding period, *Herod’s* reign. 2. It was also “*the acceptable year of THE LORD,*” or a *Jubilee*, Luke iv. 19, the thirty-third, reckoned from the first general *sabbatical* year, after the second division of the conquered lands by *Joshua*, B.C. 1589, as shewn before, under the article of *Jubilee*.

from thence, with his mother, brethren, (or cousin-germans) who, after *Joseph's* death, appear to have resided with her, and his five first disciples, to *Capernaum*, on the lake of *Gennesareth*, or sea of *Galilee*, whence, after a sojournment of "*not many days*," he proceeded with them to the *passover* at *Jerusalem*, John ii. 12, 13.

He there first, "coming to his *own home*," John i. 11, opened his divine commission in the *temple*, by a significant act of authority, namely, of purging it, or driving out of its courts, all the traders in sacrifices, and the money-changers, who exercised a profane traffic there, for the convenience of foreigners who attended the *passover*, Deut. xiv. 25, with this rebuke, "*Make not MY FATHER'S house a house of merchandize*;" repeating in public, what he had before said in private, at his first visit, that GOD *was his peculiar FATHER*, or that He was their expected MESSIAH, the SON OF GOD; "animated" with that "*pious zeal*" for the purity of the temple, foretold of him by *David*, Ps. lxxix. 9.

Upon this occasion, the *Jews*, or their rulers, required of him a *sign* from heaven to prove his commission; but he enigmatically referred them to a sign from the earth, his *crucifixion* by them, and *resurrection* on the third day: "*Destroy this temple, and in three days will I raise it up.*"

This they misunderstood literally, and expressed their surprise: *forty-six years hath this temple been building*, [and it is not finished yet] *and wilt thou raise it up in three days?* But he spoke figuratively, of "*the temple of his body*," [in which "*dwelt all the fulness of THE GODHEAD corporeally*," Col. ii. 9.] Hence this was made an article of false accusation against him at his iniquitous trial, three years after, one witness alleging that he said, "*I am able to destroy the temple of GOD, and to build it in three days*," Matt. xxvi. 61; the other, "*I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build another, made without hands*:" their testimony not being consistent, and the latter confounding the literal and figurative meaning together, Mark xiv. 58, 59.

Neither was the studied obscurity of this enigmatical answer understood by the disciples themselves, until it was explained by the *event* of his resurrection on the third day; then indeed they *remembered* this saying, and *believed* the *scripture-pro-*

phesy, (γραφῆ) [that “*he was to rise from the dead*,” Ps. xvi. 10, &c. John xx. 9.] and “*the oracular word which JESUS spake*,” John ii. 12—22.

During this part of the passover, JESUS worked *miracles* at *Jerusalem*, and *many* seeing them, believed in his name as THE CHRIST; but JESUS did not *trust* himself to them, or openly profess himself to be THE CHRIST, “*because he knew all men*,” and especially their carnal and worldly minded notions respecting CHRIST and his kingdom; and had no need that “*any should testify of man*, [whether he were *sincere* in his belief, or not] for he knew himself what was in man,” as THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS, (Acts i. 24, Rev. ii. 23,) and even “*knew from the beginning that Judas would betray him*,” John vi. 64, ii. 23—25.

NICODEMUS

was one of these early converts, “*a Pharisee and a ruler of the Jews*,” or a member of the *Sanhedrim*, and also styled “*the teacher of Israel* *,” a distinguished *scribe*, or expounder of the law, a man of superior rank and information. He came privately to JESUS “*by night*,” in order, it should seem, to avoid giving offence to the ruling powers, who, in general, did not believe in him, John vii. 48, though several unquestionably did, John xii. 42, such as *Joseph of Arimathea*, the friend and fellow-disciple of *Nicodemus*, John xix. 38, 39, and perhaps *Gamaliel*, the favourer of the apostles, Acts v. 34—40.

Nicodemus seems to have been a hearer of *John* the Baptist also, who did no miracles, (compare Matt. iii. 7, and John iii. 11,) and came to learn the way of salvation more perfectly from a divine teacher, as he acknowledged CHRIST to be from his miracles, both in his own opinion, and in that of others also.

“*Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from GOD, for none can do those miracles that thou doest, unless GOD be with him*,” John iii. 1, 2.

To such a respectful and respectable enquirer, JESUS was more explicit. In an interesting conversation, he communicated

* Ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. The *Jews* gave their *doctors* high and sounding titles, like the “*Angelic, the Admirable, the Irrefragable*,” &c. of the *scholastic* ages. *Nicodemus* might have been distinguished as “*the teacher of Israel*,” by his followers, which makes the reproof of JESUS severer, John iii. 10. *Middleton*, p. 346.

to him the fundamental doctrines of *Christian faith*. 1. The necessity of *new birth*, or *regeneration* by *baptism* and the HOLY 'SPIRIT to salvation, verse 3—11. 2. The *redemption* of mankind by the death of CHRIST through *faith*, of which the *brazen serpent* was a type, verse 12—15. 3. The original cause of this mode of redemption, the *love of GOD*, verse 16—18. 4. The *vices* of mankind, the leading cause of *unbelief*, verse 19—21. These will be considered in the ensuing article of the *spirit of the gospel*.

After he had attended this first passover at *Jerusalem*, JESUS spent some time in *Judea*. During his stay there, our Lord's disciples baptized in his name with *water* unto *repentance*, following up *John's* baptism; but JESUS himself baptized not, because his was properly the baptism of THE SPIRIT unto *regeneration*, and it was not to take place until he was glorified, after his *resurrection*, John iii. 26, iv. 2, vii. 39, Acts i. 5.

At length, the fame of his baptism (or rather that of his disciples) excited the jealousy of the Pharisees, and gave umbrage to the rulers, who found not in the poor, the meek, and lowly JESUS, the MESSIAH they wanted. "His own household entertained him not," John i. 11, iii. 25, 26, iv. 1—3. As soon, therefore, as he heard of *John's* imprisonment by *Herod*, near the end of that year, he determined to leave *his own country*, where he testified *a prophet had no honour*, and to return to *Galilee*, and undauntedly preach the Gospel even in *Herod's* dominions, John iii. 23, 24, iv. 3, 43, 44.

His stay in *Judea* this time was probably about *eight* months, for in his passage through *Samaria* to *Galilee*, he reckoned that there were "*four months until harvest*," John iv. 35, which commenced in that country about the passover.

THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

JESUS, on his way through *Samaria*, stopped at *Jacob's* well, near *Sychar*, formerly *Sichem*, or *Sechem*, Gen. xxxiii. 19, about the sixth hour, or noon; and while his disciples went to buy provisions in the neighbouring town, JESUS, wearied with his journey, sat down, *during the heat of the day*; as formerly, perhaps, when THE LORD appeared to *Abraham*, Gen. xviii. 1—5.

In his remarkable conversation with the *Samaritan* woman, who came to the well to draw water, he, in answer to her ques-

tion, decided the controversy between the *Jewish* mode of worship at *Jerusalem*, and the rival *Samaritan* at *Mount Gerizim*, in favour of the former; at the same time foretelling that both would soon be superseded by the *true* and *spiritual Christian* worship throughout the world, more agreeable to the SPIRITUAL nature of the DEITY. And to her he openly avowed himself the MESSIAH, in his two-fold character of a PROPHET, or teacher of religion, and the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD, according to the true notions which were entertained and expressed by the woman, when he told her *all that ever she did*, or the private history of her life, and by her countrymen, when they heard his preaching, John iv. 7—42.

The favourable disposition of these *Samaritans* of *Sichem* to receive CHRIST and his doctrines, is elegantly expressed in his agricultural comparison to his disciples, when he saw them coming to meet him, on the woman's invitation: "Lift up your eyes, and observe the fields, how they are *white already unto the harvest*;" the whiteness of the stalk at the top indicating the ripeness of the grain in general*, verse 35. And to this, *John's* preaching, perhaps at *Salem*, in that neighbourhood, might have contributed; and OUR LORD predicted the future success of his Apostles, following both himself and *John*: "One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent you forth to reap what ye laboured not; *others* have laboured, and *ye* have entered into [the fruits of] their labours," ver. 37, 38.

CHRIST'S FIRST RETURN TO GALILEE.

After spending two days with these hospitable and well-disposed *Samaritans*, at their entreaty, he departed and went into *Galilee*, where he also was favourably received, the *Galileans* having seen the *miracles* he did the preceding passover at *Jerusalem*, which they also attended. Here, at *Cana*, he worked his second miracle, of healing, at *Capernaum*, about twenty-three miles distant, the son of a *nobleman*, or one of *Herod's* courtiers, who besought him that he would come and heal his son, who was at the point of death. And JESUS said, in his usual concise and authoritative manner, *πορευου, ὁ υἱός σου ζῆ*, *Go thy way, thy son liveth!* And the father believed the *oracular*

* *Molli paulatim flavescet campus aristâ. Virgil.*

Here the "*yellowness*" precedes the "*whiteness*," or ripeness.

word, and found his son healed, the fever having left him the day before, precisely at the hour that JESUS spoke, ver. 43—54.

With his return to *Galilee*, the three first Evangelists begin their accounts of OUR LORD'S public ministry, because it was the principal scene of his preaching and miracles. The substance of his preaching was the same as *John's*: "*Repent, for the kingdom of HEAVEN is at hand,*" Matt. iv. 17, or, as more fully expressed, "*The season is already fulfilled, and the kingdom of GOD is at hand; repent, and believe in the GOSPEL,*" Mark i. 15.

"*When the fulness of time had come, GOD sent forth HIS SON, born* of a woman, born* under THE LAW, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons, [promised in THE GOSPEL,]*" Gal. iv. 4, 5.

This *fulness of time* may appear from the following *prophetic* and *chronological* characters :

1. By *Jacob's* prophecy, *SHILOH*, "the *APOSTLE*," was to be sent for the instruction of the *Jews*, before "the *sceptre* had departed from *Judah*," when *Judea* was made a *Roman* province, and before the dissolution of their *ecclesiastical* polity, "before the native *scribe*, or expounder of the law, had departed," while they were still "under the law †." 2. And the *second temple* still standing, according to *Malachi*. And 3. his harbinger, the *Baptist*, already come in the power and spirit of *Elijah*.

By *Daniel's* prophecies :

4. "In the days of the four great *temporal* kingdoms," of the *Babylonians*, *Medo-Persians*, *Macedo-Grecians*, and *Romans*, when the three first had been incorporated, as it were, with the fourth, which had now reached the zenith of its power and grandeur, the fifth or *spiritual* kingdom of the *stone* was to be founded; and, though small in its beginnings, was to subdue all those kingdoms, to become the kingdom of the *mountain*, and to fill the whole earth.

5. "After the *sixty-two* weeks," and during "the *one* week,"

* The word *γενόμενον*, in both places, should be rendered "born" (not "made,") as also Rom. i. 3; 1 Cor. i. 30; like Isa. ix. 6; John viii. 58. And so *Josephus*, "Of *Phaleg*, the son of *Eber*, is born (*γίνεται*) a son *Ragau*," Ant. I. 6, 5. And *Hesiod* wishes (*ἡ προσθε θανεῖν, ἡ ἐπιετα γενεσθαι*) that he had *died* before, or to be born after, the *iron* age. See Vol. I. p. 247.

† See the foregoing interpretation of the prophecy, p. 15, &c.

in the midst of which “the MESSIAH was to be *cut off*.” And accordingly they expired A.D. 14, fourteen years before the commencement of OUR LORD’S public ministry, A.D. 28.

By *Isaiah’s* prophecies :

6. The precise year of its commencement was foretold to be a *Jubilee*, or “the acceptable year of THE LORD,” and such was A.D. 28, as shewn before.

7. The chief scene of his ministry is also foretold to be “*Galilee of the Gentiles*,” the upper or northern *Galilee*, bordering on *Syria*, which had formerly been “the land of *Naphtali*, and the land of *Zebulon* ;” the first which had been wasted, and the inhabitants carried into captivity by the *Assyrians*, under *Tiglath-pilassar*, 2 Kings xv. 29, 1 Chron. v. 26 ; and also the first to be blessed with the marvellous light of the GOSPEL, though held in contempt by the *Jews*.

- IX. 1. “As [GOD,] in the former time debased
The land of *Zebulon*, and the land of *Naphtali*,
So in the future shall He make glorious,
[By] the way of the sea, beside *Jordan*,
Galilee of the Gentiles.
2. The people that walked in darkness
Have seen a great light ;
The inhabitants in a land the shadow of death,
Upon them hath the light shined.”

This noble prophecy (more closely rendered) is partially cited by the Evangelist *Matthew*, giving only the substance of the first verse, and a slight variation of the second.

- IV. 15. — “The land of *Zebulon* and the land of *Naphtali*, —
[By] the way of the sea, beside *Jordan*,
Galilee of the Gentiles :
16. The people that sate in darkness
Have seen a great light ;
And to them that sate in the region and shadow of death,
To them hath the light arisen.”

May the concentrated light of these luminous *chronological prophecies* contribute to remove that “*partial blindness* which hath still befallen *Israel*,” and the *veil*, of ignorance, inattention, and obduracy, which prevents the *Jews* from understanding the spirit and meaning of their own LAW, and perceiving that “CHRIST is the end of the LAW for *righteousness*,” “the testifying of JESUS, the *spirit* or drift of *prophecy*,” “to whom give all the prophets witness ;” which veil has hitherto been cast

over them, as a *judicial* punishment for their wilful and malicious rejection of GOSPEL LIGHT, as repeatedly foretold by *Moses* and the *prophets*, CHRIST and his *apostles*, and as some of their own *Rabbis* ingenuously confess. See the remarkable narrative of *Solomon Dutch*, p. 411.

CHRIST'S FIRST VISIT TO NAZARETH.

JESUS again experienced that “*no prophet is acceptable in his own country*,” at *Nazareth*, when he opened his commission there, as *SHILOH* and *CHRIST*, on the grand *Jubilee*, foretold in that other noble prophecy of *Isaiah*.

- LXI. 1. “The Spirit of THE LORD is upon me,
Because He hath *anointed* me
To preach the Gospel to the poor ;
He hath *sent* me to heal the broken-hearted,
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And recovery of sight to the blind * ;
[To set at liberty them that are bruised †.]
2. To proclaim the *acceptable year* of THE LORD.” Luke iv. 18.

On this occasion, in the synagogue, he read and applied it to himself: “This day is this *scripture-prophecy* (*γραφή*) fulfilled in your ears.” But though “all the assembly had their *eyes* fixed on him, and wondered at the words of *grace* that proceeded from his mouth,” thus “bearing testimony” undesignedly to another signal prophecy of the *MESSIAH* :

“Thou art *most beautiful* among the sons of *Adam*,
Grace is shed forth on thy lips.” Psalm xlv. 2.

yet their prejudices soon recurred, on account of the apparent meanness of his descent, “Is not this *Joseph's* son?” They also reproached him with not healing any sick persons at *Nazareth*, as he had done at *Capernaum*, in the case of the *nobleman's*

* This line in the Evangelist's citation is supported by the Sept. and Arab. versions and by the parallel prophecy, Isa. xxxv. 5. Instead of it, the present *Masorete* text, followed by the *Vulgate Latin* and *Syr.* gives, “*And opening of prison to the bound.*” The former seems preferable, as stating one of the specific *miracles* of the *MESSIAH* actually performed by *JESUS*, which might have led the *Jews*, at an early period, to corrupt the text, in order to weaken the evidence of this signal prophecy.

† This line within brackets, in the Evangelist's citation, is wanting in the Sept. and Arab. as well as in the Hebrew text. It seems therefore to have been a marginal gloss from Isa. lviii. 6, where the Sept. renders also, *ἀποστέλλαι τετρασμένους ἐν ἀφῆσει*, though not conformable to the present Hebrew text there ; and here it seems to express the substance of the fourth and fifth lines, and therefore to be a mere tautology.

son: "Ye will surely say, or apply to me, this proverb, '*Physician, heal thyself:*' whatsoever we have heard done at *Capernaum*, do here also in thine own country." But JESUS told them they were not worthy, because they did not receive him as a *prophet*, and justified his conduct by the example of the greatest of their prophets, *Elijah* and *Elisha*, who worked miracles for heathens, in preference to their own ungrateful and persecuting countrymen. Provoked at this severe and undaunted reproof, as they justly interpreted his answer, they thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill, on which it stood, to throw him down headlong; but, either blinding their eyes, or making himself invisible, he passed through the midst of them, and took up his residence at *Capernaum*, the metropolis of *Galilee*, in their neighbourhood, where the people were well affected toward him, and where he was likely to be under the protection of the *nobleman* whose son he had cured, and also of the *Roman Centurion*, (Matt. viii. 5,) and of the *Ruler of the Synagogue*, (Mark v. 22,) for whom he was next to work signal miracles, and in security from the machinations of his enemies at *Jerusalem*, the *chief priests*, *scribes*, and *Pharisees*, which followed him even into *Galilee*, (Luke v. 17.) The adjacent sea of *Galilee*, or lake of *Tiberias*, surrounded with many towns and populous villages, and where his disciples chiefly resided, afforded him peculiar facilities also for travelling by water from place to place, and for avoiding the importunities of the multitude, when they either incommoded, or intended to make him "*King*" by force. Upon all these accounts, therefore, *Capernaum* was peculiarly fitted for his chief residence, Luke iv. 16—32.

His next care was to summon his early disciples, *Simon Peter* and *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, to constant attendance on his person, that they might witness his *miracles*, and be instructed in his *doctrines*, Mat. iv. 18—22, Mark i. 16—20. Their call, and the miraculous draught of fishes, elegantly signifying that they were hereafter to become *fishers of men*, is related more fully, Luke v. 1—11. About the time of their call, we may date the cure of *Peter's* mother-in-law, Mark i. 29, Luke iv. 38, Matt. viii. 14*.

* *Matthew* places this cure after the *sermon on the Mount*, but the joint testimony of *Mark* and *Luke*, for its earlier date, seems preferable; especially as *Matthew* does not critically determine the time.

Then JESUS visited all *Galilee*, teaching in their Synagogues, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom [of heaven,] and healing all manner of sickness and disease among the people ; and was followed by great multitudes from *Galilee*, *Decapolis*, *Jerusalem*, *Judea*, and from [*Perea*] beyond *Jordan*, Matt. iv. 23—25 ; Mark i. 39 ; Luke v. 15.

Among the most remarkable miracles he performed at this time, was the cure of the *demoniac*, at *Capernaum*, Mark i. 21—28 ; Luke iv. 31—37.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

This divine discourse, which forms the finest exposition, and enlargement of the *decalogue*, (as shall be shewn in the ensuing article of *the spirit of the Gospel*,) appears to have been delivered, not on, or near, *Mount Tabor*, as usually supposed ; but further north, according to the ingenious conjecture of Dr. *Middleton*, drawn from the definite expression of the scene of it, *το ορος*, *the mountain* * ; which, as no mountain had been mentioned before, he supposes to represent “ *the mountain district* * ” of *Galilee*, in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*, which formed part of that great chain of mountains which runs through *Palestine*, nearly from north to south ; and we may add, as distinguished from *τοπος πεδινος*, “ *a plain*,” or “ *flat place*,” contrasted therewith, which was the scene of an ensuing discourse †, Luke vi. 12—17, probably near the border of the lake of *Galilee*.

The season of its delivery is usually supposed to have been *spring*, from our Lord’s illustration of the *lilies of the field*, Matt. vi. 28, or rather, as *Michaelis* conjectures, “ *the crown imperial*,” a beautiful and stately plant, common in the meadows of the east, and which blows early in *spring*. *Middleton*,

* *Middleton* has shewn, p. 186, that *το ορος*, “ *the mountain*,” to which *Lot* was warned to fly, is contrasted with the cities of *the plain*, Gen. xix. 17 ; and where the spies of *Joshua* sheltered themselves, Josh. ii. 23, is explained, *ἡ ορεινή*, “ *the mountain district*,” ver. 22 ; and we may add, *ἡ πέτρα*, “ *the rock*,” in the parable of the Sower, Luke viii. 6, is explained by *το πετρωδες*, “ *the rocky or stoney ground*,” Mark iv. 5.

† Several commentators reckon that Luke vi. 20, &c. records the same discourse as Matt. v. 1, &c. And a learned friend, Archdeacon *Churton*, thus ingeniously reconciles the apparent difference of place in the two Evangelists.

“ The scene in *Matthew* was a *mountain*, *ορος*, as contrasted with the *plain*, or *valley* at the foot of it. But it was not on the summit [of the mountain], but on a *level place*, according to *Luke*, the first shelf, suppose, on the descent of the hill.”

Greek article, p. 185, 192. See also Vol. I. of this work, p. 26, the month *Adar*.

MIRACLES.

The sermon was followed, and ratified, by a signal train of miracles.

1. The *leper* cured, Matt. viii. 1—4; Mark i. 40—44; Luke v. 12, 13.

2. The centurion's servant at *Capernaum* cured, Matt. viii. 5—13; Luke vii. 1—10.

3. The widow's son at *Nain* raised to life, Luke vii. 11—16.

4. The storm on the lake quelled, Matt. viii. 23—27; Mark iv. 35—41; Luke viii. 22—25.

5. A legion of *demons* sent from the two demoniacs into the swine, Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—17; Luke viii. 27—37.

6. The bed-ridden *paralytic* cured, Matt. ix. 2—8; Mark ii. 2—12; Luke v. 18—26.

7. The woman cured of a *bloody flux* by touching his garment, Matt. ix. 20—22; Mark v. 25—34; Luke viii. 43—48.

8. *Jairus'* daughter raised to life, Matt. ix. 18—26; Mark v. 22—43; Luke viii. 41—56.

9. Two *blind men* restored to sight, Matt. ix. 27—31.

10. A *dumb demoniac* cured, Matt. ix. 32, 33.

Of these miracles, the most remarkable were,

THE LEPER CURED.

This *Jewish* leper was cured by two authoritative words, $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota$, “*I will, be purified;*” exactly corresponding to the terms of the supplication, “*LORD, if thou wilt, thou art able to purify me.*”

Our Lord's injunction of secrecy to this leper and to others, “*See thou tell no man,*” was founded in consummate prudence. For the purposes of his divine mission, it was necessary that he should perform *many miracles*, to command attention, and hold *many discourses*, to instruct the multitude, and discipline or train his Apostles for their future functions. Hence, in the beginning of his ministry, at least, he was obliged to keep himself as private as its nature would admit, in order to avoid giving umbrage to the ruling powers, the *chief priests*, *Herod*, and the *Roman* governor, by a premature celebrity; which might have

led them to *cut him off* before the time. In this particular cure, had “*the officiating priests*” at Jerusalem known that it was miraculous, they might, when “*he shewed himself to them,*” as required by OUR LORD, in obedience to the law, Levit. xiv. 1—12, through envy, have refused to give him the certificate of his cure, which was necessary *as a testimony* unto his family and friends, to readmit him into society.

THE CENTURION’S SERVANT CURED*.

This pious, liberal, and lowly-minded heathen, the *Roman* centurion, stationed at *Capernaum*, did not think himself worthy to apply immediately to CHRIST, to cure a favourite servant; but employed the mediation of the elders of the *Jewish Church* at *Capernaum*; whose good will he had conciliated by his regard to their nation, and by building them a synagogue, or place of public worship, at his own expense. JESUS approved their intercession, and went with them. But when he was now not far from the house, either the *Centurion* himself, or some friends whom he deputed, came to spare OUR LORD the trouble of coming to the house; saying, “*LORD, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof; wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to go unto thee; but command, by a word, and my servant shall be cured: For even I, am a man in a subaltern station, having under me soldiers; and I say to this, Go, and he goeth, and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it:—*”[But thou art THE LORD of all nature, whose commands *thy angels*, or ministering spirits, will more implicitly obey.]

Struck with such exalted and sublime conceptions of his almighty power, JESUS marvelled, and said unto the *Jews* that followed him, “*I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel!*”—And he said unto the centurion, or to his deputies, “*Go thy way, and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.*” And his servant was cured in the self same hour.

* There is some variation between the accounts of *Matthew* and *Luke*; in the former he addresses CHRIST in person, in the latter by proxy; both, therefore, are reconcilable on the maxim of the *Civilians*, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*, the proxy representing the person. In the main points both agree, 1. the miracle was wrought at *Capernaum*; 2. the sick *servant* of *Luke*, (*δουλος*,) is also called (*παῖς*,) “*boy,*” vii. 3—7, as well as by *Matthew*; 3. the speech is the same, LORD, *I am not worthy*, &c. and, 4. the commendation, *I have not found so great faith*, &c.

THE WIDOW'S SON RESTORED TO LIFE.

The two preceding miracles were wrought by intercession. This was spontaneous; the sole effect of his "*tender compassion*, (*εσπλαγχνισθη*), for the *widow*," whose *only son* was carrying out to be interred, at *Nain*, near Mount *Tabor*, and much people of the city were with her, attending the funeral; to mark their regard for the deceased, and respect for her. He stopped the procession, he touched the bier, and he uttered two authoritative words, *Νεανισκε, εγερθητι*, *Youth, arise!* and immediately he sat up, and began to speak; and CHRIST delivered him to his mother.

JAIRUS' DAUGHTER RESTORED.

She also was instantly raised, by two authoritative words in the *Syro-Chaldaic*, or vernacular tongue, *Talitha Kumi*, "*Damsel arise!*"

THE SECOND PASSOVER*.

As the *chief priests* and *Pharisees* had taken umbrage at our *Lord's* proceedings during the *first passover* at *Jerusalem*, and at the progress of his baptism afterwards in *Judea*; which made it advisable for Him to remove out of their jurisdiction into *Galilee*, where the three first Evangelists particularly relate his proceedings, omitting those in *Judea*; So *John* resumes here the narrative of his proceedings there at the *second passover*, which OUR LORD attended.

* The chronology of this passover has been embarrassed by the indefinite description of St. *John*, *εορτη των Ιουδαιων*, "*a feast of the Jews*," v. 1, which will equally apply to those of *Pentecost*, or of *Tabernacles*. But the correcter reading appears to be *η εορτη*, "*the feast*," by way of eminence, as the *Passover* was styled, Luke ii. 42; John iv. 45, xi. 56, xii. 12; and it is supported by the two *Syriac* Versions, (the *Peshito* and *Philoxenian*,) the *Coptic*; by twenty-five MSS. including three of the oldest; see *Griesbach*, edit. 2; and by sixteen MS. of *Matthai's* collection. By the fragm. edit. *Aldin.* and by the Fathers *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrl*, *Theophylact*. See *Scaliger*, *Emend. Temp.* p. 555. The present reading, indeed, is the only instance, out of seventeen, in *John's* Gospel, in which *εορτη* is anarthrous, or occurs without the article *η*, which is a strong argument for its insertion here too. It is also required by the context; from the position of this feast, as the *second Passover*, v. 1, between the *first*, noticed John ii. 13, iv. 45, and the *third*, John vi. 4. The phrase *καθ' εορτην*, is applied to the *Passover*, Matt. xxvii. 15; compare John xviii. 39. Not a reasonable doubt, therefore, can remain of the propriety of this adjustment of the second Passover, A.D. 29. *Middleton*, in his valuable work on the *Greek* article, has shewn, p. 350, that even *εορτη*, without the article, may denote the *Passover*, from John xix. 14.

THE CRIPPLE CURED ON THE SABBATH DAY.

This astonishing miracle of restoring to the use of his limbs a cripple, who had continued so for thirty-eight years, excited, more strongly, the indignation of the *Pharisees*, for the supposed breach of the sabbath; and also because JESUS vindicated it by HIS FATHER'S example, working on all days continually, who "neither slumbers nor sleeps." "MY FATHER *worketh hitherto, and I work*;" and as he afterwards declared, "THE SON OF MAN *is Lord even of the Sabbath.*" For these complicated crimes, as they imagined, of *breaking the sabbath*, and of *blasphemy*, in "calling GOD *his peculiar Father, making himself like GOD**," they sought to kill him, John v. 1—18, viii. 54, x. 33—36, Mark ii. 28.

On this occasion our blessed Lord boldly and authoritatively avowed his high dignity as the SON OF GOD, invested by THE FATHER with his own powers, who loved him; and gave him full *judicial authority* to raise all mankind to life, as Daniel's "*Son of Man*" at the *first*, and at the *general resurrections*; in the last of which, he was to reward or punish them according to their works, ver. 19—30. This may be considered as the continuation of his discourse with *Nicodemus*; and shall be explained in the last article of *the Spirit of the Gospel*.

He then proceeded to support these solemn asseverations, that they might not rest merely on his own authority; by stating his *credentials*, ver. 31.

1. The testimony of *John* the Baptist in his favour, to whom they had sent a deputation to enquire; and whom, for some time, they respected as a prophet and a righteous man, ver. 32—35. With this testimony he afterwards confounded his enemies, when they questioned *by what authority he acted*, when he purged the temple a second time, by reducing them to the dilemma of either acknowledging, or denying *John's* divine mission as a *Prophet*: the former would unavoidably bind them to admit CHRIST'S authority, the latter would exasperate the multitude. They declined, therefore, to answer his question, and so he refused to answer theirs: "*Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things,*" Matt. xxi. 23—27, Mark xi. 27—33, Luke xx. 1—8.

* *Ἴσον τῷ θεῷ* is the same as *ἰσα θεῷ*, Phil. ii. 6, or *ἰσοθεος*, "godlike," Homer; so *ἰσαγγελοι*, "like angels," Luke xx. 36.

2. He appealed to the highest of all testimonies, that of God himself; both in the *miracles* he was commissioned to perform; and also in the *voice* from heaven at his baptism, ver. 36, 37. This testimony had its due weight with *Nicodemus*.

3. He referred them to the *Scripture prophecies*, testifying of Him, delivered to *Moses*, in whom they trusted, as their teacher, for the attainment of eternal life; such as the prophecies of the “*seed of the woman*,” the “*seed of Abraham*,” “*Shiloh*,” “the *star and sceptre* to rise out of *Jacob* and *Israel*,” the *prophet like Moses*; all fulfilled in Him, as the true MESSIAH; and warned them that *Moses* himself would accuse them for their criminal infidelity to THE FATHER, in not believing his writings concerning CHRIST. “Had ye believed *Moses*, ye would have believed ME, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not *his writings*, how shall ye believe *my sayings*?” ver. 39—47.

4. He stated the true cause of their infidelity, as owing, in a great measure, to their *pride* and vain prejudices of the *temporal grandeur* of the MESSIAH’S kingdom. “I have come in MY FATHER’S name, [to found a *spiritual* kingdom,] and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, [as a *false Christ*, to found a *temporal* kingdom,] him ye will receive: How *can* ye believe, who receive honour from each other, and seek not the honour that cometh from GOD only?” ver. 41—44.

SECOND RETURN TO GALILEE.

After this interesting conversation at *Jerusalem*, during the feast of the Passover, recorded only by *John*, our Lord returned with his disciples to *Galilee*; where his proceedings are continued by the other Evangelists.

The first transaction of moment, and in the order of time, seems to be that of his disciples,

PLUCKING THE EARS OF CORN.

“As JESUS was going through the corn fields, on a sabbath day, his disciples were hungry, and began to pluck, and eat the ears of corn, rubbing them in their hands,” Matt. xii. 1, Mark ii. 23, Luke vi. 1.

This sabbath is marked by *Luke*, to have been *δευτεροπρωτον*, or “the *first* sabbath after the *second* day of the paschal week;” for “the *morrow after the sabbath*,” or “the *second* day of the *paschal* week,” was “the *high day*,” on which the *Jews* were

required to offer the *wave sheaf* of the *barley* harvest; and also from which they were to begin to reckon the *seven* weeks, till *Pentecost*, Levit. xxiii. 15, Matt. xxvii. 62, John xix. 31. See *Scaliger de emendatione Temp.* p. 559, or *Cruden, Concordance*, voce, *sabbath*.

Though THE LAW permitted passengers to pluck the ears of standing corn, and eat them, Deut. xxiii. 25, yet it forbade to *reap*, or do any manner of work on the sabbath day. But the *Pharisees* perversely interpreted this action of the disciples to be a kind of *reaping*; and called upon JESUS, either to justify or condemn his disciples, for “*doing what was not lawful for them to do on the sabbath day.*”

This was a dilemma of the most serious nature; if He justified them, he involved himself in the punishment due to a sabbath breaker, which was death; if he condemned them, it would ruin his character, for suffering his disciples to transgress the law; and would deter others from joining him, Matt. xii. 2, Mark ii. 23, Luke vi. 2.

With infinite address our Lord extricated himself from this dangerous dilemma, by taking advantage of some particular *exceptions*, in which the law was broken without blame.

1. The case of *David*, who, in his flight from *Saul*, “ate of the *shewbread*, he and his men, which was not lawful but for *the priests* to eat; and this, by and with the consent of *Abiathar*, afterwards *high priest**;” whose decisions were considered as oracular by the *Jewish* doctors; which may account for our Lord’s mentioning him, as a person of greater celebrity than his father, *Ahimelech*, who was actually *high priest* at the time, 1 Sam. xxi. 1—6, xxii. 20, 1 Kings ii. 27.

2. *The priests* profaned the sabbath by the *daily sacrifices*, which they offered in obedience to the law; and were, therefore, blameless †.

3. The *sabbath* was made for *man*, and not man for the sabbath. For man’s convenience, therefore, the law of the sabbath might be dispensed with by THE SON OF MAN, who was “*LORD even of the sabbath,*” and who had declared by his

* So “*Jesse* begat *David* [afterwards] *the king,*” Matt. i. 6.

† *Kimchi* has noticed another case: “He who ordained the observance of the sabbath, commanded the sabbath to be broken for the *destruction of Jericho,*” Josh. vi. 15. And our Lord afterwards mentioned the case of *circumcision* performed on the sabbath, John vii. 23.

Prophets, “*I will have mercy, and not sacrifice,*” or I delight in acts of *mercy* and compassion, more than of ritual *sacrifice*, (Hos. vi. 6, Prov. xxi. 3, Matt. ix. 13, Mark xii. 33.)

Having left his enemies silenced and confounded, with a rebuke that “*they ought not to have condemned the guiltless,*” his disciples; he departed thence, and on *another sabbath day*, entered into one of the synagogues of *Galilee*. There he cured the man with a withered hand, after he had silenced his adversaries, who had asked him *whether it was lawful to cure on the sabbath day?* by proposing to them two questions, which they could not answer; 1. *Whether it was lawful to do good, or to do evil on the sabbath day? to save life or to destroy?* and 2. by an appeal to their own practice: “*Which of you shall have a single sheep fallen into a pit on the Sabbath day, that will not lay hold on, and lift it out?* How much better then is a man than a sheep. Wherefore, *it is lawful to do good on the sabbath day.*”

This miracle, and unanswerable argument, in vindication of it, only exasperated them still more to endeavour to destroy him. But JESUS knew it, and withdrew himself from thence, Matt. xii. 9—15, Mark iii. 1—7, Luke vii. 6—11.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES CHOSEN.

Before the choice of his Apostles, OUR LORD retired to the mountain district, to pray, and spent the whole night in prayer unto God, Luke vi. 12. In addition to his six early disciples, chosen before the first passover, and *Levi* the publican, or *Matthew*, chosen before the second, Matt. ix. 9, he chose five more, to complete the number of twelve Apostles: in reference, probably, to the twelve tribes of *Israel*,

Simon Peter, and *Andrew* his brother,
James, the son of *Zebedee*, and *John* his brother,
Philip and *Nathaniel*, or *Bartholomew*,
Matthew, and *Thomas* called *Didymus*, (a twin,)
James, the son of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, and *Thaddeus*, or
Jude,

Simon, the Cananite, or Zealot, and *Judas Iscariot*, the traitor, Matt. x. 2, Mark iii. 16, Luke vi. 14.

Simon Peter is named first in all the lists of the Evangelists, because he was the elder brother of *Andrew*; and for the same

reason, *James* is put before *John*. *Matthew* is put before *Thomas*, by Mark and Luke; though after, by Matthew himself. *James* the less, *Thaddeus*, or *Jude*, and *Simon*, were brothers, and the cousin-germans of CHRIST, Matt. xiii. 55; and were among the last that were chosen, probably to repress their presuming upon their kindred; or because they were slower in their faith; as may be collected from the account of the unbelief of our Lord's *family* and *friends*, noticed immediately after their appointment, by Mark iii. 20, 21.

THE CURE OF DEMONIACS.

Of all the miraculous cures wrought by OUR LORD, unquestionably the most extraordinary, astonishing, and awakening, are those of *Demoniacs*, or of patients possessed by wicked or impure spirits, called *Demons*, (δαίμονες, δαίμονια *.)

It has been the fashion to decry and ridicule the doctrine of *demoniacal* possessions, and to represent the patients merely as *lunatics* or *madmen*. And there is some countenance for it in the calumny of the unbelieving Jews concerning CHRIST, "He hath a *demon*, and is *mad*," John x. 20. Both *possession* and *madness* often producing the same symptoms with *lunacy*, of convulsions, &c. Matt. xvii. 15—18. But that they were distinct diseases, may be collected from the following considerations.

1. The Evangelists, enumerating the various description of patients, distinguish *demoniacs*, (δαίμονιζόμενοι,) *lunatics*, (σεληνιαζόμενοι,) and *paralytically*, (παρλυτικοί,) from persons afflicted with other kinds of diseases, Matt. iv. 24, Mark i. 34, Luke vi. 17, 18.

2. That a real dispossession took place, seems to follow from the numbers of these impure inmates; *Mary*, of *Magdala*, or the *Magdalene*, was afflicted with *seven* demons, Mark xvi. 9, &c. "A *legion*" besought CHRIST'S permission to enter into a numerous herd of 2000 swine; which they did, and drove the whole herd down a precipice into the sea, where they were all

* These technical terms are improperly rendered "*Devils*," which is the appropriate rendering of διαβολός. They should not be confounded. According to the primitive Pagan and Jewish notions, *demons* were "*the spirits of deceased men*," good or bad, Acts xvii. 18.; and *Hesiod's* account of the former, Vol. I. p. 243; and of the latter *Josephus* says that they entered into the living, and often killed them, unless expelled: which they might be, he says, by virtue of a root called *baaras*. Bel. Jud. VII. 63.

drowned. This remarkable case is noticed by the three Evangelists, Matt. viii. 28, Mark v. 1, Luke viii. 26, most circumstantially.

3. The testimony of the *demoniacs* to CHRIST, was not that of *madmen* or *idiots*. It evinced an intimate knowledge both of his person and character, which was hidden from the *wise* and *prudent* of the nation, the *chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees* *. Their language was, “*Ah! what hast thou to do with us, JESUS OF NAZARETH! Art thou come to torment us before the time?—Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the HOLY ONE OF GOD;—thou art THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD,—THE SON OF THE MOST HIGH GOD, Matt. viii. 29, Mark i. 24, iii. 11, Luke iv. 34—41. And they repeatedly “besought him, not to torment them, not to order them to depart into the abyss,” Luke viii. 28—31. Thus did “the demons believe and tremble,” James ii. 19. Not surely, the persons possessed, who were merely passive instruments on such occasions, totally ignorant of JESUS OF NAZARETH, or of CHRIST. See Campbell’s excellent observations on Διαβολος, Δαιμων, and Δαιμονιον. Dissertations on the four Gospels, Vol. I. p. 182—206. JESUS himself disdained and abhorred such profane testimony: “He rebuked, and suffered them not to speak, because they knew that he was THE CHRIST,” Mark i. 34, Luke iv. 41. He silenced and expelled them in the strongest and most authoritative terms, φιωθητι, και εξελθε εξ αυτου, “Be muzzled, and come out of him,” Mark i. 25, Luke iv. 25. It is remarkable that OUR LORD used the same term, and in a more energetic form, when he quelled the storm on the lake, raised perhaps by “the prince of the jurisdiction of the air,” to sink the vessel in which he slept:—“And he rebuked the wind, and commanded the sea,” saying to the former, σιωπα, “Hush!” to the latter, πεφιωσο, “Be muzzled instantly!” And immediately, “the wind ceased, and there was a great calm [of the sea,]” Mark iv. 39 †.—This most sublime oracle could scarcely be addressed to*

* Cicero uses the same argument, among others, to prove the reality of *divination*, and of the spirit of prophecy in *Cassandra*, who foretold the destruction of *Troy*. Quid deinde causæ est, cur *Cassandra furens futura prospiciat? Priamus sapiens hoc idem facere nequeat? De Divin. I. 19.*

† The other Evangelists, *Matthew* and *Luke*, have also recorded this stupendous miracle; but *Mark* more circumstantially. He probably had his account from *Peter*, an eye-witness.

the inanimate elements themselves, but rather to that "potent spirit," who did "ride in the *whirlwind*, and direct the *storm* *," Mark iv. 39, Job i. 9.

5. When the damsel at *Philippi*, possessed by "a spirit of *Python*," (the *old Serpent*, or *Devil*,) who brought great gain to her masters, by *divining*; for several days followed *Paul* and his assistants, saying, "*These men are servants of THE MOST HIGH GOD, who declare unto us the way of salvation!*" *Paul*, wearied at length, turned and said to the spirit, "*I command thee, in the name of JESUS CHRIST, to come out of her!*" and it came out the same moment, Acts xvi. 16—18. It is truly remarkable, that all the heathen *Oracles* at *Delphi*, &c. were silenced † from the time of *CHRIST'S* ministry, which gives

* From the variation of the tenses suited to each occasion, we may presume that *JESUS* spoke, on both, in *Greek*; as he certainly did to *John*, "*I am Alpha and Omega*," &c. Rev. i. 8. How infinitely superior is "the imperial brevity" of this command, to that of *Neptune* chiding the *winds*, in *Virgil*: *Quos Ego*;—sed *motos* præstat componere *fluctus*, as much superior, indeed, as *reality* is to *fiction*.

† The following extraordinary relation is furnished by *Plutarch*, to which he attaches much credit, and endeavours thereby to account for the fact of the *cessation of oracles* in his time, by supposing that the *demons* who conducted those oracles, though longer lived than men, were now dead. *De defectu oraculorum*.

"In the time of *Tiberius*, [in whose reign *CHRIST* was crucified,] some persons, embarking from *Asia* for *Italy*, towards the evening, sailed by the *Echinades*, [five little islands in the *Ionian* sea,] where being becalmed, they heard from thence a loud voice, calling one *Thamus*, an *Egyptian* mariner among them, and after the third time, commanding him, when he came to the *Palodes*, to declare that *the Great Pan was dead*. With the advice of his company, he resolved, that if they had a quick gale when they came to the *Palodes*, he would pass by silently, but if they should find themselves becalmed there, he would then perform what the voice had commanded. But when the ship arrived thither, there was neither any breeze of wind, nor any agitation of the water. Whereupon *Thamus*, looking out of the stern, toward the *Palodes*, pronounced these words with a loud voice, ὁ μέγας Παν τεθνήκε, "*the Great Pan is dead!*" which he had no sooner done, than he was answered by a chorus of many voices, making a great howling and lamentation, not without a mixture of admiration." *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* p. 345.

Plutarch says that *Tiberius* took pains to ascertain the fact, and enquired among his learned men who this *Pan* could be.

Whether the story be true or not, in the name *Pan*, and the aerial demon's application to an *Egyptian* mariner alone of all the crew, there seems to be a marked allusion to the celebrated inscription on the temple of *Neith*, or the goddess of *Wisdom*, at *Sais*, in *Egypt*.

Εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, και ον και εσομενον
Και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν.

"I am *all* that hath been, and is, and shall be;
And my vail no mortal yet uncovered."

some foundation to the opinion, that they were not entirely *impostures*. See the foregoing observations on the witch of *Endor*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; and the *Appendix* to the fourth volume, On the *Primitive Theology*, and its *corruptions*.

6. When, soon after this, some *Jewish* exorcists at *Ephesus*, attempted to “exorcise a *wicked spirit* in the name of *JESUS*, whom *Paul* preached,” it answered, “*JESUS I know*, and *Paul I am acquainted with*, but who are *ye* ? And the man in whom the *wicked spirit* was, leaped upon them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded,” Acts xix. 13—16.

These striking instances, adduced by the *sacred historians* as plain matters of fact, divested of all allegory, seem to support and establish the unfashionable doctrine of *demoniacal possession*, at least in OUR SAVIOUR’S days; when it was the prevailing opinion of the *Jewish nation*, from the highest to the lowest, and indeed of the whole world. What right, then, *infidels* and *philosophizing divines* have to explode a doctrine, because they cannot comprehend it at the present day, as *visionary*, any more than the existence and influence of *Satan himself*, does not appear*. Strong traces, perhaps, of *diabolical* influence and agency, in some of the prime actors on the present theatre of the world, seem to be discoverable by those who watch the *signs of the times*; and who reason, from *analogy*, from what *has been*, to what *may be*; and cannot otherwise account for many extraordinary revolutions, and “passing strange” occurrences, that baffle all *political* calculation, and set even the spirit of *conjecture* at defiance!

BLASPHEMY OF THE PHARISEES.

To repel the force of this testimony from the cure of *demoniacs*, the reality of which was too notorious to be denied, or even questioned; the *Pharisees*, artfully and malignantly, took advantage of these favourable confessions of the *demoniacs* to the person and character of *JESUS* as the *CHRIST*, to defame

Here *Pan*, “*all*,” or “*the universe*,” appears to have denoted THE SUPREME GOD, or his associate, NEITH, or WISDOM, Prov. viii. 22; THE ORACLE of the *Hebrews*, John i. 1.

* Beware what *spirit* rages in your breast :
For ten, *inspired*, ten thousand are possess! ROSCOMMON.

him to the people ; as if he dispossessed *demons* by collusion or confederacy with the *devil* himself!

“ When a *demoniac* was brought unto him, both *blind* and *dumb*, JESUS healed him, so that the blind and dumb both *spoke* and *saw*. And all the multitudes were amazed, and said, Is not this THE SON OF DAVID, or THE CHRIST ?

“ But the *Pharisees* and the *Scribes*, who came down from *Jerusalem*,” in order to watch and counteract him, said, repeatedly, “ He casteth out *demons* through *Beelzebub*, the *chief of the demons*,” Matt. ix. 33, 34, xii. 22—24, Mark iii. 22, 23, Luke xi. 14, 15.

OUR LORD, then “ calling to him the *Pharisees*,” with authority, exposed the absurdity and wickedness of their calumny, in the following masterly argument, Mark iii. 23.

1. “ How can *Satan* expel *Satan* ?” By thus acting against himself, he would only promote the downfall of his own kingdom ; for a “ *house, or kingdom divided against itself, cannot stand.*” Such collusion, therefore, on his part, would be absurd and ruinous.

2. “ Your sons,” the *exorcists*, profess to expel *demons* : your argument is equally hostile and injurious to them : *therefore, shall they be your judges*, or accuse you of slandering them also ; and acquit me, as acting, not by the power of *Satan*, but by “ *the power of GOD* ;” thus clearly evincing the sudden arrival of *his kingdom among you*, by the downfall of *Satan’s* kingdom, Matt. xii. 27, Luke xi. 19, 20.

3. This victory over *Satan*, proved CHRIST’S superiority. Though he is strong, a stronger bound him, and ravaged his house and goods ; or rescued those who were under his dominion heretofore, Matt. xii. 29, Mark iii. 27, Luke xi. 21, 22.

4. In CHRIST’S warfare with *Satan*, none can stand *neuter**, “ he that is not *with*, or *for* Him †,” as a friend, “ is *against* him,” as an enemy : he is either “ a child of GOD, or a *child of the Devil*,” for there is no medium, (1 John iii. 10.) The *Pharisees*, therefore, by their opposition to CHRIST, proved themselves, as he boldly reproached them, “ a generation of *vipers* ;”

* *Solon*, the *Athenian*, by a wise law, declared *neutrality* infamous in civil commotions ; in order to compel the *well-affected* citizens to take an active part ; and thereby to quell the *disaffected*. PLUTARCH.

† OUR LORD elsewhere expresses the reverse of the proverb : “ He that is not *against* Us, is for Us,” Mark ix. 40, Luke ix. 50.

(so *John* the Baptist had described them before,) whose opposition proceeded from an *evil heart* of unbelief, Matt. xii. 30—34, Mark xi. 23.

5. He warned them of the unpardonable sin of *blasphemy against* THE HOLY SPIRIT, neither to be forgiven in this world nor the next, but liable to eternal damnation. Such as that of “*lying unto the HOLY SPIRIT,*” (Acts v. 3.) Or knowingly and wilfully perverting *the truth*, in ascribing the *power of GOD* to the *power of the Devil*; resisting the evidence of their *senses*, and of their reason, or *conscience*, by which they could not but be *self-condemned*, (John viii. 9, Tit. iii. 11.)

And to impress more strongly on them the dangers of such malignant calumnies as this, of which they were now guilty, he warned them that for “*every idle * assertion,*” (πᾶν ῥημα ἀργον) men should be called to account, in *the day of judgment*. Such was that which they afterwards suborned the guard of *Roman* soldiers at the holy sepulchre to use, “*His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we were asleep,*” (Matt. xxviii. 13.) which being propagated among the *Jews*, occasioned, that “*every where Christianity* was spoken against,” and *CHRIST* represented as a deceiver and impostor, (Matt. xxvii. 63, Acts xxviii. 22.) Matt. xii. 36.

* Among the Greek philosophers this was called λογος ἀργος, which *Cicero* renders *Ignava Ratio*, “*Idle argument* ;” and explains, Genus interrogationis *ignavum* atque *iners*, quod eadem ratione omnis e vita tollatur actio; “*a kind of argumentation idle and indolent*: because by the same reasoning, (as was brought to prove an overruling *fate* or *destiny*, and an inevitable *necessity*,) all *active exertion* would be banished from the world.” *De fato*, § 12. And the great English philosopher, *Bacon*, among the grand causes of error, reckons, *Nimia et præpropæra mentis festinatio ad conclusiones temere deducendas*, “*an excessive and over hasty precipitance* of mind, to draw conclusions *rashly*,” from false, imperfect, or insufficient premises: without taking the necessary pains and trouble to examine their validity. The opposite effects of this *indolent* disposition of mind in producing both *dogmatism* and *scepticism*, are well expressed by *Pope*, *Essay on Man*.

“ Or *indolent*, to each extreme they fall,
To *trust* in every thing, or *doubt* of all.”

“ The same *dread of labour* attending the *search of TRUTH*, which makes the *dogmatist* presume it to be always at hand, makes the *sceptic* conclude it is never to be found. The only difference is, that the *laziness* of the one is sanguine, and the laziness of the other not sanguine.” *Warburton’s Note*.

Hence our Lord so repeatedly warned the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, to “*search THE SCRIPTURES,*”—“*to judge, not according to appearance, but to judge just judgment,*”—“*yea, even of yourselves, why judge ye not what is just?*” John v. 39, vii. 24, Luke xii. 57.

6. Nearly connected with this crime, was that of requiring further evidence of his divine mission, after sufficient evidence had been afforded them; namely, of repeatedly demanding the *sign from heaven*, foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*, “*tempting him,*” by a distrust of his power to give it; as is evident from their subsequent conduct, when they derided him as he hung upon the cross, and required him to give them the *sign* of coming down from thence, that they might believe in him, (Matt. xxvii. 42.) Matt. xii. 38, Luke xi. 16.

7. He contrasted their rejection of his superior preaching and authority, with the *Ninevites’* attention to *Jonah*, and the queen of *Sheba’s* to *Solomon*; who should rise up against them, as witnesses, in the *day of judgment*, and convict them of obstinacy and incredulity, in shutting their eyes against the light while the light that was within them, as they supposed, was darkness; *mental* darkness, the most dreadful and deplorable, because it was incurable, Matt. xii. 41, 42, Luke xi. 32—36, John ix. 40, 41.

8. He concluded with an admonition to the *demoniacs*, who had been cured, to beware of *relapsing into sin**, lest they should be possessed again in a higher degree, so as to render their case desperate, Matt. xii. 43—45, Luke xi. 24—26, according to the excellent comment of Archbishop *Cranmer*: “Albeit the *hous* of your conscience be once made clene and the *foule spirit* be expelled from us in *baptisme* or *penaunce*, [*repentance*;) yet if we wax *idle*, and take not *hede*, he will *returne*, with *seven worse spirites*, and *possesse us agayne*.” And OUR LORD extended the admonition to “that *wicked generation*” in general; whose deplorable catastrophe, for their obstinate impenitence, he had tacitly intimated, in “the *sign* of the Prophet *Jonah* ;” which had a two-fold reference, to himself, and to them: and as *Jonah’s* continuance of three days in the *fish’s* belly, was prefigurative of his own entombment for the same time, so was *Jonah’s* denunciation, “ere *forty days*, shall *Nineveh* be overthrown;” (which was suspended upon their *repentance*,) critically fulfilled in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, “ere *forty years* were past,” from the date of this sign, when last given by OUR LORD, after the *third passover*, A.D. 30, Matt. xvi. 4.

* ———— O *toties servus!* quæ bellua ruptis,

Cum semel effugit, *reddit se prava catenis!* Hor.

UNBELIEF OF OUR LORD'S FAMILY.

This was still more remarkable and extraordinary than that of the *Pharisees*, or of the *Jews* in general. But the same worldly-minded notions of the *temporal* power and grandeur of the MESSIAH'S kingdom, which infected even his own *Apostles*, until the regeneration on *Whitsunday*, infected them also. Hence, they wished to check his exertions to instruct the people, which they conceived to be extravagant and enthusiastic. For when he and his disciples were so thronged by the multitude, that they had not time to take bread, or their ordinary meals, "his *friends*, when they heard it, went out to *lay hold* on him; for they said, he *is beside himself* *," Mark iii. 20, 21. And so again, during his argument with the *Pharisees*, apprehending, perhaps, that he might commit himself too far with that malignant and powerful sect, and exasperate them by the severity of his reproofs; even "his *mother* and his *brethren*," or cousins, wished to interrupt his discourse; and when they could not reach him for the crowd, they sent a message to him that they wanted to speak with him abroad. But he reprimanded the intrusion, and declared, that the connexion of *disciples*, whom he was then instructing, weighed more with him than the ties of *kindred*: "Who is my *mother*, and who are my *brethren*?"—And looking round on his *disciples*, who were sitting in a circle about him, and stretching forth his hand to them, he said, "Behold my *mother* and my *brethren*! For whosoever shall *do* the will of MY HEAVENLY FATHER, the same is my *brother*, and *sister*, and *mother*," Matt. xii. 46—50; Mark iii. 31—35; Luke viii. 19—21. And when a woman of the company, transported with delight, during this interesting conversation, lift up her voice, and said, with admiration, "Blessed is the *womb* that bare thee, and the *paps* which thou hast sucked!" he answered, "Yea, rather, blessed are they that *hear* the word of GOD, and *keep* it," Luke xi. 27, 28, thus equally repressing enthusiastic transports, as religious indifference. Even at a more advanced period, at the feast of *Tabernacles*, before his crucifixion, he

* Thus when *Paul* was taxed by *Festus*, with being *mad*, he denied the charge; "I am not *mad*, most noble *Festus*, but speak the words of *truth* and *soberness*," Acts xxvi. 25; and alluding thereto, he says, to the *Corinthians*, "For whether we be *beside ourselves*, it is for GOD'S sake; or whether we be *sober-minded*, it is for your sake," 2 Cor. v. 13.

repressed the *ambition* of his *brethren*, wishing that he would shew himself in *Judea*, and display his miracles there, upon a more public theatre than in *Galilee*; “The *world*,” said he, “cannot hate *you*; but they hate me, because I testify of their works that they are *wicked*. Go *ye* up to this feast: *I* will not go up yet,”—and when he did go, afterwards, it was not *openly*, as they wanted, but as it were, “*in secret*,” John vii. 2—10.

PARABLES.

Having thus vindicated his divine mission from the calumny of his enemies, in the foregoing discourse, he quitted the house, and went to the sea side, whither he was followed by the multitude, eager to listen to his divine instructions; and getting into a ship, or boat, that he might not be incommoded by the throng, he taught the people from thence, who stood on the shore, within hearing, ranged as in an amphitheatre. The mode of instruction he confined himself to on this occasion, was by *parables*, or “*similes*,” for several wise and benevolent reasons.

1. It was a popular and interesting mode of instruction, adapted to all ranks, from the highest to the lowest; in which the meanest capacity might find entertainment; and the most intelligent information, if not at the very time, yet afterwards, as the application of the parable might happen to be unfolded by succeeding events, Judg. ix. 8—20; Psalm lxxviii. 2, &c; Matt. xiii. 35.

2. It was peculiarly well calculated to veil offensive truths, or “*hard sayings*,” in figurative language, until, in due season, they should be disclosed with greater evidence and lustre, when they were able to hear and bear them, Mark iv. 22, lest they should revolt at a premature disclosure of the mystery, Mark iv. 33; John xvi. 25.

3. It was a necessary screen from the malice of his inveterate enemies, the *chief priests*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*, who would not have failed to take advantage of any *express* declaration which they might turn to his destruction, John x. 24; but yet could not lay hold on the most pointed *parables*, which they were clear-sighted enough to perceive were levelled against them, Matt. xxi. 45; Mark xii. 12; Luke xx. 19.

4. It was peculiarly fitted to awaken the *curiosity* of his disciples, and lead them to apply for more particular information

in private, afterwards; when he graciously furnished them with the key to the *mysterious* parables delivered in public, Matt. xiii. 10—36; Mark iv. 34.

This discourse consists of seven parables; four of them were addressed to his hearers in general; the three last to his disciples in particular.

THE SOWER.

This is the first and preliminary parable; inculcating attention to his divine instructions, as *the prophet like Moses*, whom they were required to *hear*, or *hearken to*, under pain of incurring GOD'S displeasure, Deut. xviii. 15—19, as intimated in its awakening conclusion, "*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*," or *hearken*; an admonition peculiarly necessary for a careless and inattentive, a gross and sensual people, as they were described by *Moses* and the *Prophets*, Deut. xxxii. 15; Ezek. ii. 7; Isai. vi. 9, 10; and by OUR LORD himself, citing the last, Matt. xiii. 9—15; and as *Isaiah* encouraged attentive hearers, "*The eyes of them that see, shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear, shall hearken*," Isai. xxxii. 3: so our Lord declares, "*Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall abound: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away, even what he hath* *," Matt. xiii. 12, or "*what he seemeth to have*," Luke viii. 13.

The parable itself, in simple and familiar imagery, exhibits the most profound knowledge of *human nature*, and the most philosophical survey of the *hearts* or dispositions of the various classes of hearers, of which the *mixed multitude* was then, and is always composed. As in *ground* there is great diversity of *soils*, some bad, and some good, in different degrees and shades; so in *mankind* there is an equal diversity of hearts or dispositions, some bad, more or less, some comparatively good. But as the ground cannot produce any thing of itself, without culture, but briars, thorns, and weeds, even in the best soils; so neither can *mankind* produce, merely by themselves, without divine

* This seeming paradox is explained in the parable of the *Talents*, Matt. xxv. 28, to denote, that whatever talents or advantages a man *hath received* from GOD, if he improve them, to him *more shall be given*; but whosoever *hath not* improved them, from him shall be taken away the talent *he hath received*; or *seemeth to have* in his possession. *Juvenal* hath a parallel phrase, *Nil habuit Codrus:—et tamen illud Perdidit infelix totum nil.* Sat. III. 208.

cultivation, any spiritual fruit*, acceptable to God. All, in the *state of nature*, are alike barren and unprofitable, until the *good seed* is sown in the former, by the careful *husbandman*; and the *word of God*, in the latter, by CHRIST, his *Apostles*, and *ministers*.

1. The first, and the worst class, are compared to the beaten *high way*, which is so hard and impenetrable, that the seed, falling alike on all, can make no impression on this, but lies exposed on the surface, and is either *trampled* by the passengers, or *devoured* by the birds, so that no trace of it remains. Such is the hard and callous heart of some hearers; they *understand not*, because they *mind not*, the word; and it is either trodden down by evil company, or their commerce with the world, or else consumed by their rapacious appetites and lusts, which the *wicked one*, *Satan*, or the *Devil* †, uses as his instruments, to take away the word out of their hearts entirely. Of this irreclaimable class were those *Pharisees* who blasphemed CHRIST, as casting out *demons* through *Beelzebub*; those *mockers*, who, on the memorable day of Pentecost, represented his Apostles as drunk, Acts ii. 13; and those *Epicureans*, who derided *Paul's* preaching at *Athens*, Acts xvii. 32. And at the present day, those obstinate *atheists* and *infidels*, who scoff at all religion, and the CHRISTIAN religion in particular.

2. The next are compared to the *stony ground*, where the soil is shallow. On this the falling seed makes some impression, and even penetrates below the surface, and it quickly springs up, or vegetates, but is soon scorched by the sun's meridian heat, and "withers away for want of root," or due nourishment, as soon as it reaches the rock at bottom. Such are the light and *fair weather* converts, who no sooner hear the word, than they receive it with joy and gladness, and for a while believe, so long as circumstances continue favourable for its reception, but "when *tribulation* or *persecution* ariseth, because of the word, immedi-

* This is intimated in another beautiful agricultural parable, signifying the *spontaneous* growth of the seed sown in the ground, the husbandman himself *knoweth not how*; and its *gradual* vegetation and increase, first the *blade*, then the *ear*, then the *full corn in the ear*, then the *ripeness* of the grain, until the *harvest*, Mark iv. 26—29.

† *Matthew* xiii. 9, calls him ὁ πονηρός, "the wicked one," by way of bad eminence; as does OUR LORD, in his inimitable form of prayer, *Matt.* vi. 13, but to guard against ambiguity, *Mark* iv. 15, ascertains him by his *Hebrew* title, ὁ Σατανας, "Satan," or "the adversary," and *Luke* viii. 12, by his *Greek* title,—ὁ Διαβολος, "the devil," or "calumniator," "the accuser of the brethren," *Rev.* xii. 10.

ately they are offended," and in "a season of *fiery* trial, fall away," or apostatize. Of this description there were many in the days of CHRIST and his *Apostles*: *Herod*, for a time, "heard the Baptist gladly, and did many things" in obedience to his sage admonitions, until the question of *Herodias* and his concupiscence arose; then he was instantly offended; he imprisoned, and at length beheaded that "*just and holy man*," knowing him to be such, Mark vi. 20; and thus the rich ruler, who came to CHRIST eagerly and respectfully, to learn what was necessary for *Christian perfection*, in addition to *keeping all the commandments from his youth*, could not bring himself to part with his *ruling passion*, when he was required to *go and sell all that he had, and give to the poor, and follow CHRIST as a disciple*, but *went away sorrowful, because he had great possessions*, and could not prevail on himself to relinquish them, and lead a life of poverty and hardship, contempt and persecution, Matt. xix. 22. Such was a large portion also of the multitude, who at first became CHRIST'S disciples, "for the *loaves and fishes*" which they had eaten, and expected more abundantly, but who could not bear the idea of a *crucified Saviour*, but seceded, and walked no more with him, John vi. 66. Such were the fickle multitude, who, in the course of four days, converted their *Hosannas to the Son of David!* into clamours, "*Crucify him! Crucify him!*" Such was *Felix*, that cruel, libidinous, and rapacious *Roman* governor, who "*trembled*" at *Paul's* preaching of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, for the time, but put off his conversion for a *convenient season*, which never arrived, Acts xxiv. 25. And such are those *lukewarm Christians* of the present day, who are "*ashamed of CHRIST and his Gospel*," and dare not "*hold fast the profession of their faith*," amidst the scoffs of infidels, the gainsayings of heretics, the evil example of degenerate and corrupt Christians, and the united opposition of a vain selfish world.

3. The third are compared to the *thorny ground*, in which the seed sown took root in a greater depth of soil, and grew, but was choked gradually by the thorns that sprang up more luxuriantly along with it, so that it bore no fruit. Such are the *worldly-minded*, who hear indeed the word, and it sinks deeper into their hearts than in those of the preceding class, but the cares of this world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the pleasures of life, choke or stifle the word, so that it becometh unfruitful. In

the age of CHRIST, the former class was more numerous; in the present, this persecution, because of the word, is not now so frequent as formerly; rather, perhaps, from the *lukewarmness* or *religious indifference* of the rulers, than from increase of genuine liberality of sentiment, and of the mild spirit of *Christian* toleration. Now, worldly interests of grandeur and ambition, and, above all, increasing luxury, keeping pace with increasing wealth, so weaken and stifle the word every where, that there is abundant cause to dread, that when CHRIST cometh again, he will scarcely find HIS FAITH established in its purity any where upon earth, according to his own foreboding, Luke xviii. 8.

4. The last are compared to the *good ground*, who in an *honest* and *good* heart, having *heard* the word, *keep it*, and “bring forth fruit with *patience*:” and also with the same variety as the bad soils, “some *thirty* fold, some *sixty* fold, and some a *hundred* fold*,” according as they possess, more or less, the foregoing qualifications; first of “*hearing* the word with an *honest* and *good* heart,” or a candid and virtuous disposition, which was wanting in the first class; next of “*keeping*,” or retaining it, which was wanting in the second; and lastly, of “*bringing forth fruit with patience*,” or perseverance in well doing, which was wanting in the third †.

From this instructive parable we learn not to vilify or defame *human nature* in the gross, as bad, totally degenerate, and altogether “*devilish*,” with some gloomy sectarists. Though unhappily, “*the heart of man is deceitful above all things, and*

* This is the order of the produce in *Mark* iv. 7; who judiciously reverses the order of *Matthew* xiii. 8, to furnish a regular *climax* from the *worst* soil to the *best*.

† This *agricultural* imagery is frequent in the *heathen* classics:

*Cultor enim Juvenum, purgatas inseris aures
Frugæ Cleanthæ.*—————

“ ’Tis thine, the *soil* of youthful minds to *weed*;
First *clear* the ground, then *sow* the *stoic seed*.”

Brewster's Persius, Sat. V.

Cultura animi PHILOSOPHIA est, quæ extrahit vitia radicitus, et præparat animos ad satus accipiendos; eaque mandat his, et, ut ita dicam, *serit*, quæ adulta fruges uberrimos ferant.

“ The *culture of the mind* is PHILOSOPHY, which *eradicates* the *vices*, and *prepares* the *heart for receiving seed*; and infuses, and, as I may say, *sows* [seeds,] which, when come to maturity, may bear the *most abundant fruits*.” *Cicero, Tuscul. II.* This may more truly be said of THE GOSPEL.

desperately wicked, who can know it?" (Jer. xvii. 9,) in too many instances; yet He who knew it best, and who originally "made it in the *image and likeness of GOD,*" kindly and consolingly admits, that "an *honest and good heart*" may still be found among "the lost *sheep* of the house of *Israel,*" amidst the prevailing errors and corruptions of the world, where "the *spirit,* indeed, may be willing," or disposed to *good,* though the *flesh* is weak, or frail, and easily seduced to *evil,* Matt. xxvi. 41. See the foregoing *scriptural* account of *human nature,* p. 3—5.

THE TARES.

In this second parable, according to OUR LORD'S master-key of interpretation, the *field* is the *world,* the *good seed* the *sons* or heirs of the *kingdom* of heaven, or "children of *GOD;*" the *sower,* the SON OF MAN, or CHRIST; and the *servants,* the *ministers* of the GOSPEL: the *tares* are children of the *Devil,* who is the *enemy* of CHRIST, that sows them, or seduces them into sin; the *harvest* is the *general judgment* at the end of the world, and the *reapers* the *angels.*

The drift of this parable is, 1. to shew, that notwithstanding all the care and vigilance of CHRIST'S ministers, "*offences* must needs come into the world," through the craft and subtilty of the *Devil,* working at unseasonable hours, "*while men slept,*" in the dead of night, to sow his mischief in the hearts of his children, or those incorrigible *sinner,* of whose repentance and amendment there is no hope. For tares, let them grow ever so long, will still be *tares;* they can never turn to *wheat* by any care or skill in the cultivation. And 2. to "vindicate the ways of *GOD* to man," and his *long sufferance* to such sinners, by furnishing a satisfactory answer to the intemperate zeal of some "*sons of thunder*" among his servants, who would fain "root up the *tares*" directly, or "call down fire from heaven to consume them" without delay; "not knowing of what manner of spirit they ought to be," that spirit of "*forbearance,*" which our gracious LORD, and our heavenly FATHER daily exercise toward the wicked, in compassion to the good: "Nay, lest while ye gather the *tares,* ye root up also the *wheat.*" For, in the field of this world, the *righteous* and the *wicked* are so closely connected, united, and intermixed in their interests, like the *wheat* and the *tares,* that in the present state the wicked could not be every where extirpated, without involving the righteous in his

doom* ; for his *children*, his *family*, his *relations*, and his *friends* may be innocent, and not partakers of his sins ; and therefore “ the righteous JUDGE OF ALL THE EARTH,” in mercy to them, spares the guilty ; while, 3. to silence the cavils of infidels, “ *Why do the wicked prosper in this world ?*” which are as old as the days of *Job*, xxi. 7, Psalm lxxiii. 12, Jer. xii. 1, or, “ *There is one event to the righteous and the wicked ! but one event to all !*” Eccl. ii. 14, viii. 14, ix. 2, 3, from the days of *Solomon* to the present ; the parable predicts a future discrimination, at the general judgment, when CHRIST shall say to his reapers, Gather first the *tares*, and bind them in bundles to be burned, but gather the *wheat* into my granary ; when he shall send forth his *angels* to gather out of his kingdom all *offences*, and cast them into a fiery furnace, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth, but shall collect the *righteous* into the kingdom of their heavenly Father, where “ they shall shine forth as the *sun*” for evermore.

He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

THE MUSTARD SEED.

This third parable was designed to represent the wonderful progress of the *kingdom of heaven*, or Church of CHRIST, from a small and inconsiderable beginning, as the kingdom of the “ *stone*” in Daniel ; until it shall become the kingdom of the “ *mountain*,” and fill the whole earth ; so that “ all nations shall finally flow” to “ the *mountain* of the LORD’S house,” to receive *spiritual* instruction from the fountain head. The ultimate conversion of the *Gentiles* to CHRISTIANITY, which was the chief drift of the parable, was a mystery so revolting to the bigotry of the *Jews*, even of our LORD’S own *disciples*, (Acts x. 34, 35, xi. 1—3,) that it could not be early proposed to them. It was, therefore, of necessity to be veiled under a parable, of which he then waved the interpretation ; because *they could not bear it now*, (John xvi. 12.) It was obscurely intimated by “ the *birds of the air* lodging in the *branches* of the *mustard tree*,” when arrived at its full growth ; and finding there shelter, protection, and nourishment. The *Talmud* mentions a mustard tree

* This was *Abraham’s* plea for *Sodom*, “ Far be it from thee to slay the *righteous* with the *wicked* !—Shall not THE JUDGE OF ALL THE EARTH *do right* ?” Gen. xviii. 25.

so large, that one of its branches covered a tent. See *Lightfoot*. We should, indeed, be much mistaken, if we judged of the size of vegetables in the east, from those of the same species in our colder climate.

THE LEAVEN.

This fourth parable expresses the influence of the Gospel upon the minds of mankind, under the imagery of a little *leaven*, which, by its fermentation, leavened *three measures of meal*, the usual quantity that was kneaded at once; signifying that “the word of GOD, which is *lively and powerful*” in its operation, would “leaven,” improve, and meliorate “the whole heap” or mass of which man is composed, his *spirit, soul, and body*, with the affections, appetites, and passions, (1 Thess. v. 23.)

THE HIDDEN TREASURE, &c.

This and the two following parables are addressed peculiarly to the *Apostles*, and seem to represent the various dispositions of the converts they would make to the Gospel; some would embrace it with joy, when found as it were by accident, like *treasure hidden* in a field; others when found after long and diligent search, like *the merchant seeking precious pearls*, both purchasing the *field* and the *pearl of great price* for all their substance. The last represents them (in conformity with their usual occupation of *fishermen*) as casting a *net* into the sea, and “*catching men*” indiscriminately of all sorts, good and bad, to compose the visible Church of CHRIST, or “all who profess and call themselves *Christians* :” of whom a selection should be made, when “*the net should be drawn ashore*,” or in the *general judgment* at “the end of the world,” when “the *good* should be gathered into vessels,” in heaven, but “the *bad* cast away,” and thrown into hell-fire. The former parable of the *tares* seems to describe the final lot of *mankind* in general, under *all* the dispensations; this of the *net*, under the *Christian*, in particular.

When JESUS had finished these parables, he asked his disciples, “*Whether they understood all these?*” And upon their answering in the affirmative, “*Yea, LORD*,” he told them that every “*scribe*,” or *Jewish* teacher, who should be “disciplined,” and made a *Christian* teacher, should bring out of his treasures or stores of knowledge, “*fruits new and old*,” or the modern

mysteries of THE GOSPEL, in addition to the ancient, of THE LAW, Matt. xiii. 51, 52.

And now when our Lord had sufficiently trained or disciplined his *Apostles* in the rudiments of *Christianity*, by his public *discourses* and *parables*, and by his fuller explanations and interpretations to them in private, he graciously expressed his *tender compassion*, (εσπλαγχνισθη) for the *multitudes*, as “*sheep without a shepherd*,” who were too numerous, and too “*scattered*,” to receive the benefit of his divine instructions, and were too much neglected by their own teachers, the *scribes*. Then said he to his disciples, “*The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the labourers are few*: pray ye therefore THE LORD of the harvest, that he would *speedily send forth* (εκβαλη) labourers into his harvest,” Matt. ix. 36—38.

MISSION OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Accordingly, *Jesus* sent forth the twelve *Apostles*, in pairs, to proclaim the approach of CHRIST'S *spiritual* kingdom, “*The kingdom of heaven is at hand*,” at first exclusively to the *Jews*, or “*the lost sheep of the house of Israel*,” but neither to the *Samaritans*, nor to the *Gentiles*; and to secure credit to their preaching, he invested them with miraculous powers, gratuitously to expel *demons*, and cure disorders*; and gave them several wise and prudent rules for the regulation of their conduct, as *itinerant* preachers. 1. Not to provide superfluities, of *money* or *cloathing*, but to depend upon the bounty of the *city*, *village*, or *house*, to which they preached, for their support, for the *labourer is worthy of his hire*. 2. To salute the owners civilly, and depart quietly, if they were not entertained, but to *shake off the dust of their feet*, in token that they were to be considered in future as *heathens*, who despised or rejected CHRIST and his Gospel, as practised afterwards by *Paul* and

* *Matthew*, x. 8. inserts a clause, νεκρους εγειρετε, “*raise the dead*,” which is wanting in the parallel places, Matt. x. 1, Mark vi. 7, and Luke ix. 1, 2; and also in the subsequent commission to the *seventy* disciples, Luke x. 1—17; and which, in fact, the *Apostles* do not now appear to have exercised, Mark vi. 13, Luke ix. 10, nor until after they had received the *baptism* of THE SPIRIT at the day of *Pentecost*. Accordingly, it is omitted by several MSS. and versions. See *Griesbach's* second edition, and *Wetstein*. Still, however, it may be retained as an *anticipation* of their future larger commission, Mark xvi. 15—18, Matt. xxviii. 20, especially as the present commission predicts their future sufferings and persecutions from the *Jews*, and from *kings* and *rulers*, Matt. x. 16—23. But the arguments for its rejection seem stronger.

Barnabas, (Acts xiii. 51.) 3. To unite the wisdom or prudence of the *serpent*, with the innocence or harmlessness of the *dove*, and not to expose themselves rashly or unnecessarily to *dangers*, nor to court *persecution*, like *enthusiasts*. 4. When they should be brought to trial before *synagogues*, *rulers*, and *kings*, not to be anxious about their defence, for that they should be inspired with *eloquence* and *wisdom* from above, which their adversaries should not be able to gainsay or resist, as our LORD afterwards repeated, Luke xxi. 15. 5. *Think not*, said he, *that I came to sow peace upon earth*, at my first coming. *I came not to sow peace, but a sword*, or “rather *division*,” Luke xii. 51. Intimating that the profession of *Christianity* would naturally excite divisions in families, and provoke the unbelieving part to ill-treat and persecute the believing, and excite the general *hatred*, both of *Jews* and *Heathens*, against *Christians*. 6. But he encouraged them still undauntedly to preach the *Gospel*, regardless of immediate consequences, from the prospect of a future reward in heaven. For that whosoever should *confess* him before men, he would also confess as a disciple before his Father in heaven, and the holy angels at the *day of judgment*, but whosoever should *deny* him before men, he would deny as a disciple before his Father in heaven; that whosoever should seek to save his life, by denying CHRIST, should lose it hereafter, both soul and body, in hell; but whosoever should lose his life here, for confessing CHRIST, should find it hereafter restored to him in the mansions of bliss, Matt. x. 5—42, Mark vi. 7—11, Luke ix. 1—5.

By a usual *historical* anticipation, *Matthew* connects the *mission* of the twelve Apostles with their former *appointment*, as if it followed immediately after, just as he connects the death of *John* the Baptist with his imprisonment by *Herod*, Matt. xiv. 3—11, although there was a twelvemonth’s interval, if not more, between them in the latter case. In this case, there was probably an interval of half a year, or more, from their appointment, shortly after our Lord’s second return to *Galilee*, in order to qualify them for their important office; and accordingly, both *Mark* and *Luke*, judiciously, though tacitly, correct this ambiguity in *Matthew*, by separating the two events, and interposing several of the preceding occurrences between them.

CHRIST'S SECOND VISIT TO NAZARETH.

While his Apostles were employed on their mission, JESUS seems to have visited his own town of *Nazareth* a second time, his regard for his townsmen overcoming their ill-treatment of him before. But though they were astonished at the *wisdom* of his instructions, and his miraculous *powers*, they were still *offended* at him as before, on account of his occupation, and his family: Is not this *the carpenter*, the son of *Mary*? &c. And he marvelled at their unbelief, and therefore did not many miracles there, except healing a few sick*, Matt. xiii. 53—58, Mark vi. 1—6.

Matthew places this visit after the discourse on the *parables*; *Mark* immediately before the *mission* of the Apostles. We are warranted, therefore, in following the latter, and supposing it to have been about the time of the mission, toward the close of the second year.

RETURN OF THE APOSTLES.

This took place not long before the third passover, and about the time of *John* the Baptist's death, Matt. xi. 1, Mark vi. 30, Luke ix. 10, when *John's* disciples came and told JESUS the fate of their master, Matt. xiv. 12, and probably attached themselves to him in future. After this, he retired by ship to a solitary place, across the lake, in the desert of *Bethsaida*, not from any apprehension of danger from *Herod*, as Matt. xiv. 13, might seem to intimate, but in order to get some rest from the multitudes of visitants coming and going, so that they had not even leisure to eat, Mark vi. 31, Luke ix. 10, John vi. 1.

THE FIVE THOUSAND FED.

This grand and important miracle, recorded by all the Evangelists, took place shortly before the Passover, as we learn from *John*, inserting this valuable, *natural* as well as *chronological* character, incidentally, that "there was much *grass* in the place;" a circumstance that could not have happened at an earlier or a later season than the beginning of *Spring*, in that

* "It is reasonable to believe that our Saviour never performed a *miracle*, but where he foresaw it might have a good effect in a *religious* light, either on the *person* on whom it was performed, or on the *spectators*, thus making one act of mercy lead to another." — *Gilpin*, note, Matt. xiii. 58.

warm climate. It serves also as a middle point of agreement to harmonize the four Gospels before and after it; while it furnishes internal evidence the most satisfactory, that each succeeding Evangelist consulted his predecessors, in order to remove ambiguities, and to supply circumstances omitted by them. The last account, by *John*, is the most circumstantial. It is indeed the only miracle that he relates, in common with the rest.

Though JESUS had retired from the multitude by sea, his motions could not be concealed: they followed him *by land** from the cities, and he graciously received them, and healed their sick, being *moved with tender compassion* toward them, (εσπλαγχνισθη επ' αυτοις) Matt. xiv. 14, Mark vi. 34, and began to teach them many things concerning the kingdom of GOD, Mark vi. 34, Luke ix. 11.

And "when the [*former*] evening was come," Matt. xiv. 15, about the ninth hour, or third after noon †, the twelve Apostles came to him, and recommended, that as the place was desert, and the hour late, and the multitude without provisions, he would dismiss them, that they might depart to the surrounding villages and farms, (αγρους) to buy provisions, or find food. But he answered, *they have no need to depart, give ye them to eat*. And this he said *to try them*, for he himself knew what he intended to do, when he first saw the great multitude coming to him. And they said, We cannot, except we go to buy provisions for all this people. *Philip* said, Two hundred *denarii* worth of bread would not be sufficient for them, that each may take a little. Then he said unto them, How many loaves of bread have ye? *Andrew* answered, There is a lad here, who hath five *barley* loaves, and two small fishes, but what are they among so many? And he said, "Bring them hither to me;" then "Make *the men* sit down on *the green grass*, by companies," of *fifty* each ‡. And they sate down in ranks, of a

* This is a more correct rendering of πεζη, than "on foot." A person might travel πεζη, and yet either on horseback, or in a carriage. Ει δ' εθελες πεζος, παρα τοι διφρος,— "If you choose to go by land, a chariot is ready for you." *Hom. Odys. iii. 325.* And *Æschines* contrasts an expedition (ναυτικη) "by sea," with (πεζη) "by land." *Contr. Ctesiph. § 43.*

† To correct the ambiguity of *Matthew*, who expresses the *former* and *latter evening* by the same phrase, οψιας γενομενης, *Mark* substitutes, "when the hour was far advanced," vi. 35; and *Luke*, "when the day began to decline." See Vol. I. p. 15.

‡ If each company of *fifty* sate ten in front by five in depth, there would be a *hundred* such companies; ten companies in front by ten in depth; and consequently, a *hundred men* in the whole front line, and *fifty* men in the whole depth.

hundred in front, by *fifty* in depth; *five thousand* in all, besides women and children. Then Jesus took the loaves, and looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake and gave to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude, and likewise of the fishes, as much as they desired; and they all ate, and were satisfied. And when they were filled, he said to his disciples, Gather the remaining fragments, that nothing be lost; so they gathered them, and filled twelve baskets with the fragments that remained of the loaves and fishes.

Then those men when they had seen the miracle which JESUS did, said, "Truly this is *that prophet* who was to come into the world," *like Moses*, struck with the resemblance of this to the *manna* in the desert, Matt. xiv. 15—21, Mark vi. 35—44, Luke ix. 12—17, John vi. 5—14.

JESUS WALKS ON THE SEA.

The former miracle was finished before *the* [latter] *evening was come*, at sun-set. And then JESUS knowing the intentions of the multitude, that they meant to seize and make him *king*, or proclaim him MESSIAH, probably next day, he sent away his disciples by sea, to make *Bethsaida*, on their way towards *Capernaum*, on the further side of the lake, intending to meet them by land at *Bethsaida*, and embark with them, after he had dismissed the multitude, who were satisfied, since he stayed behind. And having given directions to his disciples, he retired alone to a mountain to pray, Matt. xiv. 22, 23, Mark vi. 45—47, John vi. 14—16.

And when the *dusk* (or *twilight*) *had already come*, and JESUS had not gone toward them, the wind became contrary; the ship, after they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty *stadia*, was tossed by the waves. And *Jesus* saw them. And at the *fourth watch of the night*, or at day-break, he set out to them, walking upon the sea, and came up to them, but seemed disposed to pass by them. And the disciples all saw him walking on the sea, and they were affrighted, saying that it was an apparition, and they cried out for fear. And immediately he spake to them, and said, "*Take courage, it is I, be not afraid.*"

Then *Peter* answered, and said to him, "*LORD, if it be thou, bid me come to thee upon the waters.*" And he said, "*Come.*" And *Peter* having descended from the ship, walked upon the waters to go unto JESUS. But seeing the wind strong, he was

afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried out, saying, "LORD, *save me!*" And JESUS immediately stretched out his hand, and took hold of him, and saith unto him, "*O thou of little faith, why didst thou waver *?*" And when they had entered into the ship, the wind ceased; and they were greatly amazed in themselves beyond measure, and wondered; for "*they considered not,*" or had not been sufficiently affected by the miracle of "*the loaves,*" which demonstrated a higher, even a *creating* power, "*because their heart was hardened,*" or slow of understanding. But now they were fully convinced, and came and worshipped him, saying, "*Truly thou art THE SON OF GOD!*" And immediately the ship came across the lake to the land of *Gennesareth*, on the western side, whither they were bound, in the neighbourhood of *Capernaum*.

Here the people of the country, well knowing him, brought unto him all their sick and diseased persons, and these besought him that they might only touch the hem of his garment, and as many as touched were thoroughly cured, Matt. xiv. 24—36, Mark vi. 48—56, John vi. 17—21.

HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PEOPLE WHOM HE FED.

The next morning after his departure, the multitude, disappointed not to find JESUS, took boat, and followed him to *Capernaum*, and found him by the sea-side, and expressed their surprise how he got there. Instead of gratifying their curiosity, JESUS told them that they followed him for the sake of the *loaves* and *fishes*, the worldly advantages which they expected from him; and exhorted them to labour not for temporal, perishable food, but for that which was spiritual and eternal, which the SON OF MAN would give them, John vi. 22—27.

This they supposed to be the *manna* which *Moses* had given them, and required as a *sign* that he would give them the same. But our Lord undeceived them, intimating, that HIS FATHER, not *Moses*, gave them *manna*; and that even *manna* was greatly inferior to his spiritual food, as affording only a temporary support, whereas his would nourish them for ever, ver. 28—33.

* The verb *δισταζω*, to "*waver,*" or "*hesitate,*" intimates a slighter degree of *doubt*, not amounting to positive *disbelief*. Like some of the five hundred to whom OUR LORD appeared in *Galilee*, after his resurrection, who "*hesitated*" whether they did not see a spirit only, Matt. xxviii. 17.

The *Jews* not yet understanding him, he told them plainly that his *divine doctrine* was the spiritual food he meant; and that by *faith* in him as **THE SON OF GOD**, they should have eternal life, and be raised at the last day, and that he came down from heaven to teach them this doctrine, ver. 34—40.

They now murmured, objecting his *earthly parentage*, “Is not this **JESUS** the son of *Joseph*, whose *father* and *mother* we know? how then doth he say, I came down from *heaven*?” **JESUS** answered, that he was that divine teacher foretold by the prophets, “*They shall all be taught of GOD*,” Isa. liv. 13, Jer. xxxi. 33, 34, that he was his **FATHER’S** representative, to reveal his will to mankind, ver. 41—50.

He then informed them that he was the *bread of life*, not only on account of his *doctrine*, which would give eternal life to believers, but also because he would give *his flesh*, or *his life*, to procure the life of the world, verse 51.

This gave them greater offence. *How can this man give us his flesh to eat?* And when **JESUS** continued to explain himself in the same figurative style, “It is *the spirit* that quickeneth, the *flesh* profiteth nothing, the *sayings* which I speak unto you they are *spirit* and *life*,” many of his disciples seceded, and walked no more with him, ver. 53—66.

Then said **JESUS** to the twelve, *Will ye also withdraw?* *Peter* saith unto him, in their name, “*Lord, to whom shall we secede? thou hast the sayings of eternal life. And we believe, and know, that thou art THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD*,” ver. 66—69.

To repress, however, their confidence in the strength of their faith, and attachment to him, he remarked, “*Have not I chosen you twelve? and yet one of you is a devil*.” He meant *Judas Iscariot*, who was to betray him, being one of the twelve, ver. 70, 71.

THE THIRD PASSOVER*.

JESUS did not attend this passover at *Jerusalem*, because the *Jewish* rulers sought to kill him, but remained in *Galilee*, John vii. 1. His fame, however, was now so great, that they thought it necessary, if possible, to put a stop to it. They sent

* The year assigned to this passover, A.D. 30, is confirmed by the *sign of the prophet Jonah*, given in the course of it, respecting the destruction of *Jerusalem*, 40 years after, A.D. 70. Matt. xvi. 4.

therefore a party of *Scribes* and *Pharisees* from *Jerusalem* to to watch him, who first attacked him on the ground of *traditions*, which they strictly observed themselves, and objected that he encouraged the breach of them in his disciples, in order to diminish his popularity, Matt. xv. 1, Mark vii. 1.

“Why do *thy disciples* transgress the *traditions of the elders*, for they *wash not their hands* before meals?” Matt. xv. 2, Mark vii. 2.

1. But JESUS retorted, “Why do *ye* also transgress the *commandment of GOD* by your *tradition*?” And he instanced a case in point: The fifth commandment required them to *honour*, and, if necessary, *support* their parents, under pain of death to those undutiful children, who *cursed* them, or refused to do so, Exod. xx. 12, xxi. 17, Deut. v. 16, Levit. xx. 9. But their tradition encouraged *vows*, or consecration of their substance to religious uses, which they called *corban*, “a gift,” or oblation, vowed to the treasury of the temple. And this vow, of *corban*, even though it never was executed, was considered as sufficient to supersede the law of honouring their parents with any part of their substance, Matt. xv. 4—6, Mark vii. 10—14.

This was the doctrine of the sect called *Rabbanites*, who held *oral tradition*, and supposed that GOD dictated many things by word of mouth to *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*, which were propagated by tradition of the elders, and long after were put in writing, lest they should be forgot. Hence those maxims of their school, “the words of the *scribes* are lovelier than the words of the *law*, the words of the *elders* are weightier than the words of the *prophets* *.”

But there was a different sect of the scribes, called *Karaites*, or “*Scripturians*,” who rejected traditions, and adhered strictly to the written law. They also rejected the *cabalistical* or *allegorical* interpretations of Scripture, and contended for the *literal* sense. And if the literal was inadmissible, they endeavoured to discover the *figurative* meaning, by careful comparison of Scripture with itself in parallel places. See an account of their sound principles, *Chandler’s Vindication of his Defence of Christianity*, p. 351. To such, our LORD’S doctrine must have been acceptable; and such, we may presume, was that intelligent

* The *Rabbanites* and the *Romish* doctors were remarkably alike, both “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;” as OUR SAVIOUR reproached the former, Matt. xv. 9.

scribe, who gave credit to JESUS, and was pronounced by Him, “not to be far from the kingdom of GOD,” Mark xii. 28—34.

2. OUR LORD next reproached them for their *hypocrisy*; and applied to them *Isaiah’s* censure, “This people draw nigh unto me with their mouth, and honour me with their lips; but their *heart* is far from me,” (Isai. xxix. 13,) Matt. xv. 7, 8, Mark vii. 6.

3. He then shewed the multitude, that the *heart* was the chief seat of impurity, Matt. xv. 11—20, Mark vii. 15—23.

4. He reproached the *Pharisees* as “*blind leaders of the blind*,” who would be involved in the same common destruction with their deluded followers, “*both shall fall into the ditch* :” for “*every plantation, or doctrine, which MY HEAVENLY FATHER hath not planted, shall be rooted out*,” Matt. xv. 13, 14.

Thus did the insidious attack of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* only turn to their own confusion and disgrace. And “*they were offended*,” not less at the superiority of his arguments, which silenced them, than at the diminution of their reputation with the multitude, as “*blind guides*,” who cavilled indeed at trifles, and were zealous for *external purity*; while, by their captious questions and calumnies, they were plotting against his *reputation* and *his life*! In order, therefore, to get rid of such evil-minded visitants, he retired to the regions between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to conceal himself in a *heathen* country, “*not wishing to be known*,” until their departure, Matt. xv. 12—21, Mark vii. 24.

THE SYROPHENICIAN WOMAN.

But here he could not conceal himself, though he declined preaching in public, or working miracles, beyond the limits of his mission, as *SHILOH*, or the peculiar *APOSTLE OF THE HEBREWS*.

An opportunity, however, immediately offered, of contrasting the exalted faith of a heathen, with the obstinate unbelief of his own household. A *Syrophenician* woman knew him, who had probably heard of the two signal miracles wrought at *Cana*, in her neighbourhood, particularly the latter, of healing the nobleman’s son at *Capernaum*; and was therefore persuaded that JESUS was the promised *MESSIAH*, or *CHRIST*, the *Son of David*, expected by the *Jews*, *Samaritans*, and the neighbouring *Gentiles*.

She addressed him, therefore, as a believer: "*Pity me, LORD, thou Son of David, my daughter is grievously possessed with a demon!*" But our Lord, wishing to shew the firmness of her faith, under repeated denials, "*answered her not a word.*" Then she followed, and besought his disciples; and even they, to get rid of her importunity, interceded for her: "*Dismiss her, or grant her request, for she crieth after us.*" But he refused, "*I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.*" My mission is not to the *Gentiles*. Still the woman persevered with patience, and "came, and threw herself at his feet, and besought him, LORD, *help me!*" But he refused her again, in stronger terms, "*It is not meet to take the children's bread, and cast it to dogs;*" it is not right to waste on the unworthy *heathens*, those miracles appropriated to the *Jews*. Not even repulsed by this, she calmly and humbly replied, "*Truth, LORD, yet the dogs eat of the children's crumbs that fall from their master's table.*" It is true, we *heathens* are no better than *dogs* in comparison of thy children, the *Jews*; still we are thy *servants*, and should be considered as an inferior part of thy household; and as such, entitled to a *pittance* of thy bounty to them: *the fragments* will suffice for us. Perhaps she might have heard also of "the table which his bounty had spread for the five thousand in the wilderness," and alluded thereto in her pointed reply. Admiring her ingenious answer, and seemingly vanquished by her humble and patient importunity, our LORD commended her faith, and instantly granted her petition: "*O woman, great is thy faith! be it unto thee even as thou wilt!*" And her daughter was cured from that hour. For when the woman returned, she found the *demon expelled, and her daughter laid on the bed,*" quiet and composed, and in her right mind, Matt. xv. 21—28, Mark vii. 24—30.

THE FOUR THOUSAND FED.

Departing from thence, JESUS visited the region of *Decapolis*, on the eastern side of the lake of *Galilee*, formerly the settlement of the half tribe of *Manasseh*, a country which abounded in *Gentiles*. There he also wrought several signal miracles; and among others already noticed, that of supplying limbs to the "*maimed,*" by a new creation; which wrought the conversion of many, *who glorified the God of Israel*. Mark ix. 43, Matt. xv. 31. And here OUR LORD, moved with *tender*

compassion also for this mixed multitude of *Jews* and *Heathens*, fed *four thousand* men, beside women and children, with seven loaves of bread, and a few small fishes, which multiplied, as before, under his creating hands ; and left seven baskets full of the fragments that remained after they were all filled, Matt. xv. 29—38, Mark vii. 31—37, viii. 1—9.

MAGDALA.

Immediately after this signal miracle, he dismissed the multitude, not wishing to attract public notice, and went by sea, southwards, to *Magdala*, on the confines of *Dalmanutha* ; where he had cured *Mary Magdalene*, who had been possessed with seven demons, Matt. xv. 39 ; Mark viii. 10 ; Luke viii. 2 ; Mark xvi. 9.

Here he was again assailed by those troublesome and malignant visitors, the *Pharisees*, from *Jerusalem*, reinforced by the *Sadducees*, who, though at variance, yet cordially conspired to compass his destruction. And *tempting* him, or disbelieving his power to give it, they required of him *the sign from heaven* of the prophet *Daniel*, to prove his *Messiahship* ; which he refused those *hypocrites*, as observed before, and gave them, for the last time, *the sign of the prophet Jonah*. Then he left them, and crossed the lake, and retired northwards into *Philip* the *Tetrarch's* territories, and went to *Cesarea Philippi*, near the springs of the *Jordan*, formerly called *Leshem*, Josh. xix. 47, and *Laish*, Judges xviii. 27, which *Philip* had rebuilt magnificently, and made it his residence, Matt. xvi. 1—13 ; Mark viii. 11—27.

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI.

While they were crossing the lake in their way thither, *Jesus* warned his disciples to beware of the *leaven*, or doctrine of the *Pharisees* or *Sadducees* ; as he explained it ; after rebuking them for their slowness of apprehension in understanding it literally, as if *he* could want to buy bread, after the two stupendous miracles of the loaves and fishes.

When they had reached the villages of *Cesarea Philippi*, He called on his disciples for an explicit profession of their faith, which they gave him, by their leader, *Peter*, "*Thou art THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD,*" Matt. xvi. 5—16 ; Mark viii. 13—21.

THE APOSTLES' PROFESSION OF FAITH.

In return for this noble and explicit profession, JESUS pronounced *Peter* "blessed," or "happy," in being favoured with a DIVINE revelation, which *flesh* and *blood*, or man, could not give him; and alluding to his surname, *Peter*, (*Πετρος*,) as belonging to THE ROCK *, CHRIST, (*τη Πετρον*,) promised that on "THIS ROCK," (pointing, we may presume, to himself,) *He would build his Church*; which should endure for ever, and *the gates of Hades should not prevail against it*, to destroy it. He then promised *Peter the keys of heaven*, as the first who should open the door of faith to both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. As *Peter* actually did on the day of *Pentecost*, Acts ii. 14—38; and to *Cornelius* afterwards, Acts x. 6, xv. 7. He also promised him the power of *binding and loosing*, or of declaring the terms of salvation; that *whatsoever things* (*ὅσα*) he should declare to be *lawful* or *unlawful*, on *earth*, should be ratified in *heaven*; and this privilege was extended to the rest of the *Apostles* afterwards, Matt. xviii. 18, and seems to correspond to the power of *remitting* and *retaining sins* in general, conferred on them jointly after our Lord's resurrection, John xx. 23, according to the Gospel terms of salvation; by which only, mankind shall be acquitted or condemned at the day of judgment. For the expression, *whosoever sins*, &c. (*αντινων*) is plural, relating to *men* in general; not singular, (*αντινος*,) as if to guard against *absolution of individuals*, practised by the Church of *Rome*. For "who hath power on earth to *forgive sins*" to individuals, but GOD and CHRIST alone? Mark ii. 5—10. This was a power never assumed by the *Apostles*: *Peter* himself exhorted *Simon Magus* to "*repent* of his wickedness, and *pray* to GOD for forgiveness," Acts viii. 22, but did not grant him *absolution*.

As *Peter*, on this occasion, was the foremost to give a noble

* *Peter* could not be the rock meant, according to the misinterpretation of the *Romanists*, from the difference of the Greek terms which OUR LORD probably used, *Πετρος*, and *Πετρον*. Nor his confession of faith, with some *Protestant* divines. CHRIST himself is THE ROCK, or main foundation, both of the *Jewish* and *Christian Church*, Deut. xxxii. 15; Psalm xviii. 31; *Isai.* xxviii. 16; 1 Cor. x. 4; 1 Cor. iii. 11. "The *Prophets* and the *Apostles*" were "the *architects*," or "master builders," who laid thereon the foundation stones of the edifice of the Church, of which CHRIST was also the chief corner stone, that bound together, and crowned the partition walls of the whole edifice, *Ephes.* ii. 20; 1 Cor. iii. 10; "the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the *beginning* and the *end* of the whole." See *Lightfoot* on Matt. xvi. 18.

specimen of his faith, and to gain a distinguished blessing, so was he the first to give a lamentable instance of his frailty, and to draw down on himself the severest censure.

Immediately after the foregoing profession, JESUS took occasion, for the first time, to warn his Apostles openly of his approaching *sufferings, death, and resurrection* on the *third day, at Jerusalem*. Shocked at this, *Peter*, taking him aside, began to rebuke him, saying, *GOD forbid*! this shall not happen to thee, LORD!* But Jesus turning, said to *Peter*, before the disciples, "*Begone from my sight, Satan, thou art an offence to me, for thou mindest not divine, but human things.*"

He then took occasion to correct their worldly-minded prejudices respecting the nature of his kingdom, informed them of the necessity of *self-denial*, and *taking up their cross* as his followers in this world; but that they must look to their reward in the next, at the *general judgment*, when he should come *in the glory of his Father, with his angels, to repay every one according to his practice*. And as an earnest thereof, he promised in the *life time* of some of the bystanders, to come in judgment on *Jerusalem*, as foretold by *Moses, the Prophets, and John the Baptist*, Matt. xvi. 21—28; Mark viii. 31—38, ix. 1; Luke ix. 22—27.

CHRIST'S TRANSFIGURATION.

For the fuller evidence of his Divine mission, and confirmation of their "faith, eight days after," (according to *Luke*,) or "six entire days," excluding the extremes, (according to *Matthew* and *Mark*,) JESUS took with him his three confidential disciples, *Peter, James, and John*, apart, to a high mountain, to pray; and while he was praying, he was *transfigured* before them. "His face shone as the sun, his garments became resplendent, white as the light, very white, as snow, such as no fuller on earth can whiten. And lo, two men, *Moses* and *Elijah*, appeared to them, conversing with Him; who also appeared in glory, and spoke of his *decease*, which he was to accomplish at *Jerusalem*. But *Peter* and his companions were [at first] oppressed with sleep, but being afterwards *thoroughly awake*, (*διαγρηγορησαντες*,) they saw his glory, and the two men standing

* Ἰλεως σοι, put elliptically for ἰλεως σοι γ ὁ Θεος, "God be merciful to thee," and forbid such an evil!

with him. And it came to pass, while they were departing from Him, *Peter* said to JESUS, LORD, *it is good for us to be here. If thou wilt, let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias*; not knowing what he said*, for they were *scared*. While he was yet speaking, lo a bright cloud overshadowed them, and they were *affrighted* on entering into the cloud; and a voice came from the cloud, saying, *This is MY SON, THE BELOVED, in whom I am well pleased. Hear ye him*. And when the disciples heard, they fell on their face, for they were *sore affrighted*. And JESUS came and *touched them*, and said, *Arise, and be not affrighted*. And when they lift up their eyes, they saw none, but JESUS only, with them."

Such is the collective account of this stupendous scene, furnished by the three Evangelists, Matt. xvii. 1—8, Mark ix. 2—8, Luke ix. 28—36; vouched also by two of the eye witnesses, *Peter*, 2 Pet. i. 16—18, and *John*, i. 14.

As they descended from the mountain, JESUS forbade them to mention the vision to any, until after his resurrection from the dead. And they observed his directions, but questioned among themselves, what "*the resurrection from the dead meant*."

Mount *Tabor*, in *Galilee*, is usually supposed to have been the scene of this wondrous transaction, in which JESUS unveiled a portion of his *divine glory*, even in *the flesh*, as the ONLY GENUINE SON OF GOD. But there is reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition. It seems rather to have been some mountain near *Cesarea Philippi*; for JESUS did not re-

* The faith of *Peter* seems to have been subjected to various paroxysms. On his public profession, it was raised to a great height; when CHRIST foretold his sufferings and death, he was offended, and it sunk. Now it rose again, at the sight of this glorious vision; when he was transported with rapture, and rashly proposed to make three tabernacles, for the worship of him and his two glorified companions, *Moses* and *Elijah*, "*not knowing what he said*," or the infinite superiority of CHRIST, as THE SON OF GOD, above *Moses* and *Elijah*, his *servants*, Heb. iii. 3—6, so signified, indeed, immediately after they had disappeared, by the voice from the cloud. Again it sunk to the lowest when JESUS was apprehended, and tried before the council; so that he even denied his LORD: but was pardoned upon his speedy repentance. Thus the *Apostles* themselves, as well as meaner Christians, had occasion frequently to cry, LORD, *encrease our faith!* Luke xvii. 5. Even theirs was not fully established till they received the *baptism of THE SPIRIT*, and became *regenerate*, on the day of *Pentecost*. Happy those believers, whose *faith* and *trust*, surmounting all obstacles and trials, is firmly and invariably built and secured upon THE ROCK, CHRIST, "*THE ROCK of ages*," THE SAME, *yesterday*, and *to-day*, and *for ever!* Matt. vii. 24, 25; Isai. xxvi. 4; John xiv. 1; Heb. i. 12, xiii. 8.

turn to *Galilee* until some time after this transaction, Matt. xvii. 22, Mark ix. 30. *Lightfoot* on Mark ix. 2, ingeniously conjectures, that it was the highest mountain of that country, according to *Josephus*, hanging over the springs of *Jordan*, at the foot of which *Cesarea Philippi* was built, which had been the scene of the early idolatry of the *Danites*, but now of the presence of the eternal Son of God.

CURE OF THE LUNATIC AND DEMONIAK.

During the absence of CHRIST and his three prime Apostles, a patient was brought to the rest, labouring under a complication of disorders, *deafness*, *dumbness*, *lunacy*, and *possession*, from his infancy, but they could not cure him, for want of faith, to work the miracle; and when he returned from the mountain next day, he saw a great multitude about them, and *the Scribes*, as usual, questioning with them, and scoffing at them for their failure.

And when the multitude saw him, they were *excessively amazed* (ἐξεθαμβήθη), probably because his face and raiment still shone after his transfiguration †, like the face of *Moses* after his descent from Mount *Sinai*, Exod. xxxiv. 29—35; still they ran to salute him. JESUS then asked *the Scribes about what they were questioning his disciples?* Upon this, the father of the sick child came out of the crowd, fell at his knees, and besought him to cure his son, whom he had brought during his absence, and applied to his disciples to cure, but they could not.

JESUS answered, “*O faithless and perverse generation! how long shall I be with you? how long shall I bear with you?*”—or, How long shall I endure your *obstinate infidelity?*—The edge of this rebuke seems to have been principally levelled against *the Scribes*, yet the *Disciples* escaped not altogether untouched. Then said he to the father, “*Bring hither thy Son,*” and they brought him in the agony of a violent convulsion. The father, considering the case as well nigh desperate, said, *If thou art able [to do] any [thing,] assist us, and have tender compassion on us.* JESUS said unto him, “*If thou art able to believe, [I am able:] all things are possible [to be done] for him that*

* This supposition, Mark ix. 15, is warranted by the application of the same verb to the women who saw the *second angel* in OUR LORD'S tomb. Mark xvi. 5, ἐκθαμβεομαι marks a higher expression of fear and astonishment than φοβεομαι, Matt. xxviii. 5, when they saw the *first angel*.

believeth; and immediately the father of the child cried out with tears, *I do believe, LORD, help thou mine unbelief!*"

JESUS then seeing the crowd closing together upon him from every part, rebuked the impure spirit, and said, *Thou deaf and dumb spirit, I order thee to come out of him, and enter no more into him.* And the *demoniacal spirit*, having screamed, and rent him sorely, came out of him, and left him for dead, so that many said he was dead; but JESUS, taking him by the hand, raised him, and cured the child from that hour, and delivered him to his father. And *all were struck with astonishment at the mighty power of GOD*, Matt. xvii. 14—21; Mark ix. 14—29, Luke ix. 37—43.

CHRIST RETURNS TO GALILEE.

Immediately after this signal miracle, JESUS left *Cesarea Philippi*, and returned to *Galilee* privately, where he appears to have remained till the ensuing feast of *tabernacles*, about the beginning of autumn. On the way, he took occasion, a second time, to inform his disciples more particularly of his approaching *sufferings, death, and resurrection* on the *third day*. And they were greatly grieved, but they understood not the saying of his resurrection, for it was hidden from them, but they feared to enquire of him its meaning, Matt. xvii. 22, 23, Mark ix. 30—32, Luke ix. 43—45.

MIRACULOUS SUPPLY OF THE TRIBUTE MONEY.

When they had reached *Capernaum*, the tax-gatherers of *Herod* and of *Pontius Pilate*, the Roman governor, (the former for *Galilee*, the latter for *Judea* and *Samaria*,) came to enquire before hand from his disciples, *whether their master was disposed to pay the capitation tax of two drachmas* *? suspecting

* The exact frugality of this *miracle* and *prophecy* combined, still more surprizing than the superfluity of the *loaves* and *fishes*, has been greatly obscured by our translators, for want of retaining, or paraphrasing the *technical* terms of the original, and mistaken by most commentators, supposing that it was the capitation tax of *half a shekel* for each of the congregation of *Israel*, above twenty years old, prescribed by the law of *Moses*, for sacred uses, Exod. xxx. 13. Two Greek *drachmas*, or two Roman *denarii*, equal to *half a shekel*, (about *fifteen pence* of our currency,) was the "*census*" here mentioned, or the capitation tax paid to *Cæsar*, Matt. xxii. 17. And the sameness of the amount probably occasions this confusion of the *Roman* with the *sacred* tax. The *stater* was an *Attic* silver coin, equal in value to the *sacred shekel*, four *drachmas*, or four

that, as the reputed MESSIAH, he would revolt against it, like *Judas of Galilee*, and the *zealots* of his party, in the days of the *taxing*, Acts v. 37. *Peter*, knowing his Master's principles of obedience to the ruling powers, answered "yes," and went into the house to inform him. But JESUS prevented, or anticipated him, by a pertinent question: "*What thinkest thou, Simon? From whom do the kings of the land take tribute, or census? From their own children, or from strangers?*" *Peter* answered, From *strangers*. JESUS saith unto him, Then are *the children* free. Thus intimating that as THE CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, the true sovereign of the land under the THEOCRACY, He and his disciples were exempt. "*Nevertheless,*" proceeded he, "*that we may not offend them, (Herod and Pontius Pilate,)* Go thou to the sea, cast a hook, and take up the fish that riseth first, open his mouth, and thou shalt find a *stater*. That take, and give them (the publicans), for me and thee." This miracle is recorded only by *Matthew*, the publican, xvii. 24—27.

AMBITION OF THE DISCIPLES.

The distinguished favour which JESUS had lately shewn to *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and the glorious scene of the *Transfiguration*, which they only had witnessed, seems to have awakened their ambition. This produced a debate among them, in the way to *Capernaum*, *which of them should be greatest* in the glorious kingdom, which they expected CHRIST would shortly establish, in which *Peter*, the most forward, and the bro-

denarii, and the precise amount, therefore, of the tax for two persons, OUR LORD and *Peter*.

Why JESUS chose to pay it rather in this coin than in the *Jewish* or *Roman*, may perhaps be conjectured to have arisen from the description of "the *stater*, which on one side had *Minerva's* face, on the other her *owl*." See *Hesychius*, Art. Παλλαδος προσωπον. But *Pallas*, or *Minerva*, was the heathen goddess of WISDOM, the spurious representative of OUR LORD himself. The *stater*, therefore, bore "*his image*," and He reclaimed it as his own coin.

It is strange how so respectable a commentator as *Gilpin*, in his *New Testament*, could so greatly undervalue this signal and most astonishing miracle, evincing that CHRIST was LORD of *the creation*, as to "rank it among those of the *lowest* class.—A miracle adapted to *fishermen*, which might tend greatly to increase their faith!"—Or thus fancifully and irreverently account for it: "It would be difficult to say *how* JESUS could with *more propriety* have obtained a supply; if he had *created* it on the spot, it might have had the appearance of a sort of *legerdemain*; or it might have laid him open to the accusation of *counterfeiting* the current coin of the country!" "*The kings of the land*" were "*Herod and Pontius Pilate*," Acts iv. 26, 27.

thers *James* and *John*, the most violent of the disciples, appear to have taken the lead, and from the ensuing application of their mother, that they should sit *the one on his right hand, and the other on his left*, in his kingdom, or be made his prime ministers, which excited the indignation of the rest, Matt. xx. 20—24, it is likely the contest was chiefly between *them* and *Peter*, for he was foremost to state the claims of the Disciples in general, and certainly did not undervalue his own in particular, Matt. xix. 17.

At first they had confined the dispute to themselves, and were silent, or ashamed to avow it, when JESUS enquired into the subject, and checked it, by saying, “*If any of you wish to be chief, let him be last of all, and minister of all,*” Mark ix. 33—35, Luke ix. 46, 47.

Soon after it broke out afresh, and the whole set came to JESUS to decide the point, *which of them should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?*

To correct their ambitious views in general, and instruct them by example, JESUS called to him a *little child*, and set him in the midst, beside himself, and said, “*Unless ye be converted, and become as little children, [in their leading characteristics of humility, simplicity, innocency, and docility,] ye shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven.*” Thus sensibly illustrating to them the figurative nature of that “*new birth,*” which he had more briefly stated to *Nicodemus*, as an indispensable requisite for admission; of which the principal ingredient was *humility*. “*Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, he shall be greatest in the kingdom of heaven,*” Matt. xviii. 1—5, Mark ix. 36, 37, Luke ix. 47, 48.

He then repressed the officious zeal of *John*, who had forbidden an exorcist to cast out *demons* in the name of JESUS, because he was not of their company; by observing, that such a person must be a friend, and not an enemy. *He that is not against us, is for us*, Mark ix. 38—40, Luke ix. 49, 50.

This led him to warn them against *offending* one of the least of his disciples, by *despising* or *ill-treating* them. For 1. It would draw down on them the heaviest doom. 2. That the least were objects of God’s care and compassion. 3. That his Apostles especially, were required to be *converted*, and to cast away their ruling passions, though dear to them as a *right hand* or a *right eye*, under pain of *hell fire*; because they were to be

the salt of the world, ordained to season it with their sound doctrines, and discipline it by their good examples, Matt. xviii. 6—14, Mark ix. 42—50.

He then proceeded to give them rules for their conduct towards *offenders*. 1. To admonish the offender prudently, in private; not to expose him. 2. If he would not listen to reason, to state the offence between two or three witnesses, and call on him for reparation. 3. If these gentle methods failed of converting him, then to complain to the church or congregation to which they belonged; and 4. If he refused to submit to the authority of the Church, then to hold no intercourse with him. *Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican*, Matt. xviii. 15—17.

But if the offender *repented*, they were bound to *forgive him heartily* his trifling offences towards them, as they hoped for forgiveness of their heinous offences towards GOD, upon their sincere repentance; as illustrated in the parable of the *debtors*, the one who owed his lord the immense sum of *ten thousand talents*, the other, who owed his fellow-servant *one hundred denarii*, with which this interesting conversation concludes, Matt. xviii. 21—35.

In the parable of the *Labourers in the Vineyard*, hired at different hours of the day, and all paid alike their stated wages, our LORD appears to have resumed the subject, and to have given a further check to the *pride* of the *first-called disciples*, setting themselves above, and undervaluing the *last-called*; after he had informed the claimant, *Peter*, that the “*twelve Apostles* in the *regeneration*, should *sit on twelve thrones, judging*, or instructing, *the twelve tribes of Israel*,” Matt. xix. 28—30, xx. 1—16. This seems to be the chief drift of the parable; which is usually applied to the *Jews*, murmuring at the admission of the *Gentiles* into the Gospel covenant, but rather, perhaps, irrelevantly.

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

Not yet believing the *spiritual* nature of his kingdom, his *brethren*, or kinsmen, who had, at the last, become his disciples, and expected promotion, not less than the rest, advised him to exhibit his miracles in *Judea*, as a more public theatre than the despised *Galilee*; but he rebuked them for their worldly mind-*edness* and ostentation, and refused to accompany them to the

feast; but he afterwards followed them privately, and came to *Jerusalem*, in the middle of the festival week, and taught openly in the temple, John vii. 1—14.

Astonished at his doctrine, the unbelieving *Jews* said, "*How understandeth this man learning, not having been educated?*" JESUS answered, "*My doctrine is not my own,*" or acquired by human education, "*but HIS that sent me;*" for it is immediately inspired by GOD. "*Whosoever is desirous to do his will,*" with an honest and good heart, "*shall understand concerning my doctrine, whether it be from GOD, or whether I speak from myself;*" for GOD will enlighten his mind to form a right judgment of its *divine* origin; as he had signified to them before, (John vi. 44, 45,) ver. 15, 18.

He then entered into a further vindication of the miracle of curing the cripple at *Bethesda*, on the Sabbath, which had given them so much "surprise," or offence, that they sought to kill him, at the second passover; by stating the case of *circumcision*, which they themselves performed on the *sabbath day*, in obedience to the law. "*Why then,*" said he, "*are ye angry with me, for healing a man on the sabbath day?* Judge not according to appearance, judge upright judgment," ver. 19—24.

Still the old objection returned, "*We know this man whence he is, his birth-place and parentage; but when CHRIST cometh, none knoweth whence he is.*"

JESUS replied, "*Do ye know me, and whence I am?*" intimating the reverse. "*Yet I am not come of myself, but HE that sent me is TRUE; whom ye know not. But I know HIM, because I am from Him; and He hath sent me.*—Many then of the multitude believed on him, and said, *When THE CHRIST cometh, will he do more miracles than this man hath done?*" ver. 27—31.

Alarmed at his encreasing popularity, the *Pharisees* and chief *priests* sent officers to apprehend him. JESUS knowing this, intimated his approaching decease: "*Yet a little while and I am with you; but I am about to withdraw unto the FATHER. Ye shall seek me, but shall not find me; for whither I go ye cannot come.*"

The *Jews*, not understanding this, said among themselves, "*Whither is he going to depart, that we shall not find him?* Is he going to depart to the dispersion of the *Greeks*, to teach the *Greeks?*"—or the *Jewish* colonies, settled in *Pontus*, *Gala-*

tia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, by the kings of *Syria*, 1 Pet. i. 1. See the foregoing period, ver. 32—36.

On the last, and the great day of the feast, JESUS avowed himself to be THE CHRIST more explicitly, by applying to himself the prophetic invitation of CHRIST in *Isaiah*, “*Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters;*” lv. 1, which was usually repeated by the priests on that day, when they drew water from the fountain of *Shiloh*, or with a Greek termination, *Siloam*, to be poured out as a libation to GOD, in the temple, for a memorial of the miraculous supply of water in the wilderness: for he said, “*If any thirst, let him come unto me, [the true fountain of Siloam, Isai. viii. 6,] and drink;*” adding, “*He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow [streams] of living water; as saith the Scripture.*” This he said in allusion to the *copious effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT* on the *first fruits* of the Christian Church, at the ensuing *Pentecost*, after his ascension in *glory*, foretold by the Prophets, especially *Joel*, ii. 28, 29, and cited by *Peter*, Acts ii. 16, 18. Ver. 37—39.

The grace and dignity of his discourse, persuaded many of the people that He was indeed *the prophet* like *Moses*, whom they expected. Even the officers sent to apprehend him, were charmed; they could not execute their commission, and pleaded in excuse, before the council, *never man spake like this man!* ver. 40—49.

There was a *schism*, however, among the people, because he came from *Galilee*, and was supposed to have been born at *Nazareth*, whereas they contended that CHRIST was to be of the house of *David*, and born at *Bethlehem*, according to *Micah's* prophecy, ver. 2. Nor were they unanimous even in their council. *Nicodemus* boldly censured their proceedings, in condemning JESUS without trial, as illegal. But they reproached him with being a disciple of the *Galilean*, and even asserted that no prophet had arisen from *Galilee*; blinded by passion, and not recollecting *Jonah*. At this time, however, they broke up, without coming to any determination against him, ver. 43—53.

THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.

JESUS retired that evening to *Bethany*, where he lodged, and returned early next morning to the temple, and taught the people, who all assembled early to hear him. But he was soon

interrupted by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who “*tempting him,*” brought a guilty adulteress before him, *taken in the fact*; and not improbably, in the courts of the temple itself, which were usually converted into a scene of revelry, the last night of the feast of *Tabernacles*; respectfully in appearance, requesting his decision as “*a teacher,*” whether she should be *stoned*, in obedience to the law of *Moses*, or not? Deut. xxii. 22—24; designing, if he condemned her, to accuse him to the *Roman* government, for invading their prerogative of inflicting *capital* punishment, which was now taken away from the *Jews*, John xviii. 31; or if he declined, to injure his character with the people, as encouraging a breach of the law.

From this dangerous dilemma, our Saviour extricated himself with wonderful address, and to the utter confusion of his adversaries. Giving them no answer, *He stooped down, and wrote with his finger on the ground*; and when they pressed him for a decision, he raised himself up, and pronounced, *Let him that is guiltless among you cast the first stone at her*. And again *he stooped down and wrote on the ground*; but they, when they heard, *being convicted by their own consciences*, withdrew one by one, beginning from the eldest to the last; until JESUS was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When JESUS had raised himself up, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, *Woman, where are those thine accusers? Hath no one [legally] condemned thee?* She said, *No one, LORD*. He saith unto her, *Neither do I [legally] condemn thee. Go, and sin no more*, John viii. 1—11.

This mysterious action of OUR LORD, twice repeated, was designed, perhaps, the first time, to record the *sins of the woman*, and afterwards, *the sins of her accusers*, in the symbolical language of prophecy:

“O LORD, all that forsake THEE shall be ashamed,
They that depart from THEE * shall be written in the earth;
Because they have forsaken THE LORD,
The fountain of living waters,” Jer. xvii. 13.

To be “*written in the earth,*” denotes, *not to be registered in heaven*, nor *in the book of life*, like his true disciples, Luke x. 20. Nothing, surely, could be more apposite to both, than such

* This reading, instead of “*Me,*” and the rendering of the whole passage, is supported by all the ancient versions, and required by the context.

an awful prophecy; which, like *the hand writing on the wall*, if traced in the dust, might well confound and appal the guilty readers. The former writing on the ground, might have recorded the *woman's* guilt, as explained by our Lord's decision, *Let him that is without sin, &c.* while the latter writing might have recorded that of the *informers* themselves; as interpreted by their conduct in retiring. Indeed, if we suppose that the writing, in the latter case, especially, was legible to them, which is not improbable, no wonder that "*they were ashamed,*" and "*convicted by their own consciences,*" when thus probed to the quick, and standing in the presence of HIM who had declared himself, the day before, "*the fountain of living waters;*" whom they had so grievously and notoriously "*forsaken*" and *apostatized* from. Our gracious LORD, however, finding that the woman had not been *legally* condemned, did not assume the office of a *judge*, which he elsewhere declined, Luke xii. 14; "*Neither do I condemn thee;*" but he recognized her crime in her dismissal; "*Go, and sin no more.*" Never was there a triumph more complete; these *sanctified sinners* and *hypocrites* were self-convicted, confounded, and disgraced before the multitude.

It is truly remarkable, that at this period *adulterers* were become so numerous, that by the advice of *Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai*, the practice of trying women suspected of adultery, by the *waters of jealousy*, according to the law, Numb. v. 12—31, was abolished; the trial being only effectual when the husband was guiltless himself; according to the rabbinical comment*. And the abolition was grounded upon a perversion of prophecy: "*I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your spouses when they commit adultery,*" Hos. iv. 14. See *Lightfoot's Works*, Vol. II. p. 563, 1080. When our Lord, therefore, styled the *Jews* of his age "*an adulterous generation,*" it was true both carnally and spiritually.

In a subsequent conversation in the temple, OUR LORD asserted still more plainly, 1. His descent from heaven, and return to GOD, *his Father*, after they should *set up*, or crucify him. 2. His spotless purity, in *doing always those things that please* GOD; and indignant appeal to his innocence, and de-

* "If ye be *adulterers* yourselves, the *bitter waters* will not try your wives." *Bemidbar Rabba*, p. 235.

fiance of his accusers, *which of you convicteth me of sin?* 3. That they were of their father *the Devil*, whose works they did and would do, as murderers, liars, and unbelievers; and unlike *Abraham*, in whom they boasted as their father, who believed in *CHRIST*, longed to see his day, and saw it in prophetic vision, and was glad. 4. He stated his own pre-existence as "*THE GOD of Abraham*," *Exod. iii. 14—16*, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, *Before Abraham was born, I AM.*" Then they attempted to stone him for his supposed blasphemy; but he made himself invisible, and went out of the temple, passing through the midst of them, *John viii. 12—59*.

SIGHT GIVEN TO THE MAN BORN BLIND.

This most significant and characteristic miracle, and the most fully examined and authenticated by his enemies, the *Jewish council*, demonstrated their blindness and infatuation, in the strongest light, and left them without excuse for their obstinate rejection of *CHRIST*. It is therefore detailed most circumstantially by the Evangelist, chap. ix.

1. The inquiry of the disciples, "*Rabbi, which sinned, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?*" was founded on their prejudices, that *disease* of every kind was intended as a *punishment of sin*: which indeed, *OUR LORD* himself seemed to have supported, in remitting *the sins* of the cripple at *Bethesda*, *John v. 14*; he might, they thought, have been punished either for the sins of "*his parents*," or for "*his own*," in a former body; for that they held the *transmigration* of souls, is evident from *Herod's* supposition, that *John the Baptist*, whom he slew, might have revived in *JESUS*, *Matt. xiv. 2*. But *OUR LORD* corrected their mistake, by stating that this man's malady was not designed as a *punishment* for either, but as an *instrument of God's glory* in the hands of *CHRIST*, who was sent into the world for that purpose, during the short period of his mission, ver. 1—5. And *the giving sight to the blind*, was one of the characteristic miracles of *CHRIST*, *Isai. xxxv. 5*, which made the *Pharisees* so desirous of disproving it, and denying its consequence.

2. The circumstances of the miracle were also remarkably significant; 1. the *anointing* his eyes with clay, of the *MESSEAH*, or *CHRIST*, (signifying "*anointed*;") 2. sending him to the Pool of *Siloam*, signifying "*sent*," which was emblematical

also of CHRIST, as the SHILOH of *Jacob's* prophecy, the peculiar "APOSTLE of the *Hebrews*;" and "the fountain of living waters," Gen. xlix. 10, Heb. iii. 1, Isai. ix. 6, Jer. xvii. 13. The account of the cure is remarkable for its energetic brevity. "He departed, and washed, and returned, seeing*," ver. 6, 7.

2. This miracle was performed on the *sabbath day*. And the supposed breach of the sabbath, counteracting the natural operation of the stupendous miracle, produced a *schism* among the *Pharisees* respecting JESUS; some believing his divine mission, others not. But the latter party, the bigots, prevailed in the council. So after they had repeatedly examined the man himself respecting his cure, and also his parents, to prove his identity; when the man would not "*glorify God*," as they required him, by ingenuously confessing the truth, (like *Achan*, Josh. vii. 18, 19,) and admitting that JESUS was a *sinner*, for this supposed breach of the sabbath; but full of that noble and undaunted spirit, which truth and gratitude inspire, boldly answered, "*Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not whence he is; and yet he opened mine eyes! we know that GOD heareth not sinners; but if any one be a worshipper of God, and do his will, him he heareth. From the beginning of the world was it not heard, that any one opened the eyes of one born blind. If this person was not from GOD, he could do nothing.*"

What answer did the council make to this honest and spirited reply? That which bigotry and prejudice always oppose when confuted; "Thou wast altogether *born in sin* †, and dost thou teach us! and they *excommunicated him*," ver. 13—34.

JESUS hearing this, found the man, and asked him, *Dost thou believe in the SON of GOD?* He answered, Who is he, LORD, that I might believe in Him? Jesus said, *I, your benefactor, am he* ‡. Then he answered, *I do believe, LORD*, and he worshipped him. Here was a remarkable instance of *religious* worship, given to, and accepted by CHRIST, ver. 35—38.

In a subsequent conversation with the *Jews*, JESUS said,

* The man's description of the rapidity of his cure, in the original, *απελθων δε και νψαμενος, ανεβλεψα*, ver. 11, rivals *Cæsar's*, of the rapidity of his victory, so admired by classical readers, *veni, vidi, vici*.

† This reproach proceeded from the same general principle that occasioned the enquiry of the disciples before, ver. 2.

‡ So *Gilpin* excellently explains our Lord's answer: "*Thou hast both seen him, and the person speaking with thee is he*," John ix. 37.

evidently alluding to this miracle, and its different effects on the people, and on their rulers; "For *discrimination* (*κριμα*), am I come into this world, that they who *see not*, [through ignorance,] might see; and that they who *see*, [or think they see, through pride or prejudice,] *might become blind*." Some of the *Pharisees* who heard these words, immediately applied them to themselves, and said, *Are we blind also?* JESUS answered, "If ye were blind, [through ignorance,] ye would not have sin; but now ye say, *We see*, [blinded by your pride and prejudice,] *therefore your sin remaineth*," because ye *wilfully* shut your eyes against the light of Truth, ver. 39—41.

OUR LORD then proceeded, with severity, to contrast his teaching with former pretenders, *Judas of Galilee*, &c. calling himself the *good Shepherd*, the true *door* of admittance into the sheepfold, or the only way to salvation; while they were no better than *false shepherds*, *hirelings*, *thieves*, and *robbers*, who neglected, or pillaged the flock, or basely left it to be destroyed by wolves. 2. That he came freely to lay down his life for the sheep*, [and to resume it again, by the divine grant,] and 3. not only for this fold, but also for other folds, the *Gentiles*; that *all*, in the fulness of time, *might become one fold, under one Shepherd*, Himself, John x. 1—18.

This *enigmatical* speech was not understood at that time by the people, among whom the *schism* respecting him still continued, ver. 19—21.

Shortly after this feast of *Tabernacles*, JESUS returned again to *Galilee*, about *autumn*.

THIRD RETURN TO GALILEE.

JESUS did not long remain in *Galilee* after his return. Having completed his ministry there, when the days of his *ascension* drew nigh, he devoted the remainder of his time to the instruction of *Samaria* and *Judea*, and the rest of the *Holy Land*; and *steadily set his face* to quit *Galilee*, where he had

* This passage may be more closely rendered thus: "I am the good shepherd: I both know my own, and am known by them: (even as the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father,) and I lay down my life for the sheep," John x. 14, 15. The English Testament has given an incorrect and disjointed rendering: separating the illustration from the 14th verse, to which it belonged, and attaching it to the 15th. *Perperam antea distinctus fuit hic versiculus. Beza.* The translators should here have followed him.

so many friends, and *go towards Jerusalem*, to encounter enemies, Luke ix. 51, Matt. xix. 1, Mark x. 1.

And now laying aside all reserve, he proceeded thither, not as before, in private, at the feast of *Tabernacles*, but in public, unto the ensuing feast of *Dedication*, in *winter*, which he meant to attend openly, John x. 22.

CHRIST VISITS SAMARIA.

On his former visit, CHRIST only spent two days with the hospitable *Samaritans* of *Sychar*, but now designing to make some stay among them, he sent messengers before his face to a *Samaritan* village, to make preparation for him. But when they understood that he was on his way to *Jerusalem*, they refused to entertain him. Provoked at this inhospitality, *James* and *John* demanded permission to call down fire from heaven, like *Elijah*, to destroy them. But JESUS turned and rebuked them, saying, "*Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of;*"—yours is hostile to the spirit of the GOSPEL;—"for THE SON OF MAN came not to *destroy men's lives*, but to *save*. And they [meekly] departed to another village." In his progress through *Samaria*, OUR LORD probably made disciples; as we may collect from two instances noticed by *Luke*, ix. 52—62, to whom we owe this short account of his ministry in *Samaria*.

SEVENTY DISCIPLES SENT TO PREACH.

During our Lord's stay in *Samaria*, he sent forth *seventy disciples*, in succession to *the Apostles*, as his immediate harbingers, to proclaim, in pairs, his approach, unto the several cities and places which he meant to visit in his way to *Jerusalem*. This was a special notification to those cities, "*The KINGDOM OF GOD is approaching unto you,*" more confined in its range, than the former, by the Apostles. And the disciples were required to make no delay, "*Salute no one by the way,*" see 2 Kings iv. 29, because the *Jewish* salutations were remarkably tedious. In other respects, the two commissions were nearly the same; and this began with a similar exhortation to the disciples:

"*The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the labourers few; pray ye therefore THE LORD OF THE HARVEST, that he would speedily send forth, (εκβαλλη,) labourers into his harvest.*" This second commission we learn only from the Evangelist

Luke, x. 1—16. This number was probably chosen in imitation of the *seventy elders* of *Israel*, *Exod.* xxiv. 9.

After executing their commission, which required no long time, distributed among so many, the seventy returned again, with joy, and said, "LORD, *even the demons are subject to us, in thy name*," *Luke* x. 17.

Here OUR LORD, anticipating the future triumph of the GOSPEL over the *powers of darkness*, said, "I beheld *Satan fallen* *, (*πεσοντα*), like lightning, *from heaven*." This interpretation seems to be confirmed by OUR LORD'S subsequent declaration, "Now is the *judgment* of this world; now shall *the ruler of this world* be *utterly expelled*," (*εκβληθησεται εξω*), *John* xii. 31, and also by the enlargement of their commission:

"Lo, I give you authority to trample upon *serpents* and *scorpions*, and upon *all the power of the enemy* †, (*Satan*), and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that *the spirits* are subject unto you; but *rejoice*, rather, that *your names are written in heaven*;"—by a glorious contrast with those that are "*written on earth*," ver. 18—20.

In the same hour JESUS *exulted in spirit*, and said, "I thank thee, O FATHER ‡, LORD OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, that thou hast *hid these* [mysteries] from *the wise* [in their own eyes,] and *prudent* [in their own sight, *Isai.* v. 21,] and hast *revealed* them to *babes* [in humility, and docility:] yea, *because* [thou art] THE FATHER ‡, *thus was it well-pleasing in thy sight*," (*Matt.* xi. 25, 26, *Luke* x. 21.)

These mysteries, respecting the nature of THE FATHER and of THE SON, and the *universal authority* committed to THE SON, and revealed to his disciples only, are next stated:

"*All things were committed to me by MY FATHER*: and

* The participle *πεσων*, is properly *future*, *Matt.* iv. 9, xxi. 44, *Luke* xx. 18, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 25, &c. but here, by an elegant anticipation, is considered as *past*; like *Mark* ix. 20, *Luke* v. 12, viii. 14—41, as distinguished from the *present*, *πιπτων*, *Luke* xvi. 21.

† This was a prophetic privilege of the MESSIAH. "Thou shalt tread upon *the lion* and *adder*, the *young lion* and *dragon* shalt thou trample under thy feet," *Psalms* xci. 13, derived from the first covenant, *Gen.* iii. 15.

‡ *Πατερ* is the vocative case, "O FATHER;" but *ὁ Πατηρ*, afterwards, the nominative, "THE FATHER;" which surely is not to be confounded with the preceding. The latter seems to be elliptical, put for *ὁ Πατηρ οτι [σου ει] οὕτως εγενετο ευδοκια εμπροσθεν σου*; assigning as a reason, that "*such was his good pleasure*," "because *He was THE FATHER OF ALL*;" and would distinguish his worthy from his unworthy children. The same ellipsis occurs *John* xx. 28, [*Συ ει*] *ὁ κυριως μου, και ὁ θεος μου*, "[*Thou art*] MY LORD and MY GOD."

none knoweth who THE SON is, but the Father; and who THE FATHER is, but the Son; and he, to whom THE SON may be willing to reveal [both,] ver. 21, 22. Then turning aside to his disciples, he said, "Blessed are the eyes which behold what ye behold: for I say unto you, that many *prophets* and *kings* wished to see what ye behold, and did not see, and to hear what ye hear, and did not hear," ver. 23, 24,—to see the *miracles*, and hear the *doctrine* of CHRIST.

It is remarkable that our blessed LORD broke forth into the same rapturous expression of praise and thanksgiving to GOD, upon the former occasion also of the return of the twelve *Apostles* from executing their commission, Matt. xi. 25—27*. And well may *Christians* of the present day, "*blessed*" with the glorious light of THE GOSPEL, who "*have not seen, yet have believed*" in CHRIST, as "*THEIR LORD and THEIR GOD,*" (John xx. 29,) express their exultation and gratitude to GOD and CHRIST, in the similar language of the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*:

"O the *depth of the riches* both of the *wisdom* and *knowledge* of GOD [THE FATHER:] *How unsearchable his judgments, and untraceable his ways!*" Rom. xi. 33. "Who, *now*, hath revealed to his saints, the *mystery* which was *hid* from the *ages*, and from the *generations* [*past,*]" Col. i. 26—"of GOD in CHRIST, *reconciling the world unto Himself,*" 2 Cor. v. 19; that "*great mystery of Godliness*: GOD [THE SON] manifested in the *flesh*, justified by THE SPIRIT, seen by *angels*, preached among *Gentiles*, believed in by *the world*, taken up in *glory!*" 1 Tim. iii. 16. "In whom are *hid all the treasures* of *wisdom* and *knowledge!*" Col. ii. 2, 3. To WHOM, with the FATHER, be *glory* and *dominion*, for ever and ever. Amen!

CHRIST VISITS JUDEA.

This interesting conversation appears to have taken place after JESUS had left *Samaria*, and gone into *Judea*, where the seventy found him on their return, proceeding on his way to *Bethany*, Luke x. 38. But a *Jewish* scribe, or doctor of the law, who was present thereat, having heard OUR LORD'S reply

* The only difference between the two Evangelists is, that *Matthew* says οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱόν, &c. "*None intimately knoweth THE SON,*" &c. (the compound verb being *intensitive*, 2 Cor. vi. 9,) and *Luke*, in explanation thereof, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός, &c. "*None knoweth the nature of THE SON,*" &c.

to the seventy, and his thanksgiving, and ranking himself probably among "the *wise* and *prudent*," whose ignorance of the divine mysteries had been noticed, took offence thereat, and "*tempting* him," determined to try his knowledge of the law, with the insidious design, perhaps, to accuse him of *heresy*, if he should answer contrary to the decision of the doctors. He proposed, therefore, as a leading question, "*Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?*" JESUS, alluding to his profession, said, "What is written in the law, how readest thou?" He answered by repeating the first great commandments of the law, the *love of God*, and the *love of our neighbour*. Our Lord commended him for answering rightly, and told him that the observance of these would procure him eternal life. "But *he wishing to justify himself*," in a narrow interpretation of the word "*neighbour*," which the Scribes confined to their own countrymen, the *Jews*, in exclusion of the *Samaritans* and of *heathens*; again asked, "*And who is my neighbour?*"—This was a nice and delicate question; a direct answer to which might have committed our Lord with the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. He therefore veiled his answer in the

PARABLE OF THE HUMANE SAMARITAN.

This most instructive parable might have been founded in fact. It represents a *Jewish* traveller who was robbed and wounded by banditti, on the road from *Jerusalem* to *Jericho*, through the desert, which, from the frequency of the murders committed thereon, was called *the bloody way*. This *Jew* was left half dead on the road, and was passed by unheeded, first by a *priest*, and then by a *Levite*, (many of whom resided at *Jericho*,) until a *Samaritan* passenger took compassion on him, dressed his wounds with oil and wine, set him on his beast, brought him to an inn, and took care of him, and even left money with the host for his support, with a promise of repaying any further expense that might be incurred, on his return. Our Lord then left the Scribe to decide which of the three, the *priest*, the *Levite*, or the *Samaritan*, was neighbour to the wounded *Jew*? and when he could not avoid deciding in favour of the last, "*He that shewed mercy on him*," JESUS directly pointed the application to himself, "*Go, and do thou likewise*," and for the future, count the despised *Samaritan* your neigh-

bour, which hitherto you have not done. He departed, therefore, *censured* rather than *justified*.

From this admirable parable we learn the true, enlarged, and *Christian* import of the word "*neighbour*;" any person with whom we have any concern or dealings, in the usual intercourse of society, however different he may be from us in *country* or *tribe*, *religion*, or *sect**. This also is in the true spirit of the *Mosaical law*, (see the foregoing article,) and also of the *patriarchal*, as expressed in the *Latin* aphorism,

Homo sum ; nihil humani a me alienum puto.

"I am a man ; I count no human being an alien."

Such too was the *Hindu* ; "Whether this person be of my *tribe* or of another, is a consideration of the *narrow-minded*, but that of the *noble-minded* is to hold all the world related to them." See *Pancha Tantra*, or "five explanations of their morality."

MARTHA AND MARY.

In his progress through *Judea*, our Lord was entertained at the village of *Bethany*, near *Jerusalem*, by the sisters of *Lazarus*. *Martha*, the elder, as mistress of the house, *was cumbered with much serving*, or busied in preparing for the entertainment of their illustrious guest, while *Mary*, the younger, was sitting at the feet of JESUS, in the posture of a disciple, listening to his heavenly conversation. Jealous at this, *Martha* said, LORD *carest thou not that my sister hath left me to serve alone ; bid her then to assist me*. But he repressed her domestic cares with a gentle and affectionate rebuke ; "*Martha, Martha, thou art careful, and troubled about many things, but one thing is needful, [the care of the soul ;] and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her,*" Luke x. 38—42. This pious and hospitable family were honoured with the friendship of OUR LORD, John xi. 5.

The Evangelist *Luke* has recorded several of OUR LORD'S *sayings, doctrines, parables, and miracles*, in the course of this

* Thus our *evangelical Liturgy* prays, that "God would have mercy upon all *Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics*, and take from them all *ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of his word*, and so fetch them home to his flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the *true Israelites*, and be made one fold under one Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD." *Easter Collect*.

circuit from *Galilee* and *Samaria* through *Judea*, xiii. 22, xvii. 11, to *Jerusalem*, xiii. 34, omitted by the other Evangelists, in a miscellaneous form, without exact attention to time or place, from chap. xi. to xviii. 14*. If inserted here, these chapters harmonize most easily and naturally with the rest.

THE FEAST OF DEDICATION.

This festival was instituted by *Judas Maccabæus*, to record the *new dedication* (εγκαίνια) of the temple, after he had purged it from the profanation of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, on the 25th of the ninth month, *Casleu*, near the *winter* solstice, 1 Mac. iv. 59, John x. 22. JESUS, all whose actions were significant, closed his circuit, by honouring this festival, though of human institution, with his presence, as typical, perhaps, of that

* The principal contents of these chapters, unnoticed by other Evangelists, are

CHAP.	VER.
XI. Perseverance in <i>prayer</i> recommended	5—13
Woes to the <i>Pharisees</i> and <i>Scribes</i>	37—54
XII. Warning against <i>hypocrisy</i>	1, 2
———— against <i>covetousness</i>	15—21
XIII. Repentance recommended to the Jews, and parable of the <i>barren fig tree</i>	1—9
The <i>bent woman</i> cured on the Sabbath day	11—17
Answer to the enquiry, <i>are there few to be saved?</i>	23—30
Apostrophe to the ingratitude of <i>Jerusalem</i>	31—35
XIV. The <i>dropsical man</i> cured on the Sabbath day	1—6
Recommendation of <i>humility</i>	7—11
———— <i>gratuitous benevolence</i>	12—15
Parable of the <i>supper refused</i> by the guests.....	16—24
XV. Parable of the <i>lost sheep</i>	1—7
Parable of the <i>lost piece of silver</i>	8—10
Parable of the <i>prodigal son</i>	11—32
XVI. Parable of the <i>unjust steward</i>	1—12
Parable of the <i>rich man</i> and <i>Lazarus</i>	19—31
XVII. <i>Ten lepers</i> cured	11—19
Predictions of our Lord's <i>second coming</i>	20—37
XVIII. Perseverance in <i>prayer</i> again recommended	1
Parable of the <i>unjust judge</i>	2—8
<i>Pharisee</i> and <i>Publican</i> in the Temple	9—14

There are also some sections in common with *Matthew*, but in different order and expression.

<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>
XI. 39—52	XXIII. 4—7, 23—36
XII. 1—9	x. 26—33
XIV. 16—24	XXII. 1—14
XV. 3—7	XVIII. 12—14

higher purification of the temple, and of its service, which he came to introduce, and which the sure word of prophecy informs us will be established in the *regeneration of all things*, at his next coming in glory. In order to avoid the inclemency of the weather at this season, we may presume he was walking in *Solomon's porch*, or the *royal portico* of the temple, built by that prince, over a part of the valley, between the temple mount and *Sion*, on the south-east side, which *Solomon* had filled up to enlarge the area of the temple. On the flat roof of this was probably the scene of our Lord's second temptation by *Satan*. See Vol. I. p. 430, and the preceding article.

Here our Lord underwent a similar temptation from the unbelieving *Jews*, resuming their former conversation in the temple, at the feast of *Tabernacles*, for "they flocked round him, and said, *How long dost thou torture us [with suspense*?] If thou be THE CHRIST, tell us expressly.*" They wanted an open acknowledgment from him, in order that they might accuse him to the ruling powers. JESUS answered them, "*I told you before, [in effect,] by the miracles which I do in MY FATHER'S name; [and by styling myself "the good Shepherd," which was a title of CHRIST, Gen. xlix. 24, Psalm lxxx. 1,] "but ye believe not, for ye are not of my sheep.*" On the contrary, "*My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, as I told you,*" (ix. 14,) and *I give them eternal life, and they shall by no means perish for ever, and no one shall wrest them from my hand: For MY FATHER who gave them to me IS GREATER THAN ALL, and none is able to wrest them out of MY FATHER'S hand: THE FATHER and I are ONE* †, John x. 22—30.

* Έως ποτε την ψυχην ήμων αιρεις; "*How long dost thou take away our life,*" or "*kill us,*" torturing us with ambiguous and enigmatical speeches. The same phrase occurs in *Terence, Cur me enecas?* and in *Horace, Candide Mecenas, occidis, sæpe rogando.*

† Εγω και ο Πατηρ εν εσμεν. According to the ancient idiom of *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*, the speaker ranks himself first, but according to the courtesy of modern languages, *English, French, &c.* ranks himself last. This most important passage, therefore, should be rendered, "THE FATHER and I are ONE." Not εις, "*one person,*" but εν, "*one thing:*" or supplying the ellipsis, εν πνευμα, "*one spirit,*" or *disposition*; as supported by several parallel passages, ο κολλωμενος τω κυριω, εν πνευμα εστι, ["the disciple] united to THE LORD is *one spirit* [with him,"] 1 Cor. vii. 17; and so OUR LORD prays THE FATHER for his disciples, ινα ωσι εν, καθως ήμεις εν εσμεν. "That they may be *one*, according as WE are *one*;" ινα ωσι τετελειωμενοι εις εν. "That they may be *perfected into one,*" John xvii. 22, 23. And so prays Paul, εν ενι πνευματι, μια ψυχη συναθλουντες τη πιστει του ευαγγελιου, "with *one spirit, one soul,*

This is an admirable *description* of the *good sheep*, of *their reward*, and of *their security* against all assaults of the *Devil* or *man*, working against them, while under the providential care of CHRIST and of GOD, *united* for their preservation. CHRIST'S flock hear his voice by *faith*; He *knows*, or approves them, and they *follow* him, or keep his commandments. And in return, He *gives them eternal life*, as heirs of salvation, and *they shall not perish for ever*, at the general judgment, if they continue *faithful* and *obedient* unto the end; and *no one*, not even the *Devil* himself, shall *rob* him of them; because he is supported by THE FATHER, who is ALL POWERFUL, and *united in spirit*, or sentiment, with THE SON.

Then the *Jews* took up stones again, as they had done before, at the feast of *Tabernacles*, to stone him. JESUS said, "Many *good works* have I shewed you from MY FATHER, for which of these do ye stone me?" The *Jews* answered, For a *good work* we stone thee not, but for *blasphemy*, even because thou, being a *man*, makest thyself a *God**, ver. 31—33.

This charge of blasphemy OUR LORD refuted, by shewing the latitude in which the term "*God*" was taken, even in the *law* itself; where it is applied to the *Jewish* judges, as sitting in the tribunal of GOD, and administering justice as his vicegerents;

jointly contending for the faith of the Gospel," Phil. i. 27; *συνψυχοι, το εν φρονουντες*, "*joint souled, one minded*," Phil. ii. 2; *σπουδαζοντες τηρειν την εννοτητα του πνευματος εν τω συνδεσμω της ειρηνης*, "*earnestly endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace*," Eph. iv. 3, *ο φυτευων δε και ο ποτιζων εν ειση*, "*but the planter and the waterer are one*," 1 Cor. iii. 8.

And this was the interpretation of the earliest and most learned fathers of the Church. *Justin Martyr* says—*Ιησους Χριστος—ετερος του Πατρος αριθμω ου γνωμη*, "JESUS CHRIST—different from THE FATHER, in *number* [or *person*,] not in *sentiment*." And *Origen*, more fully, *Θρησκενομεν ονν τον Πατερα της αληθειας, και τον Υιον την αληθειαν οντα δυο εν υποστασει πραγματα, εν δε, τη ομονοια, τη συμφωνια, και τη ταυτοτητι του βουλευματος*, "We, then, worship THE FATHER of the Truth, and THE SON the Truth: being *two things* in subsistence, but *one* in *unanimity* and *concord*, and *sameness of the will*."

This is also, "*the Trinity in Unity*," or in *unanimity*," which is both the *scriptural* and *orthodox* doctrine of the *Christian Church*. And the English word "*unity*," which in later times has been used in a *metaphysical* sense, as denoting "*unity of person*," formerly meant *union* of sentiment, or *unanimity*, throughout the *Liturgy* and the *English Bible*, Psalm cxxxiii. 1; Ephes. iv. 3—13.

* Θεος here, should be rendered "*A God*," as contrasted with *ανθρωπος*, "*a man*," Acts xii. 22. The *Jews* evidently did not mean "GOD [THE FATHER,] which would be absurd; but *ο δευτερος Θεος*, the *second God*," as *Philo* the Jew styled THE LOGOS, or "THE ORACLE." They meant the same before, John v. 18. Compare John i. 1; 1 Cor. vii. 5.

“ I said, *ye are gods*,” Psalm lxxxii. 6. “ If then,” said he, “ the Scripture named them *gods*, to whom *the word of GOD* was addressed, and the Scripture cannot be *set aside*, [as exceptionable,] How say ye to Him whom **THE FATHER sanctified**, [or ordained,] and *sent forth* into the world, Thou *blasphemest* : because I said, *I am THE SON OF GOD* ?” ver. 34—36.

Our Lord then appealed again to his *miracles*, as affording full proof of the *intimate union* subsisting between him and the Father. “ *If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not ; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works : that ye may know and believe, that THE FATHER is in me, and I in Him.*”

Then the *Jews* sought again to seize him, but he passed out of their hand, (probably rendering himself invisible, as before, John viii. 59,) and departed again from *Judea* to *Bethabara*, beyond *Jordan*, where *John* at first baptized ; and in the neighbourhood of which, he himself had spent some time before, on the western side, in *Judea*, when his disciples baptized in his name, John iii. 22—26 ; and in that neighbourhood he remained, probably near two months, until the death of *Lazarus* recalled him to *Judea*, ver. 37—40 ; Matt. xix. 1 ; Mark x. 1*.

CHRIST VISITS PEREA.

This country, (so called by *Josephus*, Jewish War, III. 3, 3,) on the confines of *Judea*, eastward of *Jordan*, was the original settlement of the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*. **JESUS**, therefore, having visited all the rest of the *holy land*, namely, the two *Galilees*, upper and lower, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Decapolis*, and *Dalmanutha*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*, occupied formerly by the ten tribes, reserved this for the last ; that this also might have the benefit of his divine instructions. And great multitudes came to him, and followed him, and believed on him, when they saw his *miracles* of healing, confirming *John*'s testimony to him as **THE CHRIST**, John ix. 41, 42 ; Matt. xix. 2 ; Mark x. 1.

* *Matthew* and *John* state expressly, that **JESUS**, after he had finished his ministry in *Galilee* and *Judea*, visited the country beyond *Jordan* eastwards ; but the present text of *Mark* intimates the reverse, that he came from the latter to *Judea* westwards, which could not be the case. There appears to be an interpolation in *Mark* : ερχεται εις ορια της Ιουδαϊας [δια του] περαν του Ιορδανου. And omitting *δια του*, (which injures the construction) with the *Latin*, *Syriac*, and *Gothic* versions, *Mark* perfectly harmonizes with the others.

QUESTION OF DIVORCE.

Here OUR LORD was again “*tempted*,” or assailed by his inveterate and persevering foes, the *Pharisees*, with a nice legal case for his decision, as a teacher of the law; “*whether it was lawful for a man to divorce his wife for any cause?*” or, at discretion. This case he had before decided in *Galilee*, Matt. v. 31, and in *Judea*, Luke xvi. 18, expressly in the negative; and they now hoped, either to ruin his popularity in *Peræa*, if he adhered to his decision, or to charge him with inconsistency if he did not. Aware of their malice, JESUS referred them to the primitive institution of marriage in Paradise, after God had made the first pair, *male* and *female*; and by the law of wedlock declared that *they twain should be one flesh*. Therefore, said he, “*what GOD joined together, let not man put asunder.*” To this authoritative decision, the *Pharisees* opposed the law of divorce, *commanded*, as they said, by *Moses*, Deut. xxiv. 1. But our Lord replied, that *Moses* did not command, that he only *suffered*, or tolerated divorces, because of the *hardness of their hearts*, to prevent worse consequences. And he authoritatively decided against the law of *Moses*, that *dislike* alone, was not a sufficient ground; that nothing short of *fornication* or adultery, on her part, warranted divorce: and that otherwise, if she married again, which was permitted by the law, Deut. xxiv. 2, she and her second husband were guilty of adultery, Matt. xix. 3—9; Mark x. 2—12*.

This was, indeed, an unpalatable doctrine to a sensual, libidinous people. Even our Lord’s disciples expressed dissatisfaction thereat: “*If the case of a man be so with his wife, that he must bear with all her infirmities or imperfections short of fornication, it is not good to marry*” at all, said they, or it is better to remain single. But OUR LORD disapproved of their reasoning, from the *abuse* of the sacred institution, against its *use*, as required both by GOD and *nature*; by observing, 1. that

* *Mark* states the conversation with a slight variation, representing *Jesus* as first asking the *Pharisees*, when they proposed the case, how the law of *Moses* stood? and then referring them to the more ancient law in *Paradise*; this gives more weight to their objection, after JESUS himself had appealed to the law of *Moses*. *Mark* also notices a case omitted by *Matthew*, of a woman divorcing her husband, which was not permitted by the *Mosaic* law; but was practised at that time by *Salome*, the sister of *Herod* the Great; and by *Herodias*, the wife of *Philip*, who married *Herod Antipas*, &c.

all men are not able to receive this saying of celibacy, or to live continently in a single state; whence the Apostle observes, “*it is better to marry than burn,*” 1 Cor. vii. 9; and, 2. that celibacy was to be tolerated only in the three following cases; 1. of natural coldness of constitution; 2. of deprivation of virility; or, 3. of a firm resolution of living continently in a single state*, in order more effectually to promote the interests of religion, as in *St. Paul’s* case, 1 Cor. vii. 7, 8. In such cases, says OUR LORD, *he that is able to receive, let him receive* the saying of celibacy, which in times of *distress* and *persecution*, might not be unadvisable, (as he afterwards remarked, Matt. xxiv. 19, and *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. vii. 26;) Matt. xix. 10—12.

CHRIST BLESSES LITTLE CHILDREN.

Then, some persons, through a high opinion of his sanctity, brought little children to JESUS, intreating that he would lay his hands upon them, and bless them; his disciples, however, rebuked them that brought them, for their unseasonable intrusion. But our Lord reprimanded his disciples, and said, “*Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven [attainable:] Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall by no means enter therein.*” And he took them up in his arms, laid his hands upon them, and blessed them,” Matt. xix. 13—15; Mark x. 13—16; Luke xviii. 15—17. Here *Luke* resumes the common narrative, with this interesting reprehension, by example, of the ambition and prejudices of the disciples, in public, which our Lord had done before in private.

THE RICH YOUNG RULER.

This “forward” young man, who seems to have “*trusted in himself that he was righteous,*” and professed that “*he had kept all the commandments, (of the second table,) from his youth,*” seems to have addressed JESUS with faith, acknowledging him to be THE CHRIST, both by his respectful manner of “*kneeling to him,*” and by the high title he gave him of “*Good Teacher,*” which is scarcely to be found elsewhere in the Scriptures. To check his self-complacency, it seems, OUR LORD observed,

* *Origen*, understanding it literally, “*made himself a eunuch,*” but afterwards confessed his error. *Lardner*, Vol. II. p. 445.

“Why callest thou me *good*? there is none good but GOD alone;” there is none else, in whom *goodness* is an original, essential, and underived principle. That he was sincere, however, in his profession of obedience from his childhood, may be collected from our Lord’s “*loving him*,” or being pleased with his behaviour, which would not have been the case, had not his conduct corresponded with his profession. He possessed, therefore, the two main requisites for “*eternal life*,” namely, *faith* and *obedience*. But he aimed at *Christian perfection*, as appears from his next question, “*What lack I yet?*” JESUS said, “*If thou desirest to be perfect*, Go, and sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor; and thou shalt have *treasure in heaven*; and come, *follow me*, [as a *disciple*,] taking up the cross. But he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved, for he was very rich.” His attachment to *Mammon* overcoming his attachment to CHRIST, Matt. xix. 16—22, Mark x. 17—22, Luke xviii. 18—23. Compare Matt. vi. 24.

And JESUS, seeing that he was grieved, looked round on his disciples, and said, How hardly shall *they that have riches* enter into the kingdom of God! And his disciples were amazed at his words. But he again said unto them, in explanation, Children, how hard is it for *them that trust in riches*, to enter into the kingdom of God! For it is easier that *a camel should go through the eye of a needle**, than that a rich man should enter into the kingdom of God. And they were exceedingly astonished, saying, *Who then can be saved?* And JESUS, looking upon them, said, *With men this is impossible, but with GOD all things are possible*, Matt. xix. 23—36, Mark x. 23—27, Luke xviii. 24—27. For, even *the rich*, who *repent*, and *trust in GOD*, will be enabled, by the divine aid, to overcome the world, if they *watch* and *pray* against the temptation, and dangerous “*snare*” of *Mammon*, or riches. Such was the penitent *Zaccheus*, Luke xix. 9, and such those rich and respectable disciples of OUR LORD, we may presume, *Nicodemus*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Lazarus*, and his sisters, *Mary Magdalene*, *Joanna*, the wife of *Chuza*, *Herod’s* steward, &c. who either ministered to OUR LORD’S necessities of their substance, or anointed and embalmed him with costly ointments and spices,

* The *camel* was the largest animal known in the *holy land*, Matt. xxiii. 24. A similar expression occurs in the Talmud. “No *Elephant* passes through the eye of a needle.”

to shew their veneration for him, living and dead. Happy they who were so circumstanced, and who made such a desirable use of their "*good things!*" Luke viii. 2, 3, John xi. 3, xix. 39—42, Luke xxiii. 56.

CHRIST RETURNS TO JUDEA.

While OUR LORD was employed on his ministry in *Peræa*, a message was sent to him from the sisters of *Lazarus*, that their brother, his friend, was sick. To which he returned for answer, that "this sickness should not be *unto death*, (irrecoverably,) but for the *glory of GOD*, to the end that THE SON OF GOD *might be glorified thereby*," John xi. 1—4.

After this, he remained two days longer in the same place, till *Lazarus* died. Then he proposed to his disciples to return again to *Judea*. But they said, with surprise, "*Rabbi, the Jews lately sought to stone thee, and art thou going thither again!*" JESUS answered figuratively, that during the day, a person is not apt to stumble, while he walks in the light, until the darkness of night arrives; intimating, that during the allotted period of his ministry he was safe, until its close, when the appointed time of his sufferings should come. After this, which they understood not, he said unto them, *Lazarus, our friend, is asleep*. Then said his disciples, still ignorant, "*Lord, if he sleep, he shall recover.*" Then said He plainly to them, "*Lazarus is dead! and I am pleased, for your sakes, that I was not there, in order that ye might believe. Nevertheless, let us go unto him.*" Then said *Thomas*, apart, to his fellow disciples, "*Let us go also, that we may die with him,*" (CHRIST,) or share his fate! John xi. 6—16.

LAZARUS RAISED TO LIFE.

JESUS, therefore, went to *Bethany*, where he found that *Lazarus* had been interred four days. His interview with the sisters of *Lazarus*, is inimitably interesting and affecting.

"When *Martha* heard that JESUS was coming, she went to meet him, and [plaintively] said, LORD, *if thou hadst been here, my brother would not have died*; but now I know that whatsoever thou shalt ask of GOD, GOD will give thee.

"JESUS saith unto her, *Thy brother shall rise again:*" She, not understanding that he meant "*immediately*," said, "*I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection, at the last day.*"

“JESUS saith unto her, *I am* [the author of] *the resurrection and the life: He that believeth on Me, though he die* [here,] *yet shall live* [hereafter;] *and every one that liveth* [hereafter,] *and believeth in Me, shall die no* [more] *for ever* *. Believest thou this? She saith unto Him, *Yea, LORD, I do believe that thou art THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, who should come into the world.*”

After this noble and explicit confession of faith, referring, in part, perhaps, to his former answer to her message, John xi. 4, she went to call her sister *Mary*, privately;—who, when she came where JESUS was, and saw him, fell at his feet, repeating, LORD, *if thou hadst been here, my brother would not have died!* [and she wept.]

When JESUS, therefore, saw her weeping, and the *Jews* that accompanied her, also weeping, he groaned in the spirit, and troubled himself †; and he said, *Where have ye laid him?* They say unto him, LORD, *come and see.*

JESUS wept †.

Then said the *Jews*, *See how He loved him!*

But some of them said, [disparagingly,] *Could not this person, who opened the eyes of the blind man, (John ix. 6,) have caused that this man also should not have died?*

Jesus, then groaning again in himself, cometh to the sepulchre. It was a cave, and a stone lay upon it. JESUS said, *Remove the stone* ‡. *Martha*, still weak in faith, and struggling with doubt, thought that the body would be too offensive to be approached by CHRIST, being now in a state of putrefaction, after an interment of four days; which in that hot climate usually took place sooner. “LORD, said she, *he now smelleth, for he is the fourth day buried.*”

JESUS, gently rebuking her, answered, “Said I not unto thee, that if thou believedst, thou shouldst see *the glory of GOD?* (ver. 4.) Then, after they had removed the stone ‡, JESUS lift up his eyes, with thanksgiving to his Father, for hearing him always, and giving proof of his divine mission to the people;

* See the foregoing article of *Job*, for this correcter translation of the passage, p. 79.

† *εραξαζεν εαυρον*. From this remarkable expression, it appears that OUR LORD'S affections were in his own power. He voluntarily sustained *sorrow* now, as he voluntarily embraced *death* afterwards.

‡ JESUS could as easily have removed the stone, as he raised *Lazarus*. This seems to be done to ascertain the fact of the putrefaction of *Lazarus*, by those who descended to the vault.

and cried with a loud voice, *Lazarus, come forth!* Then *he that had been dead, came forth*, whose feet and hands *had been bound* with grave-clothes; and his face *was still bound about* with a napkin. JESUS said unto them, *Loose him, and let him go!*—His feet and hands had been miraculously loosed; and JESUS desired his friends to loose the napkin also from his face. If the *Jews* buried like the *Egyptians*, the napkin did not entirely cover the face of *Lazarus*, but only went round his forehead, and over his chin, so that he might easily see his way out of the sepulchre*.

Thus, by a closer translation of the original, and by reference to the *Jewish* mode of interment, is the *deistical* objection removed, “How could *Lazarus*, either *walk* or *see*, when *bound* in his *grave-clothes* and *napkin*?” for as ὁ τεθνηκως, must signify “he that *had been dead*,” so must δεδεμενος, by the same analogy, signify “he that *had been bound*,” John xi. 17—44.

Many then of the [principal] *Jews*, who came to condole with *Mary*, and beheld what JESUS did, believed on Him. But some of the unbelievers went off to the *Pharisees*, and informed them of what JESUS had done. The *chief priests* and *Pharisees* therefore, assembled a council, and said, *What shall we do, for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all will believe on him; and the Romans will come and take away our [Holy] place and nation.*—And from that day forth, they conspired together to kill Him.

On this occasion, *Caiaphas*, who was high priest that memorable year, to quiet the scruples of several of the rulers, who privately believed on CHRIST, (John xii. 42,) and were not consenting to his death, (Luke xxiii. 51.) on the score of his *miracles* and his *innocence*, (John vii. 51,) treated them with contempt, as ignorant politicians, who did not understand, that regard to the public safety warranted private injustice. “*Ye know nothing at all; nor do ye consider, that it is expedient*

* The sepulchre is thus described by *Maundrell*, p. 78. “At the bottom of a small descent, not far from the *castle of Lazarus*, (supposed to have been the mansion house of that favourite of our Lord,) is shewn the sepulchre out of which he was raised to a *second mortality*, by that enlivening voice of CHRIST, *Lazarus, come forth!* You descend into the sepulchre by twenty-five steep stairs; at the bottom of which you arrive, first in a small square room; and from thence you creep into another lesser room, about a yard and half deeper, in which the body is said to have been laid. This place is held in great veneration by the *Turks*, who use it for an oratory, and demand of all *Christians* a small *caphar* for their admission into it.”

for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." Thus, he unwittingly uttered a prophecy, that JESUS should be sacrificed for the *Jewish* nation; and of much wider import than he imagined; not only for them, but for "*the children of GOD*" in general, or *the faithful* "*scattered*" throughout the world, who were to be collected into *one* [fold] by Him, John xi. 45—53.

CHRIST RETIRES TO EPHRAIM.

Knowing their machinations against him, JESUS no longer walked openly among the *Jews*; but departed thence into a city called *Ephraim*, in the mountainous country near the wilderness of *Judea*, on the borders of *Benjamin*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, about fifteen miles north from *Jerusalem*; where he abode with his disciples, John xi. 54.

HIS LAST JOURNEY TOWARDS JERUSALEM.

His stay at *Ephraim* was but short. The fourth passover approached; and his time was come. He departed from thence, leading the way, with firmness, and followed by his dejected and dismayed Apostles. On the way, he foretold to the twelve, still more minutely, his prophetic sufferings at *Jerusalem*: "1. That he should be *betrayed* unto the *chief priests* and *Scribes*; 2. that they should *condemn him to death*; and 3. deliver him up to the *Gentiles*, [*Romans*,] to *mock*, to *scourge*, *spit* upon him, and *crucify* him; but 4. that he should *rise again the third day*. But they understood none of these things, and the saying was hidden from them, and they knew not the meaning of what he said," Matt. xx. 17—19, Mark x. 32—34, Luke xviii. 31—34.

CHRIST PASSES THROUGH JERICHO.

OUR LORD did not go the direct way to *Jerusalem*, he took a circuit eastwards, through *Jericho*, then a considerable city, which he does not appear to have visited before. There he probably staid a few days.

On his departure from *Jericho*, he performed that remarkable miracle of giving sight to two blind beggars by the way side, one of whom was *Bartimæus*, who petitioned him, with faith,

as *the Son of David*, or CHRIST, that he would have mercy on them, and open their eyes, Matt. xx. 29—34, Mark x. 46—52, Luke xviii. 35—43*.

ZACCHEUS.

This was a rich *chief publican*, or collector of taxes, who, anxious to see JESUS as he passed by, had climbed up into a *sycamore* tree, because he was of small stature. OUR LORD, when he came to the place, looked up and said, *Zaccheus, hasten down, for I must lodge in thy house to-day.* So he hastened down, and entertained him joyfully. This gave great offence to *all* our Lord's attendants, that he should invite himself to be the guest of such a notorious "*sinner.*" *Zaccheus*, who probably heard their murmurs, "*stood forth,*" and made a public profession of his conversion: "*LORD, I am about to give half my goods to the poor; and if I have wronged any man in any respect, to restore it four fold.*" This was a most ample *restitution* of his exactions; the law requiring only the principal, and a fifth part over, Levit. vi. 2—5; and where he could not make restitution, he promised to make *amends*, by giving half his goods, or substance, to the poor. Thus furnishing a remarkable contrast to the rich young ruler; and enabling OUR LORD to extend *salvation to a rich man*, in return for his *repentance*, his *attachment* to CHRIST, and a rejection of *Mammon*. For he said to the by-standers, *concerning him* †, openly, "*This day is salvation come to this house; forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham,*" or admitted into covenant with CHRIST. And to silence their murmurs for going uninvited to his house, He represented the grand design of his divine

* There is a considerable variation in the accounts of this miracle by the three Evangelists. *Mark* and *Luke* notice only one blind man, *Matthew* two; *Luke* represents the miracle as performed "when JESUS was drawing nigh to *Jericho*," before he entered it; *Matthew* and *Mark*, after he had left *Jericho*. The joint testimony, however, of *Matthew* and *Mark*, as to the time, seems to outweigh that of *Luke*; who is not so observant of chronological order; and as all agree, that CHRIST was then attended by a "*multitude,*" who "*led the way,*" and who "*followed him*" towards *Jerusalem*, it is more probable, that the incident took place after he left *Jericho*, where this multitude seems to have been collected. For He came privately from *Ephraim* to *Jericho*, attended only by the twelve.

† *προς αυτον*, must be rendered "*concerning him,*" as in Luke xx. 19, Heb. i. 7, &c. it could not be "*to him,*" because he is spoken of in the third person—"He also is a son of *Abraham.*"

mission—"to seek and to save lost sinners," Luke xix. 1—10.

And in order to correct the error of his followers in supposing that "*the kingdom of God would immediately appear*," in all its glory, and that He was now actually on his way to "*Jerusalem which was nigh*," to assume it openly as THE MESSIAH in that royal city; "he added" the following mysterious parable, Luke xix. 11—27.

PARABLE OF THE NOBLEMAN.

The "nobleman" represented CHRIST; who leaving this world at his *ascension*, "travelled to a far country," heaven, "in order to receive a kingdom" from HIS FATHER; "and to return" to this world after a good while. "The *ten servants*," among whom he distributed ten *minæ*, (or pounds,) to be put to interest against his return, represented the *Apostles* and *preachers of the Gospel*. "*His citizens*, who hated him, and rejected him for their king," were the *Jewish* and other *apostate* nations. On his second appearance in glory, to establish his kingdom upon earth, He is to reward or punish his servants according to their deserts, and to *slaughter* his enemies.

This awful prophecy, which was necessarily veiled in a parable, not then to be understood, began to be fulfilled at the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, and will be concluded "*in the days of vengeance*," destined to precede his next approaching appearance. As explained more fully in *our Lord's prophecies* to his disciples, in the sequel.

HE ARRIVES AT BETHANY.

*Six days** before the passover, our Lord reached *Bethany*, John xii. 1.

The day of his arrival, is generally supposed by Harmonists, to have been the *Saturday* before his crucifixion; but it seems rather to have been *Sunday*, the first day of the *Passion*, or "suffering" week; which was *the sixth**, before his crucifixion on *Friday*.

* Cardinals, "*six*," &c. are frequently put for ordinals, "*sixth*," &c. in sacred and profane history. See Vol. I. p. 20, 21.

HARMONY OF THE PASSION WEEK.

	<i>Matt.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
1 <i>Sund.</i> JESUS arrives at <i>Bethany</i>	—	—	—	xii. 1.
<i>Mary</i> anoints his feet at supper	—	—	—	— 3.
2. <i>Mond.</i> His public procession to <i>Jerusalem</i>	xxi. 1.	xi. 1.	xix. 29.	— 12.
He teaches the people	—	—	—	— 23.
3. <i>Tues.</i> He curses the <i>barren fig-tree</i> ..	— 18.	— 12.		
He <i>purges the Temple</i> again....	— 12.*	— 15.	— 45.	
He returns to <i>Bethany</i>	—	—	19.	
4. <i>Wed.</i> The <i>fig-tree</i> withered	—	—	20.	
The <i>Pharisees</i> question his authority	— 23.	— 28.	xx. 1.	
His <i>discourses</i> and <i>parables</i>	— 28.	xii. 1.	— 9.	
Question of tribute to <i>Cæsar</i>	xxii. 15.	— 13.	— 20.	
He silences the <i>Sadducees</i> ...	— 23.	— 18.	— 27.	
———— the <i>Pharisees</i>	— 41.	— 35.	— 41.	
He censures the <i>Scribes</i> and <i>Pharisees</i>	xxiii. 2.	— 38.	— 45.	
His <i>prophecies</i> on Mount <i>Olivet</i>	xxiv. 1.	xiii. 1.	xxi. 5.	
He foretells his crucifixion <i>two days after</i>	xxvi. 2.	xiv. 1.	xxii. 1.	
The <i>chief priests</i> conspire against him	— 3	— 2.	— 2	
He returns to <i>Bethany</i> , to <i>Simon</i> the leper, at supper	— 6.	— 3.	— 3.	
A <i>woman</i> anoints his <i>head</i>	—	—	—	
<i>Judas</i> sells HIS LORD	— 14.	— 10.	— 4.	
5. <i>Thurs.</i> Preparation of the <i>passover</i>	— 17.	— 12.	— 7.	xiii. 1.
He eats it with his <i>Apostles</i>	— 20.	— 18.	— 14.	
He washes their feet	—	—	—	— 2.
He inculcates <i>humility</i>	—	—	— 24.*	— 12.
He detects the traitor <i>Judas</i>	— 21.	— 20.	— 21.*	— 26.
<i>Judas</i> departs at <i>night</i>	—	—	—	— 30.
Institution of the <i>Lord's Supper</i>	— 26.	— 22.	— 19*	
His subsequent discourse.....	—	—	—	— 31.
He goes to Mount <i>Olivet</i>	— 30.	— 26.	— 39.	xiv. 31.
His last discourse.....	—	—	—	xv. 1.
His <i>Intercession</i>	—	—	—	xvii. 1.
He goes to <i>Gethsemane</i>	— 36.	— 32.	— 40.	xviii. 1.*
His <i>agony</i>	— 37.	— 33.	— 41.	
<i>Judas</i> betrays HIS LORD.....	— 47.	— 43.	— 47.	— 2.
JESUS taken to <i>Annas</i>	—	—	—	— 13.
———— <i>Caiaphas</i>	— 57.	— 53.	— 54.	— 14.
<i>Peter</i> denies HIS LORD	— 69.	— 66.	— 55.	— 17.
6. <i>Frid.</i> JESUS taken to <i>Pilate</i> , at <i>day-break</i>	xxvii. 1.	xv. 1.	xxiii. 1.	xviii. 28.
<i>Pilate</i> sends him to <i>Herod</i>	—	—	—	6.
<i>Judas</i> hangs himself.....	— 3.	—	—	—

	<i>Matt.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
JESUS sentenced by <i>Pilate</i>	xxvi. 26.	xv. 15.	xxiii. 25.	xix. 1.
— crucified at the <i>third hour</i>	— —	— 25.	— —	— 14.*
Darkness from the <i>sixth to ninth</i> } hour	— 45.	— 33.	— 44.	
The body granted to <i>Joseph of</i> } <i>Arimathea</i>	— 57.	— 42.	— 50.	— 38.
Interred after <i>sun-set</i>	— 59.	— 46.	— 54	— 39.
7. <i>Satur.</i> The sepulchre secured with a } <i>seal</i> and <i>Roman guard</i>	— 62.	— —	— —	

The Harmony of this short, but most interesting period of the Gospel history, and therefore most circumstantially detailed by all the Evangelists, has been considerably embarrassed and perplexed hitherto, partly by the mistakes of Harmonists, in arranging events; partly by some remarkable inversions of *chronological* order in the narratives of *Matthew* and *Luke*; and partly from some apparent differences of place and time, between *John* and the other Evangelists.

1. The Harmonists in general, *Newcome*, &c. assume, that Christ foretold his approaching crucifixion *two days after*, (*Matt.* xxvi. 2; *Mark* xiv. 1,) on *Wednesday morning*; whereas the context evidently shews that he foretold it on *Wednesday evening*, immediately after his prophecies on *Mount Olivet*, and before he went to sup at *Bethany* with *Simon* the leper. By tracing backwards, therefore, the series of events, he necessarily came first to the house of *Lazarus* at *Bethany*, on *Sunday*, instead of *Saturday*, as generally imagined, on the former supposition*. It is re-

* The received hypothesis, however, that CHRIST came to *Bethany*, on *Saturday*, is thus supported by a learned friend.

“Your objections to the old opinion, are principally drawn, 1. From the *time* of our Lord’s foretelling his death; and, 2. From our having *no account* of any thing that passed in the course of *Wednesday*. With respect to the time when the prediction was delivered, *μετα δυο ημερας*, I readily join with you, that it should be rendered, “*two days after*,” or, “*two days hence*;” i. e. “the day after to-morrow. Now, what was then to take place? *Ὁ υἱος του ανθρωπου παραδιδουται εις το σταυρωθηναι*. The circumstance, therefore, foretold, was not his crucifixion, but his being *delivered up* to be crucified. But this was on the *Thursday*: the words must, therefore, have been spoken on *Tuesday*.”

“But you will say, What occurred on the *Wednesday*? The Evangelists are altogether silent on that head. May I then be allowed to conjecture, that our blessed Lord spent the day in *retirement*, preparing to meet his approaching fate.—This conjecture is countenanced by the *προ της εορτης του πασχα* of *St. John* (xiii. 1,) ‘the day before the passover;’ which, by the bye, shews what that Evangelist meant by *πασχα*.”

Specious as this argument may seem, its conclusiveness may be questioned :

1. The phrase, *η εορτη του πασχα*, is not confined to “the day of sacrificing the passover,” but includes the whole “*feast of the passover*,” which lasted a week, corres-

markable also, that *Sunday* was the tenth day of the month, the legal day on which the paschal lamb was to be chosen and set apart for sacrifice, until the fourteenth, *Thursday*, the correct day, Exod. xii. 3—6. CHRIST our passover, in this circumstance also, minutely “fulfilling all legal righteousness,” as he professed, Matt. iii. 15.

2. If we look only to *Matthew*, the purging of the temple happened on *Monday*, the day of public procession thither, xxi. 12, and preceded the cursing of the barren fig-tree, on the same day, xxi. 18. Whereas *Mark*, more critically, states, that CHRIST only surveyed the temple on *Monday*, and purged it on *Tuesday*; and that the fig-tree which had been cursed on *Tuesday* morning, was found withered on *Wednesday* morning; *Matthew* concisely connecting both together, the sentence with its execution.

3. If we look only to *Luke*, it should seem that the paschal supper, which he alone records, xxii. 15—18, was followed by the institution of the *Lord's Supper*, ver. 19, 20; and this, by the detection of the traitor *Judas*, ver. 21—23; and this again, by the ambitious contest for precedence between the disciples, and our Lord's ensuing exhortation to humility, ver. 24—30;

ponding to ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων, “the feast of unleavened bread,” Luke xxiv. 1. And, accordingly, the Jewish council, when plotting against JESUS, objected to putting him to death, ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, “during the feast,” or paschal week, if they apprehended him on any day of that week, “lest there should be a disturbance among the people,” Matt. xxvi. 5; Mark xiv. 2. The English Bible, in both passages, incorrectly renders ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, “on the feast day.” The preposition πρὸ may signify “shortly before,” in the course of Thursday.

2. The expression παραδίδοται, is not to be separated from εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι. The treachery of *Judas* on Thursday evening, was another, and a subordinate consideration. JESUS was first delivered up by the High Priest and Jewish Council to Pilate, on Friday morning, John xix. 11; Matt. xxvii. 2; Mark xv. 1; Luke xix. 16; John xviii. 30; and after sentence passed, “delivered up,” by Pilate, “to be crucified,” Matt. xxvii. 26; Mark xv. 15; Luke xxiii. 25; John xix. 16. Thus was the prophecy literally fulfilled; and the fulfilment most carefully recorded by all the Evangelists.

3. As the Evangelists are so remarkably particular, and even minute, in recording the occurrences of the passion week, their total silence renders the conjecture highly improbable, that our Lord spent Wednesday in retirement; (and the conjecture has been anticipated by Bishop Newcome, in the *Harmony*, Notes, p. 43.) The apparent continuity also of their narratives, without a break, seems to leave no room for it; and our Lord's zeal “to work his HEAVENLY FATHER's work, while it was called to-day;” and his active employments on the three days before his crucifixion, as announced in his prophetic message to that fox, Herod, Luke xiii. 32, (which seems to have been delivered on Wednesday morning, (see this vol. p. 176): all together tend to invalidate the conjecture, and incline me to adhere still to the proposed harmony of the passion week.

whereas, by comparing the accounts of the other Evangelists, this last event of the contest, must have happened first, in order of time; and probably took place while the two favourite Apostles, *Peter* and *John*, xxii. 13, were preparing the passover. And if so, the passage should be rendered, "Now there *had been* * an ambitious contest between them, which of them should be accounted greater," ver. 24. For surely, it could not possibly have happened after they were all *perplexed* and *sorrowful* at the disclosure of the treachery of one of their company, and of their master's impending death, as we learn from the other Evangelists, Matt. xxvi. 21—24; Mark xiv. 18—21; John xiii. 22. And the detection of *Judas* actually preceded the institution of the *Lord's Supper*; because it happened at the second course of the *Paschal Supper*, when he dipped his hand with JESUS in the dish of salad; and when JESUS pointed him out to *John*, by giving him a morsel dipped in the sauce, after which he immediately departed, as we learn from *John* himself, xiii. 23—30. And the *Lord's Supper* was then instituted, in the place of the third course of the *Paschal Supper*.

4. *John* differs from the rest, in representing *Peter's* second denial, as happening in the judgment-hall, *at the fire*, John xviii. 25; which, according to them, happened in the *porch*; but the difference is only apparent; for he concisely omits the circumstance of *Peter's* quitting the hall, after the first denial, noticed by the rest.

5. The present text of *John* xix. 14, states that JESUS was led away to crucifixion at the *sixth* hour, in contradiction to *Mark* xv. 25, saying, that he was actually crucified at the *third* hour; as confirmed by the whole tenor of the narrative before and after; and in contradiction also to the præternatural *darkness*, which only began at the *sixth* hour, according to the joint testimony of the rest. The present reading, therefore, appears to be corrupt †. The original autograph of *John's* Gospel read τριτη, "*third*," according to the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*;

* See a similar transposition in *John* xviii. 24, which is rightly rendered, "Now *Annas* had sent him bound to *Caiaphas*, the high-priest;" properly following ver. 13, and another, Matt. xxviii. 2.

† In support of the present reading, "the *sixth* hour," it has been conjectured, that *John* reckoned, according to the *Roman* usage, the hours from *midnight*. But this is incorrect; for the *Jews* and *Romans* both reckoned the hours of the *natural* day, from *sun-rise*; and *John* reckoned like the rest of the Evangelists.

which is followed by some ancient manuscripts of *Griesbach's* collation. And *Eusebius*, *Theophylact*, and others, satisfactorily account for the error, by supposing that the symbol ϵ' , (6) was substituted for γ' , (3) by mistake, in some early copies. *Nonnus*, the poet, renders, rightly, the text, *Ην δε τριτανομενη τριτατη θανατηφορος ωρα*. "It was the *third* deadly hour after sunrise."

CHRIST'S FEET ANOINTED.

On *Sunday*, while he was at supper, the pious, virtuous, and grateful *Mary*, the sister of *Lazarus*, anointed his *feet* with costly and fragrant spikenard, and wiped them with the tresses of her hair, in token of the profoundest veneration. The same homage was formerly paid to CHRIST at the beginning of his ministry, at *Capernaum*, when he supped with *Simon* the Pharisee, by a penitent *sinner*, (a harlot, perhaps,) whose sins OUR LORD graciously forgave, because *she loved much*, Luke vii. 36—49. Both, indeed, were tokens of extraordinary love and humility; as if they did not think themselves worthy to anoint his *head*, which was a customary ceremony to *kings*, *priests*, and other distinguished personages, Psalm xlv. 7, cxxxiii. 2, cxli. 5, civ. 15, Luke vii. 44—46.

But *Judas Iscariot* censured this pious act of *Mary*, as misplaced and wasteful, *Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred denarii, and given to the poor?* This he did, not from regard to the poor, but because he was a thief, and carried the stockpurse. JESUS therefore openly rebuked him, and others of the disciples who seemed also to approve of his conduct: "*Let her alone, she hath kept it for the day of my embalmment**: for *ye* have the *poor* with you always, but *ME* ye have not always," John xii. 1—8. This gave the first offence to that sordid disciple.

PUBLIC PROCESSION TO JERUSALEM.

When the multitudes who came from all parts to celebrate the passover, found that JESUS was at *Bethany*, they went thither on *Monday* morning, both to see *Lazarus*, the fame of whose restoration to life was divulged by the *Jews* who had wit-

* This is the proper rendering of *ενταφιασμος*, as distinguished from ordinary "*burial*," with which it is confounded in our public translation. See Vol. I. p. 435 of this work.

nessed the miracle, and to attend JESUS in public procession to *Jerusalem*, and proclaim him as their undoubted MESSIAH, or CHRIST the king of *Israel*, John xii. 12—18.

Nor did JESUS any longer decline their proffered homage, we may presume, from the following reasons: 1. It was necessary that he should be solemnly inaugurated by the voice of the people, to fulfil the ancient prophecies of *Jacob*, *David*, *Zechariah*, &c. 2. To awe and curb the malice of the high-priests for a while; who not only had issued a proclamation against himself, John xi. 57, but had plotted to put *Lazarus* to death, because many of the people forsook them on his account, and believed on JESUS, John xii. 10, 11; and, 3. To enable him to act with all due authority, in purging the temple, in publicly instructing the multitudes, and in their hearing, and under their protection, openly rebuking, confounding, and censuring those haughty and arrogant rulers, the *chief priests*, *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, and *Herodians*, Matt. xxi. 45, 46; xxvi. 3—5.

As soon, therefore, as he had reached *Bethphage*, a village midway, on the eastern side of Mount *Olivet*, he sent forward two of his disciples to the village of *Gethsemane**, perhaps, near the city, to bring him from thence an *ass' colt*, which they should find tied there, and, probably, to a *vine*, as in *Jacob's* prophecy of SHILOH, Gen. xlix. 11, (see Vol. II. p. 151—156.) On this, though unbroken, he rode, in the style of the ancient *judges* and *prophets*, as “the meek and lowly KING OF ISRAEL,” described by *Zechariah*, ix. 9, (see Vol. II. p. 476.) On the descent, fronting the city, he was met by the palm-bearing multitude, emblematical of the MESSIAH'S *tabernacling* in flesh, Levit. xxiii. 40, 2 Mac. x. 7, Rev. vii. 9, many of them spread their garments in the way, and strewed branches, as a carpet, which was customary at the coronation of a prince, 2 Kings ix. 13, while the whole multitude of disciples, before and behind, shouted *Hosannas* to the *Son of David*. *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord*, &c. repeating the grand *Halleluiahs*, Psalm cxviii. 26.

Some of the *Pharisees*, from among the crowd, then said, *Teacher, rebuke thy disciples*, but he refused, “If these, said he,

* See the site of these two villages in the map of *Jerusalem* and its environs, Vol. I. p. 437.

were silent, *the stones would cry out,*" or even the inanimate creation proclaim it, in the language of prophecy, (Habak. ii. 11,) Luke xix. 39, John xii. 19. And now, while his followers rejoiced, JESUS wept over the approaching calamities of the city, "which he beheld; saying, *O that thou hadst known, even thou, [ungrateful as thou art,] at least, in this thy day [of merciful respite,] the things that belong to thy peace, but now are they hidden from thine eyes! For days [of vengeance] shall come upon thee, when [the Romans,] thine enemies, shall cast a trench around thee, and shall encompass thee, and hem thee in on every side, and raze and thy children within thee to the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, in return for thy not knowing the season of thy visitation *!*" Luke xix. 41—44.

In this tender and pathetic mourning of the Tutelar God of Israel over his rebellious city, there seems to be an elegant allusion to its name, JERUSALEM, signifying "*they shall see peace,*" which, on the contrary, was now "*hidden*" from their eyes, not to be "*seen*" any more, until after "*the long continued*" period of desolation, foretold by the prophets, *Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, &c.* because they obstinately and wilfully shut their eyes against THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD, John xii. 40.

On his arrival, "the whole city was agitated, saying, *Who is this? And the multitude said, This is JESUS, the prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee †,*" or the expected prophet like *Moses*, whom the prejudiced, and his enemies, denied could

* See this explained, Vol. I. p. 426. *Tertullian* has well explained "the season of visitation:" Cum tempus medium a *Tiberio* usque ad *Vespasianum* non *pœnitentiam intellexissent; facta est terra eorum deserta, civitates eorum exustæ igni.*

† The following eloquent passage occurs in *Bishop Hall's Contemplations*, p. 133, on *Christ's procession to the Temple*, Matt. xxi.

"The attending disciples could be at no loss for an answer. Which of the *Prophets* have not put it into their mouths?—*Who is this?*—Ask *Moses*, and he shall tell you, *the seed of the woman who shall bruise the serpent's head.* Ask your father *Jacob*, and he shall tell you, *the Shiloh*, of the tribe of *Judah*. Ask *David*, and he shall tell you, *the King of Glory.* Ask *Isaiah*, and he shall tell you, *Inmanuel—Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, Father of the age to come, the Prince of Peace!* Ask *Jeremiah*, and he shall tell you, *the righteous branch.* Ask *Daniel*, and he shall tell you, *the Messiah.* Ask *John the Baptist*, he shall tell you, *THE LAMB OF GOD.* If you ask the *GOD of the Prophets*, He hath told you, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Yea, if all these be too good for you to consult with, the very *Devils* themselves have been forced to confess, *I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* On no side hath *CHRIST* left himself without a testimony."

come from that despised quarter, (John i. 47, vii. 41,) Matt. xxi. 10, 11.

The king of glory's first visit was to his temple, fulfilling prophecy, Psalm xxiv. 7—10. There he wrought his signal and appropriate miracles of curing the *blind* and the *lame*, which excited the admiration even of the *children*, who joined in the general acclamation of *Hosanna to the Son of David*; thus hailing him as the MESSIAH. And when the *chief priests*, blind to such evidence, but not daring to stop them for fear of the multitude, insinuated that JESUS ought to do so, he approved their action in the language of prophecy, "*Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou perfected praise,*" (Psalm viii. 2,) Matt. xxi. 14—16.

And now some *Greeks*, or "*Jews of the dispersion,*" (John vii. 35,) who attended the feast, expressed to *Philip of Bethsaida*, one of his disciples, a wish to see and hear JESUS, which He probably granted, from his gracious invitation, (Matt. xi. 28,) John xii. 20—22.

He then obscurely signified to the assembled multitude his approaching *sufferings* and ensuing *glory*, under the imagery of a *grain of corn*, sown in the ground, which dies before it vegetates, and produces much fruit. And he warned his disciples likewise of the sufferings they were to expect in his service, and their future reward in heaven. And struck with a lively sense of his approaching death, he said, "*Now is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? [Shall I say] FATHER save me from this hour! [By no means;] but [rather] for this cause came I unto this hour,*" John xii. 23—27.

And now, for the last confirmation of his disciples' faith, he said openly, "*FATHER glorify thy name;*" then there came a voice from heaven, in the hearing of the multitude, saying, "*I have glorified it already, and will glorify it again.*" Some present, probably the *Greeks*, who knew not the language, said *it thundered*, but others, the *Jews* perhaps, who knew it, that *an angel had spoken to him*. John xii. 28—30.

After this last solemn attestation from heaven, which was verified at his resurrection, our Lord figuratively intimated the conversion of the whole world, in consequence of his crucifixion. "*And I, when I shall be lifted up from the earth, [on the cross,] will draw all men to myself.*"

Perplexed at this doctrine of a *suffering MESSIAH*, the

multitude answered, "We have heard out of the law, that CHRIST *endureth for ever.*" And so they might have collected from 2 Sam. vii. 13; Psalm lxxxix. 30—37, cx. 4; Isa. ix. 6, 7; Ezek. xxxvii. 25; Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14—27. *How then sayest thou, [as before, John viii, 28.] that THE SON OF MAN must be lifted up? Who is the Son of Man? or what sort of a suffering, mortal Messiah, do you profess yourself? John xii. 32—34.*

This indeed was a real difficulty which they were not prepared to conceive or relish at the present. He therefore declined answering it, and only exhorted them in general, to *believe in the light*, during the *short time* of his continuance among them, that they might become *children of light*, or heirs of his kingdom. With this saying, He *disappeared* from them, leaving them greatly disappointed at his description of THE SON OF MAN, or MESSIAH, and his refusal to accept the *temporal* dominion, which they expected, and offered to him; and therefore, in a fit temper of mind to be worked upon to his prejudice, as an impostor, by his inveterate and insidious foes, the *chief priests* and *rulers of the Jews*, John xii. 35, 36.

THE BARREN FIG-TREE CURSED.

Early on *Tuesday* morning, JESUS, going from *Bethany*, where he lodged, to *Jerusalem*, according to tradition, by the lower road, saw, at a distance, a fig-tree in leaf, now in the *spring* season, (Matt. xxiv. 32,) and being hungry, he went to it, if *perhaps*, he might find *some fruit* thereon, (but when he came to it he found nothing but *leaves*,) for it was not *fig season*. And he answered, and said unto it, "*Let none eat fruit of thee henceforth for ever! And his disciples heard,*" Matt. xxi. 18; Mark xi. 12—14.

The *Palestine* fig-tree regularly bears two crops in the year, and occasionally a third: the *boccore*, or *early fig*, (noticed by *Isaiah*, xxviii. 4.) which comes to perfection in the middle or end of *June*; then the *kermes*, or *summer fig*, begins to be formed, though it rarely ripens before *August*. About the beginning of *autumn*, the same tree not seldom throws out a third crop, of a longer shape and darker complexion than the *kermes*, called the *winter fig*, which hangs upon the tree after the leaves are shed, and ripens, *provided the winter proves mild*; and is gathered, as a delicious morsel, in *spring*. This natural history of the fig-tree in *Judea*, taken from the accurate *Shaw's Travels*,

p. 370, happily removes the ambiguity of the foregoing passage in our English Bible, by the help of the parenthesis, judiciously introduced by Archbishop *Newcome*. JESUS being hungry, and seeing *leaves* thereon, which shewed that the tree was alive, though it was not a regular *fig season*, either for *early* or *summer* figs, yet went to it, in a reasonable expectation of finding, *perhaps*, some *winter fruit* thereon; but when he came he was disappointed, for he found nothing thereon but *leaves*. Whereupon he doomed it to *perpetual barrenness*, in the hearing of the disciples. This curse instantly took place; for when they passed by again, on *Wednesday* morning, they saw the fig-tree, not only stript of its leaves, “but withered from the roots.” And *Peter* remarked it, Mark xi. 20, 21.

This was the awful sequel, and significant interpretation of the foregoing *parable* of the *barren fig-tree*, Luke xiii. 6—9. The fig-tree represented the *Jewish* nation, which was barren, or unproductive of good works, during the foregoing dispensations of the *Law* and the *Prophets*, and the *Baptist*, expressed, perhaps, by “the *three years* ;” and when sentenced to be *cut down*, as *cumbering the ground* *, was spared, on the intercession of the *Gardener*, CHRIST, for a further season of trial and respite, during his *own* and his *Apostles’* ministry; but when they continued irreclaimable, and failed of producing even the last crop, after his resurrection, and during the ministry of his *Apostles*, to the whole world, beginning with them; then the sentence, which had been suspended, was carried into execution by those ministers of divine vengeance, the *Romans*.

THE TEMPLE PURGED AGAIN.

This second significant act of authority, as the *Reformer of their religious worship*, was accompanied by a severer rebuke than the first, and in the language of prophecy; it is written, “MY HOUSE shall be called *the house of prayer*,” (Isa. lvi. 7,) “But *ye* have made it a *den of thieves*,” (Jer. vii. 11,) Matt. xxi. 13; Luke xix. 46.

PHARISEES AND HERODIANS SILENCED.

This dignified and just censure, delivered in public, joined to our Lord’s open declaration of the Gospel, or glad tidings of his

* ερωσιον αχθος αρουρης, “a useless burthen of the ground.” *Homer*.

coming, and his teaching the people, without reserve, that he was “*the light of the world,*” and that he came at present, *not to judge the world, but to save the world,* [by the sacrifice of himself,] Luke xx. 1 : John xii. 44—50; so exasperated the *chief priests, Scribes, and elders* of the Sanhedrim, that they sent a deputation of *Pharisees* and *Herodians*, to entangle him in his talk; who, though at variance between themselves, cordially conspired to work his destruction, the former with the *Jewish* people, the latter with the *Romans*. Accosting him with a hypocritical semblance of respect and deference to his opinion, as a firm and undaunted *teacher of the law*, they proposed, as a case of conscience, at that time much litigated between the different parties, *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?* But our Lord completely baffled the malignant proposers of this dangerous dilemma, affecting his reputation, or his life, if he either authorized or denied the payment of the *Roman* tribute, by taking advantage of their own concession, that “*the denarius bore the emperor’s image and superscription,*” and also of their own tradition, that wherever any king’s coin was current it was a proof of that country’s subjection to his government; for he significantly warned these turbulent and seditious demagogues, the *Pharisees*, “*to render unto Cæsar the dues of Cæsar,*” which they resisted; and these licentious and irreligious courtiers, the *Herodians*, “*to render unto GOD the dues of GOD,*” which they neglected; thus publicly reproofing both, but obliquely, in a way that they could not take any hold of. “*And they marvelled at his answer, and were silent, and departed,*” Matt. xxii. 15—22; Mark xii. 13—17; Luke xx. 20—26.

SADDUCEES SILENCED.

The same day he was encountered also by the atheistical *Sadducees*, who denied a resurrection. They attempted, in mockery of the resurrection, to puzzle him with a common-place objection, found in the old *Jewish* writers, of a woman, married successively to seven husbands, who were brothers, in default of issue by the preceding, according to the law of *Moses*, Deut. xxv. 5, enquiring whose wife of the seven she should be reckoned at the resurrection? But our Lord reproofed their ignorance on a double account:—“*Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of GOD.*” Their first error consisted in denying the existence of the soul after death, though it was clearly implied

in the books of *Moses*, which they held to be canonical; when God declared, "*I am THE GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,*" not *I was* the GOD, &c. intimating that they were still living, and that He was still their God, in their separate state of existence, in *Hades*; and their second, in their sensual and carnal notions of a resurrection; for that in the *regeneration*, the *just* shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, as males and females, in this life; but shall be immortal, *like angels* of Heaven, when they become *children of the resurrection*, by the power of GOD. Thus were the *Sadducees* also silenced, and the multitude, astonished at the clearness and cogency of his doctrine, Matt. xxii. 23—33; Mark xii. 18—24; Luke xx. 27—38.

Hearing the discomfiture of their rivals, the *Sadducees*, the *Pharisees* assembled together, and perhaps, not insidiously, but as a further trial of his skill, proposed to him a question that was much litigated at that time among themselves, *which was the great commandment of the law?* Some of their doctors held it to be the law of *sacrifices*; others the law of *circumcision*, or of the *sabbath*, or of *meats* and *purifications*, peculiar to the *Jews*. But JESUS decided in favour of the LOVE OF GOD, as the great commandment of the law, and the second, the *love of our neighbour*, as like it in the principle, and derived therefrom; that "on these depended all the law and the prophets," or their whole *religious* and *moral code*. (See Vol. II. p. 233—237.)

Struck with the profound wisdom of this answer, the proposer of the question, who seems to have been a *Karaite*, commended JESUS, and agreed with him, that these were indeed preferable to any *sacrifices*, or *external* ordinances whatsoever. And our Lord, in return, commended him, as being *not far from the kingdom of Heaven*, or almost a *Christian*, Matt. xxii. 34—40; Mark xii. 28—34.

And now, JESUS, in his turn, proposed a difficulty to the assembled *Pharisees*, to try their knowledge of *the law*; why the inspired *David*, Psalm cx. 1, called THE MESSIAH "*his Lord,*" whom they themselves acknowledged to be his *son*? This they were unable to solve*; and from that day forth *none*

* Yet the Son of *Sirach*, if they had understood, furnished them with the true solution, in the divine as well as human nature of CHRIST, from *David's* second Psalm. "*I called upon THE LORD, THE FATHER OF MY LORD, not to leave me in the day of my trouble,*" &c. Eccus. li. 13.

durst question him any more, Matt. xxii. 41—46, Mark xii. 35—37, Luke xx. 41—44.

Here we seem warranted to introduce a conversation, introduced earlier in *Luke's* miscellaneous gospel.

“ The same day, (*Wednesday*,) some *Pharisees* came to him, saying, *Depart, and go hence, for Herod desireth to kill thee.* But he said unto them, *Go ye, and tell that [crafty] fox, [in my name,] Lo, I expel demons, and I do cures to-day, and to-morrow; and the third day I shall be perfected [by sufferings, Heb. ii. 10.] Nevertheless, I must [work] to-day, and to-morrow, and depart on the [day] following: for it cannot be, that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem!*” Luke xiii. 31—33; and this was followed by that inimitably tender and passionate apostrophe in *Luke*, which is appropriated by *Matthew* to this very day, (*Wednesday*.)

“ *O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! Thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent forth unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a bird gathereth its brood together under its wings, but ye would not!*” Luke xiii. 34, Matt. xxiii. 37.

This malignant advice of these *Pharisees*, who might naturally wish to get rid of one whom they feared and hated, after he had baffled, silenced, and exposed them before the multitude to scorn and disgrace, furnished a proper occasion and introduction to that finished model of divine eloquence, his last most animated, dignified, and severe censure; in which, no longer acting on the reserve, when his hour was come, he boldly and authoritatively denounced repeated “*woes*” to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, for their complicated vices, their *hypocrisy, ostentation, pride, arrogance, extortion, rapacity*, and long continued *persecution* of the prophets, from the earliest times to the sacrilegious murder of one of the last and greatest, *Zechariah*; (see Vol. II. p. 480,) concluding with the prediction of the desolation of their temple, and the withdrawing of his presence, till their final conversion, Matt. xxiii. 1—38, Luke xiii. 35.

OUR LORD'S PROPHECIES ON MOUNT OLIVET.

After this formal close of his public ministry, our Lord communicated to his confidential disciples, *Peter, James, John, and Andrew*, the signs, or prognostics of, 1. the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*; 2. his next *personal appearance* in

glory ; and 3. his last, at *the end of the world*, Matt. xxiv. xxv ; the consideration of these most important prophecies is postponed till the close of the period, not to interrupt the course of the history.

Immediately after, our Lord formally announced to his disciples the precise day of his death. “Ye know that *two days after*, [*Friday*,] the *passover* is to be kept [by the chief priests,] and THE SON OF MAN is [then] to be *delivered up* [to the *Romans*,] to be *crucified* *,” Matt. xxvi. 1, 2. At this very time, it seems, the chief priests and scribes, and elders of the people, were actually assembled in privy council, at the high priest’s palace, plotting his destruction ! ver. 3—5.

From Mount *Olivet* our Lord proceeded to *Bethany*, that evening, to the house of *Simon* the leper, (whom he probably had cured,) and there he took his last supper with his friends.

CHRIST’S HEAD ANOINTED.

On this occasion, during the entertainment, he received his last unction ; when another woman, whose name is not mentioned, poured costly and fragrant spikenard upon his *head*, completing that of *Mary* the sister of *Lazarus*, on the preceding Sunday, ver. 6, 7. If we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, where the Evangelists are silent, this woman was no other than the rich and respectable *Mary Magdalene*, who had been indebted to JESUS for the cure of a most grievous malady, Luke viii. 2. and who, according to some commentators, *Lightfoot*, &c. was the first of the three women that anointed him at *Caper-naum*, the first year of his ministry, at the house of *Simon* the Pharisee, Luke vii. 36—40. probably confounding *Simon* the leper with him, and the first unction with the last : whereas they differed in several respects ; for the first woman was a notorious sinner, and only anointed the *feet* of CHRIST. The tradition, therefore, might have been incorrect only in these respects ; and if we substitute *Mary Magdalene* as the last woman instead of the first, we offer no disgrace to her memory, which was so highly honoured by our Lord himself, on this occasion, with the encomium, that “she had wrought a *good work* upon him, in

* This annunciation was evidently made on *Wednesday evening*. The generality of Harmonists, *Newcome*, &c. arbitrarily transfer it to *Wednesday morning* ; and thereby derange the harmony of the Passion week ; leaving the supper of *Simon* the leper as the only occurrence of *Wednesday*, after it.

preparing for his *embalment* ; and that it should be recorded to her honour, *wheresoever his gospel should be preached throughout the whole world,*" ver. 10—13.

That *Mary Magdalene*, indeed, was a woman of the highest rank and respectability, and of the most affectionate attachment to CHRIST, and therefore the most likely to give this public testimony of her veneration, so grateful to Him, we collect from the sequel : for she is named the first of all the women who attended his funeral, before *Joanna*, the wife of *Chuzar*, *Herod's* steward, and our Lord's own relations ; and on the morning of the resurrection he appeared to her, the first of all his disciples, Mark xvi. 9, as if to signalize her superior worth and attachment, by this distinguished honour. And as it was customary for the *Jews* to entertain their friends who came to celebrate the pass-over, more sumptuously on the four preceding days of preparation, or purification, from the tenth to the thirteenth of the month, there is reason to think that *Mary Magdalene* was among the guests at *Bethany*, both in the houses of *Lazarus* and of *Simon* ; and might now have been led to complete the pious unction on the last day, begun by *Mary*, the sister of *Lazarus*, on the first, to which she had been witness.

This additional costly tribute of veneration, again excited the indignation of his disciples in general, as before chiefly of *Judas*, "*To what purpose is this waste ? for this ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor.*" And our Lord's repeated rebuke, involving *Judas* among the rest, completed the traitor's resentment, whereby *Satan* led him (Luke xxii. 3, John xiii. 2.) to retire immediately from the company, and bargain with the chief priests, (whom he probably found still sitting in council,) to deliver up his master to them for thirty pieces of silver, or thirty shekels, the paltry price of a slave, gored by an ox, Exod. xxi. 32, unwittingly fulfilling, on both sides, *Zechariah's* prophecy, xi. 12, 13. (See Vol. II. p. 478.)

This unexpected treachery, offered by one of his own disciples, made the chief priests alter their resolution of not seizing and putting him to death during the *Paschal* feast, for fear of exciting a tumult among the people ; " and from that time *Judas* sought opportunity to deliver him up," in the absence of the multitude *, ver. 14, 15, Luke xxii. 1—6.

* On this occasion the chief priests probably settled the plan with *Judas*, upon which

CHRIST CELEBRATES THE PASSOVER.

The next morning, (*Thursday*,) JESUS sent his two favourite disciples, *Peter* and *John*, to prepare the passover, on this, the proper day, to a particular householder in the city, whom he knew to be a correct observer of the *Paschal* law, on the *fourteenth* day of the month, which the high priest incorrectly appointed for the fifteenth. (See Vol. I. p. 65, &c.) And he gave them a sign whereby they might find him. *Ye shall meet a man carrying a pitcher of water*, &c. Matt. xxvi. 17, 18, Mark xiv. 12, 13, Luke xxii. 7—12.

It was customary with the citizens of *Jerusalem*, on this occasion, to accommodate strangers with the free use of their houses and furniture. Our Lord, therefore, availed himself of the ancient hospitality. And we learn from tradition, that the *cœnaculum*, or “guest chamber,” of which he made use on this occasion, was situate in the city of *David*, and near his sepulchre. See the map of *Jerusalem*, and its explanation, Vol. I. p. 425, 437.

The *Jewish* mode of celebrating the passover was as follows.

1. The *males* of the family or company met together in the evening to eat the passover; then the master of the family, or of the company, who acted as *priest* on that occasion, according to patriarchal usage, after the company had first washed their feet, and placed themselves at *table* in a *reclining* posture*, on couches, first distributed to them pieces of the *paschal lamb*, and *unleavened bread*, and cups of *red wine*, until it was all eaten.

2. After this first repast, they washed their feet again, and placed themselves at table, to eat the second course, consisting of a dish of sallad, or bitter herbs, seasoned with a kind of sauce made of bruised palm branches, berries, or raisins, mixed with vinegar. This sauce was called *haroseth*, (from *haras*, “a brick,”) to represent the tempered clay of which their forefathers made bricks during the *Egyptian* bondage. Then the master of the

they afterwards acted; namely, to seize JESUS privately, at night, to have him condemned by the *high priest* and *Sanhedrim*; and then sentenced by the *Roman* governor, early in the morning, before the people could be assembled: concluding, that if they could put him into the hands of the *Roman* soldiery, there could be no further fear of rescue. As proved by the event.

* At the original institution they ate the passover “*standing*, with their staff in their hands, in haste,” like pilgrims setting out on a journey to the promised land, Exod. xii. 11.

family divided the bread into two parts, and laying one part aside, he covered it with a napkin, but he blessed the other part with the following grace, "*Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, the king of the whole world, in the eating of unleavened bread.*"

3. Then he took the *covered bread*, reserved for the third course, and dividing it into as many parts as there were guests, he gave to each a part. And one of the youngest of the company, or a child, asking the meaning of this mysterious rite, according to Exod. xii. 6, he answered by repeating the *hagadah*, or "shewing forth," "*This is the bread of affliction, which our fathers ate in the land of affliction. Let him that is hungry, come and eat the passover; let him that hath need, come and eat the passover; for this passover is our saviour and our refuge.*" Then taking the cup, he first tasted it himself, and presented it to each of them, saying, "*Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, king of the world, who hast created the fruit of the vine.*" This last cup, therefore, was usually called "*the cup of blessing,*" 1 Cor. x. 6, or "*the cup of salvation,*" Psalm cxvi. 13.

4. The whole ceremony ended with singing the 113th and the five following psalms of praise and thanksgiving, for all God's mercies; of which the last, the 118th, was peculiarly significant of the coming of CHRIST. This they called the *great Halleluiah*.

This account, collected from *Lightfoot* and *Dodd's Commentaries* on Matt. xxvi. 20, *Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible*, and *Scaliger de emendat. Temp.* p. 573, throws considerable light on the concise and intricate accounts of the Evangelists, and tends to detect that remarkable inversion of the historical order of time in *Luke's* narrative, noticed before.

1. When the disciples had prepared the passover, or dressed the paschal lamb, in the *evening*, at the appointed time, Exod. xii. 6, (see Vol. I. p. 15,) JESUS reclined, or placed himself at table, with the twelve, and said unto them, "*I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, that I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of GOD. And He took the cup, and blessed, and said, Take, and divide this among yourselves; for I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come,*" Luke xxii. 13—18.

It has been imagined, that this prediction was fulfilled when "JESUS ate and drank with his Apostles after his *resurrec-*

tion," Acts x. 41. But it is no where said that he drank *wine*; but rather *water*, their ordinary beverage at meals*; for this was sufficient to establish the reality of his *corporeal* presence. It remains therefore to be fulfilled at his second coming in glory, as more explicitly stated in the sequel.

"After the paschal supper," (δειπνου γενομενου,) or when the first course was ended, JESUS arose from table, and departing from the usage, prepared to wash the Apostles' feet *himself*, to set them an example of humility to their inferiors; that as He, whom they justly and emphatically styled "THE TEACHER," and "THE LORD †," washed their feet, so should they likewise wash each other's feet.

Offended at what he deemed a degradation of his LORD, *Peter* at first refused to let JESUS wash his feet, until JESUS declared that otherwise he should be rejected as a disciple. After this ceremony, our Lord said that "*they were pure, but not all*," alluding to the traitor *Judas*, whose intention to deliver him up he knew; and in reference to him, he cited a Scripture prophecy, *He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me*, Psalm xli. 10, as an aggravation of his treachery; stating further, that he foretold this, *before it happened*, for the confirmation of their faith afterwards, John xiii. 2—19.

This significant lesson of humility, might have been suggested by the recent ambitious contest between the disciples for precedence; in reference to which, he warned them not to imitate the pride and arrogance of the *kings of the Gentiles*, who lorded it over their subjects, and assumed the pompous title of *benefactors*; but rather to imitate his example, who, though their LEADER, now acted as their *attendant* at table, Luke xxii. 24—27.

To encourage them for their perseverance in adhering to him during his *trials*, he promised them a glorious future reward: "*As my Father hath granted unto me a kingdom, even so, I grant unto you, to eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom; and to sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel*;" (as this important passage may be more correctly translated,) Luke

* See Judg. iv. 19, 1 Kings xiii. 9—19, xvii. 6, xix. 6, Amos viii. 11, Matt. x. 42, &c.

† Ὁ διδασκαλος, και, ὁ Κυριος, distinct titles of CHRIST. *Middleton*, p. 369. The articles are therefore injudiciously omitted in the *English Bible*, John xiii. 13.

xxii. 28—30. This was foretold to be “in the *regeneration*,” Matt. xix. 28.

But to correct the worldly-minded notions of them all, and especially of *Peter*, he addressed this emphatic warning to them, through him: “*Simon, Simon, Lo Satan hath sought to sift you, (δμας,) as wheat; but I prayed for thee in particular, (περι σου,) that thy faith fail not; and thou, when converted, confirm thy brethren.*” But he replied, “Lord, I am ready to go with thee both to *prison* and to *death.*” To check his over confidence, our Lord foretold, “*this night the cock shall not crow twice, until thou shalt deny Me thrice,*” Matt. xxvi. 34, Mark xiv. 30, Luke xxii. 31—34, John xiii. 36—38*.

2. After they had placed themselves again at table, to eat the second course, JESUS was troubled in spirit, and again testified more plainly than before, “*Verily, verily I say unto you, that one of you shall deliver me up. Lo, the hand of him that is to deliver me up, is with me at the table.* And they were greatly grieved, and began each of them to say unto him, one by one, *Is it I, Lord?* and another, *Is it I?* And he answered and said unto them, *He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish [of sallad,] the same shall deliver me up. The SON OF MAN indeed departeth, as it is written of Him, but woe unto that man by whom the Son of Man is delivered up: it had been well for that man if he had not been born,*” Matt. xxvi. 21—24, Mark xviii. 21, Luke xxii. 21, 22.

Judas now asked, in turn, *Is it I, Rabbi?* and *Jesus* answered in the affirmative, *Thou hast said* †. But this was in a low voice, unheard by the rest, Matt. xxvi. 25.

Meanwhile the disciples looked at each other, doubting of whom he spake. Then *Peter*, the most inquisitive, nodded to *John*, who reclined on *Jesus*' bosom, next to him at table, to enquire whom he meant; and *Jesus* answered *John* in a low

* It is not easy to harmonise the four Evangelists in the precise time of this transaction. From *Matthew* and *Mark*, we should conclude, that *Peter* was forewarned, on the way to Mount *Olivet*, after they had left the *Coenaculum*, or supper room, Matt. xxvi. 30—33, Mark xiv. 26—29. But *Luke* gives the warning in the room, and before the institution of the Lord's Supper, Luke xxii. 14—31; whereas *John*, although he gives it in the room, yet places it before the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the ensuing discourses; and long before he went out to Mount *Olivet*, xviii. 1. I have followed *John* therefore, the latest, and, as to the order of time, most exact of the Evangelists.

† This phrase implied a decided affirmation. See Matt. xxvii. 64.

voice, *He it is, to whom I shall give the morsel, after dipping it* [in the sauce.] And when he had dipped it, He gave it to *Judas Iscariot*. And after the morsel, *Satan** entered into him again, and took full possession of his heart: for finding that he was now detected by JESUS, and marked out to the whole company, by that significant act, *rage* and *fear* prompted him to put his premeditated treachery into instant execution, lest he should be prevented from “earning the wages of iniquity.” So he rose from table, as we may collect from our Lord’s saying aloud to him, “*What thou doest, do quickly.*” Thereupon he immediately *went out*, and it was *night*. But none of the company knew why JESUS spake thus unto him: for some thought, because *Judas* held the purse, that JESUS had commissioned him to purchase necessaries for the feast, or to give somewhat to the poor, John xiii. 23—30.

The departure of the traitor at this stage of the entertainment not only gave him full time to concert matters for apprehending his Lord with the chief priests; but also excluded him from the *Eucharist*, of which he was unworthy to partake.

INSTITUTION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER.

3. When *Judas* had departed, (John xiii. 31 †,) instead of the third course of the entertainment, OUR LORD substituted *his supper*, as it is styled by *St. Paul*, 1 Cor. xi. 20, of which, indeed, that third course was typical, as the *shadow* of “a new,” and “a better covenant,” Jer. xxxi. 31; Heb. viii. 6—13.

* The following is the substance of Bishop *Hall’s* awakening contemplation hereon.

“Favours ill used make the heart more guilty, and capable of further evil; that *wicked Spirit* commonly takes occasion, by any of GOD’S *gifts*, to assault us the more eagerly: after our *sacramental morsel*, if we be not the better, we are surely the worse. Thus *Satan* took advantage by the *sop*, of a further possession, who had twice before made a palpable entry into his false heart; first in his *covetousness* and *theft*, and next in his damnable plot of *conspiracy* against CHRIST: as in every *gross sin* which we entertain, we give harbour to that *evil one*, so at every *growth in wickedness*, new hold is taken by him of the heart. At first *Satan* entered, to make ‘the house’ of *Judas’* heart ‘his own:’ now he *enters it* as being ‘his.’ The first *purpose* of sin opens the gates to *Satan*; *consent* admits him into the entry; *full resolution* of sin gives up the keys into his hands, and puts him into absolute possession. What an awakening consideration to every serious heart. ‘*Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.*’”

† *John* entirely omits the institution of the *Lord’s Supper*, as being already detailed by the other Evangelists, and proceeds immediately to the *discourses* that followed it at the *Cænaculum* and at the Mount of *Olives*.

The form of the institution is thus collected from the joint accounts of the Evangelists and St. *Paul*.

After the [*Pâschal*] supper *, JESUS took the bread [that had been reserved at the second course, and covered with a napkin,] and blessed, and brake, and gave to the disciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is to be broken † and given † for you. Do this in remembrance of me.*

Likewise, he took the cup, and blessed, and gave to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Covenant, or the New Covenant [ratified] in my blood, which is to be shed † for you, and for many, for the remission of sins. Do this,*

* Μετα το δειπνησαι. This character of the *time* of the institution is attached by *Luke*, xxii. 20, to the administration of the cup, but it "likewise" applies to the administration of the bread in the preceding verse 19, as signified by ὡσαυτως, connected with μετα το δειπνησαι. And indeed it appears, from the whole tenor of the history, (as recorded also by *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Paul*,) that both were administered, in uninterrupted continuation, at the same time; like the bread and wine at the third and last course of the Jewish passover, on which this rite was founded.

Not sufficiently advertent to this apparent transposition of the time, Archbishop *Newcome*, in his *Harmony*, has separated the institution of the cup from that of the bread; and arbitrarily inserted between them OUR LORD'S consolatory discourse, *John* xiv. 1—30, cutting off its conclusion, ver. 31, essentially connected therewith, by the particle αλλα, which was spoken, after all was over, in quitting the *Cœnaculum*.

† These participles, κλωμενον, διδομενον, εκχυνομενον, though in the present tense, are to be understood in the future, for μελλον κλασθαι, διδοσθαι, εκχυνεσθαι, according to the frequent usage of the Evangelists, and the best classic authors. The propriety of this reasoning is confirmed by the *Romish Antwerp Missal* of 1626, "published according to the decree of the Council of *Trent*, by command of *Pius V.* and revised by authority of *Clement VII.*," which thus renders the words of consecration of the elements into Latin:

Hoc est enim corpus meum——et hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi [et æterni] testamenti, [mysterium Fidei] qui, pro vobis et pro multis, effundetur, in remissionem peccatorum.

Here the expression qui effundetur, "which shall be shed," critically renders the Greek of St. *Paul*, το εκχυνομενον, incorrectly rendered in our English Bible, "which is shed."

This authority, the very highest in the Church of *Rome*, is decisive against the monstrous tenet of *transubstantiation*, or "change" of the elements "into the substance" of the body and blood of CHRIST, by the priest, in the sacrifice of the mass, by virtue of the words of consecration. For surely these words, uttered by the priest, can signify no more than when uttered by CHRIST; and He evidently alluded to the approaching sacrifice of himself on the cross; on which his body was to be broken, or pierced, and his blood shed by the nails and by the spear.

Her sacrament of the mass is also contrary to Scripture, and to primitive usage, in withholding the cup from the laity, which she inconsistently grants to the priest. This innovation, introduced by the Council of *Constance*, and sanctioned by the Council of *Trent*, was early censured by Pope *Leo*, in 440, as "a deviation from primitive usage, borrowed from the *Manichean* Heretics." And by Pope *Gelasius* in 492, who prohib-

as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me, [after my departure.] For I say unto you, that I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you, new, in my Father's kingdom; or in the regeneration, as observed before, Matt. xxvi. 26—29; Mark xiv. 22—25; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

The *Lord's Supper*, therefore, was instituted for a solemn memorial of "the sacrifice of the death of CHRIST, and of the benefits we receive thereby," if we participate worthily, with hearty repentance and true faith. "Do this in remembrance of me." And it was to subsist until his next advent in glory, at the regeneration. "For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the LORD'S death, till He come," 1 Cor. xi. 26.

4. To mark the analogy between the two institutions, the Jewish and the Christian, more strongly, OUR LORD concluded this by singing a hymn with his disciples, (ὕμνησαντες,) Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26. And the same expression for the Great Halleluiah, is used in the *Midrash Tillim*, הַיְיָנוּן, *Himnum*. Lightfoot.

When the whole was ended, JESUS said, "Now is the SON OF MAN glorified," (εδοξασθη) [by the discharge of his ministry.] And GOD is glorified in Him. If God is glorified in Him, GOD shall also glorify Him in himself, and shall glorify him speedily, [at his resurrection, Psalm ii. 7, cx. 1; Rom. i. 4; Phil. ii. 8, 9;] John xiii. 31, 32.

This speedy glorification and exaltation in heaven, at God's right hand, he thus more fully expressed.

Dear children *, I am to be with you but a little longer: ye

bited it as "a sacrilegious communion," violating our Lord's positive command, "Drink ye all of it;" and he thus well explained the true nature and design of the institution: "The sacraments of the body and blood of CHRIST are a divine thing, because by them we become partakers of the Divine nature, (2 Pet. i. 4,) and yet, the substance of bread and wine does not cease to exist: and the image and resemblance of the body and blood of CHRIST are celebrated in holy mysteries." *De duabus naturis Christi*.

N. B. The *Antwerp Missal*, by the explanatory clause, *mysterium Fidei*, like Pope *Gelasius*, evidently considered the mysterious words of consecration to be meant figuratively; as they were also understood by the primitive fathers of the Church, especially *Origen* and *Augustine*, the latter, the oracle of the *Romish Church*. See the *Doctrine of Transubstantiation* examined, in the *Ninth of my Letters to Dr. Troy*, published in the *Antijacobin Review*, September, 1807.

* The diminutive *τρυφια* is expressive of fondness. So *Paul* calls the *Galatians*, iv. 19; and *John* the *Christians*, to whom he wrote, 1 John ii. 12, iii. 17, iv. 4, v. 21, &c.

shall seek me, but as I said to the *Jews*, “*Whither I go ye cannot come*, so now say I unto you;” or as he explains himself to *Peter*, “*Whither I go thou canst not follow me now, but thou shalt follow me hereafter*,” ver. 33—36.

He now enacted, as the means of following him,

THE NEW COMMANDMENT.

“*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. Hereby shall all know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love among each other*,” ver. 34, 35. In what respects this commandment of mutual love was *new*, will be shewn in the ensuing article of THE SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL.

These solemn institutions of the peculiar and fundamental laws of CHRISTIANITY were followed by an admirable discourse to his afflicted disciples, breathing consolation, comfort, and encouragement to “*trust in God and in HIM also*,” for protection, support, and final reward; concluding with this benediction.

“*Peace I bequeath unto you, my peace I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor afraid. Ye have heard that I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you; if ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I said I go to the FATHER; for MY FATHER is greater than I*,” [with whom there is *fulness of joy, and pleasure for evermore*, Psalm xvi. 11.]

He again referred them to the accomplishment of these his prophecies, for full proof that He was THE CHRIST, the SON OF GOD: and now I tell you *before they happen*, that when they happen, ye may believe, ver. 27—29.

And he concluded his discourse by indirectly obviating an objection, drawn from the seeming superiority of the *powers of darkness*, who were speedily to apprehend, and put him to death.

“*I will not speak with you much longer; for the ruler of this world, [the Devil,] is coming, though he hath no claim on me, [because of my innocence.] But [I submit, and lay down my life, of my own accord, x. 17, 18,] that the world may know that I love the FATHER, and [that] as THE FATHER enjoined me, even so I do. Arise, let us go hence*,” ver. 30, 31.

The company now *arose* from table, but did not immediately

quit the room*. They still remained there, in the more solemn posture of *standing*, which was customary at *prayer*, (Luke xviii. 11.) while they listened with reverence to our Lord's continuation of his divine *discourse* and *intercession*, recorded alone by *John*, in the xvth, xvith, and xviith, most precious chapters of his Gospel.

HIS LAST DISCOURSE.

In this parting discourse, he resumes and enlarges on his former topics of comfort and consolation, with a calmness and composure, and a tenderness of affection, worthy indeed of THE SON OF GOD.

1. He begins with the parable of *the vine*. The *Jewish Church* had often been symbolized in the Old Testament, by a *choice vine*, planted in the hill country of *Judea*, after their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, by GOD himself, as "*the husbandman*," Gen. xlix. 11, Psalm lxxx. 8—11, Isa. v. 1—7, Jer. ii. 21. But when this highly favoured *vine* degenerated,

* There is a considerable difficulty in harmonizing St. *John* with the other Evangelists in this place. The rest state, that our Lord, when he left the *cœnaculum*, went to the Mount of *Olives*, Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39; and afterwards, to the Garden of *Gethsemane*, Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32; Luke xxii. 40. Whereas, *John* takes no notice of the Mount of *Olives*, but only of *Gethsemane*, John xviii. 1. The usual mode of solving the difficulty is, that our Lord and his disciples went first to the Mount of *Olives*, as he proposed, John xiv. 31, where he delivered his last discourse and intercession; and afterwards, to the Garden. But to this Archdeacon *Churton*, in his valuable communications, has opposed insuperable objections: 1. that the word *ἐξήλθον*, "*they went out*," is properly applied by the three Evangelists, to mark departure from the *cœnaculum*; but would be improperly implied by *John* to mark departure from the *Mount*. 2. That in his way from the *Mount* to the *Garden*, Christ could not "*cross the brook Kedron*," (as *John* asserts expressly that he did,) because the Garden was "*beyond the brook*," or further from the city, and therefore nearer to the mountain. But he has satisfactorily solved the difficulty, by observing, 1. That the expression *ἐξήλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν* should rather be rendered "*they went out toward the Mount of Olives*;" for the preposition *εἰς* is frequently taken in the sense of *toward* a place, or in that direction, Luke xiii. 22, where it is so rendered, &c. 2. That the Garden of *Gethsemane* was within the precincts of the Mount of *Olives*; and, therefore, that they went to the district of the Mount of *Olives* in their way to the Garden. To which may be added, 3. That there was no stop or delay at the Mount of *Olives*; as is evident from *Luke's* account, exactly corresponding with *John's*. Compare Luke xxii. 39, 40, with John xviii. 1, 2.

Hence it appears, that our Lord and his disciples did not leave the *cœnaculum* after the first discourse; and may not his proposal, *εγείρεσθε, ἀγωμεν ἐντευθεν*, (upon which the supposition of quitting the room is founded) be more correctly rendered, "*Rise, let us remove from hence*," i. e. from the supper table, at which they had been sitting. John xiv. 31.

and “brought forth *wild grapes* and *poisonous berries*,” or the *Jewish Church* became corrupt in faith and practice, it was threatened to be rooted up, and to be superseded by the *Christian Church*, founded in CHRIST himself, as “the *true vine*,” of which his disciples were to be “the *branches*,” or members. But he warns them that the *Christian Church* was still subject to the same discipline and culture as the *Jewish*; for that GOD would cut off every *barren* branch in CHRIST, and prune every *bearing* branch, in order that it may produce more fruit; while they, by his instructions, were now become “*pure*,” or bearing branches, but must expect to be pruned, xv. 1—3.

2. He warns them against *spiritual pride*, or *self-sufficiency*, and reliance on their own strength, and recommends a steady adherence to Him and to his doctrines, as the only means of their “producing *much fruit*, for *without Him they could do nothing*.” That this only would prevent their rejection, and secure his Father’s favour, ver. 4—8.

3. He repeats his *new commandment*, founded on his own example, to *love one another*, as he had *loved them*, and gratuitously chosen them to be his disciples, and that as he was *ready to lay down his life for them*, whom he condescended to style *his friends*, so long as they observed his commands, so should they do likewise for his sake and the Gospel’s. And he forewarns them of the *persecutions* they must expect from the world; that it had persecuted him, *their chief*, without cause, and would persecute them *his servants*, ver. 9—25.

4. He also repeats his promise of sending them “*another Advocate** from the Father,” even the HOLY SPIRIT, (xiv. 16, 17,) That as he himself was “their *Advocate* with the Father,” (1 John ii. 1,) so he would send them an *Advocate* also with the world, who should *testify of him*, by the *spiritual gifts* and *graces* miraculously conferred upon them, by the *gift of tongues*, by guiding them into *all the truth* of the Christian dispensation necessary for them to know, by bringing all his *conversations* to their remembrance, and by shewing them *things to come*, or the future fortunes of his Church. That when the HOLY SPIRIT was come (as on the day of *Pentecost*), He should, by their mi-

* The word παρακλητος is used in this forensic sense of an “advocate,” who pleads the cause of another, in opposition to κατηγορος, “an accuser,” by Demosthenes, Barnabas, Philo, the Targumists, and Talmudists. See Wetstein, N.T. Vol. I. p. 934, and Schleusner’s Lexicon.

nistry, convince the world of *sin*, of *righteousness*, and of *judgment*. 1. Of *sin*, for not believing in CHRIST, after he had done among them the works which no man did, (Matt. ix. 33, John ix. 32.) 2. Of *righteousness*, or *justification* through CHRIST, as proved by his *resurrection* and *ascension* to the Father, to be the ADVOCATE of mankind, by the imputation of *his own righteousness* to them*, (Rom. iii. 26, v. 18, 2 Cor. v. 21.) And 3. Of *judgment*, or the future general judgment, in which *Satan, the ruler of this world*, is to be judged, with the *world* itself, (2 Cor. iv. 4, Rev. xx. 10, Acts xvii. 31,) ver. 26, 27. xvi. 1—15.

5. He next reminds them, enigmatically, of his approaching departure. *A little while, and ye shall not see me; and again, a little while, and ye shall see me, because I go to the FATHER*; intimating, as explained by the event, that he would disappear from them at his death, during three days, and again appear to them after his resurrection, at intervals, during forty days, until his ascension, when they should see him no more on earth. Not understanding this, they debated among themselves what could be its meaning, and wished for an explanation. Our Lord then told them, that he knew their wishes, but waved the explanation, as unnecessary to be given them at that time. Satisfied with this proof of Divinity,—*knowing their thoughts*,—they declared their belief that *He knew all things*, and therefore must have *come from GOD*. To check over confidence, however, in their faith, he forewarned them of their approaching desertion of him, when *each of them should be scattered, and leave him alone* in the hands of his enemies; though even then he would not be *alone, since THE FATHER was with him*. And he thus concluded his consolatory discourse.

“These things have I spoken unto you, that in ME ye might have *peace*; in the *world* ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, *I have overcome the world*, [and will enable you to overcome the world also,” 1 John v. 5, Rom. viii. 37,] ver. 16—23.

* This interpretation seems preferable to the received, that CHRIST's *righteousness*, or innocence, was proved to the world, by his *ascension* to THE FATHER. It was modestly and diffidently suggested by *Gilpin*, in his N.T. on the place.

HIS INTERCESSION.

Our blessed, and ever to be blessed HIGH PRIEST, “fulfilled all *legal* righteousness,” from the beginning to the end of his sacred function, Matt. iii. 15. As *Aaron*, the first *Jewish* high-priest, at his consecration, was required to be *washed in water*, and to *have his head anointed with oil*, Exod. xxix. 4—7, so CHRIST was consecrated to be *the world’s* High-Priest at his BAPTISM, when he was *washed in water*, and *anointed with THE HOLY SPIRIT*, descending from heaven, and *resting* visibly on his *head*, Psalm xlv. 7, Heb. i. 9, Acts x. 38. During the course of it, *he preached the GOSPEL to the poor—to the poor in spirit*, Isaiah lxi. 1, Matt. v. 3—10, xi. 5. And as the *Jewish* high-priest, on the day of *atonement*, was required to make *annual intercession* for *himself*, for his *household*, the *Priests* and *Levites*, and for the *whole nation*, Levit. xvi. 17, (see Vol. II. p. 250,) so our *all-sufficient* High-Priest, *once for all*, Heb. ix. 26, Rom. vi. 10, on this his great day of *atonement*, solemnly *interceded* with GOD HIS FATHER for *himself*, that he might be received into *glory*, his original glory in heaven, xvii. 1—5, for his *household*, the *Apostles* and *Disciples*, that GOD would preserve them in *his name*, or in the true religion; give them a spirit of *unity* and *concord*, and protect them in, and from the *wicked world*, ver. 6—19; and that, finally, they might partake of his *glory* in heaven, and also be supported by his *love* and *presence* on earth, ver. 24—26; and also for all *future believers*, through their preaching, that they might be endued with the same spirit of *unity* and *concord*, and for the *conversion* of the *whole world*, ver. 20—23.

This seventeenth chapter, thus briefly analyzed, as has been observed by commentators, contains the “*easiest words*, but the *deepest sense* of any in all the Scriptures.” It unfolds, indeed, in a short compass, that *grand mystery of the Gospel*, the instituted *means* of the *salvation of mankind*, by THE FATHER and THE SON, conjointly, from their *love* to the world.

“Then JESUS lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, FATHER, *the hour is come* [of my *passing* from this world to Thee, xiii. 1.] *Glorify THY SON*, [with the Glory which I had with thee, *before the world was*, ver. 5, Phil. ii. 6,] *that thy Son may glorify Thee*, [or promote thy glory in his *preparatory*

kingdom, Phil. ii. 9—11, that GOD *may be all in all*, 1 Cor. xv. 28,] *according as thou hast given him authority over all flesh*, [or mankind, to raise them from the dead, John v. 27—29, and] *to give eternal life to all* [the disciples] *that thou hast given Him,*” John xvii. 2.

“And this is [their way of attaining] *eternal life*: *To know Thee THE ONLY TRUE GOD*, and JESUS CHRIST, *whom Thou didst send forth,*” [to shew them *the true way to eternal life*, John xiv. 6; to *instruct* and *save* mankind, as “the APOSTLE and HIGH-PRIEST of our profession,” Heb. iii. 1,] John xvii. 1—5.

This saving *knowledge* of THE FATHER and THE SON, which we owe entirely to THE SON, John i. 18, Matt. xi. 27, is not merely *speculative*, but practical, producing *obedience*. For “CHRIST became the author of *eternal salvation* to all that *obey Him,*” [and to them only,] Heb. v. 9.

When THE FATHER is styled “THE ONLY TRUE GOD,” it is not to be understood by way of *exclusion* of the Son, as if the Son also was not truly God; but only by way of *eminence* or *precedence*, κατ’ ἐξοχην. For the Son, in a parallel passage, is expressly styled “THE TRUE GOD, and ETERNAL LIFE,” or, the God who is the true author of eternal life, 1 John v. 20. And in reference to both passages, it seems, the *Nicene Creed* styles CHRIST, “TRUE GOD of TRUE GOD,” or in old English, “VERY GOD, OF VERY GOD.” And the epithet Μονος, “only,” is frequently used in this latitude of signification, to denote “*pre-eminent* *.” Thus, when the Father is styled

* The terms *μονος* and *εἷς*, *Solus* and *unicus*, are frequently used in the Greek and Latin Classics, to denote “*excellent*,” “*pre-eminent*,” “*extraordinary*,” “*singular*,” &c. as may be seen in the copious collection of examples, furnished by *Wetstein*, N. T. in his valuable Note on John xvii. 3, from which these are selected.

1. Ὑπερφυλον τον Λευκομηδην, και μονον ανδρα ηγονντο.

“They extolled *Leucomedes*, and reckoned him the *only* hero.” *Xenophon Res. Græc.* VII.

2. Εφειροντο—προς τον Μαρκιον, ένα στρατηγον και μονον αρχοντα εαυτων γινωσκειν εκεινον λεγοντες.

“They burst forth into praises of *Marcius Coriolanus*, saying, that they acknowledged him for their *sole* general and *only* ruler.” *Plutarch.* *Coriolanus.*

3. Του δε μηκετι των αλλων επεφανη τινα και λαμπρον εξω του ενος τουδε ανδρωθεντος γενεσθαι, ταυτην παραστηναι τοις πολλοις την δοξαν, οτι μονος εκεινος εκ του Φαβιων γενουε εστι λοιπος, ουχ ως μηδενος αλλου οντος, αλλ’ ως μηδενος εκεινοε ομοιου, αρετη τεκμαιρομενοε το συγγενεε, ου φυσει.

“Since there was no longer any of the rest of the *Fabian* family that did any thing remarkable or splendid, except this single person, after he had arrived at manhood, the

Μονῷ σοφῷ Θεῷ, "THE ONLY WISE GOD," Rom. xvi. 27, Jude 25; τον μονον δεσποτην Θεον, "THE ONLY SOVEREIGN GOD," Jude 4*; 'Ο μακαριος και μονος Δυναστης, "THE

generality were induced to be of opinion, that *he alone was left of his family*; not that *there was no other*, but that *there was none like them*; the people judging of kindred by merit, not by birth." *Dionysius Hal.* ix. 22.

4. Τον Δημητριον οἱ Αθηναιοι εδεχοντο — ηδον ορχουμενοι και επαδοντες, ὡς ειη μονος θεος αληθινος, οἱ δε αλλοι καθευδουσιν, η αποδημουσιν, η ουκ εισιν· γεγωνως δε ειη εκ Ποσειδωνος και Αφροδιτης.

"The Athenians received *Demetrius* with songs and dances, celebrating him as their *only true God*, while the rest were either asleep, or travelling, or not in being; and that he was the son of *Neptune* and *Venus*." *Demochares ap. Athen.* vi. 253.

5. *O omnium quantum est qui vivunt homo hominum ornatissime*, Nam sine controversia, a Diis solus diligere.

"O most excellent of all men living, for unquestionably you are the *only favourite of the gods*." *Ter. Phormio.* v. 6.

6. An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautæ Numina sola colant. *Virg. Georg.* i. 30, where *Servius* explains *sola*, by "*magna, præcipua, id est, supra alios deos marinos.*"

7. *Archimedes* is erat *unicus* spectator cœli et siderum. Here *Archimedes* is celebrated as a *consummate astronomer*. *Livius* xxiv. 34.

8. Mirati sumus *unicum* magistrum, *sumum* grammaticum, *optimum* poetam, omnes solvere posse quæstiones. *Suetonius*. *Grammat.* II. Here *unicum* is ascertained to have the same meaning, by its synonymes.

9. *Vulgus* et cæteri *unum virum ducemque*, spretâ aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferunt. *Tacitus* H. iii. 3. Here *unus* is taken in the same sense as *unicus*.

These instances seem sufficient to shew the popular use of the word *μονος* in the sense of *excellent*, &c. as expressly stated, No. 3; and of the phrase in question, *μονος Θεος αληθινος*, No. 4, which evidently was not applied to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by the Athenians, in exclusion of their other gods, especially his supposed parents, *Neptune* and *Venus*, but only denoted his *pre-eminence*, as their tutelar god and protector, according to their blasphemous adulation.

* This is the received application of the passage to THE FATHER. But those learned and ingenious critics, Mr. *Granville Sharpe*, and Dr. *Middleton*, apply it to CHRIST, and render the whole passage thus: "And denying the *only Sovereign God and Lord of us, JESUS CHRIST*," or "our *only Sovereign God and Lord, JESUS CHRIST*." See *Sharpe's* Remarks upon the Definitive Article, p. 46, second edit and *Middleton's* Doctrine, &c. p. 658.

The rule upon which their construction is founded, is the following: "When two *personal nouns* of the *same case* are connected by the copulative *και*, if both have the definitive article, they relate to *different persons*; if only the former has the definitive article, they relate to the *same person*." And the accuracy of this *general rule*, as it respects both *diversity* and *identity*, is fully established by *Middleton*, p. 79, &c. p. 571, from the usage of the sacred and profane classics.

But *Sharpe* himself allows, that "the rule may sometimes prove rather *too much*; and, in this instance especially, may be liable to favour the *Sabellian* heresy, followed by the *Swedenborgians*, that *Jesus Christ is the only God*," p. 51. And *Middleton* too, has proved that the rule requires *limitations*, especially in the case of *proper names*, which often form an *exception* to its latter part. Thus τον Αλεξανδρον και Φιλιππον, (*Æsch. cont. Ctesiph.* § 81,) "*Alexander and Philip*" are clearly distinct persons; and

BLESSED AND ONLY POTENTATE," Ὁ μόνος ἐχὼν ἀθάνασιαν, "WHO ONLY HATH IMMORTALITY," 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. And when OUR LORD, modestly disclaiming the title of "Good

the article *τον*, is applied to the former *only*, by way of *eminence*, as "the (*well known*) *Alexander*;" while it is understood in the latter, but not expressed; for "the *Philip*" meant, is sufficiently ascertained, as the father of *Alexander*, by being thus *associated* with him. Compare *Middleton*, p. 82, 83, 86, 109, 112, 117, 118. This exception is precisely in point, and warrants the received interpretation of the passage.

2. The context confirms it also. The Apostle *Jude* addresses his Epistle to the "called," or elect *Christians*, "who are sanctified in GOD THE FATHER, (Θεῷ πατρὶ,) and preserved in JESUS CHRIST;" (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) he exhorts them to contend earnestly for the *faith* once delivered to the saints; and he warns them against reprobate *Infidels*, who perverted the *grace* of OUR GOD into *licentiousness*; "denying both THE ONLY SOVEREIGN GOD, and OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." (Καὶ τὸν μόνον δεσποτὴν Θεοῦ, καὶ κυριὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι,) ver. 1—4.

Here the last clause, "OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST," is in apposition, not with the second, "THE ONLY SOVEREIGN GOD," but with the first, *τον Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*, "OUR GOD," whose "*grace*" these *Infidels* perverted*. And *Jude's* doctrine critically corresponds with *John's*,—"Who is the *liar*, but he that denieth that JESUS is THE CHRIST? this is the *Antichrist* that denieth THE FATHER and THE SON," (ὁ ἀρνούμενος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν,) 1 John ii. 22. The speculative *Antichrist* of *John*, and the practical of *Jude*, equally denying both THE FATHER and THE SON.

The second clause, "THE ONLY SOVEREIGN GOD," is rather in apposition with "THE ONLY WISE GOD OUR SAVIOUR," ver. 25; but this relates to GOD THE FATHER, (Θεῷ πατρὶ,) ver. 1, for "THE ONLY WISE GOD," is appropriated to Him, Rom. xvi. 27; and He is expressly styled "GOD OUR SAVIOUR," in the first instance, as distinguished from "JESUS CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR," in the second, Tit. iii. 4—7. *Middleton's* conjecture is unfounded, that this expression, "GOD OUR SAVIOUR," Tit. iii. 4, should be understood rather of CHRIST, p. 573.

And in every other instance, *μόνος* "*only*," indicating *pre-eminence*, (as shewn in the foregoing note,) is applied to THE FATHER, as "THE ONLY TRUE GOD," "THE BLESSED AND ONLY POTENTATE," &c. which last is plainly parallel with this.

3. The epithet *δεσποτῆς ὁ Θεός*, is applied to THE FATHER, Acts iv. 24, and also by *Justin Martyr*, in the following express passages: ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς παντῶν καὶ δεσποτοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς καὶ ἀποστολὸς ὢν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. "JESUS CHRIST, who is our Teacher, and Son and Apostle of THE FATHER OF ALL, and SOVEREIGN GOD." And again, describing the Trinity; ἐπ' ὀνοματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων καὶ δεσποτοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. "In the name of THE FATHER OF ALL, and SOVEREIGN GOD, and of OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, and of [THE] HOLY SPIRIT." In this last clause, the article is understood, though not expressed, as being unnecessary, on account of the *notoriety* of the *association* of these three *proper names*.

N.B. The necessity of rectifying the mistakes of eminent critics, and acquiring clear, distinct, and correct ideas, on a subject of such high *theological* importance, must apologize for the length and minuteness of these and the following *philological* notes.

* Thus *Paul* has combined them, *κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, "According to the grace of OUR GOD AND LORD, JESUS CHRIST," 2 Thess. i. 12, whom *Thomas* styled, ὁ κυριὸς μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου, "MY LORD AND MY GOD," John xx. 28.

Teacher,” given him by the self-sufficient Pharisee, answered, “Why callest thou *Me good?* there is none Good, but GOD ONLY*,” Matt. xix. 17, we are to understand, that THE FATHER is pre-eminently “the fountain of all *wisdom,*” *sovereignty,* *power,* and *immortality,* the source of all *goodness;* which, in all other beings, even THE SON himself, are derived from Him, according to the whole tenour of OUR LORD’S doctrine. In this sense, CHRIST also is styled “THE WISDOM OF GOD,” “GOD,” “LORD,” “KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS,” &c. as being “THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD,” “THE EFFULGENCE OF HIS GLORY, THE IMPRESS OF HIS SUBSISTENCE, UPHOLDING THE UNIVERSE BY THE WORD OF HIS POWER,” Heb. i. 3, &c. Therefore, “To HIM that *sitteth upon the throne,* and to THE LAMB, be ascribed THE BLESSING, and THE HONOUR, and THE GLORY, and THE DOMINION, for ever and ever. Amen.” Rev. v. 13. That all may HONOUR THE SON, according as they HONOUR THE FATHER: “Whosoever honoureth not THE SON, honoureth not THE FATHER who sent him †,” John v. 23, which was also

* This is the correct translation; for the same phrase, *εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ Θεός*, is so rendered, Mark ii. 7, “Who can forgive sins *but God only?*” corresponding to the varied phrase, *εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Θεός*, speaking of the same thing, Luke v. 21; in both cases, the synonymous terms *εἰς* and *μόνος*, (as shewn before,) though *adjectives* of the masculine gender, as agreeing with the substantive *Θεός*, are to be taken *adverbially*. This is an important correction; for the received translation of Matt. xix. 17, and of the parallel passages, Mark x. 18, Luke xviii. 19, namely, “There is none good *but one,* [that is] *God,*” besides its inaccuracy, has been produced, and strongly urged, by *Arians, Socinians,* and *Unitarians,* (running into the opposite extreme from the *Sabellians* and *Swedenborgians,*) to support their heresy, denying the *divinity* of CHRIST, and degrading him to a *mere man;* falsely supposing, that the term *εἰς*, here, denotes “*one person.*” But this interpretation proves *too much,* and therefore confutes itself; for it would *undeify* both THE SON and THE HOLY SPIRIT; because if there be only “*one person*” who is GOD, the rest have no right to the title, contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, which communicates the divine titles of GOD, LORD, &c. equally to them with THE FATHER.

† From this strong declaration of OUR SAVIOUR, expressed both positively and negatively, combined with the explanation of *John* and *Jude*, in the preceding note, p. 193, we may collect the heinousness of the crime of *infidelity,* or denial of the divinity of JESUS as GOD THE SON; because it involves the crime of *atheism* also, denying God’s PROVIDENCE, or superintendance of the universe, and making Him out a “*liar,*” by disbelieving the testimony He hath so abundantly given of HIS SON, 1 John v. 10. It is also downright *rebellion* against GOD Himself, upon the same principle, that He formerly considered the *Jews’* rejection of *Samuel* for their *judge,* as rather a rejection of the THEOCRACY; because *Samuel* was chosen and appointed by GOD, as their chief magistrate. “They have not rejected *thee,* but they have rejected ME, that I should not *reign over them,*” 1 Sam. viii. 7. This furnishes an awful subject of consideration to

the doctrine of the OLD TESTAMENT, Psalm ii. 10—12, l. 22, 23.

The true criterion of the *knowledge* of THE FATHER and of THE SON, is *obedience* to the NEW COMMANDMENT. This is finely expressed in our LORD's *intercession* for his present and future disciples, as their *Advocate* with the Father :

“ HOLY FATHER, *preserve them in thy name*, [or religion,] *whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are* [one, in concord and unanimity.]”

I pray not that thou wouldest take them out of the world, [in which they are to remain, in order to fulfil their commission,] *but that thou wouldest preserve them from the wicked* [world, Gal. i. 4.] *They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.*

“ *Sanctify them* [as my *Apostles*] *in thy truth* : (*thy word*, [or doctrine,] *is truth.*) *As Thou sentest me forth into the world, even so I sent them into the world*, [to preach it.] *And for their sake, I sanctify myself*, [as their *High Priest*,] *that they also may be sanctified in truth*, [or purified, to preach thy word.]

“ *Neither pray I for these only, but also for those who shall believe on me through their word*, [or doctrine ;] *that they all may be one*, [in concord and unanimity :] *that as Thou, FATHER, art in ME, and I in THEE, even so, they also may be one in us*,” [or agree together, following our concord and unanimity.]

And this *unity* or *unanimity* of the first converts, who were “ *all of one heart and soul*,” Acts iv. 32, was to be the most effectual means of converting *the world* to the faith of CHRIST : “ *That the world may believe that Thou didst send me forth*,” ver. 11—21.

The more effectually to promote this general conversion, he promised to impart his *own glory*, or the power of working *miracles*, to the Apostles, and first preachers of Christianity.

“ *And the glory which Thou hast given me*, (John ii. 11,) *I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one* ; (*I in them, and Thou in Me*,) *that they may be perfected into one*, and *that the world* [may also be *perfected* in faith, and]

Deists, who are indeed pitiable subjects of OUR LORD's *prayer* and *apology* on the cross, for *crucifying him afresh*, and *putting him to open shame*——“ FATHER, *forgive them*, for they *know not what they do* !”

may know, that Thou didst send me forth; and that Thou didst love them, as Thou didst love me," ver. 22, 23.

Hence it appears, that the meaning of our Lord's previous declaration, "*I pray for them, [the Apostles,] I pray not for the world,*" (ver. 9,) is not to be understood of the former, in exclusion, but only in preference of the latter. *I pray for them, rather than for the world;* by a usual phraseology, Matt. ix. 13, &c.

It was the decided opinion of the primitive Church, before the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, that the phrases *ἵνα ἐν ᾧσι*, "*that they may be one;*" *τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν*, "*perfected into one;*" John xvii. 22, 23 : *το ἐν φρονουντες*, "*one-minded;*" Phil. ii. 2 : *ἐν ἑνὶ πνευματι, μίᾳ ψυχῇ συναδλουντες τῇ πιστεὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, "*with one spirit, one soul, labouring together for the faith of the Gospel;*" Phil. i. 27 : all denoted *unanimity* or *concord*. And the fatal discords introduced along with the abstruseness of heathen *metaphysics*, into the original simplicity of *Gospel Theology*, are well expressed by *Cyprian*, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248, in these terms :

Nostra et IPSIUS conjunctio nec 'miscet personas,' nec 'unit substantias,' sed affectus consociat et confœderat voluntatem. "*Our union with CHRIST neither 'confounds persons' nor 'unites substances,' but associates our affections, and confederates our wills.*" *De Cœna Domini*, Cap. 6. Thus admirably distinguishing the moral *union* from the metaphysical *unity* of the schoolmen, and preferring the former, as more congenial to the spirit of the Gospel. See Vol. III. p. 152, note.

Our Lord concludes his *intercession* with a prayer for the future admission of his disciples into heaven, and a promise of continuing his Divine instructions to them on earth.

"FATHER, *I wish that they whom Thou hast given me, may also be with me, where I am going; that they may behold my glory which Thou gavest me: because thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world.*

"O RIGHTEOUS FATHER, *the world indeed knew Thee not, but I knew Thee, And these knew that Thou didst send me forth. And I make known to them thy name, [or religion,] and will make known, that the love wherewith Thou lovedst Me, may be in them, and I, [or my Spirit] in them,*" [to guide and support them continually, Matt. xxviii. 20,] ver. 24—26.

This *divine intercession*, from its extreme conciseness, produ-

cing some obscurity, required dilatation, in order to shew the connexion of the parts throughout. It comprises, in a short compass, the substance of our Saviour's whole doctrine. 1. The mystery of the GODHEAD; His own *divine nature* as the ETERNAL SON, and his antecedent *glory*, and intimate *union* with THE FATHER, *before the world was, before the foundation of the world*, in the clearest and most explicit terms. 2. The religion of the GOSPEL, to *know* THE FATHER and THE SON conjointly, as the essential requisite for the attainment of *eternal life*, or happiness in heaven. 3. It furnishes the first fruits of our gracious ADVOCATE'S mediation with THE FATHER, even here upon earth, as our great HIGH PRIEST also, worthy indeed of such an office, *holy, innocent, undefiled, separate from sinners*, and now *exalted above the heavens*; who, [as our REDEEMER, Job xix. 25,] *is everliving, to intercede for those who have access to GOD through Him; and by his eternal and unchangeable PRIESTHOOD, is able to save them to the uttermost*; who are *united in spirit with HIM and THE FATHER*; intimating their *joint LOVE to mankind*, Heb. vii. 24—26; Ephes. ii. 18; John iii. 16; 2 Tim. i. 9; Ephes. ii. 4, v. 2. See the ensuing article of *The Spirit of the Gospel*.

HE GOES TO GETHSEMANE.

When he had finished those inimitable effusions of *piety, friendship, and charity*, JESUS departed with his disciples from the *Cœnaculum*, to a place called *Gethsemane*, lying beyond the brook *Kedron*, where was a *garden*, to which he was accustomed to resort; 'into this he entered, and his disciples, at an advanced period of the night, if reckoned from the dismissal of *Judas*, when *night* had commenced,' (John xiii. 30,) Matt. xxvi. 36; Mark xiv. 32; Luke xxii. 40; John xviii. 1*.

HIS AGONY.

It has been remarked, that as the scene of temptation of the first *Adam* was the garden of *Eden*, so was the garden of *Gethsemane* that of the second *Adam* likewise. The *Devil*, after

* The garden of *Gethsemane*, according to tradition, is a plot of ground not above fifty-seven yards square, situate on the eastern side of the brook *Kedron*, near the bridge, between it and the foot of Mount *Olivet*. See *Sandys's Travels*, p. 148, *Maundrell*, p. 105, and the map of *Jerusalem* and its environs, with the explanation, in the first volume of this work.

having been foiled in his first series of *seductive* trials in the wilderness, then, we are told, “departed from him, for a *season*,” (Luke iv. 13,) and OUR LORD, early in this night, predicted his approach, (John xiv. 30,) to renew his last series of *terrific* temptations, with all *the power of darkness*, (Luke xxii. 53,) assailing him both inwardly and outwardly, first *himself*, and then by his emissaries, *Judas, the chief priests, Jews, and Romans*, in dreadful succession.

As soon as they had entered the garden, conscious of his influence, though invisible to mortal eye, JESUS said to the disciples, *Sit ye here, while I go, and pray yonder: pray ye also, not to enter into temptation.*

Then he took with him his confidential disciples, *Peter, James, and John*, apart from the rest, about a stone’s throw; and he fell into great *agony*, or perturbation of mind, which is described in the most forcible terms of amplification: He began to *be grieved*, (λυπεισθαι,) and *afflicted*, (αδημονειν,) and *exceedingly amazed* (εκθαμβεισθαι.) And he said, “My soul is *excessively grieved, unto death*, (περιλυπος εως θανατου.) Stay ye here, and *watch* with me,” Matt. xxvi. 36—38, Mark xiv. 32—34, Luke xxii. 40.

Every word and action of our blessed Lord, on this awful occasion, was significant. His first directions to the disciples, resembled *Abraham’s* to his servants, when going to encounter his sorest temptation, “*Stay ye here, with the ass, while I and the lad (Isaac,) go yonder and worship,*” Gen. xxii. 5; and how natural was his warning to them, when undergoing his own trial, *Pray ye, &c.*

His extraordinary *agony* might have proceeded from various suggestions.

1. The *unprofitableness* of his ministry, and the *ingratitude* of his country; which he pathetically lamented in his farewell discourse, “*O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets,*” &c. Matt. xxiii. 37. And *Isaiah* has finely represented the MESSIAH’S *despondency* on this account, and his FATHER’S *encouragement*.

XLIX. 4. “Then I said, I have *laboured in vain*,
I have *spent my strength* for nought, even for *vanity*:
Nevertheless, *my cause* is with THE LORD,
And *my work* is with MY GOD.”

5. “And now, thus saith THE LORD: —

6. Is it *little* for thee, to be appointed MY SERVANT,

To raise up the tribes of Jacob,
 And to restore the dispersed of Israel?
 Moreover, I have given thee for a light to the Gentiles,
 To be my salvation to the end of the earth."

2. The *priests* were required by the law, "to afflict their souls," on the great day of *atonement*, for the *sins of the nation*, Levit. xvi. 29. And THE LORD "added sorrow to the grief" of our Great HIGH PRIEST; as foretold also by *Isaiah*: He was appointed "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*," Isa. liii. 3—6.

"Then going a little further, he kneeled down, and fell on his face, and prayed, FATHER, *all things are possible unto Thee; If it be possible, let this cup [of affliction] pass away from Me! Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt; not my will, but Thine be done.*

And there appeared unto him an *angel from heaven, strengthening Him*; as after his former temptations, Matt. iv. 11.

And being in an *agony*, he prayed more intensely; and his sweat was like great *drops of blood*† falling on the ground.

* Bishop Hall has well expressed this, in his pious and eloquent *Contemplation*, thus abridged:

—"What human soul is capable of conceiving the least of those sorrows that oppressed THINE! Thou didst not only say, '*My soul is troubled!*' so it often was, even to tears:—but '*my soul is sorrowful*;'—changes, [or degrees] of passion are inherent to every human soul; but thine is *exceeding sorrowful*:—the most vehement may be capable of remedy, or at least of relaxation; but thine was past all these hopes; *exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.*

"What was it, what could it be, O thou SAVIOUR OF MEN, that lay thus heavy upon thy DIVINE SOUL? Was it the *fear of death*? Was it the forefelt *pain, shame, torment* of thy ensuing *crucifixion*?—O poor and base thoughts of the narrow hearts of cowardly and impotent *mortals!* How many thousands of thy blessed *martyrs* have welcomed no less tortures with smiles and gratulations? If their *weakness* was thus undaunted and prevalent, what was thy *POWER*? O, no; it was the sad weight of the *sins of mankind*, it was the heavy burden of THY FATHER'S *wrath for our sin*, that thus pressed down thy soul, and wrung from thee these bitter expressions of sorrow.

—"If every sin deserve eternal death, what, O what was it for thy soul, in this short time of thy bitter passion, to answer those *millions of eternal deaths*, which *all the sins of all mankind* had deserved!—

"O FATHER OF MERCIES, Thou mayest bring *Thine* into agonies, but Thou wilt never leave them there. *In the midst of the sorrows of my heart, thy comforts shall refresh my soul*; and whatsoever be the means of my support, I know and I adore the Author. —Our blessed Saviour's *cup did not pass*, yet was it sweetened: And THOU wilt not suffer us to be tried above what we are able; but wilt with the trial, also make a way to escape, that we may be able to bear it."

† Several instances of such, arising from agonizing conflicts, are recorded by historians. *Aristotle* and *Diodorus* both mention *bloody sweats* as attending some extraordinary

Then He arose from prayer, and coming to his [three] disciples, He found them sleeping, for grief. And he saith unto *Peter, Simon, sleepest thou!* And to the rest, *Why sleep ye? Were ye not able to watch with me one hour? Watch and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh, weak,* Matt. xxvi. 39—41, Mark xiv. 35—38, Luke xxii. 41—46.

OUR LORD'S profound devotion was remarkable. In his humiliation he prostrated himself. He prayed, if possible, to be excused from drinking the bitter "*cup*" of unmerited affliction that awaited him, in the unparalleled sufferings that preceded and attended his cruel and ignominious *death*; that second "*baptism*," which he foretold to the ambitious sons of *Zebedee*, "*Are ye able to drink the cup that I am to drink, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am to be baptized with?*" Matt. xx. 22. And again, "*I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be performed!*" Luke xii. 50. And how aptly did these precious *drops of blood* falling on the ground, resemble the *sprinkling* of the *mercy seat*, on the day of *atonement*? Heb. xii. 24. See Vol. II. p. 250.

The sleepiness of the disciples, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, was perfectly natural*; his gentle rebuke therefore was

agony of mind. *Thuanus* mentions a gentleman under the apprehension of being *hanged*, who was so vehemently agitated in mind, with the dread of such an infamous death, that a bloody sweat burst forth from his whole body. And *Voltaire* observes, that *Charles IX.* of *France*, (who ordered the massacre of *St. Bartholomew's day*, and took an active part therein himself,) died in his five and twentieth year, of a most extraordinary malady, the blood gushing out of all his pores. "*This accident,*" says the *infidel* historian, "*was owing either to excessive fear, to violent passion, or to a warm and melancholy constitution;*" stating the secondary causes, but omitting the primary. *Dr. Mead* thus accounts for it. *Contingere interdum poros, ex multo aut fervido spiritu, usque adeo dilatari, ut etiam exeat sanguis per eos, fiatque sudor sanguineus.* *Medica Sacra*, cap. 13. And we cannot wonder "*at the dilatation of the pores*" of our Lord's body, after the astonishing *fatigues* he must have undergone during the *Passion week*, and the *anguish* of his soul: for *never grief was like his grief!*

* *Alexander* the Great, on the eve of the decisive battle of *Arbela*, when his body was exhausted by the anxiety of his mind, fell into a profound sleep,—tandem, *gravatum animi* anxietate corpus altior somnus oppressit, *Curtius*, iv. 13, 17—and slept so long, contrary to his usual custom, that *Parmenio* was obliged to go to wake him, when they were ready to engage the *Persians*, and called him two or three times before he awoke. And when *Parmenio* expressed his surprise, *how he could sleep like one that had already conquered, when he had the greatest battle to fight that the world had ever heard of?* he answered, that *he considered himself as conqueror, since Darius no longer declined the combat.* *Plutarch.*

How different the *vigilance* of a greater than *Alexander*, THE CAPTAIN OF OUR SAL-

mixed with a gracious apology for the weakness and infirmity of the *animal* part of *human nature*. See Vol. II. p. 3, &c. And he affectionately recommended *vigilance* and *prayer*, as the only safeguards against temptation: His special address to *Peter*, indicating surprise, that he, in particular, could be found remiss, after the forwardness of his professions of zeal and attachment.

“Departing again, he prayed a second time, saying, ‘MY FATHER, *if this cup cannot pass away from me, unless I drink it, Thy will be done!*’

“Then coming, he findeth them again sleeping; for *their eyes were oppressed* [with sleep] and *they knew not what to answer him*, embarrassed and ashamed. And leaving them, he departed again, and prayed a third time, saying the same words.

“Then cometh he, the *third time*, to his disciples, and saith unto them, *Do ye sleep on, and take your rest*?*—*Lo, the hour is at hand*; and THE SON OF MAN *is to be delivered up into the hands of sinners.*—*Rise, let us go*, to join the rest; *lo, he that is to deliver me up is at hand.*” Matt. xxvi. 42—46, Mark xiv. 39—42.

Our Lord’s second prayer breathes a firmer tone of acquiescence in his decided doom. And after the third, his serenity and composure of mind was perfectly restored.

“And while he was *yet speaking*, lo, *Judas* came to the Garden, (for the traitor knew the place to which JESUS was accustomed to resort with his disciples,) accompanied by *the cohort* † of *Roman* soldiers, and a party of attendants of the chief priests, Pharisees, and elders, armed with swords and staves, and carrying torches and lamps, to dispel the darkness, we may presume, that hid *the moon*, and overspread the land, during the awful scene of our Lord’s agony, as the next day, *the sun* at noon,

VATION, who went forth, “*conquering* by sufferings, and *to conquer*,” till the end of time.

* This judicious rendering interrogatively, proposed by Mr. *Moore*, (and before him by *Bowyer*) seems to be warranted by the corresponding phrase in the parallel passage, *τι καθευθετε; Why sleep ye?* Luke xxii. 46. And it entirely removes the weighty objection of Archdeacon *Churton*, “that any appearance of *irony* ill comported with the state of our blessed and affectionate Saviour’s mind at that sad hour.”

† *την σπειραν*. “This is spoken of *definitely*, as being *the particular cohort*, which by order of the procurator attended on the *Sanhedrim*, at the great festivals, to preserve tranquillity.” *Middleton*, p. 374. A *cohort* consisted of nearly 500 men, and ten cohorts made a *legion*. See Vol. I. p. 430.

during the crucifixion. Matt. xxvi. 47, Mark xiv. 43, Luke xxii. 47, John xviii. 2, 3.

Then JESUS, knowing beforehand all the sufferings that were coming upon him, went forth boldly, of his own accord, and enquired of them, *Whom seek ye?* They answered, *Jesus of Nazareth.* JESUS said, *I am he.* And when he had so said, struck with the commanding dignity of his presence and voice, they drew back, and fell to the ground. Such was the *power* and *spirit* of a far greater than *Elijah*; who could with infinitely more ease have *called down fire from heaven* to consume them all, than that prophet in similar circumstances. Again, he calmly enquired, *Whom seek ye?* And they said, *Jesus of Nazareth.* He answered, *I told you that I am he; if then ye seek me, let these [my disciples] withdraw.* (This he said to fulfil the saying in his Intercession, *Of those whom Thou gavest me, have I lost none,* xvii. 12.) John xviii. 4—9.

Then, that "*son of perdition,*" seeing the irresolution of the wavering band, who, as on a former occasion, could not bring themselves to arrest him *who spake as never man spake*, in order to quicken their resolves, and urge them to execute their commission, immediately gave them the preconcerted signal of seizure; for quitting them with whom he had hitherto stood, he went up to JESUS, and said, *Hail Rabbi*, and kissed him. But JESUS reprov'd his hypocrisy with this mild rebuke, *Friend**, *wherefore art thou come?* *Judas, deliverest thou up the SON OF MAN with a kiss!* In the term "*friend*" there seems to be a tacit reprobation of his treachery, as foretold, Psalm xli. 9, and in the "*SON OF MAN,*" a reference to his own dignity, which required to be truly revered as the SON OF GOD also. "*Kiss THE SON,*" &c. Psalm ii. 12; Matt. xxi. 37; Matt. xxvi. 48—50; Mark xiv. 44, 45; Luke xxii. 47, 48.

CHRIST APPREHENDED.

And now the *Roman* cohort, and their commander, and the *Jewish* attendants came up, and laid hands on JESUS, and apprehended him. But when the disciples about him saw what would follow, they said, *Lord, shall we smite with the sword?*

* *ἑταίρε*, "*companion,*" as distinguished from *φιλε*, "*friend.*" The former intimating only association, the latter affection. In English, the word *friend* ambiguously denotes both. See the foregoing article on the *style of the Gospels.*

and, not waiting for permission, one of them *Simon Peter*, drew his sword, and smote *Malchus*, a servant of the high-priest, and cut off his right ear. But **JESUS** checked this intemperance of zeal, and desired *Peter* to sheath his sword again, for that *all who used the sword to maintain his cause should perish by the sword*, and that so far from wanting the assistance of twelve puny Apostles, his **FATHER**, at his desire, could presently send more than *twelve legions of angels* to his assistance, but that this would be to counteract the *Scripture prophecies*, foretelling his *sufferings*, and to prevent him from drinking *the cup* appointed him by **HIS FATHER**. Then he said to them that held him, *Suffer ye thus far* *, or permit me so far as to touch the wounded person, and he touched his ear, and healed him. Then **JESUS** freely expostulated with the *chief priests, captains of the temple, and elders*, who had come along with the armed force; *Are ye come forth as against a robber, with swords and staves, thus in the dead of the night!* Why did ye not apprehend me in the day? *I was with you daily in the temple*, appearing openly among you, *but then ye laid no hands on me*. But this is *your hour of persecution, and the authority of the [Ruler of] darkness prevails over innocence*. When he thus meekly surrendered himself to his foes, *all the disciples forsook him and fled* †; for all were offended at him, as he foretold, *this disastrous night*, Matt. xxvi. 31, because he refused the aid of the *sword*, and declined to extricate himself by a *miracle*; fulfilling prophecy also, *I will smite THE SHEPHERD, and the sheep of the fold shall be scattered*. (Zech. xiii. 7.) Matt. xxvi. 55, 56; Mark xiv. 48—50.

Then his enemies, without reply, *seized* him, and, perhaps, to prevent his escape, as on former occasions, by rendering himself

* Some commentators, following the *Syriac* version, think that this was addressed to the disciples, to restrain them from further violence, but it was rather addressed to the soldiers, *εατε [με] εως τουτου, Let me alone, so far*. The phrase occurs elsewhere, *εως τινος ουκ εγς με*; Job vii. 18, Sept. *εασατε αυτους*, Acts v. 38; Exod. xxxii. 9; Judg. xi. 37.

† *Mark* alone records, that after the flight of the Apostles, *some young man* followed him, having only a wrapper on his body, who perhaps might have been rouzed from sleep in the village of *Gethsemane*, and led on by curiosity to see what was the matter. *But the attendants seized him, and he leaving his wrapper with them fled away naked*. This young man evidently was not an *Apostle*, and least of all, *St. John*, as imagined, from some of the ancients, by *Wells, Gilpin, &c.* For *John* attended the examination and trial.

invisible, at the suggestion of *Judas* ("hold him fast,") they bound him, and led him away prisoner, and brought him first to *Annas*, who was the coadjutor and father-in-law of the high-priest *Caiaphas*, and a person of the highest rank and authority in the state; probably for his advice how to act in this juncture. See Vol. I. p. 89, 90. But *Annas* sent him bound to *Caiaphas*, the high-priest, to be examined by him, and tried before the whole council, as soon as they could be collected and assembled, at the judgment-hall, in his palace, John xviii. 13, 14; Matt. xxvi. 57; Mark xiv. 53; Luke xxii. 54.

What became of the rest of the panic-struck Apostles we are not informed by these most candid and impartial of all historians, recording their own disgrace. Two, however, of the number, and two only, *John* and *Peter*, soon recovering from their fright, returned to see the issue. *Peter* followed him afar off, but "the other disciple *," (as *John*, who never mentions his own name, modestly styles himself, and who was the intimate friend of *Peter*, see John xx. 2, 3, 4, 8, xxi. 20, 21,) being known to the high-priest, entered into the hall † of his palace along with *JESUS*, while *Peter* stood without at the door. Then *John* went out, and spoke to the maid that kept the door, and brought in *Peter*. And the servants of the high-priest, and the attendants, made a fire of charcoal, at the lower end of the hall, because it was cold, at this advanced hour of the night, (near three in the morning;) especially so early in spring as about the twenty-fifth of March, A.D. 31. (See this proved, Vol. I. p. 67—70.) And *Peter* stood with them, and warmed himself. Matt. xxvi. 57, 58; Mark xiv. 53, 54; Luke xxii. 54, 55; John xviii. 15—18.

The return of these two favourite disciples was not only a

* ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής. The authenticity of the article, here, is ably proved by *Middleton*, p. 374—378. Various have been the guesses of commentators, who this other disciple could be. Some suppose him to have been a disciple of higher rank; others, the master of the *Cœnaculum*; others, even *Judas* himself! They idly object to *John*, as a fisherman, and therefore not likely to be acquainted with the high-priest; forgetting that *John* was a man of property, who had a house in the city, as well as substance in Galilee.

† *Luke* critically distinguishes between ἡ αὐλή, "the hall," and ὁ οἶκος, "the house," or palace of the high-priest, xxii. 54, 55. The hall was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower, Mark xiv. 66; of which, the lower was the larger, Luke xxii. 55; and it had a porch (πυλῶν), Matt. xxvi. 71, or vestibule (προαυλιον), Mark xiv. 68.

proof of their stronger attachment to their adored Lord, of whom it has been remarked, that *Peter* revered him in his public character as the MESSIAH, *John* loved him in his private, as JESUS, with stronger personal affection; but it was also providentially ordained to furnish *eye-witnesses* among the *Apostles* of this iniquitous, but most interesting trial, of which *John* attended the whole throughout, while the return of *Peter*, especially, was further necessary for the minute accomplishment of his predicted denials.

PETER'S FIRST DENIAL.

While JESUS stood before the high-priest, at the upper end of the spacious hall of judgment, and *Peter* was standing, and afterwards sitting among the servants and attendants, at the fire in the lower, the maid who kept the door, coming up to the fire, and looking attentively at *Peter*, said, *Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilean; art thou one of his disciples?* But he denied, before them all, saying, *Woman, I neither know, nor understand what thou sayest. I know him not. I am not.* Then, to avoid further questions, he went out into the porch, and the cock crew. This circumstance marks the course of the third night watch, or the cock crowing. (Mark xiv. 40. See Vol I. p. 14.) Matt. xxvi. 69—71; Mark xiv. 66—68; Luke xii. 56, 57; John xviii. 7.

PETER'S SECOND DENIAL.

Shortly after, while *Peter* remained without, in the porch, the same maid, seeing him again, began to say to the bystanders, *This is one of them;* another maid said, *This man also was with Jesus of Nazareth;* but he denied again. Another man seeing him, said, *Thou also art one of them;* but *Peter* said, *Man, I am not.* Others then said to him, *Art not thou also one of his disciples?* He denied, with an oath, and said, *I am not.* Matt. xxvi. 71, 72; Mark xiv. 69, 70; Luke xxii. 58; John xviii. 25.

In enumerating these different accounts of the four Evangelists, shewing how closely *Peter* was questioned by several of the bystanders, we have assigned the first place to *Mark*, who wrote from the information of *Peter* himself, whose attention naturally was most strongly excited by the door-keeper renewing

the attack, and thereby producing the rest. He alone noticed the *first* cock-crowing.

There is also an apparent variation between the two first Evangelists and the last, in the scene of this denial; they expressly state it to have happened outside, in the porch; *John* seems to place it inside, in the hall. But he evidently meant to connect both denials, separated by the intervening examination of CHRIST by *Caiaphas*, and therefore he repeated the leading circumstance of the first, that it happened *at the fire*, ver. 18, to mark the renewal of the subject, ver. 25, before he proceeded to relate the second denial; which he does, omitting the previous circumstance of *Peter's* quitting the hall, already recorded by the other Evangelists, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition of their narratives, according to his *supplemental* plan. Thus the apparent dissonance is satisfactorily reconciled; and, indeed, the exact correspondence of the Evangelists, in such minute and seemingly trivial particulars, could only arise from the accuracy of the information of each, and from their joint inspiration by the SPIRIT OF TRUTH.

PETER'S THIRD DENIAL.

About an *hour* after the second, *Peter* having returned again into the hall, and approached the place of trial at the upper end, so as to be within view of JESUS, (as we learn from the sequel, though unnoticed by the Evangelists,) was again more strongly charged by the bystanders. One said, *Truly thou art a Galilean, for even thy speech bewrayeth thee*; another, a servant of the high-priest, and kinsman to *Malchus*, whose ear *Peter* had cut off, said, *Did not I see thee in the garden with him?* This occasioned a third and most vehement denial; for *Peter* not only denied that he knew JESUS, but began to *curse* and *swear*, in order to confirm it. At this the *cock crew* a second time. Then JESUS turning, *looked at Peter* significantly; and *Peter, reflecting on* * his crime, and the minute accomplishment of the

* The unusual word, *επιβαλων*, used by Mark xiv. 72, is variously interpreted. See *Gilpin*, &c. But the most approved meaning seems to be that of the English Bible, "when he thought thereon," or "reflected on" his offence; used elliptically for *επιβαλων τουτψ*, as the phrase occurs in M. Antoninus. *τουτψ γαρ επιβαλων, επιληση της οργης*. "Reflecting on this, you will forget your anger." *Cicero* renders it, *injiciens*, or *intendens*, in the following sentence; Si immensam, et interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videretis, *in quam se injiciens animus et intendens*, ita late

prophecy, *went out* of the hall, to a solitary place, on the brow of the hill, according to tradition *, and *wept bitterly* †, overwhelmed with grief and remorse. Matt. xxvi. 73—75; Mark xiv. 70—72; Luke xxii. 59—62; John xviii. 26, 27. The *second* cock-crowing marks the close of the *third* night-watch, shortly before the *fourth*, or the *early* watch, which began at *day-break*.

CHRIST'S EXAMINATION BEFORE THE HIGH-PRIEST.

During *Peter's* denials, JESUS stood before *Caiaphas*, who questioned him about his *disciples* and about his *doctrine*. With all the dignity of conscious innocence, and with a thorough knowledge of the law, which required no man to criminate himself, JESUS objected to this mode of examination. *I spake openly to the world, I always taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, where the Jews from all parts resort. And in secret spake I nothing. Why examinest thou me? Examine the hearers as to what I spake unto them: lo, they know what I said.*

And when he had thus said, one of the attendants, who stood by, *smote JESUS on the cheek*, saying, *Answerest thou the high-priest so? JESUS meekly resented the insult: "If I spake ill, testify of the ill; but if well, why smitest thou me?"* John xviii. 19—23.—How admirably did he thus illustrate, by his own example, the divine precepts of *Christian forbearance*, in his

longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam omnino oram ultimam videat, in quâ possit insistere. N. D. 1, 20.

See other instances, in *Wetstein*, Vol. I. p. 633, from whence these are selected.

* See the map of *Jerusalem*, Vol. I.

† The sudden *repentance* of *Peter*, is no less remarkable and surprising than his *fall*. While he was even *abjuring* HIS LORD with oaths and imprecations, and "*Satan* sifting him as wheat," one pitying and compassionate *look* of his now doubly *suffering* master, mingled with regret, pierced him through, and suddenly laid all the *storm* then raging in his soul, and melted him into *tears* of contrition, and *godly sorrow* that worketh *repentance*. The same minute saw him an audacious and pertinacious sinner, and an humble heart-broken penitent. His "*fall*" furnishes a melancholy instance of *Natural Infirmity*, even in the best men, who dare to presume upon their *own* strength, and "*sufficiency*" to resist temptation; while his speedy "*rising again*," sets before us an encouraging example of the invigorating power of *GRACE*, triumphing over the *Tempter*, and rescuing from that "*Fisher of men*," his weak, silly, and unresisting prey! How are we bound to "*work out our own salvation with fear and trembling*," whenever we attempt it, since "*it is GOD only, that worketh in us both to will and to do, effectually, of his own good pleasure*," Phil. ii. 12, 13.

Sermon on the Mount; and how different was *his* calmness from the intemperance of the Apostle *Paul*, under a similar provocation, saying to the high-priest, "GOD shall smite thee, thou whited wall! for sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law!" which indeed required, and produced on his part, an immediate apology. Acts xxiii. 2—5.

After the high-priest's examination, noticed only by *John*, during which time had been given to assemble the *Sanhedrim* at his palace, and to collect witnesses, *as day was coming, they brought him back* to their council, to be tried. Luke xxii. 66.

There is great difficulty in reconciling *Luke's* time of this transaction, ὡς εγενετο ἡμερα, "as soon as it was day," according to the authorized translation, with the confessedly *later* transaction of CHRIST'S being led away from the council to *Pilate*, πρωιας γενομενης, "when the morning was come," Matt. xxvii. 1; Mark xv. 1, 2; Luke xxiii. 28. We have, therefore, adopted Dr. *Townson's* translation of the former phrase, which he has furnished good reasons to prove, began at the commencement of the *early watch*, or about the third hour before sun-rise*.

HIS TRIAL BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

Wishing to preserve the semblance of justice in their proceedings, the *chief priests*, the *elders*, and the *whole council* † sought

* *Grotius*, on the place, renders the phrase ὡς εγενετο ἡμερα, *cum dies adventaret*, "when day was approaching." Its meaning here, may fairly be collected, from a similar phrase, γενομενης δε ἡμερας, Luke iv. 42, which must be so understood, from the explanation of the accurate *Mark*, recording the very same transaction, και πρωι, εννυχον λιαν, "and early, far advanced in the night," Mark i. 35; which is paraphrased by the English Bible, "a great while before day." The two limits of time, coalescing about three in the morning, the point of equal distance between midnight, and sun-rise, or full day. Acts ii. 1.

Gilpin perceived the difficulty, and awkwardly attempted to remedy it, by supposing that, according to the *Jewish* reckoning, "day commenced as soon as midnight was passed," and accordingly rendered the phrase, "about *midnight*." He erred only in assigning too early a time, not warranted by the *Jewish* mode of reckoning.

Luke carefully distinguishes between ηγαγον, *they brought him* to the high priest's palace, xxii. 54; and ανηγαγον, *they brought him back* to the council, xxii. 66. These niceties of construction, overlooked in our English Bible, are absolutely necessary to harmonize the Evangelists critically.

† Here the "whole council" is put for a great majority. For *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Nicodemus*, and others, we may presume, of "the rulers who believed on Him," were not consenting to this iniquitous procedure. Luke xxiii. 51; John vii. 50, 51; xii. 42.

*false witnesses against** JESUS, upon whose testimony they might condemn him to death. But they found none that would answer their purpose, though many were produced. At the last, came two false witnesses, of whom, one said, *This [man] declared, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days*; the other, We heard him say, *I will destroy this temple, made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands*; both of them misrepresenting his declaration at the first passover, John ii. 19, where "*this temple*" meant "*the temple of his body*;" and disagreeing from each other: fulfilling prophecy. Psalm xxxv. 11. To this inconsistent testimony, refuting itself, JESUS made no answer.

The high priest then urging him to an explanation, which they might lay hold of, arising with warmth, said, *Answerest thou nothing? What do those witness against thee?* But Jesus, knowing his malicious design, was silent, and made no answer.

To cut the trial short, therefore, and supply the want of evidence, the high priest compelled him to criminate himself by the most solemn oath: *I adjure thee by THE LIVING GOD, tell us whether thou art THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE BLESSED GOD?*

This produced its effect. First, prefacing that his acknowledgment would not avail to convince them, and liberate himself, "*If I tell you [truth] ye will not believe; and if I ask you [why?] ye will not answer me, [or assign a reason,] nor let me go*:"—he then boldly avowed himself THE CHRIST: *Thou sayest [true;] I am.* And now, adhering to his former declarations,

* Buxtorf, in his *Talmudic Lexicon*, col. 1458, cites a *Rabbinical testimony*, admitting the subornation of false witnesses against CHRIST before his crucifixion, and describing the mode.

"Against none of those guilty of death by the law are snares to be laid, except against one that has endeavoured to pervert another to idolatry and strange worship. And it is thus performed: they light a candle in an inner room, and place the witnesses in an outer, so that they may see him and hear his voice without his seeing them.

"And so they did to the Son of *Satda* (*Mary*): they placed men privately in the next room to witness against him, in *Lud**, and hanged him upon the cross on the evening of the *Passover*."

This testimony is curious and valuable; it shews the plea upon which the *Jewish council* endeavoured to justify themselves, for *subornation of perjury*, to the nation.

* *Lud* might perhaps be a literal error for *Jud* or *Judea*.

from the beginning of his ministry, John i. 52, to the end, Matt. xxiii. 39, he referred them to the *ensuing* fulfilment of two famous prophecies of *Daniel*, vii. 13, 14; and of *David*, Psalm cx. 1, which they themselves applied to THE MESSIAH:

“Henceforth*, ye shall see THE SON OF MAN, sitting on the right hand of THE POWER OF GOD [or ALMIGHTY GOD;] and coming with the clouds of heaven,”—no longer in *humiliation*, but invested with *glory*. Of this early glory the martyr *Stephen* (Acts vii. 56,) and the bigot *Paul* (Acts xxii. 6—14,) were eye-witnesses, not long after; and the performance of this furnishes an infallible proof of the later glory, foretold also by *two angels* at the ascension (Acts i. 10, 11,) and by *St. John*, and CHRIST himself in the *Apocalypse*, (Rev. i. 7, xxii. 20.)

“Then said *they all*, Art thou the SON OF GOD? and he undauntedly asserted it: *Ye say* [true:] *for I am* †.

“Then *the high priest* rent his clothes, in semblance of the utmost horror ‡, saying, He hath spoken *blasphemy*; *what further need have we of witnesses!* lo ye have heard his *blasphemy*. And they said, *We have heard it from his own mouth.*—*What think ye?* And *they all* condemned him to be guilty of death.”

His unjust condemnation was now aggravated by every insult and injury that *diabolical* rage and malice could devise. For they *spit on*, *blindfolded*, *buffeted* and *smote* him; they ridiculed him as a *false Christ* and *false prophet*; and “many other *blasphemies* did they really utter against THE SON OF GOD;” Matt. xxvi. 57—68; Mark xiv. 53—65; Luke xxii. 63—71, *blaspheming* thereby “THE BLESSED” FATHER also. All these injuries and indignities the meek and lowly JESUS bore in passive silence, without a murmur, fulfilling prophecy: “*He gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair; he hid not his face from shame and spitting,*” Isa. l. 5, 6. “*He was accounted stricken, smitten, and afflicted by GOD.*”——“*He was brought* [to trial] *and questioned, but he opened not his mouth.*”——“The wickedness of *His generation* who can describe!” Isa. liii. 4—8.

* The word ἀπ’ ἀρτι, “from now,” which is likewise used in the two former declarations, intimates *future* events, not remote, but *near*.

† ὑμεῖς λεγετέ· ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι. It should be so pointed, to mark the asseveration. ἐγὼ is emphatic, and ὅτι frequently put for the causal, διότι, “for,” “because.” See Matt. v. 3—5, xi. 26; Luke xxiii. 40, &c.

‡ Caiaphas was of the *atheistical* sect of the *Sadducees*, Acts. v. 17.

JUDAS HANGS HIMSELF.

The *treachery* of Judas Iscariot, his *remorse* and *suicide*, are occurrences altogether so strange and extraordinary, that the *motives* which swayed him thereto require to be developed, as far as may be done, where the Evangelists are, in a great measure, silent concerning them, from the circumstances of the history itself, and from the feelings of human nature.

Judas, the leading trait of whose character was *covetousness*, was probably induced to follow JESUS at first, with a view to the *riches, honours, and other temporal advantages* which he, in common with the rest, expected the MESSIAH'S friends would enjoy. The astonishing *miracles* he saw him perform left him no room to doubt of the reality of his master's pretensions, who had indeed, himself, in private, actually accepted the title from his Apostles; and Judas must have been much *disappointed* when JESUS repeatedly refused the proffered royalty from the people in *Galilee*, after the miracle of feeding the five thousand, and again after his public procession to *Jerusalem*. He might naturally have grown *impatient* under the delay, and *dissatisfied* also with JESUS for openly discouraging all *ambitious* views among his disciples, and therefore might have devised the scheme for *delivering him up* to the *Sanhedrim*, or great council of the nation, (composed of the *chief priests, scribes, and elders*,) in order to *compel* him to avow himself openly as THE MESSIAH before them, and to work such *miracles*, or to give them *the sign* which they so often required, as would convince and induce them to elect him in due form, and thereby enable Him to reward his followers. And even the *rebukes* of JESUS, for his covetousness, and detection of his treacherous scheme, although they unquestionably *offended Judas*, might only have served to *stimulate* him to the speedier execution of his plot, during the feast of the *passover*, while the great concourse of *Jews* from all parts assembled thereat, might powerfully support the *Sanhedrim* and their MESSIAH against the *Romans*. And the success of this measure, though against his master's will, would be likely to procure him pardon, and even to recommend him to favour afterwards. Such might have been the plausible suggestions by which *Satan* tempted him to the commission of this crime.

But "when Judas," who attended the whole trial, "*saw*" that it turned out quite contrary to his expectations, *that JESUS was capitally condemned by the council, as a false Christ and false prophet*, notwithstanding he had openly avowed himself; and that he wrought no *miracle*, either for their conviction, or for his own deliverance, as *Judas* well knew he could, even from the circumstance of his healing *Malchus*, after he was apprehended; when he further reflected, like *Peter*, on his master's merciful forewarnings of his treachery, and mild and gentle rebuke at the commission of it, he was seized with *remorse* *, and offered to return (*ἀπεστρέψε*) the paltry bribe of *thirty pieces of silver* to the *chief priests* and *elders*, instantly on the spot, saying, *I sinned in delivering up innocent blood*. To return what he had unjustly gotten, affording a momentary relief to his harassed mind. But they were obstinate, and not only would not relent, but threw the whole load of guilt upon him, refusing to take their own share: for they said, "*What is that to us? see thou to that*;" thus, according to the aphorism, "*loving the treason, but hating the traitor*," after he had served their wicked turn.

Stung to the quick at their refusal to take back the money, while they condemned himself, *he went to the temple, cast down the whole sum in the treasury, or place for receiving the offerings of the people*; and after he had thus returned *the wages of iniquity*, *he retired* to some lonely place, not far, perhaps, from the scene of *Peter's* repentance, and in the phrenzy of *despair*, and at the instigation of the *devil*, *hanged himself* †, crowning with *suicide* the *murder* of his *master*, and his *friend*; rejecting his compassionate *Saviour*, and plunging his own soul into perdition!

The scrupulousness of the *chief priests*, to employ *the price of blood*, for religious uses; and their purchase of the *potters*

* This is the proper signification of *μεταμεληθεῖς*, as distinguished from *μετανοήσας*, "*having repented*." For *μεταμελεῖα* signifies "*regret for what has been done*," *δυσ-ἀρεστησις ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις*. *Phavorinus*. It is opposed to that "*godly sorrow which worketh repentance*." 2 Cor. viii. 10.

† It is elsewhere said, that "*falling headlong, he burst asunder, and all his bowels gushed out*," Acts i. 18. Both accounts might be true: he might first have *hanged* himself from some tree on the edge of the precipice; and the rope or branch breaking, he might have been *dashed to pieces* by the fall.

Matthew, xxvii. 3. places it *after CHRIST* was *led away to Pilate*, but it must have happened before, for it followed the *condemnation* by his own account.

field therewith, unwittingly fulfilling *Zechariah's* prophecy, xi. 13, as explained before, Vol. II. p. 478, 479; we owe to *Matthew*, xxvii. 3—10.

HE IS BROUGHT TO PILATE.

After the tumultuous and disgraceful scene in the judgment hall, that succeeded the condemnation of *CHRIST*, and their rejection of the testimony of *Judas* to his innocence; *the whole council*, to give weight to their application, *led him away, bound*, to *Pilate*, in order to get him to confirm their act, and sentence *JESUS* to be executed. This procession took place in the course of the *early*, or *morning* watch, and probably near *sun-rise*, Matt. xxvii. 1, 2, 3; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxiii. 1; John xviii. 28.

Before we proceed to the trial before *Pilate*, for the better understanding this, the most important, and the most minutely detailed by all the Evangelists, it will be necessary to premise some account of the *Jewish government*, at this time, and of the *Roman governor* himself.

1. When *Judea* was made a *Roman* province, at the request of the *Jews* themselves, weary of the tyranny of *Archelaus*, who was deposed on their complaint by *Augustus*, A. D. 7, *Coponius* was appointed their first *procurator*, or deputy governor, in subordination to the president of *Syria*, and invested by *Augustus* with supreme authority. The *Jews*, however, were allowed the free exercise of their *religion*, and to live according to *their own laws*; but the power of life and death in *capital* cases, was reserved solely to the *Roman* procurator; as we learn from the *Jewish* historian *Josephus*, Antiq. 18, 1, 1; Bell. Jud. 2, 8, 1.

And this was agreeable to the general maxims of *Roman* policy, as we learn from the *Roman* lawyer *Ulpian*.

“The *municipal* magistrates are not allowed to inflict *capital* punishment on a *slave*, (and *a fortiori*, on a *freeman*;) but they are not to be denied the power of *moderate correction*,” such as the lesser penalties, of fines, imprisonment, scourging, &c. See *Lardner*, Vol. I. p. 75.

This prerogative was uniformly exercised by all the succeeding *Roman* procurators, as we learn from *sacred* and *Jewish* history. The *Jewish* council themselves admitted it, before *Pilate*, John xviii. 31; *Pilate* asserted it to *CHRIST*, John xix. 10. And the *Jerusalem Talmud*, recites a tradition, that “*forty*

years before the destruction of the temple, judgment in capital cases, was *taken away** from *Israel*." This tradition, though inaccurate in point of time, yet establishes the fact, at our Lord's trial, only *thirty-nine* years before; and is therefore an additional voucher to the *Jews* at present, of more weight perhaps than the former, that then, "the *sceptre* of civil government, had *fully* departed from *Israel*;" and therefore that "SHILOH was then *come*," according to *Jacob's* prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10.

2. *Pontius Pilate* was appointed procurator, by *Tiberius*, A. D. 25, six years before this. (See Vol. I. p. 87, 96.) *Valerius Gratus*, his predecessor, had been allowed by the emperor to remain in office, for eleven years till his death; and he suffered *Pilate* to continue for ten years in *Judea*, though he was displeased at him; because, as he said himself, the presidents and procurators of the provinces were all *avaricious*; and he found by experience, that when they were suffered to stay but a short time in office, they were only the more eager for rapine, to make the best use of their time; whereas, if their stay was prolonged, when they had once enriched themselves, they would become slower, and less apt to plunder the people. And he humourously illustrated this, by an example, borrowed from *Æsop's* Fables †. Thus proving himself to be "the *king of fierce countenance*, understanding *dark sentences*, or *parables*," of Dan. viii. 23. *Joseph. Ant.* 18, 7, 5.

It became a practice with the governors to carry their wives along with them, for the convenience of *bribery*. This grew so notorious, that a motion was made in the *Roman* senate, by *Severus Cæsina*, A. D. 21, only four years before *Pilate's* appointment, that *no magistrate to whom a province was allotted, should be accompanied by his wife*. Which though approved of by a few, was rejected by the corrupt majority, with indig-

* *Lightfoot*, who relates this tradition, in his *Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations*, Matt. xxvi. 3, John xviii. 31, contends, in opposition to the express terms of it, that this privilege was *not taken away*, but that they *lost* or *relinquished* it, by their own *oscitancy*, *supine*, and *unreasonable lenity* to *murderers* and *homicides*.

† *Josephus* thus relates the *parable*, or *apologue*. A wounded man once, lying on the ground, a swarm of flies from all parts around, settled on his wounds. A traveller, passing by, pitied his helplessness to relieve himself, and offered to drive away the flies. But the man, to his surprise, declined the offer; alleging that he would only suffer a greater injury thereby: for that these were now, nearly *glutted* with his blood, and sucked more gently; whereas, if they were driven away, a *fresh* and *hungry* swarm would succeed, who finding him exhausted, would suck him to death.

nation, for his presumption in censuring the practice. *Tacit. Annal.* 3, 33, 34.

Pilate's administration was very unpopular. At the outset, when he quartered his troops in *Jerusalem*, he, by an audacious innovation, first set up the *Roman* ensigns, bearing the *images* of the *Cæsars*, in the city, privately, in the night time. As soon as the people discovered this "*abomination*," they repaired to *Cæsarea*, his residence, in a great body, entreating for several days, that the images might be removed. But he *peremptorily* refused, thinking it would be dishonourable to the emperor. On the sixth day, when the *Jews* renewed their petition, with great clamour, at his tribunal, upon a signal given, he suddenly surrounded them with his soldiers, whom he had privately stationed with their arms in readiness, and threatened the petitioners with instant death unless they desisted, and returned home. But they, on the contrary, *threw themselves flat on the ground*, and *baring their necks*, said, that *they would cheerfully submit to death, rather than dare transgress the wisdom of their laws*. So *Pilate* wondering at their firmness in the observance of their laws, immediately ordered the images to be brought back from *Jerusalem* to *Cæsarea*. *Ant.* 18, 4, 1.

Next year, he attempted to bring a supply of water into the city, from a spring 200 stadia distant, at the expence of the *sacred treasury*. But this displeased the *Jews*; and several thousands of them assembled, crying out, that he ought to desist from the undertaking; and some, as usual in a mob, insulted him with abusive language. Upon which, he surrounded them privily with his soldiers, whom he had disguised in the dress of citizens, carrying daggers under their clothes, and ordered them to disperse; but they refusing, and persisting in their abuse, he gave the signal of attack, and the soldiers, exceeding his orders, fell upon the *peaceable*, as well as the *seditions*, so that many of them were killed and wounded. *Ant.* 18, 4, 2.

After this, and probably, at the third passover, A.D. 30, which OUR LORD did not attend, because the *Jews* sought to kill him, *John* vii. 1, *Pilate* attacked some *Galileans*, who were probably of the party of *Judas the Gaulonite*, that resisted the payment of the *Roman* tribute, and were called *Zealots*; and "*mingled their blood with their sacrifices*;" as incidentally noticed by *Luke*, xiii. 1. Compare *Matt.* xvii. 24—27; *Acts* v. 37.

Philo, the *Jew*, also, in his *embassy to Caligula*, p. 799, 780, states a further aggression, similar to the first.

“*Pilate*, not so much in honour of *Tiberius*, as to vex the people, dedicated some *gilt shields** to him, without any figures or other forbidden emblems, but only a dedicatory inscription, from himself to the emperor, and placed them in *Herod's* palace, within the *holy city*. As soon as the people perceived it, and the matter was noised abroad, they sent a deputation, consisting of [*Herod*] the king's *four sons*, (Matt. xiv. 2,) of royal rank and consequence, attended by the other relations of the family, and their own *chief magistrates*, to entreat *Pilate*, that this innovation of the shields might be removed, and that he would not infringe their native customs, of the earliest date, which had been preserved inviolate both by kings and governors. But he *sternly* refused, for he was *unbending, haughty and implacable*, in his disposition. Then they exclaimed, *Do not raise a sedition, do not excite war, do not break the peace! the dishonour of our ancient laws cannot redound to the honour of the emperor; therefore let not this be a pretext for your outrage to the nation: It surely was not the wish of Tiberius to violate any of our laws. If you say it was, produce either his decree, or letter, or any other document, that we may cease to importune you, and send an embassy to supplicate your master.* This last circumstance disconcerted him very much, fearing, that if they should actually send an embassy, they would charge him with the other misdemeanors of his administration, his *briberies*, his *injuries*, his *extortions*, his *insults*, his *outrages*, his *indiscriminate* and *successive* † *massacres*, and his *unbounded* and *most grievous cruelty*, in detail; and this *wrathful* and *vindictive* man was reduced to the utmost perplexity; on the one hand, not daring to remove the shields after they had been once dedicated, and unwilling to gratify his subjects in any shape; but

* The dedication of *shields* to THE LORD, in the *temple*, as emblematical of the divine defence and protection against their enemies, Gen. xv. 1, was customary. 1 Kings x. 17; xiv. 26, 27, &c. It was adopted by the *heathens* also to their *tutelar* gods, 1 Mac. vi. 1, 2; and by the *Romans*, Livy, i. 20. To whom *Simon the Maccabee* sent a present of a *golden shield* of great size and value, 1 Mac. xiv. 24, which was graciously received, xv. 20.

† The original, *επαλληλους*, is remarkably strong and expressive. It signifies, “*succeeding each other*, without intermission,” like the waves of the sea; *αλληπαλληλοις κυμασι*. *Basil*. This, therefore, is rightly placed after the preceding outrages.

on the other, well knowing the steady severity of *Tiberius*, on such occasions. The chief magistrates seeing this, and perceiving his concern for what he had done, though he wished to hide it, wrote the most supplicatory letter to *Tiberius*; who, when he was informed of *Pilate's* speeches and threats, though not prone to anger, was greatly incensed, and immediately wrote without further delay, most sharply reproaching and reprimanding him for his audacious innovation, and ordering him to take down the shields directly: accordingly, they were removed from the metropolis to *Cæsarea*, and there dedicated to the emperor."

This curious and important passage, (here translated at length) furnishes the fullest and most authentic account extant, of the true character of *Pilate*, drawn by the hand of a most intelligent contemporary. It furnishes also the most satisfactory solution of "the *enmity* that had subsisted for some time between *Pilate* and *Herod*," who are not reconciled until *this very day* of the crucifixion; as we learn from the concise Scripture account, Luke xxiii. 21.; stating the fact, but not assigning the grounds of it. *Herod* was probably *offended* by the massacre of his subjects, the *Galileans*, at the preceding passover; but surely, it was a heinous *insult* to himself, to hang up the dedicated shields in *his palace*, without his permission; which, as a *Jew*, he could not have given; and which would only tend to render him odious and unpopular, to the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to the whole nation. Accordingly, his *four sons* headed the deputation to *Pilate*; furnishing full proof of their father's indignation, and an open expression of his resentment. And it is highly probable, that *Herod* himself joined in the complaint of the *Jews* to the emperor against *Pilate*. No wonder then, that the *Roman* governor, when severely reprimanded, and openly disgraced as he must have been by the removal of the shields, in the eyes of the nation, was thoroughly mortified and humbled, and reduced to the necessity of suing for reconciliation with *Herod*, and of endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the people. This satisfactorily accounts for his anxiety not to give *Herod* umbrage, as before, by interfering with his "*jurisdiction*, as soon as he found that *JESUS* was a *Galilean*;" and for his repeated endeavours to sooth the *Jews*, and prevail on them, by entreaties and remonstrances, to be content with a milder pu-

nishment; and for his being at length, basely intimidated, by their *implied* threat of another complaint to *Cæsar*, to surrender an *innocent* and *just* person, against his own repeated declarations, and against his conscience, and co-operate with their "*envy*" and lawless rage; fulfilling prophecy. Ps. ii. 1—3; Acts iv. 25—28.

HIS TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.

When "*the whole council*," came to the *prætorium*, or Roman court of justice, where *Pilate* was prepared to receive them, *they delivered up* their divine prisoner to him. But they themselves entered not into the heathen *prætorium*, lest they should be *polluted* thereby*, and prevented from eating the passover, on that their appointed day, *Friday*. Matt. xxvii. 1, 2; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxiii. 1; John xviii. 28. *Pilate* therefore *went out to them*, and said, *What accusation bring ye against this man?* maintaining thus his own prerogative, of bringing JESUS, to a *fresh trial*; not relying upon their proceedings. They answered, *If he were not a malefactor* worthy of death, *we would not have delivered him up to thee*.

Then *Pilate* said unto them, *Take ye him and judge him according to your law*, intimating that the crime laid to his charge was not of a capital nature. But they asserted that it was, and urged their own inability to inflict capital punishment, without his sentence. *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death*; thus unwittingly fulfilling OUR LORD'S own predictions, signifying that *he should die*, but not by a *Jewish* death, *stoning*, but by a *Roman*, *crucifixion*, John xviii. 29—32.

Then upon this rehearing of the cause, quitting the ground of *blasphemy*, on which they had condemned him in council, and to which *Pilate* had evidently referred, as an offence *against their law*; they brought a fresh accusation against him, more suitable to the *Roman*: *We have found him*, 1. *perverting the nation*, or stirring them up to *insurrection* against the *Romans*; 2. *forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar*; like the faction of *Judas Gaulonites*, called *Zealots*; and 3. saying that

* How exactly did the "*Scribes and Pharisees*" on this occasion verify OUR LORD'S censure; "*Ye blind guides, who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel!*" Matt. xxiii. 24. who scrupled *external pollution*, while they were committing *murder*, heightened by *hypocrisy, treachery, and ingratitude!*

he himself is CHRIST THE KING * [*of the Jews,*] in downright rebellion against the Roman emperor. Luke xxiii. 2.

Pilate then entered into the *prætorium* again, to examine JESUS as to these *capital* charges. And knowing, probably from the inoffensive life and conversation of JESUS, that the two former were unfounded and malicious, both from his actual payment of the *tribute* himself, Matt. xvii. 24—27; and from his recommendation in public to the *Pharisees* and *Herodians*, to render unto *Cæsar* the *dues of Cæsar*, Matt. xxii. 21, he confined himself to the last and most important charge, *Art thou the king of the Jews?* Matt. xxvii. 11, Mark xv. 2, Luke xxiii. 3, John xviii. 23.

JESUS, who was not present at the charges brought against him, wished to know whether this was one of them; otherwise, modestly, but indirectly objecting to it, as a question originally put by the governor, as tending to make him criminate himself; for so he had before objected to the questions of *Caiaphas*;—“*Askest thou this of thyself? or did others bring it in charge against me?* *Pilate* said, *Am I a Jew?* or thinkest thou that I, a *Roman*, concern myself about such matters; I speak not of myself: *Thine own nation*, and the *chief priests*, have delivered thee up to me, for trial; *what hast thou done* to deserve this? JESUS then answered, by admitting, but explaining the alleged fact: *My kingdom is not of this world*: and can therefore create no jealousy or alarm to the *Romans*; *If my kingdom were of this world*, then would my servants have anxiously exerted themselves, (*ηγωνιζοντο*) that I should not be delivered up to the *Jews*: (and *Pilate* himself must indeed have known, that they all forsook him and fled, from the *Chiliarch's* report.) But now their desertion is decisive evidence that *my kingdom is not from hence*. *Pilate* then said unto him, *Art thou a king then?* JESUS answered, *Thou sayest [true;] for I am a king. For this end have I been born, and for this end have I come*

* *Χριστον βασιλεα*, Luke xxiii. 2. This title, on account of its *celebrity*, is *anathrous*, or without the definitive article; put for *ὁ Χριστος ὁ βασιλευς*, Mark xv. 32, like *Ἰησουν Χριστον*, John xvii. 3, put for *Ἰησους ὁ Χριστος*, Matt. xvi. 20; or like *υἱος Θεου*, Matt. xiv. 33, put for *υἱος του Θεου*, Matt. iv. 3, or *ὁ υἱος του Θεου*, Matt. xvi. 16; or like *Θεος πατηρ*, Jude, ver. 1, put for *Θεος ὁ πατηρ*, John i. 13; or *ὁ Θεος ὁ πατηρ*. This indiscriminate use of all the *divine* titles, with and without the article, is fully shewn by *Middleton*; and cuts up the *Socinian* and *Unitarian* heresies by the roots.

into the world, to testify unto THE TRUTH*."—To attest his *Messiahship*, was indeed the grand design of his *incarnation* and *mission*. And this, accordingly, was "the good confession which JESUS witnessed before *Pontius Pilate*," (1 Tim. vi. 13.) John xviii. 34—37.

Pilate then, having carelessly asked him, *What is truth* †? without receiving, or without waiting for an answer, went out again to the *chief priests* and *multitudes*, saying, *I find no fault in this man*. But they persisted in their accusation, and proceeded to establish their first charge; *For he stirreth up the people throughout all Judea; beginning from Galilee, unto this place*. JESUS then was brought out, to answer this and many other charges of the *chief priests* and *elders*; but he answered nothing. *Pilate*, therefore, questioned him again, *Answerest thou nothing? See how many charges they bring against thee*. But JESUS answered him not a word more; so that *Pilate* wondered, Matt. xxvii. 12—14, Mark xv. 3—5, Luke xxiii. 4, 5, John xviii. 38.

HE IS SENT TO HEROD.

But when *Pilate* had heard *Galilee* mentioned, he enquired whether the man was a *Galilean*; and when he was informed that he was one of *Herod's* jurisdiction, he sent him back to *Herod*, (who, during these days of unleavened bread, was also at *Jerusalem* himself.) But *Herod*, seeing JESUS, was greatly rejoiced, for he was desirous to see him a good while, because he had heard much of him, and hoped to see some miracle done by him ‡. Then he questioned him in many words, but he an-

* Τῆ ἀληθείᾳ, may denote "the truth of his divine mission," John xvii. 3; or Himself "THE WAY, and THE TRUTH, and THE LIFE," John xiv. 6. The "king of fierce countenance" was remarkably foretold "to cast down THE TRUTH to the ground," Dan. viii. 12. See Vol. II. p. 509.

† Cowper, the poet, in his *Task*, has furnished an excellent comment on this verse.

"What is truth? 'Twas *Pilate's* question, put
To TRUTH itself; that deigned him no reply:
And wherefore? Will not God impart His light
To them that ask it?—Freely: 'tis His joy
His glory and His nature to impart:
But to the proud, uncandid, insincere,
Or negligent enquirer; not a spark."

‡ *Herod* suspected that JESUS was *John the Baptist*, whom he had beheaded, raised from the dead, and indued with *miraculous* powers, Matt. xiv. 2. The message of *Jesus* to that "fox," seemed to promise the performance of miracles, Luke xiii. 32.

swered him nothing. And the *chief priests* and *Scribes*, who had accompanied him to *Herod*, stood by, *vehemently accusing him*. But *Jesus*, knowing their incorrigible prejudices, and that all he could say would avail nothing, maintained his dignified *silence*; still fulfilling prophecy.

Then *Herod*, finding his curiosity disappointed by the persevering silence of *JESUS*, set him at nought with his guards, and in mockery arrayed him in a splendid robe, in order to ridicule his pretensions to royalty; and afterwards sent him back again to *Pilate*, to dispose of as he pleased. The deference shewn to *Herod* on this occasion, by the *Roman* governor, probably contributed to their reconciliation, Luke xxiii. 6—12.

HE IS SENT BACK AGAIN TO PILATE.

Pilate then summoned the *chief priests*, and the *rulers*, and the *people*, again to the *prætorium*, and declared, that upon examination he was satisfied of the prisoner's innocence of the charges they had brought against him, and *Herod* also, and therefore proposed to chastize and then to release him; for, according to the custom, he was under a necessity of releasing one prisoner to them at the feast of the *passover*.

But the *multitudes*, instigated by the *chief priests* and *elders*, clamorously demanded the release of *Barabbas*, a notorious robber, who had been imprisoned for *sedition* and *murder*, in preference to *JESUS*, "Not *this man*, but *Barabbas*," Matt. xxvii. 15—20; Mark xv. 6—11; Luke xxiii. 13—19; John xviii. 39, 40.

While *Pilate* was sitting on the tribunal, his wife sent a message to him, *Have nothing to do with that just person, for I have suffered much in a dream this day on his account*, Matt. xxvii. 19. It is by no means improbable that she had some vision of the disasters that awaited *Pilate* and his family. This must greatly have increased his reluctance to sentence *CHRIST*, knowing already that they had delivered him up through *envy* and *malice*.

He therefore made a *second* attempt to save him, and said, *What then will ye have me do unto JESUS, called CHRIST, THE KING OF THE JEWS?* But they were clamorous, saying, *Crucify him! crucify him!* Matt. xxvii. 21, 22; Mark xv. 12, 13; Luke xxiii. 20, 21.

Again he made a *third* attempt, saying unto them, *Why,*

what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him, I will therefore chastise him, and discharge him. But they were urgent, with loud voices, requiring that *he should be crucified*, Matt. xxvii. 23; Mark xv. 14; Luke xxiii. 22, 23.

Still *Pilate* would not consent, but inflicted the milder punishment which he had proposed, hoping this would satisfy them; and treated him as a *poor, weak, but inoffensive* visionary, possessed with *enthusiastic* notions of an *ideal* kingdom; for he first *scourged* him, and then left him to the derision and mockery of his *guard*, and of the whole *cohort*, who platted a *crown of thorns*, adding cruelty to insult, and set it on his head*; dressed him in a *purple robe*, put a *reed* in his right hand, by way of sceptre, and bending the knee, adored him, and saluted him, *Hail king of the Jews!* then they *spit* on him, and *struck* him on the head with the reed, and *smote* him, Matt. xxvii. 27—30; Mark xv. 15—19; John xix. 1—3.

Pilate then, when the soldiers had finished their impious mockeries, went out to the people again, and said unto them, *I am going to bring him out to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him;* (then came JESUS forth, wearing the *crown of thorns* and the *purple robe*.) And he said unto them, *Behold the man!*—he said no more, thinking that this pitiable spectacle would move their compassion, and disarm their rage. Unwittingly, perhaps, adopting the language of prophecy, Zech. vi. 12, derived from *Balaam's* famous prophecy restored, Numb. xxiv. 7 †. (See Vol. II. p. 475, 205.)

But when the *chief priests* and their *attendants* saw him, fearing that the fickle populace might relent, they cried out (*κραυγασαν*,) *Crucify him! crucify him!* *Pilate* then said,

* *Hasselquist*, speaking of the *naba* or *nabka* of the *Arabs*, says, “In all probability this is the tree which afforded the *crown of thorns* put on the head of CHRIST. It grows very common in the East, and the plant is extremely fit for the purpose, for it has many small and most sharp spines, which are well adapted to give great pain.” The crown might be easily made of these soft, round, and pliant branches; and the leaves much resemble *ivy*, being of a very deep green. It was like those, therefore, with which they crowned their *emperors* and *generals*.

† *Pilate* was a man of some literature; he was acquainted with *Hebrew* and *Greek*, as appears from his inscription on the cross: he had also spent six years in *Judea*. Is it then incredible that he might have read those famous *prophecies*, at least in the *Septuagint* version, and even designedly adopted their language to refute them thus, by example? See *Dissertation* the first of my *Dissertations* on the prophetic character of CHRIST.

Take ye him, and crucify him; I will not, for I find no fault in him.

This, however, they considered as an indignant irony, to do it at their own peril; for which he might inflict a severe revenge, or accuse them to the emperor, of taking the law into their own hands. They therefore would not accept the concession, but at length recurred to the original ground of *blasphemy*, upon which they had condemned him in their council: they answered him, “*We have a law, (Levit. xxiv. 16,) and according to our law he ought to die, because he made himself THE SON OF GOD,*” John xix. 4—7.

When *Pilate* then heard this argument, he was *more afraid* than before; and this, we may presume, both on a *political* and *religious* account. He feared now that the *Jews* might plausibly accuse him of superseding their *law*; and he dreaded also to injure some *divinity*, or *demigod*, for the Heathens universally believed that “*the gods sometimes came down upon earth, in the likeness of men,*” Acts xiv. 11, 12. And surely the stupendous *miracles* performed by CHRIST, of which he could not be ignorant, justified this apprehension, joined to his wife’s dream; for the *Romans* were remarkably superstitious about dreams. He entered therefore again into the *prætorium*, to re-examine JESUS apart from the *Jews*, and said unto him, *Whence art thou?* But JESUS gave him no answer, lest, perhaps, a direct answer might have decided the *wavering* governor to acquit him, in spite of the *Jews*, and so defeat the great end of his mission, *to die for the sins of the world*. That this, indeed, was the noble and magnanimous cause of his silence upon this occasion, contrary to his former frankness, we may collect from *Pilate’s* answer, intimating the conflict in his own breast: *Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have authority to crucify thee, and have authority to release thee?* Jesus then immediately answered, meekly acknowledging his *authority*, as founded on the *divine* permission, and considerably apologizing in some measure for his *abuse* of that boasted authority, through intimidation, “*Thou couldest have no authority at all over me, unless it were given thee from above. Wherefore he that delivered me up to thee for crucifixion, Caiaphas and his abettors, hath greater sin than thou hast in yielding to their importunities; especially as they have better means of knowing whence I am.*”

This modest and gentle answer so satisfied *Pilate*, that *from thenceforth he sought to release him*; but when he attempted it, the *Jews* exclaimed, “*If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar’s friend: Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.*” thus intimating a threat of accusing him to the jealous and suspicious *Tiberius*, of encouraging and abetting a rival against his imperial authority, which might complete his disgrace and ruin, John xix. 8—12.

This last argument vanquished *Pilate’s* constancy. When he heard it, he removed his tribunal (about the *third** hour) to a place in the open air, called the *pavement*, where the *Jews* might hear him pronounce the sentence. And sitting down thereon, and bringing forth *Jesus* again from the *prætorium*, in order still to expose the folly and absurdity of the fear they pretended to entertain of this rival of *Tiberius*, in such a wretched plight, he compassionately said, “*Behold your king!*” again adopting the language of prophecy, Zech. ix. 10. But they cried out, *Away with him! Away with him! Crucify him! Pilate*, however, expostulated with the people, *Shall I crucify your king?* The *chief priests* answered, “*We have no king but Cæsar.*” Thus publicly renouncing their *national* faith and hope of THE MESSIAH *to restore again the kingdom to Israel*, Acts i. 6; and unwittingly incurring also the denunciations of the same prophecy, for their rebellion:—“*For I will no longer spare the inhabitants of the land, but will deliver up every man into the hand of his fellow, and into the hand of his king,*” Zech. xi. 6, (Vol. II. p. 478,) when “*the Romans,*” whom they now basely preferred, and whom they sought to conciliate by this wicked sacrifice of the *innocent*, for *the sins of the nation*, “*came to take away both their holy place and their nation,*” as they justly dreaded; yielding to the *Machiavelian* policy of *Caiaphas*, in council, (John xi. 48, 49, xviii. 14,) John xix. 13, 14.

Pilate then, seeing that *he availed nothing*, but that rather a *tumult was made*, addressed his last solemn appeal to their *religious* feelings, by transferring the guilt of the compulsory sentence he was going to pronounce from himself to them; for, according to their own usage of “*washing their hands*, in token

* See the reasons for this correction of the *sixth* hour, in the present text of John xix. 14, in the foregoing explanation of the chronology of the *passion week*.

of *innocency*," Psalm xxvi. 6,) when suspected of *murder*, according to the law, Deut. xxi. 6—9, and which also was a customary rite among the *Romans*; "he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, and said, *I am innocent of the blood of this just person**: See ye to it."

Then all the people answered, and said, *His blood be upon us, and upon our children!* Thus absolving *Pilate*, and taking the guilt upon themselves and their posterity, by the most awful and general imprecation; so literally, and so dreadfully fulfilled, ever since the *Roman* captivity, for seventeen hundred years, unto the present day! as confessed by themselves †. See *David Levi's* remarkable explanation of *Daniel's* prophecy of the *seventy* weeks, (in Vol. II. page 514, note,) where he represents "*murder*" as the last of the crying *sins of his nation*, under the "*second temple*," Matt. xxvii. 24, 25, Luke xxiii. 23.

The extreme reluctance of *Pilate* to sentence *CHRIST*, considering his merciless character, is signally remarkable, and still more his repeated protestations of the *innocence* of his prisoner, although, on occasions of massacre, he made no scruple of confounding the innocent with the guilty. But he was unquestionably influenced by the overruling providence of *GOD*, to make the *righteousness* of *HIS SON* appear as clear as the noon day, even when condemned and executed as a "*malefactor*," by the fullest, the most authentic, and the most public evidence: 1. By the testimony even of his judges, *Pilate* and *Herod*. 2. By the message of *Pilate's* wife, delivered to him on the tribunal. 3. By the testimony of the traitor *Judas*, who hanged himself in despair, for betraying the *innocent blood*. 4. By the testimony of the *Roman* centurion and guard, at his crucifixion, to his *divinity* and *righteousness*. And 5. Of his *fellow sufferer* on the cross. Never was innocence so attested as his innocence.

Then *Pilate* discharged *Barabbas*, and delivered up *JESUS* to their will to be crucified. And the *Roman* soldiers, who

* Alas! the *superstitious Pilate* ought to have known, that *no water* could wash away the *guilt* of an unjust sentence of *death*, even from *Ovid*:

Ah, *nimum faciles*, qui, tristia crimina cædis,
Flumineâ tolli posse, putetis, aquâ!

† *Maimonides*, de *Christo*, § 4. "And He, [*Jesus*,] was the cause that *Israel* perished by the sword; that the *remnant* of them were dispersed and oppressed, the *law* changed, and the greater part of the *world* perverted."

acted as guards and executioners, after they had mocked him, took off the *purple robe*, and put on him his *own raiment*, and led him away to crucify him. It is not said that they took off the *crown of thorns*: he probably wore that to the last, as explanatory of his title on the cross, Matt. xxvii. 26, Mark xv. 20, Luke xxiii. 25, John xix. 16.

Matthew, on this occasion, and *Mark* also, say that they *scourged him*; but as only *one* scourging is mentioned by each of the Evangelists, and the rest agree in assigning to it an earlier date, and a second, at this later, would be wantonly cruel, when he was going to suffer the most dreadful punishment of crucifixion, and that also against *Pilate's* will, it is highly probable that *Matthew* and *Mark* meant the *same*; connecting the two punishments together, though not in immediate succession.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

And now JESUS was led through the city, by the *dolorous way** towards *Calvary*, bearing his cross, according to the *Roman* custom; not the whole cross, but only that transverse part to which the arms were fastened, called *furca*, (whence the criminal was called *furcifer*,) as distinguished from the upright beam, called *stipes*, fixed in the ground.

As he went, (like *Isaac*, his type, bearing the wood for his own sacrifice, Gen. xxii. 6,) exhausted with fatigue and fasting, Psalm cix. 24, and fainting under the burden, the soldiers pressed into their service *Simon*, the *Cyrenian*, as he came out of the country, opposite the gate of *Ephraim*, (by tradition,) and compelled him to relieve JESUS, by carrying the cross after him. Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26; John xix. 17.

And there followed him a great number of *the people*, and also of *women*, who beat their breasts and bewailed him, but JESUS turning to them, said, *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep rather for yourselves and for your children, upon whom my blood was imprecated: for lo, days of vengeance are coming, in which people shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck! when they shall see the infants massacred by the Romans. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on*

* See the map of Jerusalem, and its explanation, Vol. I. p. 437.

us, and to the hills, *Cover us*, from the divine wrath, Hosea x. 8, Rev. vi. 16, *for if they* (the Romans) *do such cruel things in green wood*, or to the righteous, *what shall be done in the dry**, or to the wicked? as foretold by *Ezekiel*, (xx. 47,) Luke xxiii. 27—31.

To increase the infamy of his punishment, there were also two others, *malefactors*, led with him to be put to death, who were probably associates of *Barabbas*, Luke xxiii. 22. And when they had *gone out* of the city, by the ancient gate of *judgment*, or *gate of the valley* (which is still standing), into the place called in Hebrew *Golgotha*, or the place of a *skull*, at the foot of *Calvary* †, they offered him a stupifying potion of *vinegar mixed with myrrh and wormwood*, which it was usual to give criminals, but when he tasted, he would not drink it, Matt. xxvii. 33, 34; Mark xv. 22, 23.

And when they had reached the top of *Calvary*, the soldiers crucified him there, in the midst, and the two malefactors on each side; thus fulfilling the prophecy of *Isaiah*, “*and he was numbered with the transgressors*,” liii. 12. And it was the *third hour* when they crucified him. Then JESUS said, FATHER *forgive them, for they know not what they do!* Thus, in the midst of his own excruciating agony, our adorable HIGH PRIEST “*interceded for the transgressors*” also, Isa. liii. 12, who surely, *if they had known, would not have crucified the LORD OF GLORY*, neither the *Jews* nor the *Romans*, Acts iii. 17; 1 Cor. ii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 13.

After they had crucified JESUS, the executioners *divided his garments* among them into four parts, one for each, but they *cast lots for his vest*, or tunic, because *it was woven without seam, from the top throughout*, and therefore did not chuse to rend it, fulfilling prophecy in this minute distinction, (Psalm xxii. 19,) Matt. xxvii. 35; Mark xv. 24, 25; Luke xxiii. 32—34; John xix. 18—24.

They also set up an inscription, written by *Pilate*, in *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*, over his head:

* In several passages of Scripture, *green trees* represent *good men*, and *dry trees*, *bad*. See Psalm i. 3, v. 2—10, Jer. xvii. 8, Hosea xiv. 8, Job xv. 30.

† See Vol. I. p. 432.

JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS*.

Matt. xxvii. 37, Mark xv. 26, Luke xxiii. 38, John xix. 19.

This inscription, which was read by many of the *Jews*, because the place of crucifixion was near the city, offended the *chief priests*, who applied to *Pilate* to alter it, into "*who called himself the king of the Jews.*" But *Pilate* peremptorily refused, *What I have written, I have written*, and it shall remain; wishing to mortify them, and insult the whole nation, while he unwittingly gave the despised JESUS OF NAZARETH, (John i. 47,) his true scriptural title, THE KING OF THE JEWS, or CHRIST, John xix. 20—22. And sitting down, the *Roman* soldiers watched him there, that none might take him down from the cross, Matt. xxvii. 36.

And *the people* stood in silence †, beholding the spectacle; while *the passengers* blasphemed him, wagging their heads, and repeating his own words, "*Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself! If thou be THE SON OF GOD, come down from the cross! Likewise the chief priests, with the scribes and elders, said, mocking, He saved others, cannot he save himself? If he be THE CHRIST, the KING OF ISRAEL, THE ELECT OF GOD, let him now come down from the cross, that we may see, and believe on him! He trusted in GOD, Let Him deliver Him now, if He chuse to adopt him: for he said, I am THE SON OF GOD,*" Matt. xxvii. 39—43, Mark xv. 29—32, Luke xxiii. 35. How critically did these impious mockers unintentionally fulfil prophecy, Psalm xxii. 8, 9, lxix. 21, lxxxix. 19, cix. 25—28, Wisd. ii. 18.

The *soldiers* also insulted him, offering him vinegar to drink, (their common beverage,) and saying, *If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself!* Luke xxiii. 36, 37. And to crown all, even one of the *malefactors* upbraided him likewise, *If thou be THE CHRIST, save thyself and us!* But the other rebuked his fellow, saying, *Dost not thou fear GOD?* how then darest thou to follow the example of those *impious* mockers, and insult a dying person? *seeing that thou art also dying thyself in the same punishment* with him; and shouldst rather, therefore, pity a fellow

* This was the *actual* inscription, recorded by the eye witness, *John*; the other Evangelists give only the *purport*, "*This is,*" &c. as *Matthew* and *Luke*; or "*the king of the Jews,*" only, as *Mark*.

† *The people* seem to have been affected with compassion; they afterwards "*smote their breasts* and returned," Luke xxiii. 48.

sufferer: *especially since we suffer justly, receiving the deserved recompense of our deeds; but this man did nothing amiss.* Then he said to JESUS, LORD, *remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom!* JESUS authoritatively replied, *Verily, I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise!* Luke xxiii. 39—43.

This penitent seems to have been one of those *worldly minded* disciples, who forsook their master when he refused the proffered royalty, and predicted his own *sufferings* and *crucifixion*, John vi. 66, xii. 34—37. He was now fully *converted* by the extraordinary accomplishment, and “*drawn to CHRIST* when hanging on the cross!” John xii. 32; now convinced *that his kingdom was not of this world.* With hearty *repentance*, therefore, and true *faith*, he besought admittance into his MASTER’S *spiritual kingdom*, at the *regeneration*, in future; and was graciously accepted by Him, who exercised *an act of sovereignty*, even on the cross; in all the fullness of assurance, promising him an immediate reward, even admittance, *that very day*, with himself, after death, into *paradise*, or that region of *hades*, appropriated for *good souls*; according to the popular belief, as expressed by OUR LORD in the parable of the *rich man* and *Lazarus*, Luke xvi. 20. See Vol. II. p. 84, note.

The next, and the most affecting occurrence, was our blessed Lord’s display of *filial piety* and *friendship*, in the midst of his tortures. *Mary*, his mother, with astonishing fortitude and resignation to the mysterious will of heaven, (little inferior to *Abraham* himself, the intentional *sacrificer* of his darling son *Isaac*, now *stood beside the cross*, in speechless woe*, paying the last sad duty of maternal tenderness to her DIVINE SON; and now experiencing herself the full accomplishment of *Simon’s* paradoxical prediction, delivered in the fulness of her joy at his nativity, “*Yea, a sword shall pierce even through thine own soul!*” as it must have done, with the keenest edge, when she saw him set up as “*a sign*,” or spectacle of public ignominy; and heard him “*spoken against*,” and blasphemed, as a *false Christ* and *false prophet*; and shortly after beheld him *pierced to the heart with a spear!*——Among the faithful friends who attended her in her distress on this most trying

* This circumstance is expressive of the deepest affliction. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*, “Slight griefs do speak, but the profound are dumb.”

occasion, was *Mary*, the wife of *Cleophas*, her own sister, or cousin, and *Mary Magdalene*, and *John*, the beloved disciple.

JESUS, from his dreadful elevation, seeing his mother, and pitying her now desolate and disconsolate state of widowhood and childlessness, looked significantly first on her, and then on *John*, saying at the same time, *Woman, behold thy son!* to supply my place, and then bequeathing her, as a dying legacy, to his dearest and worthiest friend on earth, *Behold thy mother!* Words few and simple, indeed, but full of meaning; easily and equally understood, and obeyed by both: for, *from that hour, the disciple took her to his own home*; and assuredly, *beheld*, or treated her with all the respect and tenderness due to *such a mother, so recommended*. This precious anecdote, where every *look*, as well as every *word*, conveys a volume, (*John* xxi. 25,) we owe to *John* himself, xix. 25—27.

And now, when JESUS had hung on the cross near three hours, at the *sixth*, or *noon*, *the sun was darkened*, and *darkness overspread the whole land* for three hours more, until the *ninth* hour. This obscuration of the *sun*, must have been preternatural, in its *extent*, *duration*, and *opposition* of the *moon*, at full, to the sun. It was observed at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, by *Dionysius*, the *Areopagite*, afterwards the illustrious convert of *Paul* at *Athens*, *Acts* xvii. 34, who, in a letter to the martyr *Polycarp*, describes his own and his companion, the sophist *Apollophanes'* astonishment at the phænomenon, when they saw the darkness commence at the eastern limb of the sun, and proceed to the western, till the whole was eclipsed; and then regrade backwards, from the western to the eastern, till his light was fully restored; which they attributed to the *miraculous* passage of the moon across the sun's disk. *Apollophanes* exclaimed, as if divining the cause, "*These, O good Dionysius, are the vicissitudes of divine events!*" *Dionysius* answered, "*Either THE DEITY suffers, or He sympathises with THE SUFFERER!*" And that Sufferer, according to *tradition*, record by *Michael Syncellus*, of *Jerusalem*, he declared to be "*THE UNKNOWN GOD, for whose sufferings all nature was darkened and convulsed.*"

This most curious and valuable testimony* to the fact, and

* This testimony is infinitely more important than that of *Phlegon's* Eclipse, which is usually adduced; but which happened the next year, A.D. 32, April 28, by *Pingré's* tables, which state only one *solar* eclipse, this year of the passion, a lunation and half

reasoning thereon, by *heathen philosophers*, at the very time, we owe to *Suidas*, in the two articles, Διονυσιος ὁ Ἀρεωπαγίτας. See Vol. I. p. 65—71. Matt. xxvii. 45, Mark xv. 33, Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

About, or at the ninth hour, JESUS exclaimed with a loud voice, ἘΛΙ, ἘΛΙ, *lama sabaktani*, “MY GOD, MY GOD, *why hast thou forsaken me!*” Matt. xxvii. 46, Mark xv. 34.

This exclamation, in its three first words, exhibits the original *Hebrew* of the beginning of the twenty-second Psalm, descriptive of the *Messiah's persecution and sufferings*; and these were probably recited to mark the application of the entire Psalm to himself, according to the usual mode of citation at that time. See *John* xii. 38. where the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah* is perhaps so cited. The fourth term, *sabaktani*, is *Syriac*, or the vernacular dialect, put for the Hebrew, *azabthani*. That this was designed for a citation, indeed, and not for any expression of *despondency*, (as several commentators* have

after this obscuration, May 10, at two in the morning, visible in *Asia*, and there central.

* Though the plan of this work does not permit a review of the mistakes of commentators in general, which would be endless and unprofitable; yet there is one on this subject, fraught with the most extravagant and revolting *Hutchinsonian* mysticism, and that in useful, *elementary* works, of general circulation, *Parkhurst's Hebrew and Greek Lexicons*, under the roots אלה, in the former, and Ελωι, in the latter; which, therefore, it would be ill discharging the functions of a *sacred critic*, to pass over in silence, without warning *younger students* to beware of such.

The pious, but fanciful *Parkhurst* supposes,

1. That there were two similar exclamations uttered by CHRIST, one “*about* the ninth hour,” (περι την εννατην ὥραν,) recorded by *Matthew*; the other, “*at* the ninth hour,” (τη ὥρα τη εννατη,) recorded by *Mark*, when he was in the very jaws of death.—But this is a hypercritical distinction without a difference.

2. That the former was addressed to THE DIVINITY, as אלי, ηλι, (*my powerful*), GOD, referring to his *power*; but the latter, as אלוהי, Ελωι, [*my accursed.*] bound to bear together with *my* humanity, the *curse* due to man for sin!! thus, strangely misrepresenting אלוה, as a participle passive, like επικαταρατος, “one accursed, or subject to a curse;” as if it were derived from the verb אלה, to *curse**. Whereas it does not once occur in this sense throughout the whole range of the *Hebrew Scriptures*; but every where as “the BLESSED and only POTENTATE;” which last, indeed, is its proper signification: nor does the form אלוהי, occur any where except in two erroneous passages, Psalm xviii. 47, and cxlv. 1, of *Leusden's* and *Foster's* editions, which are correctly written אלהי, (excluding the *Vau*), in the London *Polyglott Bible*, as *Park-*

* *Parkhurst*, in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, Edit. 3. p. 24. omits indeed our Lord's exclamation on the cross; but he represents אלוה as a title of CHRIST, signifying “accursed,” or “subject to a curse.”

imagined, uttered in Christ's *human* nature,) we may fairly collect from his express reference to the same *Psalm*, immediately after, in saying, "*I thirst*," alluding to ver. 15. "*My tongue cleaveth to my jaws* *; and also from his last ejaculation, expressive of the highest trust and confidence, immediately before he expired, "*FATHER, into thy hands I commit my spirit!*" alluding to another, *Psalm xxxi. 5.*

Some of the bystanders, mistaking the meaning of the first *Hebrew* word, *Eli*, said, *Lo, he calleth Elias*, or "*Elijah the prophet*;" and they might naturally conceive, from the *darkness*, that this was indeed "the *great and dreadful* day of *THE LORD*," which was foretold to follow his coming, (*Mal. iv. 5.*) *Matt. xxvii. 47*; *Mark xv. 35.*

After this, *JESUS*, knowing that *all* his predestined sufferings were now *ready to be perfected*, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, saith, *I thirst*. And immediately one of them, *running to a vessel full of vinegar*, which lay there for the use of the soldiers, *steeped a sponge in the vinegar mixed with hyssop*, and *put it on the end of a reed, and reached it to his mouth*, pitying his distress, while the rest, more hardened, said, *Let him alone, let us see whether Elias is coming to take him down, and save him,*" *John xix. 28*; *Matt. xxvii. 48, 49*; *Mark xv. 36.*

When *JESUS* had received the vinegar, thereby fulfilling also another signal prophecy, *in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink*, *Psalm lxix. 21*, he said, *it is perfected!* and with a loud voice he added, *FATHER, into thy hands I commit my spirit!*

hurst himself admits, overturning his criticism founded thereon. אלה, "THE POTENTATE" is derived from אל, ÆL, the primitive name of God, signifying "POWER."

3. But (אלהי,) Ελωι, in the present text of *Mark*, is now considered by the ablest editors, *Wetstein* and *Griesbach*, as faulty, who substitute Ηλι, as in *Matthew*, or Ηλει, supported by *Eusebius*, the *Cambridge MS.*, and several additional vouchers. And Ελωι, the *Syriac*, might have been easily substituted for Ηλι, the *Hebrew*, by the unskilfulness of some early copier, hastily concluding, that because the last word, *Sabaktani*, was *Syriac*, the first ought to be so too.

4. The last ejaculation, when *JESUS* was "in the very jaws of *Death*,"—(here represented as going to devour him, whereas *he dismissed his spirit* of his own accord,) was widely different: *FATHER, into thy hands I commit my spirit!*

See a fuller discussion of this mischievous and revolting hypercriticism, in my *Dissertations*, &c. p. 131—135.

* *Parching thirst*, here expressed by the *Psalmist*, is one of the usual concomitants of extreme grief of mind, or torture of body:—*Sorrow is dry*, is a proverbial expression, founded on long experience.

and so saying, he *inclined his head, delivered up his spirit,* and *expired,* Matt. xxvii. 48—50; Mark xv. 36, 37; Luke xxiii. 46; John xix. 28—30.

It is remarkable that the original expressions, *αφηκε το πνευμα, παρεδωκε το πνευμα,* and *εξεπνευσε,* here, are appropriated by the Evangelists to the death of CHRIST, and are not used elsewhere in the NEW TESTAMENT. The deaths of other persons are expressed by the verbs, *απεθανε,* Luke xvi. 22; *ετελευτησε,* Matt. xxii. 25, &c.; *εκοιμηθη,* Acts vii. 60, &c.; *εξεψυξε,* Acts v. 5—10. &c. The distinction in this place plainly intimates that CHRIST had the power of *resigning his own life,* and of *resuming* it again, consigned to him by the FATHER, as he expressly told his disciples, foretelling his *voluntary* death, John x. 18.

And most awful were the *signs* that ensued; for lo, *the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom,* aptly signifying the dissolution of the *Jewish ecclesiastical economy,* and that the separation heretofore subsisting between them and the *Gentiles* was now rescinded. And this happened exactly at the commencement of the *evening sacrifice,* while the priest was offering incense in the holy place, Luke i. 10, and while the high priests were celebrating their unhallowed pass-over.

And *the earth did quake, and the rocks rent.* (See 1 Kings xix. 11.) And we learn from *Maundrel,* p. 73, that “about a yard and a half from the hole in which the foot of the cross was fixed, is seen that memorable *cleft in the rock,* which happened at the suffering of the GOD OF NATURE. It is about a span wide at its upper part, as to what now appears of it, and two deep; after which it closes, but opens again below, (as you may see in another chapel contiguous to the side of *Calvary,*) and runs down to an unknown depth in the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake that happened at our Lord’s passion there is only *tradition* to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by any art, the sense and reason of every one that sees it may convince him, for the sides of it fit like two tallies to each other, and yet it runs in such intricate windings, as could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any instrument.”

It is also mentioned by *Fleming,* in his *Christology,* p. 97, that a *Deist,* lately travelling through *Palestine,* was converted

by viewing one of these rocks, which still remains, *torn asunder*, not in the weakest place, but across the veins; a plain proof that it was done in a supernatural manner.

And such a conversion was actually wrought at the time on the *centurion* and *Roman* soldiers, who guarded the cross, and witnessed the awful scene; they who had joined in the insults and mockeries of the whole cohort against JESUS, in the *prætorium*, so lately: For when the *centurion* who stood opposite to JESUS heard that he so cried and expired, with his last breath calling on God as HIS FATHER, he was fully persuaded that JESUS was indeed what he professed himself to be before the council, and said, *This man was truly* THE SON OF GOD, Mark xv. 39.

The *soldiers* also, when they saw the *earthquake*, and the prodigies that happened, *feared greatly*, and joined in the same declaration with the *centurion*, "*This was truly* THE SON OF GOD," Matt. xxvii. 54.

And again, the *centurion*, when he saw the prodigy that happened, (perhaps the *cleft in the rock*, which was just beside him, and, according to tradition, separated the cross of JESUS from that of the impenitent malefactor on the left hand, *Sandys*, p. 127,) he *glorified* GOD, like a true convert, for this wondrous attestation to his Son's innocence, and said, "*This man was really* THE JUST ONE," Luke xxiii. 47.

Thus did these strongly prejudiced *heathens*, who had ridiculed the idea of JESUS being a *king*, with the *governor* himself at first, now condemn the high priest and council for representing JESUS as guilty of *blasphemy*, by recognizing him in that higher character previously ascribed to him, THE SON OF GOD, as intimated by "*truly*;" and also bear testimony to the truth of *Pilate's* previous declaration of his *justice* or *innocence*, as intimated by "*really* *."

* The original phrases, Αληθως Θεου υιος ην ουτος, and οντως ο ανθρωπος ουτος δικαιος ην, are rather incorrectly rendered in our English Bible, "*Truly, this was the Son of God*," and "*Certainly, this was a righteous man*." For the adverbs "*truly* and *certainly*," when beginning a sentence, in colloquial discourse, rather imply a casual opinion than a solemn and decided asseveration. On this occasion, therefore, they should be connected with the predicates, to strengthen them. Thus the similar phrase, αληθως Θεου υιος ει, should be rendered "*Thou art truly* THE SON OF GOD," Matt. xiv. 33, where, though the phrase Θεου υιος is entirely anarthrous, there cannot be a doubt that it is to be understood in the highest sense; from the *worship* (προσεκυνησαν) then actually paid to CHRIST by the disciples. This anomaly was noticed in a

Not less remarkable was the revolution produced thereby in the public mind; for *all the multitudes who assembled together to this spectacle, when they saw the prodigies that happened, smiting their breasts*, in token of grief and remorse for their guilt and imprecations, and with a melancholy presage of their own punishment, *returned*, Luke xxiii. 48. The conviction of the *divinity* and of the *innocence* of the sufferer, thus miraculously attested, unquestionably prepared the way for the conver-

foregoing note; and *Townson* also observes, that the Divine Titles frequently want the article in *confessions of faith*. That *αληθως* and *οντως* should properly be so connected may appear from some other instances: *ουτος εστιν αληθως ο προφητης*, "This is truly the prophet," John vi. 14; and again, vii. 40, *οντως προφητης ην*, "John was really a prophet," Mark xi. 32; *ηγερθη ο κυριος οντως*, "THE LORD is really risen," Luke xxiv. 34; *οντως χηρας*, "really widows," 1 Tim. v. 3—5.

By analogy, *δικαιος*, though anarthrous here, should also be rendered "the just one," in the highest sense also*. For this was a title of the MESSIAH in the *Old Testament*, as may appear from the following passages:

"Many are the afflictions of THE JUST ONE, but THE LORD delivereth him out of them all. He preserveth all his bones; not one of them shall be broken. Evil shall slay the wicked one, [Judas,] and the haters [Jews] of THE JUST ONE shall be desolate," Psalm xxxiv. 19—24. (Instead of רשע, "wicked," the singular number of the Masorete text, the *Sept.* followed by the *Syr. Arab.* and *Lat.* read רשעים, in the plural; but surely the *Jews* had no temptation to forge the singular reading, which is supported by the *Chaldee Targum*, in the *London Polyglott.*)

"Behold THY KING cometh unto thee; He is just, and a Saviour," Zech. ix. 10.

Hence this title was assumed in the *New Testament* also. Thus *Peter* reproached the *Jews*, "Ye denied THE HOLY and JUST ONE," Acts iii. 14; and the martyr *Stephen*, "Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? they even slew those (*Isaiah, Zechariah, &c.*) that prophesied of the coming (του δικαιου) of the JUST ONE; of whom ye have been the betrayers and murderers!" Acts vii. 52; and *James* likewise, "Ye condemned, ye murdered THE JUST ONE! Will he not resist you, [ye proud?]" James v. 6, referring to iv. 6. His violent persecutor, *Saul*, afterwards his most zealous Apostle, *Paul*, was fore-ordained "to see THE JUST ONE, and to hear the voice of his mouth," Acts xxii. 14.

This *Jewish* title of the MESSIAH, was naturally adopted by *Pilate's* wife, who styled *JESUS* τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ, "THAT JUST ONE," Matt. xxvii. 19; and by *Pilate* himself, του δικαιου τουτου, "THIS JUST ONE," Matt. xxvii. 24. Is it then to be wondered, that the *centurion* adopted their phraseology, which he heard shortly before?

Nor was this title unknown to the *Heathen* philosophers. *Plato*, in the second book of his *Republic*, describes a perfect character with the same epithet, ο δίκαιος, "the just;" who, for attempting to reform the world, should encounter *persecution* and *crucifixion*. See the passage, in the note near the end of this volume.

* The observations in this note are chiefly taken from "Observations on the words which the centurion uttered at the crucifixion of our Lord, 1808, Oxford, by a Layman," who is generally supposed to be that learned and intelligent physician, Dr. *Falconer*, of *Bath*. Such observations are peculiarly valuable.

sion of the *three thousand* on the ensuing day of *Pentecost*, only fifty-two days after.

Among the spectators on this occasion, besides those that stood near the cross, there stood *afar off*, *all his acquaintances*, both men and women, from *Galilee* especially, and among the latter, *Salome*, the mother of the Apostles *James* and *John*, Matt. xxvii. 55, 56, Mark xv. 40, 41, Luke xxiii. 49. These probably contributed to soften the multitude by their grief.

As soon as the *first evening* was come, (which began at the *third* hour, afternoon, see Vol. I. p. 15,) because it was *Friday*, *the eve of the Sabbath*, and *preparation day*, the day before the first and *great day* of the feast also; the chiefs of the *Jews* besought *Pilate* that the criminals might be dispatched and taken away, before their *high Sabbath* began; according to the law, which required that the bodies should be taken down at *sunset*, Deut. xxi. 23, Josh. x. 27. The soldiers, therefore, came, and according to their cruel custom, broke the legs of the *two malefactors*, who were still alive, before they dispatched them; but when they came to *JESUS*, and saw that he was already dead, they brake not his legs; one of the soldiers, however, to ensure his death, with a spear *pierced his side*, and forthwith came thereout "*blood and water*," John xix. 31, 34.

This was indeed the most decisive proof of his death. For either the spear pierced the *pericardium**, or bag in which the heart swims in a small quantity of water, to prevent adhesion; which therefore was let out along with his heart's blood; or else the blood was now chilled, and the *cruor*, or red particles, separated from the *serum*, or watery part. On the former supposition, he must have been instantly killed, if not dead before; on the latter, he must have been dead some time. These two most important facts, therefore, are attested with the utmost solemnity by the eye witness, *John*, and further, that they were designed as the fulfilment of the *types* and *prophecies* of the *OLD TESTAMENT*, for the conviction of believers.

"And *he* that saw, hath testified, (and his testimony is true, and *JESUS* himself knoweth that he speaketh the truth!) that ye might *believe*. These were done that the Scripture might be

* The following curious, incidental observation of a skilful anatomist, is given in the *Yverdon Encyclopedie*, art. *Pericardè*. "I have constantly found water in the *pericardium* of the *quadrupeds* that I have *dissected alive*.—And I have found it constantly in the case of *criminals capitally punished*."

fulfilled, *a bone of Him shall not be broken*, (Psalm xxxiv. 20.) And again, another Scripture saith, "*They shall look on Him whom they pierced*," (Zech. xii. 10,) John xix. 35—37.

The parenthetical observation, virtually includes the testimony of *two* witnesses; first of the eye witness, *John*, vouching the truth of the fact; and an animated appeal to the sufferer himself, as THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS, to vouch it also*. Unfortunately, our English Bible, ambiguously renders *εκεινος*, the emphatic pronoun, "*that person*," referring to JESUS, ver. 33, foregoing, by "HE;" which is liable to be confounded with the former, "*he*," the rendering of the article *ο*, prefixed to *εωρακως*, "*the eye witness*." The merit of this correcter translation is due to *Wakefield*. May this noble attestation to the *divinity* of CHRIST, "*cover a multitude of sins*" in the translation of this strenuous *Unitarian*!

This "greater testimony" of THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY †, (which is the SPIRIT OF GOD,) seems to be confirmed, by its analogy to the former passage in the Gospel; for the prophecy, (Psalm xxxiv. 20,) referred to in the expression, "*a bone of Him shall not be broken*," was evidently founded on that *typical* rite, that *not a bone of the paschal lamb should be broken*, (Exod. xii. 46, repeated Numb. ix. 12,) which was so exactly fulfilled in CHRIST, *our passover*, the true *antitype*; and the *water* and *blood*, shed from his side, and sprinkling perhaps the people, as well as the ground, is represented by *Paul*, as the ratification of that *new and better covenant*, corresponding to the *typical* ceremony of sprinkling the people, the tabernacle, and the holy vessels, with the *blood* of the victims, mixed with *water*, under the *first covenant*, Heb. ix. 18—24; referring to Exod. xxiv. 5, 6, and to Levit. xvi. 14—18. In these passages of the O. T. it must be allowed, there is no mention, at present, of *water* mixed with the blood of the victims; but that it was usual, may be inferred from another, and a parallel rite, Levit. xiv. 4—7, which was explained before, Vol. II. p. 247.

* This also is conformable to *John's* style elsewhere: "And *we* testify, and *ye* know that our testimony is true," 3 John 12.

† This is what *Peter* calls "*the prophetic argument*," and which he holds to be "*firmer*" than the testimony of the *senses*, even at CHRIST'S transfiguration, which he witnessed, 2 Pet. i. 19.

CHRIST'S INTERMENT.

After *Pilate* had given permission to the chiefs of the *Jews* to remove the bodies of the crucified, CHRIST, by a signal Providence, fulfilling prophecy, though "*numbered with the transgressors* in his death," was distinguished from them in his interment; for while they were buried ignominiously at the foot of the cross, he was interred in "the *tomb* of a rich" man, and embalmed like the rich, Isa. liii. 9. See the foregoing explanation, Vol. II. p. 408—409. For *Joseph of Arimathea*, a rich man, *good* and *just*, and an honourable *counsellor*, who had not been consenting to the act of the *Jewish* council, and was himself a disciple of JESUS, but secretly, hitherto, for fear of the *Jews*, now nobly avowed himself, and went boldly to *Pilate*, and asked permission to take away the body, which was at this time dead, he having probably attended the crucifixion. *Pilate* wondered if JESUS was dead already, and sent for the centurion to know how long it was since he died; who having informed him, he granted the body to *Joseph**, Matt. xxvii. 57, 58; Mark xv. 42—45; Luke xxiii. 50—52; John xix. 38.

When the *second evening*, therefore, was come, at *sun-set*, *Joseph* took down the body from the cross, assisted by *Nicodemus*, another rich and respectable disciple, (the same that came to JESUS by night, at the first passover,) who likewise nobly avowed his faith in a *crucified Redeemer*, bringing with him a costly mixture of *myrrh* and *aloes*, about a hundred pounds weight, to embalm the body; and they *wrapped* it in a clean linen shroud, which *Joseph* had bought, with the *aromatic* spices †, and laid it in a *new tomb*, designed for *Joseph* himself, in which no one had ever been laid, hewn out of the *rock* in his garden, which was near the place of execution, (only an hundred and eight feet distant, according to *Sandys*, p. 129,) because the sabbath drew nigh, or [the moon] *was beginning to shine*

* *Joseph* afterwards was interred himself in another tomb, under the former, on the slope of the hill, hewed into the rock, which is shewn to travellers. See Vol. II. p. 410.

† These were probably *dry* spices, with which the body was wound in the linen shroud, to *perfume* it, as distinguished from the *liquid*, with which the women intended to *anoint* it. The largeness of the quantity, a hundred pounds weight, might be necessary to fill the tomb with a part of them, as was customary in Scripture funerals, and to burn the rest, to excite a fragrant odour at the time of interment. See 2 Chron. xvi. 14. Thus was CHRIST interred like a prince.

(επεφωσκε) shortly before sun-set, or the commencement of the Sabbath day, allowing only time for a hasty interment before the Sabbath day commenced. And after they had finished the interment, they rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb, in order to secure it from intrusion, and departed, Matt. xxvii. 59, 60; Mark xv. 45, 46; Luke xxiii. 53, 54.

Of all our Lord's *Galilean* friends and acquaintances who attended the crucifixion, Matt. xxvii. 55, Mark xv. 40, 41, Luke xxiii. 49, only *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*, the mother of *James* the less and *Joses*, attended the interment also, and sat down opposite the tomb, and beheld *where* and *how* the body was laid, Matt. xxvii. 61; Mark xv. 47; Luke xxiii. 55. And they seem to have lingered there, after the interment, in pensive mourning, until respect for the sabbath compelled them to retire.

The rest of the women seem to have returned to the city from the crucifixion, where they *prepared aromatic* spices and *ointments*, to finish the embalmment of the body, after the sabbath. But they religiously *rested* during the Sabbath, according to the [fourth] commandment, Luke xxiii. 56*.

* There is here a considerable ambiguity in *Luke's* narrative, which has principally contributed to embarrass the harmony of the resurrection hitherto.

At first sight, the same *Galilean* women who attended the crucifixion, in general, seem also to have attended the interment, ver. 55, and afterwards to have returned to the city, and *prepared* the *aromatic* spices and *ointments* before the Sabbath began, ver. 56. But these must have been distinct parties, for the former consisted only of *Mary Magdalene* and the other *Mary*, as we learn from the express testimony of *Matthew* xxvii. 61, and of *Mark* xv. 47; and they staid so late at the tomb, till the *Sabbath was going to dawn*, by *Luke's* own account in the preceding ver. 54, that it was impossible they could *prepare* the embalming materials before it commenced. And accordingly, we learn from *Mark*, xvi. 1, that they actually *purchased* them after *the Sabbath was fully passed*, on *Sunday* morning. It must, therefore, have been *the rest* of the *Galilean* women who *prepared* the materials on *Friday* evening, and went to embalm the body on *Sunday* morning, according to *Luke's* continuation, xxiv. 1.

And this is confirmed by *Luke's* phraseology in the former ver. 55, where the anathous term, γυναικες, is indefinite; signifying, that "*some women* of those that had come with him from *Galilee*, attending [the interment,] beheld the tomb, and *how* his body was laid, while [others] returning, prepared aromatic spices and ointments," &c. ὑποστρεψασαι δε [αλλαι, or λοιπαι,] ἡτοιμασαν, &c.

And the necessity of supplying this ellipsis in ver. 56 is confirmed by *Luke's* subsequent enumeration of the *Galilean* women in general, xxiv. 10, as distinguished from the second party, whose visit to the tomb he notices in the preceding part of the chapter, ver. 1—9.

This distinction is judiciously remarked by *Townson*, in his *Harmony*, p. 131, &c. and will be more fully explained in the sequel.

THE SEPULCHRE GUARDED BY ROMAN SOLDIERS.

Far otherwise were the ceremonious *high priests* and scrupulous *Pharisees* employed on the *Sabbath* day! As soon as it arrived, at night-fall, they went to *Pilate*, to entreat him that he would station a guard there, until the third day of that *deceiver's* predicted rising from the dead, lest his *disciples should steal away the body* on this or the following *night*, and pretend that it was risen. *So the last error would be worst than the first*, Matt. xxvii. 62—64.

Pilate consenting, they took with them a part of the *temple* guard, and we may be assured, after previously examining whether the body was in the tomb, *they sealed the stone*, to secure it against the soldiers themselves, and *set the watch* to guard it against the disciples, Matt. xxvii. 65, 66.

Thus did these *whited sepulchres* “fair without and foul within,” as our Lord significantly upbraided them, “*strain at a gnat, but swallow a camel.*” They scrupled indeed to enter the *Roman* prætorium on Friday, for fear of being polluted, but on *Saturday*, that high and holy day, they dared not only to profane the Sabbath by unhallowed work, but even to incur the highest pollution, of entering a sepulchre and approaching a dead body!—What a strange inconsistency was this!

All this uncommon care and caution on their part only contributed to defeat its own end. It was permitted, but overruled by PROVIDENCE, in order to furnish the strongest proofs of the *miraculous* resurrection of HIS SON, and to confute these wicked men, and their calumny, which they suggested to *Pilate*, and afterwards propagated, that the *disciples stole away his body by night*, although they had used every *human* precaution to prevent its being taken away out of a “*new tomb*,” where there was “*no other corpse*,” and that tomb “*hewn out of a rock*,” inaccessible behind, and its mouth secured by a “*great stone*,” under “*a seal*,” and “*a guard of soldiers!*”—“to make assurance doubly sure.” In vain did they *fight against GOD!* and *kick against the pricks!* sorely to their own confusion and destruction.

HARMONY OF THE RESURRECTION, AND OF OUR LORD'S APPEARANCE AFTERWARDS.

A. D.	EASTER DAY.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John. Paul.
31.	EARLY WATCH. A great earthquake, descent of two angels, removal of the stone, terror and trance of the guards, resurrection of Christ <i>early</i>	xxviii. 2*.	xvi. —	5. 9.	
	First party of women, <i>Mary Magdalene</i> , the other <i>Mary</i> , and <i>Salome</i> , set out to view the tomb, about <i>day break</i>	—	1. —	2. xxiv. 1.	xx. 1.
	SUNRISE. <i>Mary Magdalene</i> , near the sepulchre, seeing the stone removed, hastily runs back to tell <i>Peter</i> and <i>John</i> , that the body was taken away somewhere.		—	4. —	— 2.
	The two others proceed, and reach the sepulchre, after <i>sun rise</i>		—	2.	
	They see the <i>first</i> angel, and soldiers, in the porch.	—	5.	—	
	They see the <i>second</i> in the tomb.		—	5.	
	They fly from the sepulchre, amazed and transported.	—	8.	—	8.
	The <i>guards</i> departed.	—	11*.		
	<i>Peter</i> and <i>John</i> come running to the sepulchre; and return, without seeing the angels.				— 3. — 10.
	<i>Mary Magdalene</i> , slowly following them, sees the two angels in the tomb, and				— 11. — 17.
	I. Presently after, <i>Jesus</i> himself. His <i>first</i> appearance to her.		—	9.	
	She goes to tell the Disciples.		—	10.	— 18.
	II. CHRIST'S <i>second</i> appearance to the two other women, as they were returning.	—	9.		
	Second party of women, <i>Joanna</i> and her company visit the sepulchre, and see the two angels.			— 1. — 8.	
	They return, and tell the disciples, who disbelieve their report.			— 9. — 11.	
	<i>Peter</i> goes a second time to the sepulchre, but sees no more than before.			— 12.	
	NOON. <i>Cleophas</i> , and another disciple, go towards <i>Emmaus</i>	—	12.	— 13.	
	III. CHRIST appears to them on the way.	—	12.	— 15.	
	I. EVENING. He discovers himself to them at <i>Emmaus</i> , and vanishes.			— 29.	
	They return, to tell the disciples.	—	13.	— 33.	1 Cor.
	CHRIST appears to <i>Peter</i> singly.			— 34.	xv. 5.
	SUNSET. II. CHRIST appears to ten Apostles and others after supper; while <i>Cleophas</i> was conversing with them. They are <i>affrighted</i> . He shews them his <i>hands</i> and <i>feet</i> , pierced.			xxiv. 35—40.	xx. 19.
	He eats and drinks with them.			— 41.	
				<i>Acts.</i>	
				x. 41.	
	EIGHTH DAY.				
	III. CHRIST appears to <i>Thomas</i> , and all the rest, shews him his <i>hands</i> and his <i>side</i>		xvi. 14.		— 24. 1 Cor.
	<i>Thomas's</i> confession of <i>faith</i>				— 27. xv. 5. — 28.
	TWENTY-SECOND DAY.				
	IV. CHRIST appears in <i>Galilee</i> , at the appointed mountain, to all the <i>Apostles</i> , and to 500 brethren at once.	xxviii. 16.			— 6.
	The spectators worshipped, but some doubted.	—	17.		

A. D.	TWENTY-NINTH DAY.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John	Paul.
31.						1 Cor. xv.
	v. CHRIST appears at the sea of <i>Tiberias</i> , or } <i>Galilee</i> , to <i>James</i> and six more, fishing..... }				xxi. 1.	— 7.
	THIRTY-SIXTH DAY.					
	vi. CHRIST appears at <i>Jerusalem</i> , on their } return, to <i>all the Apostles</i> }	1 Cor.				
	Commissions them to publish the Gospel to } all the world..... }	xv. 7.	xxviii. 18.	xvi. 15.		
			— 19, 20.	— 18.		
	FORTIETH DAY.					
	vii. CHRIST meets his <i>Apostles</i> again, at <i>Jeru-</i> } <i>salem</i> . Renews the promise of the HOLY } SPIRIT..... }	Acts.				
	He leads them forth to <i>Bethany</i>	i. 4.			xxiv. 49.	
	viii. His <i>ascension</i> into Heaven.....	— 9.		— 19.	— 50.	
	<i>Two angels</i> foretel his <i>second appearance</i> in } <i>glory</i> , at the <i>regeneration</i> }	— 10.			— 51.	
	— 11.					
	CHRIST'S SUCCEEDING APPEARANCES.					
34. I.	To <i>Stephen</i> , the martyr, at <i>Jerusalem</i>	vii. 56.				
35. II.	To <i>Saul</i> , on the way to <i>Damascus</i>	ix. 3.			1 Cor.	
		xxii. 7.			xv. 7.	
35. III.	To <i>Ananias</i> , at <i>Damascus</i>	xxvi. 14.				
38. IV.	To <i>Saul</i> , or <i>Paul</i> , at <i>Jerusalem</i>	ix. 10.				
54. V.	To him, at <i>Corinth</i>	— 18.			2 Cor.	
66. VI.	To him, at <i>Jerusalem</i> again.....	xviii. 9.			xii. 7.	
62. VII.	To him, on his voyage to <i>Rome</i>	xxiii. 11.				
97. VIII.	To <i>John</i> , in the Isle of <i>Patmos</i>	xxvii. 23.				Rev. i. 10.

“ If CHRIST be not risen from the dead, your faith is vain ;—
 But now is CHRIST risen from the dead ;—
 [Therefore, your faith is not vain * :] 1 Cor. xv. 17—58.
 Nor your labour in vain in THE LORD.”

The evidences of this main pillar of *Christian faith, hope, and charity*—The *bodily* resurrection of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, as being “ the *first fruits*,” the earnest and the pledge of our own future resurrection likewise ; and the grand incentive to “ *labour in THE LORD*,” with “ *labour of love*,”—have not been fully illustrated, even by the best *Harmonists* hitherto,

* This is the Apostle’s inference from his detail of the *chosen witnesses*, to whom OUR LORD shewed himself *alive, bodily*, after his passion and resurrection, by many *infallible proofs*. He only states the premises, leaving the reader to draw the first conclusion ; which is drawn according to a *mode of hypothetic syllogism*, usually reckoned *fallacious*, namely, *from the removal of the antecedent to the removal of the consequent* ; the *legitimate mode*, on the contrary, proceeding *from the position of the antecedent to the position of the consequent*. But where the parts are *essentially connected*, so that they must both stand, or both fall together, as in this instance, the two modes are equally valid. We owe this judicious correction of the received rules of *syllogisms*, to that mighty master of *logic*, or the art of reasoning, *Paul*, trained in the schools of *Alexandria, Greece, and Rome*, and illuminated with THE HOLY SPIRIT, by the ORACLE, or REASON in the original. The conclusion with which the Apostle finishes the argument, expressly, follows immediately from the first, understood.

on account of the difficulties, either *real* or *adventitious*, that occur in the concise accounts of the Evangelists.

1. The first and chief difficulty has arisen from the *confined plans*, and *studied brevity** of the Evangelists; each pursuing his own plan, with little apparent attention, and no express reference to the rest; which has produced some *obscurity* in their separate accounts, and some *ambiguity*, when compared with each other.

Matthew's report may be considered as the ground-work of the whole. His leading object seems to have been to counteract the foul and malignant calumny propagated by the *chief priests* and *rulers* of the *Jews*, and current in *Palestine* when he wrote his Gospel; namely, that *the disciples came by night, and stole the body of JESUS away, while the guards were asleep*. A calumny, indeed, which carried its own refutation along with it; for what credit could be due to *witnesses* who attested a fact which they were incompetent to judge of, by their own confession, *while they were asleep!*—To refute this, in every particular, the Evangelist states, 1. that the body was not stolen away by the disciples, but *raised by the power of God*. 2. That this was effected, not by night, but *in the morning*; and 3. that the guards were not asleep, but *terrified*, and in a *trance*, as if *dead*, by the tremendous apparition of an angel arrayed in terrors, descending from heaven with an earthquake, rolling away the great stone, and *sitting upon it* close beside them; in which state the two women who went first to the sepulchre, actually beheld them.

Luke took up the narrative on the day of the resurrection, where *Matthew* ends, and without any express reference to his party, introduces another party, who came later to the sepulchre, in order to finish the embalmmnt; and he notices the appearance of *two* angels to these women. He then proceeds to relate the succeeding appearances of that eventful day, which *Matthew* had omitted, as inconsistent with his confined plan. He relates the *incredulity* of the disciples in general, to the testimony of the women, and shews the grounds of it, their *distrust* of the *bodily* resurrection of *CHRIST*, which *Matthew* had only hinted.

Mark coming after both, endeavoured to supply chasms in

* *Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio.*— *Hor.*

their concise accounts. With this view he adds a third woman, and a second angel to *Matthew's* account; and he supplies the important circumstances, of the arrival of the first party at the tomb after *sun rise*; of OUR LORD'S resurrection *early*; of his first appearance to *Mary Magdalene*; and of his appearance under *another form*, to the two disciples going to *Emmaus*; all omitted by *Matthew* and *Luke*.

John closed the narrative by supplying some important chasms in the rest. He states *Mary Magdalene's* hasty report to himself and *Peter*, which led to his own conviction of our Lord's resurrection, upon *prophetic* grounds; he states the particulars of the first appearance to *Mary Magdalene*, slightly noticed by *Mark*; and the chief ground of the *distrust* of the disciples, because our Lord appeared to them *after the doors had been shut*; and the incredulity of *Thomas* in particular; important circumstances unnoticed by *Luke*.

2. The second difficulty, and the principal rock indeed upon which the ablest harmonists and commentators have hitherto split, is, whether the angel of *Matthew* and the angel of *Mark* were the same or different. That they were the same is generally* supposed, from the similitude that runs through their speeches to the women; but they were really two different angels, noticed by *Luke* and *John*.

3. The third difficulty has arisen from the peculiar *technical* and *elliptical* phraseology of the Evangelists; such as, 1. the different phrases by which they all express the time of *day break* on the morning of the resurrection, at the outseting of the women to go to the sepulchre; 2. the different acts of *going* and *coming*, confounded in the English Bible, but critically distinguished by the aorist *ἦλθον*, and the present tense *ερχομαι*, of the same verb. (See both explained, Vol. I. p. 16—18. 3. The omission of the act of *coming* to the sepulchre, though understood by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and the omission of the act of *going* from the city by *Mark* and *John*, though equally understood †.

* Bishop *Watson* is an honourable exception: "From the first there might have been *two angels*, one on the outside, rolling away the stone, and the other within." *Apology for the Bible*, p. 101.

† These ellipses may be supplied, and the whole passages more closely rendered, thus:

1. Ὁψε ἐε σαββατων. τη επιφωσκουση εις μιαν σαββατων, [εκ της πολεως]

4. The fourth difficulty is *local*, and has arisen from want of sufficient attention to the particular structure of the *holy sepulchre*, consisting of two parts, the *porch*, or antichamber, which is a room about nine feet square, capable of holding about a dozen persons, from which a narrow passage, not exceeding three feet in height and two in breadth at present*, leads into the inner vault, or *tomb*, which is eight feet long and seven wide at present. They were both originally larger in their dimensions before they were cased, as well as floored, with white marble, by the empress *Helena*, mother of *Constantine* the Great, when she built the late magnificent *church* of the holy sepulchre, and hewed out the sepulchre itself into the smaller *chapel*, which now stands above ground. See Vol. I. p. 433—436, where both are described; and see also the plans there given of the latter, and by *Townson* in his *Harmony*, p. 80. *Matthew* critically distinguishes *ταφος*, “*the tomb*,” from *μνημειον*, “*the sepulchre*,” in general. The other Evangelists use *μνημα* and *μνημειον* indiscriminately, to denote both.

After these *preliminary* remarks, let us proceed to the detail of the circumstances of

THE RESURRECTION.

On *Sunday*, the first day of the week, about *day break*, there

ηλθε Μαρια ἡ Μαγδαληνη και ἡ αλλη Μαρια θεωρησαι τον ταφον [και ερχονται εις το μνημειον.]

“*Late after the sabbath, at the dawning, on the first day of the week, went Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, [from the city,] to view the tomb; [and they come to the sepulchre.] Matthew.*

2. Τη δε μια των σαββατων, ορθρου βαθεος, ηλθον [εκ της πολεως, και ερχονται] επι το μνημα.

“*On the first day of the week, while the rising [sun] was deep, they went [from the city, and come] to the sepulchre.” Luke.*

3. Και λιαν πρωι της μιας σαββατων [εκ της πολεως ελθουσαι] ερχονται επι το μνημειον ανατειλαντος του ηλιου.

“*And very early on the first day of the week, [going from the city,] they come to the sepulchre, after sun-rise.” Mark.*

4. Τη δε μια των σαββατων, Μαρια ἡ Μαγδαληνη ερχεται ([ελθουσα εκ της πολεως] πρωι, σκοτίας ετι ουσης) εις το μνημειον.

“*On the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene, ([going from the city] early, while it was still dusk,) cometh to the sepulchre.” John.*

* Originally the passage was three feet wide, but a foot has been taken off by the projection of the marble tomb and railing, at the right side where the body lay, which occupies more than half the vault, and now leaves room for only three or four persons to kneel thereat.

was* a great *earthquake* at the sepulchre, and *two angels of THE LORD* descended from heaven, of whom one rolled away the great stone from the door of the tomb, and sat upon it, in the porch at the left or south side, according to tradition, while the other entered the tomb, and ministered to the resurrection; (and, we may presume, folded the *linen swathes* in which the body had been wrapt, and the *napkin* about his head, seen afterwards by *Peter* and *John*.) And *CHRIST* arose *bodily*. At the tremendous apparition of the outside angel, continuing close beside them, whose *visage was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow, the guards were convulsed with fear, and became as dead, or fell into a trance, Matt. xxviii. 2—4; John xx. 6, 7.*

About *day break* also, *Mary Magdalene*, and the other *Mary*, the wife of *Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, the mother of *James the Less*, and *Joses*, went from the southern quarter of the city, and were joined by *Salome*, the wife † of *Zebedee*, and mother of *James* and *John*, who lived in their neighbourhood, in order to *view the tomb*, before the larger assembly of the *Galilean women* came, bringing also their proportion of aromatic spices for embalming, which they had *purchased* after the *sabbath was thoroughly passed*, that morning. They did not, therefore, come to the sepulchre till after *sun-rise*, *Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 1, 2.*

While they were going, they said to each other, *Who shall roll away for us the stone from the door of the sepulchre? for it was very great †, but when they came near the sepulchre, and looked up from the ascent of the hill, they observed that the stone was rolled away already; for the entrance fronted the east, and the rising sun was probably shining into it, Mark xvi. 3, 4.*

* The second verse is parenthetical, and should be rendered "And lo, there had been a great earthquake," &c. prior to the arrival of the women, as in *John xviii. 24.*

† Archdeacon *Churton* remarks, that the designation of *Salome*, as "the mother of *Zebedee's children*," *Matt. xxvii. 56*, does not necessarily imply that *Zebedee* was dead.

" ————Where is *Œdipus*?

Here, and *this is the mother of his children.*"

(Γυνή δέ, μητήρ, ἡδὲ, τῶν κεινῶν τέκνων.)

Œdipus Tyrannus, ver. 947.

‡ This stone is about two yards and a quarter long, a yard broad, and a yard thick. See *Vol. I. p. 435.* The question of the women is equivalent to a wish, *O that some one would roll away the stone for us!* as being beyond their strength to remove. (See *Psalm xiv. 7.*) This proves, further, that they came without any *attendants*, and thereby distinguishes them from the other party.

Alarmed at this, *Mary Magdalene*, leaving her companions there, ran back, and came to *Peter* and *John*, the most attached of the disciples to CHRIST, and said unto them, *They have taken away THE LORD out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him!* John xx. 1, 2. Here *John*, though he takes no notice of the rest of the party, tacitly alludes thereto; *Mary Magdalene* delivering their surmise as well as her own: *We know not, &c.* They hastily concluded, perhaps, from seeing the door open, that *Joseph of Arimathea* and his attendants had removed the body from the *temporary* sepulchre to some other.

Mark, in like manner, though he takes no notice of this incident, yet, by his judicious addition of *Salome* to the party, leaves two women behind, after *Mary Magdalene* had departed; thus supplying an important chasm in *Matthew's* account, if compared with *John's*. All shewing an intimate knowledge of the subject, even in their omissions.

The two women left behind, now proceeded by themselves to the sepulchre, to see what was the matter. And when they came to the porch, they beheld the angel sitting on the stone, and the guards lying in a trance, and *they were affrighted*. But the angel encouraged them, *answering* to their fears, and said, Be not *ye* affrighted, like *these guards*, for *I know* that as friends *ye seek JESUS who was crucified. He is not here, for he is risen, as he foretold. Come hither, see the place where THE LORD lay.* And then, *Go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead. And lo, he goeth before you into Galilee. Lo, I have told you,* Matt. xxviii. 5—7.

Accepting his gracious invitation, the women followed him, and *entered into the tomb*; there *they saw* another angel, in the form of a youth, clad in a white robe, sitting on the right side, where the body had been laid. And *they were excessively amazed*. But he also encouraged them, and said, *Be not excessively amazed; Ye seek JESUS OF NAZARETH, who was crucified; He is risen, he is not here; see the place where they laid him. But withdraw, tell his disciples, especially Peter, that He goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see Him, as he foretold to you* *, (Matt. xxvii. 32,) Mark xvi. 5—7.

* The distinctness of *Matthew's* and *Mark's* angels, which have been hitherto generally confounded together, may appear from the following considerations:

1. The women found *Matthew's* angel outside, in the porch, with a shining visage; but *Mark's*, inside in the tomb, under a milder form.

And the women, *going out* of the sepulchre, ran quickly, and fled from it, with *fear* and *great joy*, to tell his disciples; but during their flight, they were so possessed with *trembling* and *ecstasy*, that *they told nothing to any of them** at first, whom they met, Matt. xxviii. 8, Mark xvi. 8.

The *departure* of the *women* was followed by that of the *guards*, recovering from their trance, and no longer seeing the tremendous apparition in the porch, which had rivetted them to the spot. *Some* of them went into the city, and related to the *chief priests* all that had happened. And when they had assembled the elders, they took counsel, and gave money sufficient to

2. Notwithstanding the general likeness of their speeches to the women, on which their sameness has been grounded, but which naturally resulted from the occasion, they are clearly discriminated from each other. 1. The former said, *He is not here, he is risen*; the other inverts the sentence, *He is risen, he is not here*; probably to prevent their mistaking him for CHRIST. 2. In addition to the first angel's encouraging message to the *disciples*, to meet CHRIST in *Galilee*; the second names *Peter* in particular, for his encouragement, who wanted it most, after denying his LORD; and further declares, that this meeting was according to CHRIST'S *own appointment* before he suffered.

3. The impression made by the two angels on the women, was different. At seeing the former, *εφοβηθησαν*, "they were *affrighted*," or *startled*; at seeing the latter, they were overpowered: *εξεθαμβηθησαν*, "they were *excessively amazed*," or almost *scared out* of their wits.

4. The mingled emotions produced by the repetition of such stupendous apparitions, accompanied with encouraging speeches of *glad tidings*, are admirably and appropriately described by the two Evangelists, uniting their narratives together, at their *egress* from the sepulchre, *εξελθουσαι απο του μνημειου*, (which may also, perhaps, have contributed to the notion of the angels' sameness,) *Matthew* describing the *mental*, *Mark* the *corporeal* effects, which are usually associated on such occasions of unexpected and surprising events; and are so represented in the profane, as well as sacred classics:

1. *Isaiah*, describing the sensations of the *Jews*, on their final restoration, at the rising of THE SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, to dispel their former gloom, says,

Then shalt thou *fear*,
And overflow with *joy*! Isa. lx. 5.

2. *Pindar* also, thus finely describes the attitude of *Amphitryon* on his infant son, *Hercules'* exploit of strangling the two *serpents* that attacked him in his cradle:

Εστα δε θαμβει δυσφορῳ,
Τερπνῳ τε μιχθεις.

"He stood, oppressed,
With mingled terror and delight," Nem. i. 85.

"*Terror*" at the child's danger, and "*delight*" at his victory, altogether so overpowered him, that he *stood* motionless. See *West's* translation of the entire passage, p. 289.

* This silence of the women is judiciously added by *Mark*, to account, perhaps, for their omitting to deliver the angel's message to *Peter* in particular, whom they probably met on the way back, running with *John* to the sepulchre, on *Mary Magdalene's* hasty report.

bribe the soldiers, saying, *Tell ye, that the Disciples came by night, and stole him away while we were asleep.* And if the matter come to the governor's hearing, we will persuade him, and bear you harmless. So they took the money, and did as they were instructed. And this report was circulated among the *Jews*, until *this day*, or the time *Matthew* wrote his Gospel, *Matt. xxviii. 11—15.*

After the departure of the guards, and probably by a different way*, through the *valley* gate, and the *dolorous way*, to the *prætorium*, came *Peter* and *John*, running from their houses, in the southern quarter, towards the sepulchre, in consequence of *Mary Magdalene's* hasty report; and probably they met, and passed by, in their hurry, the two women flying from the sepulchre in their transport, without speaking to each other. At first *they ran both together*, but the eagerness and activity of *John*, outrunning *Peter*, he came first to the sepulchre. Then *stooping down*, in the porch, and *looking into* the tomb, through the door, *he saw the linen swathes lying*, without the body; *but did not go in.* *Peter* arrived quickly after, and with more curiosity, *entered into the tomb*, and saw the *linen swathes* lying in one place; and the *napkin* that had been wrapped about his head, folded carefully, and laid by itself in another place. Then *John* also *went into* the tomb, and when he *saw* the orderly disposition of the funeral habiliments, which was utterly inconsistent with *Mary Magdalene's* report, for why should *they* be left behind? he was convinced that it was false; and *believed* that *JESUS* was not taken away, but *risen from the dead*, according to *the Scriptures*; which the *disciples* in general, and he among the rest, *had not hitherto known* or understood. Then they both *went home again*, without seeing the *angels*; who would not shew themselves where it was not necessary, *John xx. 3—10.*

When they were gone, *Mary Magdalene* came back again to the sepulchre more slowly; not able to keep pace with *Peter* and *John*. Whether she met them or not, returning, does not appear. At all events, she went thither to vent her sorrows at the tomb, in solitude. And as *she stood* outside, in the porch, weeping, she *stooped*, and looked with fond regret into the tomb;

* The patrols of *Roman* soldiers, at the feast of the passover, would not have been extraordinary, even supposing the two Apostles had met them.

and there she beheld the two angels, in white, sitting, one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of JESUS had lain: for she had seen, and knew the place. And they said unto her, *Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?* She not knowing them, saith, *Because they have taken away MY LORD, and I know not where they have laid him.* And when she had so said, she turned backward to go away, not wishing to have strangers witness her grief, and beheld JESUS standing by; He then repeated the same question, *Woman, why weepest thou?* But she likewise knew not JESUS, and *supposing him to be the gardener*, saith unto him, *Sir, if thou hast carried him away, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will remove him.* JESUS then said unto her, in his usual tone of voice, *Mary!* She turning toward him said, *Rabboni*, “*my great Rabbi*!*” and then threw herself down to embrace his feet. JESUS said unto her, *Touch me not*, or detain me not, at present; thou shalt see me again, for the time of my ascension to my Father is not yet. *But go and tell my brethren*, (as he now kindly denominates his *disciples*, in token of full reconciliation, after all their backslidings,) that it will soon take place; and that *I am going to ascend to MY FATHER, and YOUR FATHER, and to MY GOD, and YOUR GOD.* Thus distinguishing HIS FATHER and GOD from THEIR FATHER and GOD; as he had informed them in his last discourse with them, (John xiv. 28, xvi. 28,) xx. 11—17.

After shewing himself first to *Mary Magdalene*, the most attached and affectionate of the women, who then *went to tell the disciples* what passed, ver. 18, OUR LORD proceeded to shew himself next to her two companions, *as they were going to tell the disciples*, having recovered from their agitation of spirits; and he met them, and said, *Hail.* And *coming up to him, they embraced his feet, and worshipped him*, though still under the impression of *fear*. Then he said unto them, *Be not affrighted; withdraw*, tell my brethren to depart into *Galilee; there shall they see me.* Thus confirming himself the angel’s message, Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

Luke now continues the narrative, and relates the proceedings of the second and larger party of “*Galilean women*,” of

* *Rabban*, in Syriac, signifies “a great, or eminent *Rabbi*,” and with the affix of the first person, accommodated to the *Jewish* pronunciation, became *Rabboni*, Mark x. 51, or *Rabbouni*, as here, “*My great Rabbi*.”

whom the chief was "*Joanna*," wife of *Chuza*, Herod's steward; whom, therefore, in the enumeration of the women, he names next after "*Mary Magdalene*," the head of the former party; then he names "*the other Mary*," the companion of *Mary Magdalene*; and after her, *the rest* of the women that accompanied *Joanna*, Luke xxiv. 10. His arrangement remarkably corresponds here to the two different parties, whom he indirectly noticed, on the evening of the crucifixion, Luke xxiii. 55, 56, as shewn in a foregoing note.

The later arrival of *Joanna's* party at the sepulchre, though they set out about the same time with the former, may naturally be accounted for, by the delay incident to collecting a large party of women, in different quarters of the city, who were to compose the public procession, probably from *Herod's* palace*, in the northern quarter, which was at least twice as far from the holy sepulchre as the houses of *Peter* and *John*, in the southern quarter, and of procuring *some* assistants for rolling away the stone, embalming the body, &c. Luke xxiv. 1. We may, therefore, safely conclude, that they did not reach the sepulchre before the *third* hour, or *nine* in the morning.

When they arrived, *they found the stone rolled away* from the tomb, but they expressed no surprise thereat, concluding, probably, that it had been done by the earlier party, of whose intentions of going before them they might have been apprised, Luke xxiv. 2.

But when *they entered into* the tomb, *they found not the body of the Lord Jesus*, nor any of their friends there to explain the matter, and were much perplexed thereat. *During their perplexity*, lo, the two angels, who at first had held themselves invisible, now suddenly *stood* in human form *beside* them, in *shining apparel*. And when *they were afraid*, and *bowed down their face to the earth*, the angels said to them, *Why seek ye THE LIVING One among the dead?* thus gently reproving them †. *He is not here, but is risen*, according to his own predictions. Remember how he told you, while he was yet in *Galilee*, saying, *THE SON OF MAN must needs be delivered*

* *Pilate's* palace, according to *Sandys*, p. 152, was eight hundred paces from Mount *Calvary*; *Herod's*, which was further off, might be about a thousand paces, or nine hundred yards.

† Non tam mansuete, ut prius; sed objurgandi modo. *Euthymius*.

into the hands of sinners, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. And they remembered his sayings, (Matt. xvi. 21, xx. 18, 19,) Luke xxiv. 3—8.

Then withdrawing, in perfect composure, from the sepulchre, unlike the former party in this respect also, they related “*all these things*” to the eleven *Apostles*, and to all the rest of the *disciples*, Luke xxiv. 9.

This seems to have been the first general report of “*Joanna’s*” party to the *Apostles* and *disciples*, and prior in point of time to the second, by the two women, the other “*Mary*” and *Salome*; and to the third, by “*Mary Magdalene*” singly; each growing more full and circumstantial than the preceding; but notwithstanding this, the joint reports of the women stating “*these things*” appeared, even to the *Apostles*, as *idle tales*, and they *disbelieved* them*, Luke xxiv. 10, Mark xvi. 10, 11.

This incredulity, however, of the *Apostles* is not to be understood too rigidly, as if it included all, without exception; *John* we know believed, and *Peter* rather *distrusted* than disbelieved; for upon the report of *Joanna’s* party, as we may collect from *Luke*, *Peter* arose and ran back again to the sepulchre, hoping to see the *angels* at least, but he was disappointed; for *stooping down* to look into the tomb, he saw only the linen swathes lying as before. And he went home *wondering what had happened* to the body, Luke xxiv. 12. And then, probably, received the *angel’s* message by the two women, to lessen his wonder, and afterwards *Mary Magdalene’s* report. *Luke* now proceeds, according to his plan, to record the succeeding occurrences of the day.

About *noon*, we may suppose, two of the *disciples*, *Cleophas* or *Alpheus*, the husband of the other *Mary*, as generally supposed, and another disciple, whose name is not mentioned, set out for *Emmaus*, a village about threescore stadia, or seven miles from *Jerusalem*, westwards, by a very mountainous and rocky road †,

* The sagacity of *Townson*, one of the latest and best Harmonists of the resurrection, discovered a distinction between ταυτα παντα, of the 9th verse, and ταυτα singly, of the 10th. *Luke*, by the former, intimating “*all the circumstances*” related by *Joanna’s* party; by the latter, “*the circumstances*” related by the women in general. See his Harmony, p. 153—157. For the latter, citing John xxi. 24, Luke x. 21, as similar.

† See *Sandys’* account, p. 135, and Lieutenant *Hillier’s*, of the *Tigre*, Journal of an Excursion from *Acre* to *Jerusalem*, in June 1800, who represents the road from the en-

after they had heard *Joanna's* report, and *Peter's*, on his second return. *Cleophas* was, by affinity, a kinsman of CHRIST, and therefore deeply interested in his death and resurrection, which therefore naturally formed the subject of their discourse, Luke xxiv. 13, 14.

While they were conversing and debating together on all these late occurrences, slowly, by the way, JESUS himself, soon after they left the city, drew near, and overtook them, but he appeared to them under *another form*, and their eyes also were *withholden* from knowing him. Then he asked, *What arguments are these which ye are debating with each other, as ye walk? and [why] are your countenances sad?* Then *Cleophas* answered, *Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and knowest not what happened there, during these days?* And he said unto them, *Of what kind?* They answered, *Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who [like Moses] was a Prophet, mighty in deed and in word, before GOD and all the people; and how, [notwithstanding] our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to capital punishment, and crucified him: But we hoped that it was He who was to redeem the Israel [of GOD.]* No wonder then that our countenances are sad. *And beside all these, this is the third day now passing since these things happened, and we have been moreover amazed by the report of some women of our company, who went early to the sepulchre, and not finding his body there, returned, saying also, that they had seen a vision of angels, who said that He was living. Whereupon, some men of our company went to the sepulchre, and found as the women had said, [that his body was not there,] but himself they saw not, as they might have expected from the angels' report to the women.* You will not wonder then at our perplexity and debates about what credit is due to the *women's* testimony. For that this was the chief subject of debate between these *disciples*, we may infer from the reception it met from the *Apostles* themselves, Luke xxiv. 15—24.

Then JESUS blamed them for their disbelief. O ye *inconsiderate* and *slow hearted* to believe in all the sayings of the *Prophets* on this subject! *Ought not THE CHRIST to have*

trance of the mountains to *Jerusalem* as *bad beyond description*, and *rocky*, and so narrow, that only one horse could pass at a time—"a most dreadful road" in the neighbourhood of the city.

suffered thus, and then to enter into his glory? After this gentle rebuke, in order to inform their ignorance, beginning from *Moses* and all the succeeding *Prophets*, to whom they had tacitly referred in their character of himself, as “mighty in deed and in word,” in *miracles* and *doctrine*, he thoroughly expounded to them, in all the *Scripture prophecies*, the circumstances concerning himself, Luke xxiv. 25—27.

During this most interesting conversation, while *their heart was burning within them*, glowing with rapture and delight, as he spake unto them by the way, and as he thoroughly opened to them the *Scripture prophecies*, (so they afterwards declared, wondering at their own stupidity in not knowing Him sooner, who spake as never man spake,) they drew nigh to *Emmaus*, about the *third hour* after noon, or the *first evening*, when the sun had declined. Compare Luke ix. 12, with Mark vi. 35, Matt. xiv. 15. And he made a shew of going further, but they pressed him to stay with them, and take some refreshment, on account of the lateness of the day; so he consented. And as they reclined at table, he resumed his own appearance and manner, at the institution of the *Lord's Supper*, for he took the bread and blessed, and brake, and distributed to them. This significant action thoroughly opened their eyes, and they knew him, but he became invisible to them.

And they arose, the same hour, and returned towards *Jerusalem*, to communicate the joyful intelligence to the *Apostles* and *Disciples*, Luke xxiv. 28—33.

JESUS kindly shewed himself to *Peter*, singly, the first of all his *Apostles*, to assure him of perfect reconciliation and restoration to favour, by this mark of regard and distinction; and considerately, also, after *Peter* had been properly prepared for an interview, which he must have dreaded as much as he desired, by the reports of the *women*, growing successively stronger, and perhaps, by conversation with his friend *John*, to whom CHRIST'S appearance was unnecessary. The appearance only, without any particulars, is noticed by *Luke*, xxiv. 34, and by *Paul*, 1 Cor. xv. 5.

It is remarkable, that the first credence of the resurrection, given by the *Apostles* and the rest of the *disciples*, was to *Peter's* testimony: declaring to *Cleophas* and his companion on their return, “THE LORD is really risen, and hath appeared unto *Simon!*” They thought he had risen *spiritually* indeed, but

they disbelieved his *bodily* resurrection, Luke xxiii. 33, 34, Mark xvi. 13.

Cleophas did not return till *after supper*, to the assembled company of the Apostles and Disciples, and while he and his companion were relating to them the transactions on the way, and at *Emmaus*, where THE LORD had discovered himself; during the conversation, JESUS himself stood suddenly in the midst of them, although *the doors had been shut* for fear of the *Jews*, and said unto them, *Peace be unto you!* his usual mode of salutation. But they were *terrified* and *affrighted*, supposing that they saw a *spirit*, and not his *bodily* presence; for they could not conceive how he entered *, Luke xxiv. 35—37, John xx. 19.

Then he kindly condescended to remove their *prejudices*; and said to them, Why are ye *alarmed*, and why do doubts arise in your hearts? *See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see †, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me have.* And when he had so said, *he shewed them his hands and his feet, and his side*, in which were the marks of the nails, and of the spear, Luke xxiv. 38—40, John xx. 20.

Still further to remove their *doubts*, while they *distrusted for joy ‡*, and *wondered*, he said unto them, *Have ye any eatable*

* The doors might have opened and shut again of their own accord, as on other occasions of *celestial* apparitions, Acts v. 19, xii. 10, xvi. 26, &c. But it is not for puny and presumptuous mortals to *limit* OMNIPOTENCE, Psalm lxxviii. 41.

† It appears from the stupendous occurrences of this day, that OUR LORD and his *holy angels* can assume to themselves *bodily* organs, and vary their *forms* at pleasure; that they can perform *animal* functions, *eat* and *drink*, &c. But all these were nothing more than occur in THE OLD TESTAMENT. THE LORD and his two *angels* appeared in human form to *Abraham*, and *ate* and *drank* with him, and with *Lot*, Gen. xviii. 1—8, xix. 1—3. The incredulity, therefore, of the disciples, shewed ignorance or disbelief of their own Scriptures, in which such instances were familiar. How *Peter*, in particular, who had witnessed the raising of *Lazarus*, and others, from the dead, could doubt what became of his body at the tomb, is really surprising, especially after CHRIST'S declaration that he had authority from THE FATHER, to *lay down his life*, and to *resume* it again, of his own accord. The disciples certainly were exceedingly dull of apprehension, all except *John*, who shewed another instance of his sagacity, John xxi. 7.

‡ The disciples *distrusting for joy*, is an admirable trait of human nature. Nothing is more common than to doubt an intelligence that we most earnestly desire and long for. When *Jacob* was told that his darling son *Joseph* was not only "*alive*," but "*governor* over all the land of *Egypt*," or a mighty prince, "*his heart fainted*, for he believed it not." And it was not until he was told of his conversation with his brethren, and that he actually "*saw* the waggons which *Joseph* had sent to carry him, that "*the spirit of*

here? and they gave him a piece of *broiled fish*, and of a *honey comb*, the remains of their *supper*; which ascertains the time of this appearance. And he took, and *ate* before them; and probably, on this occasion also, he *drank* before them, (Acts x. 41,) to give them the fullest information of their senses*. *Then were the disciples rejoiced, when they were satisfied that they saw THE LORD himself*, Luke xxiv. 41—43, John xx. 20.

And now our gracious LORD proceeded to convince their *reason* also; resuming the conversation which he had with the two disciples going to *Emmaus*, as a further proof of his identity; and he addressed it to them in common with the disciples.

“These are the sayings which I spake unto you, while I was still with you [in the *flesh*,] namely, that all things written concerning Me in the law of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*, [or in the OLD TESTAMENT, of which these were the three divisions,] must needs be fulfilled, (Luke xxii. 37, Matt. xxvi. 53, 54.) Then he *thoroughly opened* their mind also, [as he did before of the two disciples, ver. 32,] to understand the *Scripture prophecies* †. And He said unto them, Thus it is

Jacob their father revived;” and with transport and delight: “And *Israel* said, it is *proof* enough: *Joseph* my son is *still alive*; I will go and *see* him *before I die*;” anxious to set off instantly, lest death should arrest him! Gen. xlv. 26—28. There is no history, indeed, equal to the BIBLE, for portraying, in their native colours, and just dimensions, the various passions and emotions of the human heart, adapted to all the vicissitudes of human life. It furnishes the most *philosophical* history of “*man, the proper study of mankind.*” *Pope*.

* The Apostles had the fullest evidence of all their *senses* for the *personal* appearance of CHRIST among them. And the complete conviction thereof, is thus expressed by the beloved disciple, 1 John i. 1—4, more closely rendered.

“What occurred from the beginning, concerning the ORACLE OF LIFE, what we have *seen* with our eyes, what we *beheld*, and our hands have *handled*; — what we have *seen* and *heard*, declare we unto you, that *ye* may participate with *us*: — and these write we unto you, that *your joy* may be *completed*.”

Hence it appears, that the Apostles actually *handled* the body of CHRIST: — “they *saw* and *handled*,” — they *touched*, and were *convinced*.

† The *Scripture prophecies* *thoroughly expounded*, or *thoroughly interpreted* by OUR LORD, on this occasion, probably related, 1. to his *passion*, 2. to his *resurrection*, 3. on the *third day* after his death.

I. The principal prophecies, relating to his *passion*, including his *death* and *burial*, in the LAW, or PENTATEUCH, were,

1. The *bruising* of the *heel* of the blessed *Seed of the woman*, by the *old Serpent*, Gen. iii. 15, fulfilled on the cross.

2. The intended *sacrifice* of *Isaac*, that type of CHRIST, Gen. xxii. 2. And in the same place, *Calvary*, Gen. xxii. 14.

written, and *thus it behoved CHRIST to suffer, and to rise again from the dead the third day.* And also, that *repentance and remission of sins* should be preached unto *all the Gentiles*, beginning from *Jerusalem*, with the *Jews*. And ye are *witnesses* of these things—the *chosen witnesses* of my resurrection to the world, Luke xxiv. 44—48, 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4, Acts x. 41.

Then said JESUS to them again, *Peace be with you!* And now, by the authority vested in him, he also commissioned them to proclaim, or publish THE GOSPEL. As THE FATHER sent me forth, or delegated me as his REPRESENTATIVE, even so send I you, or depute you as my heralds, or ambassadors. And as at the creation, “He had *breathed into* the nostrils of the first

3. The suspension of the *Christian* sacrifice, during the *Jewish* economy; intimated by the *ram* offered up in the stead of *Isaac*, Gen. xxii. 13.

4. The institution of the rite of the *passover*, typical of CHRIST *our passover*, Exod. xii. 14—17.

5. The *brazen serpent* in the wilderness, Numb. xxi. 6—9; applied, John iii. 14.

IN THE PROPHETS.

1. *Isaiah's* prediction of CHRIST's *passion, death, and burial*, chap. liii. throughout, applied, John xii. 38, Acts viii. 30—35.

2. *Daniel's* prediction of CHRIST's *cutting off*, by a violent death, Dan. ix. 26.

3. *Zechariah's* prediction, that he should be *pierced* with the spear on the cross, Zech. xii. 10. Applied, John xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

IN THE PSALMS.

1. The description of CHRIST's *rejection and sufferings*, by the *Jews, Pilate, and Herod*, Psalm ii. 1—3. Applied, Acts iv. 25—28.

2. The circumstances of his *crucifixion*, Psalm xxii. 1—18. Applied by OUR LORD himself on the cross.

3. His *death and interment*, Psalm xvi. 10. Applied, Acts ii. 26, xiii. 35.

II. His *resurrection* on the *third day*.

IN THE LAW.

1. *Isaac's* figurative *restoration* to life, was on the *third day*, after his *sacrifice* was appointed, Gen. xxii. 2—4. Applied, Heb. xi. 17—19.

2. The *law* requiring the *voluntary offerings* to be eaten before the *third day*; on the *third day* they were to be burnt or destroyed, Levit. vii. 15—18.

IN THE PROPHETS.

1. *Jonah's* entombment in the great fish's belly for *three days*, Jonah i. 17. Applied by OUR LORD to himself, Matt. xii. 40, xvi. 4, compare John ii. 19.

IN THE PSALMS.

1. His *resurrection* without seeing *corruption*, and therefore, not later than the *third day*, Psalm xvi. 10, as collected from the state of *Lazarus*, on the *fourth day*, John xi. 39.

Hence in *apoplexies*, persons are not allowed to be buried till seventy-two hours be past, lest they should revive within that time; of which there have been instances. It was within forty hours from OUR LORD's *death*, on *Friday*, at the *first* afternoon, till his *resurrection*, before *sun rise*, on *Sunday*; not *two entire* days. See *Mede's* excellent *Discourse*, 13th, p. 49.

man the *breath*, or *spirit of life*," Gen. ii. 7, (see Vol. II. p. 2, &c.) so now, at the *new creation*, as it were, or *regeneration* of his disciples, he made them "*new men*" in disposition, or in "*the spirit of their mind*," for He *breathed on* them, (ενεφυσησε), and said, *Receive ye a holy spirit!* This was the prelude of that fuller *baptism* of THE HOLY SPIRIT, which was repeatedly promised them before, from the days of *John's* ministry, Matt. iii. 11, Luke xii. 12, xxi. 15, John vii. 38, 39, xiv. 26, xv. 26, and again, Acts i. 5. The *Holy Spirit* now conferred on them, as distinguished from that fuller effusion on the day of *Pentecost*, seems to correspond to "*the Spirit of THE LORD*," which animated the worthies of the OLD TESTAMENT, *Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, Saul, David*, &c.*, namely, an uncommon and præternatural spirit of *boldness* or *fortitude*, and fervent *zeal for THE LORD*, and all the other qualifications of a *moral* nature, necessary for the discharge of their arduous and perilous mission, to enable them "*to speak the word with boldness*," regardless of the consequences to themselves, John xx. 21, 22.

Our Lord also, on this occasion, formally confirmed the privilege of *binding* and *loosing*, which he had promised before, Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18, by granting them authority to *remit sins* to the penitent, and to *retain sins* to the impenitent, John xx. 23.

Such were the amazing and important occurrences that occupied the whole of this eventful day of the *resurrection*, here, we trust, arranged in a simple, natural, and consistent order of *time* and *place*; sufficient, by the harmonious symmetry of the *outline* with the *detail*, even in the minutest parts, to solve all those "*variations*," or "*inconsistencies*," hitherto complained of, which surely are neither "*trifling*" nor "*unimportant*†" to *believers*, and have actually proved a "*stumbling block*" to *sceptics*, and "*foolishness*" or *absurdity* to *infidels*; all attributing to the *inspired* Evangelists, the faults of their own *error*, or *unskilfulness*, or *precipitation*, or *presumption*.

THE SUNDAY FOLLOWING.

At the foregoing manifestation on *Easter* evening, *Thomas*, one of the Apostles, happened to be absent. When the rest

* See Vol. II. pages, 281, 287, 293, 310, 315, &c.

† See *Gilpin*, Notes on Matt. xxviii. 1, John xx. 11, &c. stating them as "*trifling*," &c.

told him that *they had seen THE LORD*, he remained incredulous, and said, "*Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I shall not believe,*" John xx. 24, 25.

Eight days after, the disciples were assembled again, and *Thomas* with them. Then cometh *JESUS*, *the door having been shut*, and stood in the midst, and said, *Peace be unto you!* Then said he to *Thomas*, repeating his own expressions, *Reach hither thy finger, and see, [or examine,] my hands, and reach [hither] thy hand, and put it into my side, and be not a disbeliever, but a believer,*" John xx. 26, 27.

Overpowered by this unmerited condescension, and thoroughly convinced by *CHRIST'S* knowledge of the very words he had spoken, that he must be the *Divine SEARCHER OF HEARTS*, from whom no secrets are hid, he instantly exclaimed, with the fullest confession of faith, *MY LORD, AND MY GOD *!*

* This is indeed the most signal and important *confession of faith in CHRIST*, to be found in the Gospels. It clearly and distinctly recognizes his proper *Sovereignty* and *Divinity*, as *OUR* immediate *LORD* or *GOVERNOR*, Psalm xxii. 28, and *OUR* future *JUDGE*, or *MIGHTY GOD*, the *Arbiter* of the destinies of *Mankind*, Psalm l. 1—4, as *OUR LORD* himself asserted, John v. 22, Matt. xxv. 31.

It is also the most satisfactory and convincing, for it was *extorted* from "*a disbeliever,*" or obstinate unbeliever, after he had, for an entire week, resisted the most authentic and credible *human* testimony of a "cloud of witnesses" of the resurrection, and was only borne down irresistibly, by "*many infallible proofs,*" addressed both to his *senses* and to his *understanding*.

Any *idle argument*, therefore, designed to evade, or explain away its evidence, is *criminal* and *unpardonable*. It ranks, perhaps, with that *blasphemy against THE HOLY SPIRIT*, which *shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the next*; and most justly, because it sets at defiance all testimony, *human* and *divine*, by a *reprobate* or *undiscerning* mind, incapable of conviction.

Such appears to be that early *heretical* gloss of *Theodore Mopsuesta*, which was condemned in the fifth general council of *Constantinople*, held under *Justinian*, A.D. 553, but has been revived, unfortunately, in modern times, by the *Socinians* and *Unitarians*; idly supposing that the words of *Thomas* contained two distinct exclamations, ὁ Κύριός μου, καὶ, ὁ Θεός μου, "O MY LORD, and O MY GOD!" either expressive of thanks to *GOD* for this miraculous resurrection of *CHRIST*, or else that they were mere expressions of astonishment or surprise, unmeaning and irreverent ejaculations to heaven; such as are too frequent in the *modern* languages of our own times.

"It is much to be lamented, (as *Middleton* justly observes,) that the [*Socinian*] bias of *Wetstein's* mind inclined him to countenance such "*absurdity,*" adopting the former (*Theodore's* exposition), in his note on the place." But it is more extraordinary, that *Middleton* himself, that judicious critic in general, should *partially* adopt it, and suppose that "these words were spoken by way of *exclamation*; the nominative case, with the article prefixed, being put for the vocative, (ὁ Θεός μου, for Ἐε μου,) rather than by way of *assertion* of *Christ's divinity*, with the ellipsis *συ εἶ*, understood; of *such* ellipsis,"

His earnestness and emotion, unequivocally supplying the ellipsis, "*I believe that thou art MY LORD AND MY GOD!*" John xx. 28.

says he, "*I have not noticed any example.*" And yet, he rather inconsistently states afterwards, "Our Saviour's reply makes it *absolutely certain*, that the words of *Thomas*, though in the *form of an exclamation*, amount to a *confession of faith*, and were equivalent to a *direct assertion* of our Saviour's *Divinity*. CHRIST commends *Thomas's* acknowledgment, while he condemns the tardiness with which it is made." *Middleton's Doctrine*, p. 381, 382.

It may be shewn, however, 1. that the words are not in the *form of an exclamation*; 2. that of such an *ellipsis*, there are *examples* to be found:

1. The cases he has adduced from Psalm v. 3, and from Psalm xxxv. 3, seem to be irrelevant, for the *Septuagint* renderings of the former, ὁ βασιλευς μου και ὁ κυριος μου, and of the latter, ὁ Θεος μου και ὁ κυριος μου, are not necessarily *vocative* cases; they may fairly be understood as *nominatives*, supplying an easy ellipsis, [Συ, ὁ ων] ὁ βασιλευς μου, &c. [Thou, who art] *my king*, &c. And though in some cases the *Septuagint* Version unquestionably uses such phrases *vocatively*, as in OUR LORD'S exclamation on the cross, *My God! MY GOD!* which it renders Ο Θεος μου, ὁ Θεος μου; yet for this, the Evangelist *Matthew* substituted the *vocative*, Θεε μου, Θεε μου, xxvii. 46. And *Wetstein* has ably shewn (in the very note in question), that though the *Attic* writers frequently used the *nominative* for the *vocative* case, yet they never confounded ὁ and ὦ, their respective articles; as in the instances, ὦ φιλος for φιλε, *Odys.* III. 375; ὦ φιλταρ' Αιας, *Sophocles*, *Ajax*, 992, &c. A *grammatical* nicety, which ought not to have escaped *Wakefield*; grounding his mistranslation, as he says, upon the *Attic* usage. It is still more extraordinary that it is unnoticed in the *Doctrine of the Greek Article*.

2. Such an ellipsis as συ ει is frequently understood in the Gospels. Thus, in that remarkable thanksgiving of OUR LORD to his FATHER, Ναι, ὁ Πατηρ ὅτι [συ ει] οὕτως εγενετο ευδοκια εμπροσθεν σου, adduced by *Matthew*, xi. 26, and repeated by *Luke*, x. 21, it seems absolutely necessary to introduce it, in order to discriminate the *nominative*, ὁ Πατηρ, from the *vocative*, at the beginning, Πατερ.

Again, at the celebration of the *passover*, CHRIST, recommending *humility* by his own example to his disciples, says "Ye call me THE TEACHER, and THE LORD, [emphatically,] (ὁ διδασκαλος, και ὁ Κυριος,) and ye say well, for *I am*: if then I, THE LORD, and THE TEACHER (εγω, ὁ Κυριος, και ὁ διδασκαλος,) washed your feet, ye also ought to wash each others feet," John xiii. 13; where our Lord's acceptance of these exclusive titles, in εγω ειμι, "*I am*," demonstrates that συ ει, "*thou art*," must be understood, at least, if not expressed, by the disciples, [Thou art] "THE TEACHER," and "THE LORD." "These titles are not to be supposed to be given him at one and the same time, but distinctly and independently, as if our Saviour had said, *One* of you calls me ὁ διδασκαλος, another ὁ Κυριος," as judiciously remarked by *Middleton* himself, who vindicates, in this place, the propriety of the article, p. 369, and has well explained the title given by our Lord to *Nicodemus*, ὁ διδασκαλος του Ισραηλ, "*The teacher of Israel*;" as being "the appellation which the followers of *Nicodemus* gave him, by way of *distinction*; in conformity with the *high* and *sounding* titles which the *Jews* gave their *doctors*," p. 346.

The high importance of the subject, and the deserved celebrity of the *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, must apologize for the length and minuteness of this note. It is only the mistakes of *Master Critics* that this work can afford to notice, and even these with regret, merely to counteract any undue weight of their authority. To such eminent *scholars* as

The necessity of supplying this ellipsis is demonstrated by OUR LORD'S gentle rebuke: *Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed* [that I am THY LORD AND THY GOD,] and then, we may presume, with an approving look, or kind glance, directed to the beloved disciple, *John*, the meaning of which he only could understand, he contrasted his quickness of belief at the tomb, with the slowness of the rest; including him chiefly in the general commendation, *Blessed are they that did not see, yet did believe!* which, in fact, was confined to *John* himself, *John* xx. 29. And this appropriation of the commendation seems to be confirmed by *Mark's* account of the preceding rebuke to *Thomas* in particular, which he represents as general likewise. "Afterwards he appeared to the *eleven*, at supper, and reproached them with their *disbelief* and *hardness of heart*, because *they did not believe* them that *beheld* him after he was risen;" even the *Apostles* that witnessed the resurrection, *Mark* xvi. 14. That this reproach was not uttered at the former meeting is evident from two circumstances, 1. The *eleven* were not all there, *Thomas* being absent; 2. CHRIST then kindly soothed their *fears*, and convinced their *senses* and their *reason*, without any reproach, which then they were *unable to bear*, dejected as they were at the time. Our blessed LORD then graciously imitating, to the *Apostles*, the mildness of his *angels* to the timorous *women* at the tomb; and at the present meeting, how gently did he reproach other disbelievers through *Thomas*.

And the Apostle *Paul* confirms this, by omitting the preceding manifestation, and ranking the present to "the *twelve*," next to the single manifestation to *Peter*. *Mark* reckons only "eleven" before the election of *Matthias* in the room of the traitor *Judas*; but *Paul* states the full number, because *Matthias* was present at the meeting, *Acts* i. 21—26. Thus do the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, even in their *omissions* and *dissonances*, attest their intimate knowledge of the whole subject.

To the beloved disciple we are indebted for the detail of this

Michaelis, Dathe, Parkhurst, &c. Wetstein, Marsh, Lardner, Middleton, &c. "whom I have withstood to the face where they were blameable," as in duty bound, "I consign" my own mistakes, "in turn," for detection and for correction, ready to kiss the rod:

Hanc veniam petimusque, damusque vicissim.—HOK.

"Petimus," ut Critici; "damus," ut Scriptores hallucinantes.

manifestation, only slightly intimated by *Mark*, and obscurely by *Paul*. His invincible modesty, so conspicuous throughout his Gospel, in which he never expressly names himself, has suppressed the obvious allusion to himself, in the *blessing* pronounced by his adored LORD, on the *rational believers* of his resurrection, of which class he was the solitary instance among the aggregate of the *disciples*; even of the *Apostles* themselves, who ought to have known better things.

With this precious and most interesting anecdote *John* closes the detail of our Lord's manifestations at *Jerusalem*.

Next to these *public* manifestations we rank, with the Apostle *Paul*, (who derived his information from immediate revelation of CHRIST himself, 1 Cor. xv. 3; Gal. i. 12.) the most public of all, according to appointment, at

THE MOUNTAIN IN GALILEE.

What time elapsed from the last manifestation to this we are not told. But if we suppose, as is probable, 1. That the disciples returned to *Galilee* immediately after the last appearance; and 2. That this grand appearance took place, like the two preceding, on a *Sunday*, we cannot be much mistaken, in dating it three weeks, or the *twenty-second* day from *Easter*, inclusively; which will give full time for collecting his friends from various quarters of that district, in which he had spent the greater part of his ministry, and where he was best known.

The Evangelist comprizes this in the following short account.

“ And the *eleven* disciples departed into *Galilee*, unto the *mountain* where JESUS had appointed [to meet them.] And when they saw him *they* [in general] *worshipped* Him; but some *distrusted*,” [doubting his *bodily* presence,] Matt. xxviii. 16, 17.

This assembly was numerous, according to *Paul*; it consisted of more than five hundred *brethren*, or disciples, of whom the majority were still alive when he wrote his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, about A. D. 57, or twenty-six years after. To all these surviving witnesses he appeals, with confidence, to vouch his own testimony.

THE SEA OF TIBERIAS, OR GALILEE.

This we conceive to be the scene of the ensuing manifestation to “*James*,” mentioned by *Paul*; as the head of the fishing

party noticed by *John* in the last chapter, or *appendix* to his Gospel; consisting of *James* and his brother *John*, “the sons of *Zebedee*, *Peter*, *Thomas*, and *Nathaniel*, and two others of the disciples.” The proposal to fish was made by *Peter*, and agreed to by the rest; and we may naturally place it on the ensuing *Sunday*, or *twenty-ninth* day. The day after the sabbath was a likely day to want provisions, *John* xxi. 1, 2.

They fished during *the night* of Saturday, after *Sunday* began, but took nothing. When the *morning* dawn had commenced, and they were near the shore, *JESUS* stood there, and said, *Dear children**, have ye any thing to eat? They answered *No*; then said he, *Cast your net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find.* They did so, and now they were not able to draw up the net, for the multitude of fishes inclosed therein. Struck with the resemblance of this to *OUR LORD*'S former miracle, when he called them to his service, and promised to make them *fishers of men*, (*Luke* v. 3—11,) *John* sagaciously observed to *Peter*, *It is THE LORD!* Whereupon *Peter*, in his eagerness to meet him, put on his fisher's coat, that he might not appear naked or undressed, and threw himself into the sea, and swam to land, while the rest came after him in their *boat*, (*πλοιαριω*,) drawing the net to shore; from which they were distant two hundred cubits, or about a hundred yards, *John* xxi. 3—8.

As soon as they landed, they saw a *charcoal* fire, and a *small fish*, (*οψαριον*,) laid thereon to broil, and *bread*, provided miraculously, for their entertainment. Then said *JESUS*, as if this was apparently too small for the company, *Bring hither now some of the small fishes that ye have taken.* *Simon* then, with the rest, went up into the boat, and dragged the net to shore, full of an hundred and fifty-three *great fishes* †; and although there were so many, yet the net was not broken, *John* xxi. 9—11.

It has been observed by *Oppian*, in his *Halieutics*, or Poem on Fishing, and by able naturalists, that the different known species of fishes amount to that number, of an hundred and fifty-three; whence it might be inferred, that persons of all na-

* The diminutive *παιδια* is expressive of fondness, like *τεκνια*, *John* xiii. 33. It is so used by *John* himself, 1 *John* ii. 14—18.

† *Hasselquist*, speaking of the fish found in the lake of *Galilee*, says, that one species, the *charmud* or *karmud*, often weighs thirty pounds.

tions, ranks, and conditions were to be included within the pale of the *Christian Church*.

JESUS said to them, *Come hither, and breakfast*. But none of the disciples durst ask him, *Who art thou?* knowing that it was THE LORD. JESUS then cometh up to them, and taketh *the bread*, and giveth to them, and the *small fish* likewise. And probably on this occasion also he *ate* and *drank* with them, as implied in his *hospitable* invitation. He did not, perhaps, use any of their fish, that the entertainment might be solely his own; and to signify, perhaps, from small beginnings, like the *little fish*, assisted by his grace, how great would be their future success. The *great fishes* taken on this occasion might also be designed as a providential supply for their families during the absence of the Apostles themselves, who were immediately to return to *Jerusalem*, and wait there till the day of *Pentecost*, and then to enter upon their public functions, destined to return home to *domestic* life no more, John xxi. 12, 13.

This was the *third* public appearance of CHRIST to his disciples, noticed by *John*, xxi. 14; but the *fourth*, noticed by *Paul*, including the *first* to *Peter* singly, 1 Cor. xv. 5—7: the former omitting the appearance in *Galilee*, and the latter the appearance to the *ten* Apostles on the evening of the resurrection. The authority of *Paul* is sufficient for the present arrangement, by which all the seeming *variations* are satisfactorily reconciled.

The ensuing interesting conversation of OUR LORD with *Peter* was founded on his forwardness to meet him, in the ardour of his zeal. It seems to have been graciously designed to reinstate *Peter*, publicly, in that *Apostleship* which he had abdicated by his denials; to the number of which, the question thrice repeated, *Simon, son of Jonah**, *lovest thou me?* obviously alluded. *Peter's* *humility* now was as conspicuous as his *presumption* before. He modestly disclaimed any pretensions to superior attachment, "*more than these,*" or above the rest of the company; and appealed to CHRIST himself, as the SEARCHER OF HEARTS, only for the truth of his attachment, LORD, *thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee*, when grieved by the repetition of the question, as if intimating

* Though *Simon* was really the son of *Jonah*, there might be, perhaps, a remote allusion to his predecessor *Jonah* the prophet's *fall* and *repentance*, who was of *Gath-hepher*, in *Galilee*, and perhaps might have been the ancestor of the Apostle.

some distrust of his sincerity. CHRIST'S triple commission to him, first to "*feed my lambs,*" or the weakest of the flock, and twice, "*pasture and feed my sheep,*" significantly shewed that the *pastoral* care of the *whole* flock intrusted to his charge, was the surest testimony of loving Himself, the GREAT SHEPHERD, John xxi. 15—17.

And now when *Peter* was thus formally restored to his rank and dignity, as the first of the Apostles, OUR LORD forewarned him of the future trials and persecutions to which he should be exposed, in his *old age*, beautifully contrasted with the recent instance of strength and activity he had shewn in stretching forth his arms to swim to shore. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, when thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself with thy fisher's coat, and go freely at large, but when thou shalt grow old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands on the cross, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee to the place of crucifixion against thy will.* Thus signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had thus spoken, He said, "*Follow me,*" as a true disciple, in imitation both of my life and death; evidently alluding to his former injunction, after rebuking him for his worldly-mindedness, "*Whosoever is willing to go after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me,*" Matt. xvi. 23, 24. "*For whosoever doth not carry his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple,*" (Luke xiv. 27;) John xxi. 18, 19.

John, without waiting for a call, followed JESUS as he walked, by this action signifying his prompt *love* and *zeal* for his adored LORD. *Peter*, turning about and seeing this, was led, by curiosity, to enquire also the fate of this favourite disciple, and his own particular friend; and said, *What shall become of him?* JESUS chid him, with this ambiguous answer, *If I chuse that he shall remain in the flesh until I come in judgment on Jerusalem, what is that to thee? Follow thou me; mind thy own concerns.* This was misunderstood by the brethren, and a report prevailed among them that *John would not die.* It was explained by the event of his long outliving the destruction of *Jerusalem*, John xxi. 20—24.

JERUSALEM.

Immediately after this manifestation, at the Lake of *Galilee*, we may conclude, the Apostles returned to *Jerusalem*; and on

the following *Sunday*, the *thirty-sixth* day, were favoured with another appearance, which *Paul* describes to "*all the Apostles*," 1 Cor. xv. 7, immediately preceding the last, at the *ascension*, on the *fortieth* day, or *Thursday* following. We do not, indeed, presume to erect this arrangement of the several public appearances into a *theory*, but it may be allowed, surely, to rate as an *hypothesis*, approximating nearer to the truth than any that has been hitherto proposed; founded upon the probable assumption that THE LORD'S day was so denominated from the frequency of his appearances thereon. His last manifestation to the beloved disciple, and not long before his death, was made at *Patmos*, during his exile there, A.D. 97, certainly on THE LORD'S day.

At this important general meeting of the *Apostles*, our Lord renewed to them, in their collective capacity, the commissions given to their *leaders* before; and *coming up to them*, in close conference, he stated *his own authority*, and their *Apostolic functions* and *powers*, more fully and explicitly than heretofore.

All authority is given me in heaven and upon earth. Go ye, therefore, into all the world, publish THE GOSPEL to all the [human] creation. Discipline all the nations, baptizing them in the name of THE FATHER, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY SPIRIT; and teaching them to keep all my commandments delivered unto you. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that disbelieveth, shall be damned.

And these signs shall accompany the believers; they shall expel demons, in my name; they shall speak in new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly potion, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

And lo, I am with you all the days [of the Church,] until the consummation of the world. Amen. Matt. xxviii. 18—20, Mark xvi. 15—18.

He now appointed the last meeting for the following *Thursday*, the *fortieth* day from the resurrection, at *Jerusalem*; and there being associated with them he instructed them not to leave *Jerusalem* immediately, but to wait for *the fulfilment of the promise* of THE FATHER, which they had heard from him: *And lo, I am going to send forth the promise of my Father upon you; but remain ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye shall be endued with power from on high: for John indeed baptized*

with water, but ye shall be baptized with THE HOLY SPIRIT, not many days hence, Acts i. 4, 5; Luke xxiv. 49.

THE ASCENSION.

Then he led them forth from the city to the Mount of *Olives*, as far as the district of *Bethany*, which began a *sabbath day's* journey, or six hundred paces from the city; and, according to *tradition*, he went up to the middle summit of the mountain, Luke xxiv. 50; Acts i. 12.

And when they were come together there, they enquired of Him, LORD, *wilt thou, at this time, restore again the kingdom to Israel?* or establish the *spiritual* kingdom of THE MESSIAH upon earth, at the *regeneration* foretold by the *prophets*, and confirmed by *his own* repeated predictions. But admitting its future certainty, he gently checked their *unseasonable* curiosity, respecting the particular time: *It is not your concern, to know times and seasons, which THE FATHER reserved in his own power, and which he had told them before, in his prophecies on Mount Olivet, none but THE FATHER himself then knew,* (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32.) He further admonished them that their only concern was what related to their ministry, for which they should be endued with suitable powers to exercise it in the appointed places, again renewing his promise; *But ye shall receive power when THE HOLY SPIRIT shall come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses for Me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, the scenes of my ministry, and unto the extremity of the earth, or habitable world.*

'Then *lifting up his hands he blessed them, and while he was blessing them he was taken up while they were looking on, and a cloud withdrew him from their sight, into the heaven, and he sate on the right hand of God,* Acts i. 6—9; Luke xxiv. 51; Mark xvi. 19.

And *while they were gazing into the heaven, as he was departing, with anxiety and grief; to comfort them for his loss, with the hope of a similar return, to restore that kingdom at the regeneration, about which they had so earnestly enquired; two angels in human form, and white apparel, (probably the same who had ministered to the resurrection, and now to the ascension,) stood suddenly beside them, and said, Ye Galileans, why stand ye looking into the heaven? This same JESUS, who is taken up from you into the heaven, shall so come, as ye have*

seen him going into the heaven, or with the same splendour and glory in the clouds, Acts i. 10, 11.

Then they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God. And they went forth and preached every where, THE LORD co-operating and confirming the word, by means of the signal miracles accompanying it, Acts i. 12; Luke xxiv. 52, 53; Mark xvi. 20.

CHARACTER OF CHRIST.

Having now finished the foregoing survey, and comparison of the FOUR GOSPELS, humbly endeavouring to establish the *credibility* and *consistency* of these incomparable MEMOIRS throughout, by a close examination and critical harmony of their contents; we are naturally led to enquire, *what was the concurrent design of the Evangelists in writing their respective Gospels?* and this we learn from the conclusion of the last:

“These are written that ye might believe that JESUS is THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD; and that believing, ye might have [eternal] life in his name, [or religion,]” John xx. 31.

This benevolent design, so signified, and addressed to the Asiatic churches, at whose entreaty John wrote his Gospel, is to be extended to the world at large, who are invited to the perusal of these memoirs of the life and ministry of the GREAT AUTHOR and FINISHER of OUR FAITH, and the CAPTAIN of OUR SALVATION; proving him, by the most unexceptionable testimony, *divine* and *human*, to be THE CHRIST, or KING OF ISRAEL, THE SON OF GOD, in his *human* and *divine* prophetic character; and also THE AUTHOR of *eternal life* and *happiness* to all those that believe in and obey him, as peculiarly THEIR LORD and THEIR GOD.

That these memoirs, indeed, were “written” for the benefit of the whole world we learn, 1. From the incidental observation of our Lord, foretelling that the circumstance of *anointing his head* preparatory to his *embalment*, should be recorded to the woman’s honour, *wheresoever this Gospel should be preached in the whole world*, Matt. xxvi. 13. 2. From his general commission to his Apostles, “to discipline all the nations of the world,” &c. Matt. xxviii. 19. And 3. From his prophecy, that “the

end," or destruction of *Jerusalem*, should not "*come, until this Gospel of the kingdom [of Christ] should be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all the nations,*" Matt. xxiv. 14. And accordingly, THE GOSPEL was *published, in writing*, as well as *orally*, by *Matthew, Luke, and Mark*, by *Peter, James, and Paul*, some years before that event. And we may conclude, in obedience to OUR LORD'S *injunctions*, under the guidance and assistance of his HOLY SPIRIT, for an *everlasting possession* to future ages, in order to supply the place of their transient preaching, most perfectly, Luke i. 4; 2 Pet. i. 13—15; 2 Tim. iv. 5, 6.

I. If we recapitulate the *evangelical evidences* of CHRIST'S character, they may be reduced to the following heads, as appealed to by OUR LORD himself, in his debates with the *Jewish* teachers, and discourses with his *disciples*.

1. The first, upon which he plainly lays the greatest stress, was taken from the *stupendous miracles* which he wrought, exceeding in *number, variety, and magnitude*, those of all his predecessors, the *prophets*. "*The works which I do, bear witness of me, that THE FATHER hath sent me.*"—"If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not incurred sin." And this was confessed by the astonished multitudes,—"*It was never so seen in Israel!*"—"When THE CHRIST cometh, will he do greater miracles than these?"

2. The second was taken from the wondrous chain of *prophecies*, of which he was the subject, both in his *Divine* and *human* nature, as THE SON OF GOD, and THE SON OF MAN conjointly; his *mission*, his *sufferings*, and his *glories*, which were all together fulfilled in him, and in no other person. "*Search the Scriptures, for they testify of Me.*" "*If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed ME, for he wrote of Me.*"—"O inconsiderate and slow-hearted to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not THE CHRIST to suffer such things, and afterwards to enter into his glory?"

This *prophetic argument* is justly considered as "*firmer*" than the argument from *miracles*, by *Peter*; because it is a *growing evidence* to believers, as it shall be better understood in all its branches*.

* See the *first* and *second* classes of *Prophecies* respecting CHRIST, in the *Appendix* to this volume.

3. The third, particularly addressed to his *disciples*, was his exact and minute *foreknowledge* of future events, respecting *himself* and *them*; and also his astonishing *Scheme of Historical Prophecy*, reaching to the *end of the world*, and *consummation of all things*, and stretching even into *eternity*; with a clearness and precision infinitely surpassing those of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, which he came to complete, unfold, and explain to future ages, both in those delivered personally by HIMSELF, and afterwards by his *Apostles*, and finally, in the *Apocalypse**.

“ Now I tell you, *before it come to pass*, that when *it is come to pass*, *ye may believe that I AM [THE CHRIST.]*”—“ And they remembered his sayings.” This also is a *growing evidence*, becoming, daily, clearer and brighter with the fulfilment, until the end.

4. The fourth was peculiarly addressed to the *Jewish* unbelievers, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, calculated to silence and confound such; namely, the testimony of *John the Baptist*, whom the *multitude* revered as a *Prophet*, and the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* durst not deny, or dispute his claim. “ *If I bear witness of myself*, without further evidence of my Divine mission than my own assertion, *my witness is not true*, and deserves no credit; but there is *another*, that beareth witness of me, namely, *John the Baptist*; for *ye sent unto John*, and he *bare witness of THE TRUTH*. *He was*, by your own acknowledgment, a *burning and shining lamp*, and, *for a season*, *ye were willing to rejoice in his light*. I therefore insist upon his testimony, as that of a *Prophet* and a *righteous man*; hoping it will not be rejected by you, to your shame, and because it is founded upon the ancient *prophecies* concerning *THE MESSIAH*, or *CHRIST* †.

OUR LORD, however, intimates the inferiority of *John's* testimony, compared with his own *miracles*. “ But I have greater witness than *John*; for the *works* which *THE FATHER hath given me to finish*, and which *I do*, *bear witness of me*, that *THE FATHER hath sent me*.”

5. The fifth was the *legislative* capacity, in which he came, “ *not to destroy the law and the prophets*,” as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* idly imagined, but “ *to fulfil*,” to complete them by

* See the *third* and *fourth* classes of *Historical Prophecies*, in the *Appendix*.

† The amount of *John's* testimony to *JESUS* as the *CHRIST*, is considerable, as may be seen under the foregoing *article* respecting him.

more refined and *spiritual* precepts and ordinances, and to sanction them, not by *temporal*, but by *eternal* rewards and punishments; as in his divine *Sermon on the Mount*; in which he enlarged and spiritualized the commandments of the *Decalogue*. Intimately connected therewith, was

6. His conscious *dignity*, and commanding *authority*; delivering his divine precepts and ordinances in his own name, and not like *Moses* and the *Prophets*, subordinately, in the name of God, "*Thus saith the Lord*;" whereas his usual style was, "*Verily, verily, I say unto you*." Insomuch, that *the multitudes* were *struck with astonishment* at his doctrine; for he taught them as *having authority*, and not as "*the Scribes*," servilely adhering to the corrupt *traditions* of the elders; as he repeatedly and publicly reproached them. And he failed not frequently to rebuke and to censure these "*blind guides*," and "*whited sepulchres*," "*hypocrites*," with all frankness, and without reserve.

7. The *pure sanctity of his life*, and *uniform propriety of his conduct*, affording the finest illustration of his doctrines, and the most perfect example of perfect and unerring obedience, in *fulfilling all righteousness*, and *doing always* what was *well pleasing* to his HEAVENLY FATHER—who therefore *loved Him*, is surely the most decisive and unequivocal proof of genuine DIVINE NATURE. The most highly gifted *Prophets*, and workers of *miracles*, were not exempt from the frailties and infirmities of human nature, and some were even guilty of crying sins; of which *Noah, Job, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Balaam, David, Solomon, &c.* furnish striking and instructive instances.

But in this respect, OUR LORD, with all the boldness of conscious innocence and native worth, set his enemies at defiance. *Which of you convicteth me of sin?* He was, indeed, pre-eminently, "*the HOLY ONE*," and "*THE JUST*," "*THE RIGHTEOUS*," "*THE SAINT OF SAINTS*," to whose spotless innocence, and transcendent virtue, even his inveterate foes bore witness, his treacherous disciple, and his pusillanimous judge. Though *tempted in all respects as other men*, yet was he *without sin*. He *overcame the world, the flesh, and the Devil*; *neither was guile found in his mouth*; *who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but answered nothing, and commended his spirit to Him that judgeth righteously*. Neither *popular applause*, of which, at times, he had an abundant share, lifted

him up, nor *popular insult*, or *persecution*, cast him down; nothing disturbed the even tenor of his mind. He led a life of *trouble* and of *rebuke*, and of *blasphemy*, still he went about *doing good* to the souls and bodies of men, by instructing their ignorance, correcting their prejudices and vices, improving their hearts, and healing their diseases. All his *miracles*, two excepted, the *possession of the swine*, and the *cursing the barren fig tree*, were beneficent; and even for these satisfactory reasons have been assigned, as intended for correction and for admonition. The imaginary "*wise man*" of the *Stoics*, and the "*Just man*" of the *Platonists*, possessed of all possible virtues, were more than realized in JESUS CHRIST, who left his followers a real pattern of consummate *piety*, *virtue*, and *temperance*, in all things*. No wonder then, that such unparalleled excellence extorted the admiration and applause of his most prejudiced enemies: *Never man spake as this man spake! He doeth all things well! This was truly THE SON OF GOD! This was really THE JUST ONE!*

2. To this ancient homage of *contemporaries*, we cannot refrain from adding a curious and valuable eulogy on his transcendant *moral* character, by the inconsistent and eccentric Sceptic, *Rousseau*; literally translated from one of the most mischievous of his eloquent publications †.

"I confess to you also, that *the majesty of the Scriptures*, and the *holiness of the Gospel*, touches my heart. View the books of the *philosophers*, with all their pomp; how little do they appear placed beside this! Is it possible, that a Book at once so *sublime* and *simple*, can be the work of *men*? Is it possible, that He whose history it records, can be but a *mere man*? Does he speak in the tone of an *enthusiast*, or of an ambitious *sectary*? What mildness, what purity in his manners! what persuasive grace in his instructions! what elevation in his maxims! what profound wisdom in his discourses! what presence of mind, what ingenuity and what justness in his answers!

* The necessity of a *perfect standard*, or *pattern of virtue*, in their *imaginary wise man*, was well explained by *Cicero*, declaring that the *reputed wise*, such as the *seven Sages*, *Cato*, *Lælius*, &c. only bore *some similitude* and *appearance* of the *truly wise*, who alone observed the *perfect duties*. That such a standard was necessary to *maintain a progressive improvement in virtue*. *De Offic.* III. 4.

† *Emile*, Tom. II. p. 85. This same work inveighs against the *Christian religion* with acrimony and rancour!

what empire over his passions? Where is the man, where is the sage, who knows how to *act*, to *suffer*, and to *die*, without *weakness*, and without *ostentation*?

“When *Plato* paints his imaginary *just man*, covered with all the infamy of vice, though worthy of all the rewards of virtue, he paints the exact traits of JESUS CHRIST: the resemblance is so striking, that all the *Fathers* perceived it; and indeed, it is not possible to be deceived therein. And what *prejudices*, what *blindness*, must possess the man that *dares* to compare the son of *Sophoniscus*, with the Son of *Mary*? What an immense distance between them! *Socrates*, dying without pain, without ignominy, easily supported to the last his character; and if this easy death had not cast a lustre on his life, it might have been doubted, whether *Socrates*, with all his genius, was any thing more than a *Sophist*. It may be said, he invented *morality*: but before him others had practised it; he only said, what they had done, and reduced to lessons their examples. *Aristides* had been just, before *Socrates* had said what justice was. *Leonidas* had died for his country, before *Socrates* had made love of country a duty. *Sparta* was sober before *Socrates* had praised sobriety, before he had defined virtue, *Greece* abounded with virtuous men.

“But where did JESUS, among *his* countrymen, take the pattern of this *elevated* and *pure morality*, of which he alone has given both *the precepts* and *the example*? From the bosom of the most furious *fanaticism*, the highest WISDOM made herself be heard; and the *simplicity* of the most HEROIC VIRTUES honoured the *vilest* of all the people of the earth.

“The death of *Socrates* philosophizing tranquilly with *his friends*, is the mildest one could wish for: that of JESUS, expiring in torments, blasphemed, reviled, and execrated by a *whole people*, is the most horrible one could dread. *Socrates*, taking the cup of poison, blessed him who presented it, and who wept: *Jesus*, in the midst of a frightful punishment, prayed for his blood-thirsty executioners. Yes, if the life and death of *Socrates* be that of a *Sage*, the life and death of JESUS is that of A GOD.”

The following argument also for the *veracity* of the *Gospels*, drawn from the impossibility of *inventing* such a *perfect character*, of such complete *uniformity* and *consistency* throughout, is borrowed from *Rousseau*, and improved by *Wakefield*.

“No forgers of the *Gospel narratives* in question, (whose *motives*, in the first instance, of such an imposition, could not easily be ascertained,) could have discovered any inducement, either from an acquaintance with *human manners*, or the *operations of the human mind*, to deliver such an extraordinary relation of the *conduct* of their *hero*. For my own part, I am able to devise no other tolerable solution of this difficulty, but this obvious supposition; That the *Gospel History* is in reality an accurate *transcript* from a TRUE ORIGINAL; that such a personage as *Jesus of Nazareth*, ACTUALLY APPEARED in the world; a *genuine likeness* of the *picture* which is presented of him.—That he came with the express intention of *publishing such a system of religion*, of executing that *unprecedented project*, of founding a *universal empire* over the *affections* and *consciences* of men, by the gentle constraints of TRUTH, and the soothing captivations of PURITY and LOVE*.”

The argument for the *veracity* of the *Gospel*, drawn from the *number* of the *Evangelists*, enhancing the difficulty of such a joint fabrication, is excellently expressed by *Rousseau*.

“It would be *more inconceivable*, that *several men* should have agreed to fabricate such a book, than that a *single personage* should have furnished its subject. Never could *Jewish* authors have *invented*, neither this *tone* of character, nor this *morality*. And the *Gospel* has marks of *veracity*, so great, so striking, and so perfectly *inimitable*, that the *inventor* of it would be *more astonishing* than the *hero*.”

And yet, the very next passage furnishes a deplorable instance of *inconsistency*, the most surprizing and unexpected in this *Sceptic*, as he professed himself:——“Granting all this, this *same Gospel* is full of *things incredible*, *things that are repugnant to Reason*, and which it is *impossible* for *any man in his senses* to *conceive*, or to *admit* †. What is to be done in the

* *Wakefield's Evidences of Christianity*, second edition, 1793, or *British Critic*, July, 1794, p. 28.

† *Rousseau* principally objects to the *Gospel miracles*, and especially to the cure of *Demoniacs*, as impossible and incredible; not considering, in the blindness of his scepticism, that such were necessary for *CHRIST* and his *Apostles*, to prove their *divine commission*, like *Moses*. The doctrine of *Demoniacs*, though decried at the present day, is by no means disproved, or exploded. And the case of the *man*, and afterwards the *herd of swine*, possessed by a *legion*, which *Rousseau* so much ridicules, bears a frightful analogy to *himself* and the *swinish multitude*, “whose *God is their belly*, who *glory in their shame*, who *mind earthly things*.”

midst of all these *contradictions*? We should be always *modest* and *circumspect*, my child; we should respect, in silence, what we can neither *reject* nor *comprehend*, and *humble ourselves* before that GREAT BEING, *who alone knows the truth.*"

How any man in *his senses* could hazard such a *conclusion*, so repugnant to his *premises*, is only for professed *Sceptics* to conceive. There cannot, perhaps, in the wide field of *human absurdities*, be adduced a more striking, and a more frightful instance of *inconclusive reasoning*, deduced from fair premises, by a "*reprobate*" and "*undiscerning mind.*" Surely the former "*good confession,*" which cannot fail to win the admiration and applause of all *sober minded* readers, although they detest the principles and the practices of this libertine and sensualist, (for such *Rousseau* appears, from his profligate *confessions,*) intimates, that "*the Spirit of THE LORD*" is seldom totally "*quenched,*" even in the worst men: even these, possessed by an *evil spirit*, as *Pharaoh, Saul, Judas, Simon Magus, &c.* have had their *lucid intervals*!

Priestley also, in his parallel of *Mahomet* with CHRIST, has skilfully drawn the leading features of both*.

"If we consider the *characters* of the two men, the great superiority of that of JESUS is manifest.

"*Mahomet*, though not without religion, had nothing of that *rational* and *humble piety*, which eminently distinguished JESUS; nor did he discover any marks of that *ardent* and *disinterested love of mankind* in general, or of his own *disciples* in particular, which led JESUS to *suffer* and to *die* for them. *Mahomet's* passions of *lust* and *revenge*, the suspicion of which never fell on JESUS, render him a very improper object of *imitation*; whereas JESUS exhibited in his life a *perfect pattern of every human virtue*. Whence then could arise this great difference in the *character* and *conduct* of these two men, equally the founders of *new systems of religion*? The only hypothesis that can account for the facts is, that the consciousness which JESUS had of his *peculiar* and *near relation* to GOD, gave him that spirit of *habitual devotion*, which is the genuine parent of every other virtue; and the sure prospect of a *great future reward*, (Heb. xii. 2,) gave him a great superiority over all lower

* *Priestley's Discourses relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion*, delivered in Philadelphia, Vol. II. See *Monthly Review*, August 1798, p. 428.

gratifications and pursuits. On the contrary, *Mahomet*, conscious that he was an *Impostor*, could have no other object than *worldly power* and *sensual indulgence*; and whatever might have been his devotion at his outset, he afterwards retained no more of it than was subservient to his schemes; and at length, (as was probably the case with *Oliver Cromwell*,) *his religion was certainly swallowed up in his ambition.*"

3. To these valuable and important testimonies, deduced from THE GOSPEL, either by *open enemies* or *doubtful friends*, we shall add that of the great *Jewish* historian, *Josephus*. Antiq. xviii. 4, 3, p. 798. Hudson.

This character of JESUS is naturally introduced in the account of *Pilate's* administration, during which he suffered.

"Moreover, at this time, lived JESUS, a *wise* man, if it be meet to call him *man*: for he was a worker of *wonderful works*, a *teacher* of men, who gladly received *the truth*, (John iii. 2, Matt. viii. 27.) And *many of the Jews*, many also of *the Gentiles*, he drew over to himself, (Matt. iv. 25, John xii. 42.) THIS WAS THE CHRIST*, [usually so called; and by *Pilate* himself, Matt. xxvii. 17.] And when *Pilate*, on the information of the *chief men* among us, had punished him by crucifixion, yet his first admirers did not cease: for, [as they said,] *during the third day* [after his crucifixion,] *he appeared to them alive again*; the inspired *Prophets* having predicted *these*, and numberless *other wonders* concerning HIM, [as THE CHRIST, Luke xxiv. 26—46.] And *still, until now*, the *community*† of the *Christians*, [denominated from him as their leader,] *has not failed,*" (Acts v. 35—39.)

The genuineness and credibility of this testimony have been questioned, as if it were too favourable from a *Jew* to CHRIST ‡ but apparently on insufficient grounds; for,

* Ὁ Χριστος οὗτος ἦν. *Josephus* did not acknowledge JESUS AS THE MESSIAH. He only states, that he was *the reputed Christ*; as well explained by *Jerom*. *Et credebatur esse Christus*. *Josephus* afterwards explains his meaning, *Ἰησου, του λεγομενου Χριστου*. Ant. xx. 8, 1.

† Χριστιανων φυλον, corresponds to the phrase, *Χριστιανων εθνος*, afterwards, denoting "the community," or "people of the Christians," on account of the extensive propagation of the Gospel, at the time *Josephus* wrote his *Antiquities*, A.D. 94. It is distinguished thereby from "a sect," as *Lardner* mistranslates it.

‡ The learned and laborious collector, *Lardner*, whose judgment did not always keep pace with his diligence, and whose *Socinian* bias, it is much to be lamented, sometimes led him, (undesignedly, we are persuaded,) to "make the worse appear the better reason," has brought forward several objections against the *authority* and *credibility* of

1. It is found in all the copies of *Josephus's* works now extant, both printed and manuscript, in a *Hebrew* translation, kept in the *Vatican* library, and in an *Arabic* translation, preserved by the *Maronites* of Mount *Libanus*.

2. It is cited by *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Rufinus*, *Isidore of Pelusium*, *Sozomen*, *Cassiodorus*, *Nicephorus*, and by many others, who had all indisputably seen various manuscripts, and of considerable antiquity.

3. *Josephus*, in two other passages, (whose *authenticity* has never been suspected,) mentions, with much respect, *John the Baptist*, and *James*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, describing the former as a *good man*, who exhorted the *Jews* to come to his baptism, first practising *virtue*, and exercising *justice* toward each other, and *piety* toward *GOD*; for by such preparations only would "the *ceremony of baptism* (*την βαπτισιν*) be acceptable unto *GOD*." And he says that "the *Jews* considered the destruction of *Herod's* army as a *Divine* judgment on him for putting the Baptist to death." *Ant.* XVIII. 6, 2, p. 805.

And also *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom he represents as put to death, A.D. 62, by an irregular *Jewish* council, summoned by the high-priest *Ananus* the younger, a haughty and overbearing man, a *Sadducee*, and like that sect, remarkably

this celebrated testimony, Vol. VII. p. 120, which do not seem to merit the weight he attaches to them.

OBJ. 1. This passage was not cited by any early Christians before *Eusebius*; such as *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, or *Origen*; and *Chrysostom* and *Photius* afterwards.

ANSWER. This *negative* argument, drawn from the *silence* of the Fathers, is unsatisfactory. It might, perhaps, have been *foreign* to their purpose; or it might have had *little weight* with the *Jews*, who hated *Josephus*, to cite his testimony. The *positive* argument from *Eusebius*, &c. is more than a counterbalance.

OBJ. 2. This passage interrupts the course of the narration, and is unlike the style of *Josephus*.

ANSWER. It is introduced naturally, in the course of *Pilate's* administration, and between two circumstances which occasioned disturbances. And was not the foolish and unfounded expectation of the *false Christs*, who should deliver them from the *Roman* yoke, the source of the greatest disturbances, and of that *Roman* war which ended in the destruction of the state, as *Josephus* himself often declares? And *Huetius* observes, *one egg is not more like another*, than the style of this passage to the general style of his writings. Objections from *style* are often fanciful.

OBJ. 3. It is unlikely that *Josephus*, who did not acknowledge *CHRIST*, and was *hostile* to him and his religion, would speak favourably of him.

ANSWER. This is accounted for in the text, and the supposed *hostility* denied upon strong grounds. See the valuable *Appendix* to *Lardner's* Life, Vol. I. No. ix. x. for further answers.

severe in their judicial sentences, who thinking this a convenient opportunity, during the interregnum, when *Festus* was dead, before the arrival of his successor, *Albinus*, brought to trial before the judges, *James*, the brother of *Jesus*, who is called **CHRIST**, and some others [of the *Christians*,] accusing them of *transgressing the law*, and delivered them up to be stoned. But those who were reckoned the *most moderate* citizens, and *skilful in the law*, [the *Pharisees*,] were greatly displeased thereat, and sent privily to the king, *Agrippa*, [who had appointed *Ananus* high-priest,] intreating him to order *Ananus* not to do such things any more, for that this first act was not rightly done. Ant. XX. 8, 1.

4. *Josephus* himself was a *Pharisee*, and that sect was much more favourable to the *Christians* than the *Sadducees*; a circumstance of which *Paul* adroitly availed himself, at his trial, before this same haughty and insolent *Ananus*, or *Ananias*, for his own protection against the *Sadducees*, two years before, A.D. 60. Ant. XXIII. 6. *Josephus* also was the intimate friend of this king *Agrippa*, before whom *Paul* was tried, and who said, "*Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christian!*" Ant. XXVI. 28. And can we wonder that the same *worldly-minded policy* which prevented *Agrippa*, his patron, from professing himself the follower of a *crucified Saviour*, notwithstanding all "his *knowledge* and *belief* of the *Prophets*," on which *Paul* complimented him, Acts xxvi. 2—27, should weigh with the *time-serving* dependent likewise? who, to make his court to the *Romans*, in defiance of those *Hebrew Scriptures*, which he so well understood*, represented *Vespasian*, a heathen and a foreigner, as the predicted **MESSIAH!**

Still, however, we are not to consider *Josephus* as hostile to **CHRIST**, or the *Christians*, but rather a favourer of both, though secretly, for fear of the *Jews*, and afterwards of the *Romans*. And it is remarkable that his account of **JESUS** coincides with the declaration of *Nicodemus*, with the *Evangelists*, and with the sage advice of *Gamaliel*, who was probably the preceptor of *Josephus* as well as of *Paul*, from his great ability. And cer-

* *Josephus* was probably well acquainted with the *Gospels* and the *Epistle* of *Paul*, especially to the *Romans* and *Hebrews*. He spent two years at *Rome*, about the time *Paul* was a prisoner there, and might have been one of the learned *Jews* with whom *Paul* disputed, Acts xxviii. 22—29. And some remarkable coincidences of expression with the *New Testament* may be detected in his works.

tainly *Josephus* could neither entirely pass over, in his history of *Jewish* affairs, so remarkable a personage as JESUS CHRIST, nor say less of him than he has done, without forfeiting his character as a *well informed* and *candid historian*, of which he makes such frequent professions; especially as he has taken notice, like *Gamaliel*, of several impostors, or *false Christs*, who appeared about that time, such as *Judas of Galilee*, or *Gaulonitis*, *Theudas*, the *Egyptian*, the pretended *magician*, &c. all of whom were far inferior in fame to JESUS.

5. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, the *Roman* historians, to whom the *Christians*, as a sect, were a much less interesting object than to a *Jew*, like *Josephus*, noticed the rise and establishment of *Christianity*, as being of sufficient magnitude to rank among the greatest events transmitted by them to posterity.

The account of *Tacitus*, in particular, was evidently taken in substance from *Josephus*, whose works he had read, and may furnish a strong additional voucher for the genuineness of the passage in question.

“The author of the *Christian* name was CHRIST, who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, was executed by *Pontius Pilate*, the Procurator, and that pernicious *superstition* was repressed for the present; but it broke out again, not only in *Judea*, the origin of that evil, but even in the city [of *Rome*,] whither all atrocious or shameful *rites* flock from every quarter, and are celebrated.” *Annal*. XV. 44.

Superstition was the term of reproach attached to the *Christian religion*, by the intolerant bigotry of the *Romans*; as we see also, *Acts* xxv. 19. And the *Christian rites* of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, were branded with the foulest calumnies by these Pagans, until the reign of *Constantine* the Great.

But *Josephus* evidently changed his mind respecting his former hasty adulation of *Vespasian* as THE MESSIAH, in his *Jewish war*; for, in his *Antiquities*, written twenty years after, he wavered the explanation of “the kingdom of the *Stone*,” in *Daniel*, considering the coming of THE MESSIAH as a future event. *Ant*. X. 10, 4. And, indeed, after he had asserted of *Moses*, that “his *legislation* appearing to be from GOD, made the *man* to be reckoned superior to his *own nature*,” (*Antiq*. III. 15, 3,) is it unlikely that he might really hesitate respecting JESUS, whether he were not *more than man*, “a *Teacher sent from GOD*,” as *Nicodemus* had formerly inferred from his

“*stupendous miracles*,” surpassing those of *Moses*, which were notorious to all the people, and even the prejudiced *Jewish* council could not deny, John xi. 47. And when he further reflected, that a lapse of threescore years after *CHRIST*’s crucifixion had not put an end to his *sect*, but that it was rapidly increasing, and grown into a considerable “*community*,” even in the heart of the *Roman* empire, while all the other sects of *Judas of Galilee*, *Theudas*, the *Egyptian*, &c. had perished with those *ephemeral* meteors; might he not scruple to disparage the *Christian Religion*, or its wonderful Author, “*conquering by sufferings*,” lest haply he might be found to fight against *GOD*, according to the sage observations of *Gamaliel*, Acts v. 39.

The *studied reserve*, therefore, of *Josephus*, and his *obstinate silence* respecting the *brazen serpent*, (see Vol. II. p. 190,) the stupendous scenes which attended the rise and progress of the *Christian Church*, to which he could be no stranger; for they were not *done in a corner*, as *Paul* pleaded before king *Agrippa*, the patron of *Josephus*, Acts xxvi. 26, furnish unequivocal evidence, that he did not behold *Christianity* with *indifference*, much less *hatred*. Like many of “the rulers and crowd of priests that believed,” both before and after our Lord’s resurrection, John xii. 42, Acts vi. 7, he might not *confess* him, for *fear* of the *Jews* and of the *Romans*, *loving the praise of men more than the praise of GOD*,” John xii. 43.

We have been the more solicitous to reclaim and vindicate this valuable and important testimony of the most intelligent *Jewish* historian that ever wrote, next to the *Sacred Writers*, because its authenticity and credibility have been hastily and unjustly depreciated by *sceptical* divines * and *hypercritics*, without calmly and skilfully weighing the evidences in its favour.

IV. We shall close this article with the singular testimony of a *Roman* emperor, even *Tiberius* himself, to the *divinity* of *CHRIST*.

The learned *Tertullian*, in his *Apology for Christianity*, about the year A.D. 200, after speaking of our Saviour’s *crucifixion*

* The late Bishop *Horsley*, though as far removed from a *Sceptic* as the *Zenith* from the *Nadir*, *dogmatically* pronounced this passage, “a rank forgery, and a stupid one too;” misunderstanding its drift, as if “*Josephus* therein acknowledged *Jesus* as the *Christ*, in as strong terms as words could do it.” *Lardner*, VII. p. 129.

and *resurrection*, and his *appearances* to the disciples, and *ascension* into heaven, in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to *publish the Gospel* over the world; proceeds, “Of all these things relating to CHRIST, *Pilate* himself, *already in his conscience a Christian*, sent an account to *Tiberius*, then emperor.” Apol. c. 21. p. 22.

Justin Martyr, also an early writer, in his first Apology, about A.D. 140, twice appealed for proof of these facts to “the acts made in the times of *Pontius Pilate*,” p. 65, 72. edit. Benedict. which surely he would not have ventured to do in a public apology, addressed to *Antoninus Pius*, and the whole *Roman* senate, if such had not been really extant at the time*. And *Eusebius* confirms their authenticity.

Tertullian, in the same Apology, relates the proceedings of *Tiberius*, on this information.

“*Tiberius*, in whose time the *Christian* name, [or religion,] had its rise, having received from *Palestine*, in *Syria*, information of the truth of CHRIST’S *divinity*, proposed to the senate, that he should be enrolled among the *Roman* gods, and gave his own prerogative vote in favour of the motion. But the *senate*, (without whose consent no *deification* could take place,) rejected it, because the emperor himself had declined the same honour. Notwithstanding, *Cæsar* persisted in his opinion, and threatened punishment to the accusers of the *Christians*. Search your own *commentaries*, [or public acts,] there you will find that *Nero* was the first that raged with the imperial sword against this sect, when rising most at *Rome*.” Apol. c. v. p. 6.

This is a curious and valuable testimony, confirmed also by *Eusebius*; and it is highly probable in itself.

Tiberius was superstitious, like the *Romans* in general, and if he received from *Pilate*, in justification of his unwillingness to gratify the *envy* and malice of the Jewish rulers, by sacrificing an *innocent* and a *just* man, the account of the stupendous circumstances of the crucifixion, the *earthquake* and *darkness*, and the wonders of his *resurrection* and *ascension* into heaven, which he must have learned from the *Roman* centurion and guard;

* About the year A.D. 307, during *Maximin’s* persecution, the Heathens forged *Acts of Pilate*, injurious to CHRIST and the *Christian* faith, which were industriously circulated to discourage *Christians*, and unsettle their faith, as we learn from *Eusebius*, *Eccles. Hist.* I. 9. and IX. 5. These *spurious* acts prove the prior existence of the *genuine*.

and from the testimony of CHRIST'S disciples, *Joseph of Arimathea* and *Nicodemus*, men of the first rank and consideration, who had free access to him; surely *Tiberius* might, from a principle of *state policy*, endeavour to conciliate this SON OF GOD by *associating* him with the *Roman* divinities; and although he acquiesced in the adulatory refusal of the senate to enact his motion, yet he might naturally publish an *imperial* edict, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the persecution of the followers of this *New God*; upon the same principle that other Heathen emperors, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Darius the Mede*, passed similar decrees; in consequence of the *miracles* wrought by the GOD OF ISRAEL in favour of his servants, *Daniel*, and *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*.

Tiberius, by *Plutarch's* account, was very inquisitive about the truth of the story of the death of the great god *Pan*, declared by some aerial *demon* to the Egyptian mariner *Thamus*, at sea, noticed before*; probably suspecting that it might relate to CHRIST. *Lardner*, indeed, with his usual diffidence, rejects it altogether as a fiction; but it has been countenanced by the profound *Cudworth*, and others. And what could induce *Plutarch*, however credulous he might be, to relate so extravagant a tale without *some real* foundation, however distorted, is not easy to conceive; especially as he had not the remotest suspicion of its reference to CHRIST: if he had, that would have been a sufficient reason with him for passing it over in silence.

To *Tertullian's* account *Eusebius* adds, that *Tiberius* threatened the accusers of the *Christians* with the punishment of death. And he considers this interference of the *Roman* emperor as PROVIDENTIALLY designed to promote the publication of the Gospel, in its infancy, without molestation; while he and *Chrysostom* both consider the remarkable refusal of the *Roman senate* to deify CHRIST as equally owing to the controul of PROVIDENCE; that the DIVINITY of CHRIST might be established, not by *human authority*, but by the *power* of GOD; and that the HOLY JESUS might not be ranked or associated among the *infamous characters* that were found among "the *gods* many, and *lords* many," of the superstitious and idolatrous *Romans*. For what fellowship hath CHRIST with *Belial*? See the original passages, *Lardner*, VII. p. 241—247.

* See the foregoing article of the *cure of demoniacs*, Vol. III. p. 106, note.

THE
SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL.

THIS may be extracted from our blessed Lord's last and fullest commission to his *Apostles*, containing, in a very small compass, the whole substance of THE GOSPEL; or the quintessence of the peculiar *doctrines, precepts, sanctions, and aids* of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, Vol. III. p. 266.

- I. " *All authority is given ME in heaven and upon earth,
Go ye, therefore, into all the world,
Publish the Gospel to all the creation.*
- II. " *Discipline all the nations :
Baptizing them in the name
Of THE FATHER, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY SPIRIT ;
And teaching them to keep all my commandments,
Delivered unto you.*
- III. " *He that believeth, and is baptized,
Shall be saved ;
But he that disbelieveth,
Shall be damned.*
- IV. " *And these signs shall accompany the believers :
They shall expel Demons, in my name,
They shall speak in new tongues,
They shall take up serpents,
And if they drink any deadly potion,
It shall not hurt them.
They shall lay hands on the sick,
And they shall recover.*
- V. " *And lo, I am with you, all the days [of the Church,]
Until the consummation of the world. Amen *."*

* This grand commission, worthy indeed of THE ORACLE who delivered it, and not more distinguished for *sublimity* of composition, than for *simplicity* of expression, has not been rendered throughout, with sufficient accuracy, in the *English Bible*.

Κηρυξατε, "*preach*," had better be rendered "*publish*," as elsewhere, Mark i. 45. For as *John the Baptist* was the *harbinger*, or *herald* of CHRIST, to proclaim his first

This most comprehensive commission, opens with a preamble in the *first clause*, stating the *plenary authority*, and *universal dominion*, vested in CHRIST, as "THE IMAGE," or visible representative of THE FATHER, to found his spiritual

coming in the *flesh*, so were the *Apostles* ordained to be his *ambassadors*, 2 Cor. v. 20. Πασῇ τῇ κτίσει, "to every creature," this should rather be rendered, "to all the creation," meaning the *rational creation*, or ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, *mankind*, 1 Pet. ii. 13; κτίσις is so rendered elsewhere, Mark x. 6, xiii. 19, Rom. i. 20; and should also be so rendered, Rom. viii. 19, 20. Μαθητεύσατε, "teach," Μαθήτεω, in strictness signifies, to "disciple," or "make disciples," by baptism, as in John iv. 1. But the verb *disciple*, is now obsolete; and its prevailing substitute, to *discipline*, (by a usual metonymy of the *effect* for the *cause*,) should be adopted, in order to distinguish it from διδασκοντες, "teaching," afterwards: *discipline* being a more general term, signifying *training*, or the process of *education*, as well expressed by *Horace* :

DOCTRINA sed vim promovet insitam,

RECTIQUE CULTUS pectora roborant.

" Learning improves the implanted power [of mind,]

And culture right invigorates the heart." Od. iv. 4, 33.

And still more finely and circumstantially, in the apocryphal book of *Wisdom*.

" The truest beginning of WISDOM is the desire of education, (παιδείας,)

And the study of education is love,

And love is the keeping of her laws,

And attention to her laws, confirmation of incorruption,

And incorruption bringeth nigh unto GOD." Wisd. vi. 17—19.

Ο δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. Here ἀπιστήσας should be rendered, "He that *disbelieveth*," which is a stronger term than (οὐ πιστεύσας,) "he that *believeth not*," (incorrectly substituted in the English Bible,) because it implies *wilful* and *obstinate* rejection of the truth; as intimated in the term ἀπιστος, "a *disbeliever*," or "faithless," applied by OUR LORD to *Thomas*, John xx. 27. Κατακριθήσεται, however, is rightly rendered, "shall be *damned*," intimating *eternal condemnation*, as contrasted with *eternal salvation* to *believers*; and as the verb is elsewhere understood and rendered in parallel passages, Matt. xii. 41, 1 Cor. xi. 32, James v. 9, at the *day of judgment*; corresponding to the punishment of *hell fire*, or destruction of both *soul* and *body* in *hell*, Matt. x. 28, Mark ix. 43, 44, Matt. xiii. 41, 42, xxv. 41—46, Rev. xx. 14, 15. Most mischievous and delusive, therefore, are those glosses of *disbelievers*, who deny the *scriptural doctrine* of *eternal condemnation*, and fritter it away into *annihilation*, &c. to the extreme hazard of their own, and their followers' souls, as "blind leaders of the blind," Matt. xv. 14, vi. 23.

Πασας τας ἡμερας, "always," should rather be rendered "all the days" of the *Christian dispensation*, or duration of the *Church* upon earth; in continuation of OUR LORD's fostering care of his *Church* in the wilderness, when, as "THE ANGEL OF GOD'S PRESENCE, he *saved* them, and in his love and pity, *redeemed* them [from *Egyptian bondage*,] and *bare* them, and *carried* them [on eagles' wings,] all the days of old," Isa. lxiii. 9; intimating his *continual* and *unremitting* care of his *Church*, while *militant here upon earth*, as implied in his former promise, Matt. xv. 20, "Wheresoever, [and whenssoever] two or three are assembled together in my name, [or worship,] there am I in the midst of them," [to grant their requests,] as in the excellent comment of *Chrysostom's prayer* to CHRIST, at the conclusion of our *morning* and *evening service*.

kingdom, or universal Church upon earth, and to depute the *Apostles*, and their successors, as his *heralds* or *ambassadors*, to publish the GOSPEL, or glad tidings of salvation, to all the human creation. This includes the *constitution* of the *primitive Church*.

The second clause states, more particularly, the nature of their commission, and the conditions of salvation: 1. to *discipline* all the *nations* of the world, or train them up to religion and virtue, more perfectly and efficaciously than any former dispensation preparatory thereto.

“ THE LAW appeared *imperfect*, and best given
With purpose to resign *them* *, in full time,
Up to a BETTER COVENANT; *disciplined*
From shadowy *types* to TRUTH, from *flesh* to SPIRIT.” Milton.

2. To *teach* them the mysterious *doctrines*, the peculiar *rites*, the important *precepts* and *duties* of the GOSPEL, immediately communicated by CHRIST to his *Apostles*.

The third clause states the encouraging, the awful, and the eternal *sanctions* of the GOSPEL, *salvation* to believers that are *baptized*, and *obey* his commandments; but *damnation* to *disbelievers*, who reject and disobey them.

The fourth clause states the *miraculous powers* and extraordinary *gifts* of THE SPIRIT, conferred on the *Apostles* and first *professors* of CHRISTIANITY, in order to *qualify* and *enable* them to execute and accomplish their arduous commission to a *careless*, a *prejudiced*, and a *wicked world*, immersed in ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and vice.

The fifth clause states the ordinary *aids* or *fruits* of THE SPIRIT, promised by CHRIST to his Church, during its continuance upon earth, unto the end of the world, and consummation of all things.

Reserving for the last, the profound *constitution* and *discipline* of the Church, to be collected from the *Acts* and *Epistles*; we shall proceed, in the first place, to analyze and explain the mysterious *doctrines* and *sacraments* of the GOSPEL, THE TRINITY, *regeneration*, *justification* by *faith*, *baptism*, and THE LORD'S *Supper*, which are intimately connected together, and best explained by OUR LORD himself in the *Gospels*.

* The Jews.

I. THE MYSTERIES OF THE GOSPEL.

The first, the most mysterious, and the most awful of those things which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive*, a subject utterly undiscoverable and unfathomable by *human reason*, is the *distinction* of the *persons* of the GODHEAD, intimated in

THE TRINITY.

This word was first introduced by *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, about A.D. 170, into Christian Theology, *Ad Autoly-cum*, Lib. ii. p. 94, et 100, as noticed by *Dupin*; and adopted by the learned *Origen*, &c.; and does not occur in the NEW TESTAMENT. It was borrowed from the *Heathen philosophy*, the *Grecian*, especially the *Platonic*, which was borrowed from the *Orphic*, and that from the *Egyptian*, and ultimately, from the *Jewish*, or *Hebrew* Theology. And the doctrine itself was gradually corrupted in its progress from the pure spring of ORIGINAL REVELATION, by the heterogeneous admixture of *fabulous mythology*, and *vain philosophy*. An account of the *ancient Trinities* may be seen in those copious repositories of ancient *wisdom* and *foolishness*, the learned works of *Cudworth*, *Gale*, *Stillingfleet*, *Brucker*, and the *Asiatic Researches*. They shall be briefly noticed, please God, in the *Appendix* to the fourth volume, on the *Primitive Theology* and *its Corruptions*. It is only to the profound and sublime philosophy of SCRIPTURE, derived from *Revelation*, that we owe any rational and consistent notions on this most abstruse and mysterious subject.

The most ancient Book of *Job* recognizes THE DEITY under different conceptions, THE MOST HIGH, or ALMIGHTY GOD, THE REDEEMER or INTERCESSOR, the SPIRIT OF GOD, or the HOLY ONE. And it speaks of the *Privy Council* of GOD *, xv. 8. See the foregoing Analysis of that Book.

* The Hebrew term, סוּד, (*Sod*), is variously rendered in our English Bible, “*secret*,” Job xv. 8; “*assembly*,” Psalm lxxxix. 7, and “*counsel*,” Jer. xxiii. 18; it ought to be uniformly rendered “*privy council*,” in all.

Of this “*privy council of God*,” *Job* seems to speak in the beginning; in that “*day*, when the sons of GOD, or the holy angels, came to present themselves before THE LORD,” Job i. 6, (see Vol. II. p. 60,) and the Prophet *Micah*, to *Ahab*, “*I saw THE LORD*

In the Book of *Genesis*, compiled, perhaps, partly from ancient records, *Moses*, the inspired historian, represents the world as the production of two or more Divine Beings, "THE GOD who *created* the heavens and earth; THE SPIRIT OF GOD, who quickened the *chaotic* mass, and THE GOD *who spake*," or the ORACLE OF THE LORD, who conducted the process of the visible creation, Gen. i. 1—3. He distinguishes A visible LORD from THE invisible LORD *in heaven*, xix. 24; and he alludes to *Job's privy council* of GOD, iii. 22, xi. 7.

David, that inspired Prophet, likewise distinguishes THE LORD from THE MESSIAH, REGENT, or SON OF GOD, Psalm ii. and cx, (See Vol. II. p. 366,) and notices THE HOLY SPIRIT OF GOD, Psalm li. And *Etham*, his contemporary, notices *the privy council of the saints*, Psalm lxxxix. 7.

The wise *Agar* asks, "What is GOD'S *name*, and what is HIS SON'S *name*?" Prov. xxx. 4.

Daniel notices THE SON OF GOD, iii. 25; and *Jeremiah* speaks of *the privy council of THE LORD*, xxiii. 18.

The doctrine, indeed, of the three persons of the Godhead,

sitting on *his throne*, and all *the host of heaven* standing by Him, on his right hand, and on his left," 1 Kings xxii. 19; the Prophet *Daniel* also, in that sublime vision of the ANCIENT OF DAYS, seated in judgment, where "the *thrones* were placed, and *thousands of thousands of angels* ministered unto Him, and *myriads of myriads* stood before Him," Dan. vii. 9, 10. The Prophet *Zechariah* describes "the *seven [angels]* that are the *eyes of the LORD*, which run to and fro through the whole earth," Zech. iv. 10; the angel *Raphael* says, "I am one of the *seven holy angels* which present the prayers of the *saints*, and which go in and out before the glory of THE HOLY ONE," Tobit xvi. 15; and in similar language the angel who appeared to *Zechariah* the priest, says, "I am *Gabriel*, that stand in the presence of GOD," Luke i. 19. *John*, in the *Apocalypse*, greets the seven Churches of *Asia Minor*, "Grace be unto you, and peace from [GOD THE FATHER,] *who is*, and *who was*, and *who is to come*; and from the *seven spirits*, who are before *his throne*; and from JESUS CHRIST, the *faithful witness*," &c. i. 4, iv. 1—5, "who hath the *seven spirits of GOD*" at his command, Rev. iii. 1. And *Paul*, by the most solemn adjuration to *Timothy*, says, "I strictly charge thee, before GOD, and THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the *elect angels*, that thou observe these directions," &c. 1 Tim. v. 21, where the anarthrous term, *Κυριον*, is equivalent to *τοῦ Κυριου*, in the parallel passage, 2 Tim. iv. 1, and is therefore rightly rendered, "THE LORD," in the English; contrary to Mr. *Sharp's* rendering, "before JESUS CHRIST, THE GOD and LORD, and before the *elect angels*," &c. *Remarks on the Definite Article*, p. 38, 39, which is also rejected by *Middleton*, p. 544, 563, 567, who adheres to the common translation.

The "*seven holy angels*" or "*elect angels*," are generally understood by commentators to denote THE HOLY SPIRIT, of whose "*seven fold gifts*," they are the representatives, 1 Cor. xii. 7—11: 1. Because they occupy the place of the HOLY SPIRIT, or third person of THE GODHEAD, in the foregoing greeting and adjuration; and 2. From the prohibition of *invocation of angels*, Matt. iv. 10, Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9.

seems to have been fully established in the *Jewish Church*, at the coming of CHRIST. *John* evidently recorded it, as the received doctrine, when he testified that THE FATHER declared JESUS, by a voice from heaven, to be HIS BELOVED SON, and THE HOLY SPIRIT rested upon him at baptism. The doctrine is found in the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, and in *Philo*. The *Jews* only doubted, or denied, that JESUS was that SON.

The latter Rabbins* acknowledge that there is a remarkable mystery, couched in the various pointing of the divine name, in the *Masorete* text, where it is thrice repeated in the solemn blessing ordained to be pronounced upon the congregation of *Israel*, by *Aaron* and the priest, Numb. vi. 24—26.

1. " THE LORD (יהוה) bless thee and keep thee ;
2. THE LORD (יהוה) make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee ;
3. THE LORD (יהוה) lift up his face upon thee, and give thee peace."

The mystery concealed in these repetitions of the sacred name, is best, perhaps, explained by that mighty master of *Hebrew* learning, bred at the feet of the sage *Gamaliel*, the Apostle *Paul*, in the *evangelical* blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

1. " The grace of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,
 2. And the love of GOD,
 3. And the fellowship of THE HOLY GHOST,
- Be with you all. Amen."

And the pious *Christian* will thus gratefully combine both together, according to the *analogy of faith*.

- " GOD THE FATHER bless and keep us through his love ;
 GOD THE SON make his face shine upon us, and be gracious unto us through his
 grace ;
 GOD the HOLY GHOST lift up his face upon us, and give us peace, through his
 fellowship."

In the *Jewish* and *Christian* blessings, the order of the first and second clauses, we see, is reversed ; the latter, beginning

* " The *Mosaic* records brought down the notion of a TRINITY from the earliest ages. The modern *Jews* contend against this fact, that they may not seem to countenance an argument for the truth of Christianity ; but if they read their own *Targums*, they will see that their forefathers confessed it ; as in the following instance : " Come and see the mystery of the word ELOHIM. There are THREE DEGREES, and each degree is sole : Notwithstanding, they are ONE ; and are united into one ; nor is one of them divided from another." *R. Simeon ben Jochai*, in *Zohar*, ad 6 section. *Levit.* cited by *Buchanan* in his *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 247, Edit. 2.

with THE SON; perhaps to intimate that it is by JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD, or Spiritual Sovereign, that we, sinful mortals, have “*access unto THE FATHER,*” or “*boldness to approach Him with confidence,*” “*by ONE SPIRIT,*” Eph. ii. 18, iii. 12. For there is but “*ONE GOD [SUPREME,] and ONE MEDIATOR between GOD and man, THE MAN CHRIST JESUS, who gave himself as a ransom in the stead of all mankind,*” 1 Tim. ii. 5.

The benefits we owe to the EVER BLESSED TRINITY, are distinctly intimated in the several operations of *creating, redeeming, sanctifying LOVE.* “*Every good gift, and every perfect grace, is from above, coming down from THE FATHER OF LIGHTS [and PERFECTIONS,] (Urim and Thummim, Exod. xxviii. 30,) James i. 17.* And these gifts are distributed by their joint agency. CHRIST “*received gifts*” from THE FATHER, which “*He gave unto men,*” through the HOLY SPIRIT; compare Psalm lxxviii. 18, 19, with Eph. iv. 7—10, they are thus classed, 1 Cor. xii. 4—11.

Vers. 4. For there are differences of *gifts* [of *healings* *], but THE SAME SPIRIT;

* In the first class, *χαρισματα*, here, (1 Cor. xii. 4,) are afterwards explained, *χαρισματα ιαματων*, “*Gifts of healings,*” ver. 28, 30, and these seem to include the cure of *Demoniacs*, and of all manner of *diseases*, by laying hands on the sick, according to the general commission; clause the fourth. These are attributed to the HOLY SPIRIT: as the infliction of *diseases*, for correction or punishment, was called, “*to deliver up to Satan,*” or the *wicked spirit*, 1 Cor. v. 5, Acts xiii. 9—11.

In the second class, *διακονιαι*, “*ministries,*” include the different orders and degrees of *ministers* in the Church; which are noticed afterwards, as “*members, composing, in part, the body of CHRIST,*” or the corporation of *His Church*.

1. *Apostles*, 2. *Prophets*, 3. *Teachers*, 4. *Helpers, or Helpers*, 5. *Governments, or Governors*, the abstract being put for the concrete terms, ver. 27—29. The institution of these, therefore, is attributed to CHRIST.

In the third class, *ενεργηματα*, are afterwards explained, *ενεργηματα δυναμεων*, “*workings of miracles,*” ver. 10, and they to whom these were distributed, are afterwards called *δυναμεις*, “*workers of miracles,*” the abstract put for the concrete, ver. 29, and the word *ενεργηματα*, seems to intimate, that they were impelled to the exercise of these *miracles*, by an *inward operation of THE SPIRIT*. And these, as distinguished from the other gifts, may denote those *extraordinary miracles* wrought by the chief Apostles, *Peter and Paul*, such as curing diseases by the *shadow* of the former, or by *handkerchiefs* taken from the latter, *raising the dead*, handling *serpents*, drinking *deadly potions*, unhurt, &c. These, therefore, are attributed to GOD.

The other gifts of the Spirit, enumerated here by the Apostle, 1. The word of *wisdom*, 2. The word of *knowledge*, 3. *Faith*, 4. *Prophecy*, 5. *Discernings of spirits*, 6. Different *kinds of tongues*, 7. *Interpretation of tongues*, were peculiarly necessary for the different orders and degrees of the *ministry*, from the highest to the lowest, in order to qualify

5. And differences of *ministries* [*in the Church,*] but THE SAME LORD.

6. And differences of *workings* [*of miracles,*] but it is THE SAME GOD who *worketh all in all*.

7. But to each is given the *manifestation* of [*the gifts of*] *the Spirit*, for the [*common*] *advantage*.

11. But all these [various gifts] worketh THE ONE AND THE SAME SPIRIT, distributing severally to each, according as HE willeth, 1 Cor. xii. 4—11. In this most mysterious passage, diversities of gifts are ascribed to the three Beings, which are all ultimately attributed to the one Being, who is called *το ἐν και το αυτο Πνευμα*, “THE ONE AND THE SAME SPIRIT,” and who seems to coincide with “THE FATHER OF LIGHTS, WITH WHOM IS NO VARIABLENESS NOR SHADOW OF CHANGE,” according to *James* i. 17, whose *Hebrew* name, IAH, signified “ONE AND THE SAME,” *Isa.* xxvi. 4, and who was described as “UNCHANGEABLE,” *Mal.* iii. 6. But in a subject so profound and unfathomable, *how* HE is *solely* the cause of effects, above *severally* ascribed to THE SPIRIT, THE LORD, and THE GOD, we know not, we understand not. See *Middleton's* excellent note, p. 481—483.

“The *world* by *wisdom* knew not GOD,” 1 Cor. i. 21. “Such *knowledge* is too *wonderful* and *excellent* for *mortals*; they cannot attain to it,” *Psalm* cxxxix. 6. It is to *revelation* only that we are indebted for any clear and distinct ideas of THE GODHEAD. Not affecting, therefore, to be *wise above what is written*, we shall proceed, with awful reverence, to sketch what THE HOLY SCRIPTURES have unfolded respecting the several Beings, (or *Persons*, as they are commonly styled,) who compose the “TRINITY in UNITY;” not presuming to enter into their *metaphysical* nature, which is alto-

them for the due discharge of their respective offices and functions in the Church. And all these various gifts were distributed severally to each person, as fitted to his station, for the public good.

Lord *Barrington*, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, has given an elaborate essay on the *teaching* and *witness* of the SPIRIT, Vol. I. p. 101—341, which contains much valuable matter; and in p. 166, a *table*, harmonizing the several *gifts of the Spirit*, scattered throughout this twelfth chapter. But it is rather perplexed and embarrassed, and in some places inaccurate; as where he supposes that “*helps*” answer to “*prophecy*,” and “*governments*” to “*discerning of spirits*.” The above attempt, it is humbly hoped, will be found clearer and plainer, and more consistent with the context, in this most abstruse and difficult part, perhaps, of the abstruse and difficult writings of *St. Paul*.

gether “*incomprehensible* * to mortals,” Matt. xi. 27, Luke x. 22.

* The creed, commonly called the *Athanasian*, justly declares “THE FATHER *incomprehensible*, THE SON *incomprehensible*, and the HOLY GHOST *incomprehensible*.” There it should have stopped, and not have plunged into the ensuing contradiction; “and yet there are not *three incomprehensibles*, &c. but *one incomprehensible*!” thus defining what was allowed to be undefineable; adopting the *metaphysical* subtleties and distinctions of the *schoolmen*, (by some of whom it was probably composed;) introducing *unscriptural* terms, “*Trinity, coeternal, coequal*,” &c. and perverting the scriptural term, “*unity*,” signifying *union*, or *unanimity*, (see this Vol. p. 152, note, and p. 196.) into a *personal* sense, and even denying the express declarations of Scripture, “and in THIS TRINITY, none is *afore* or *after* other; none is *greater* or *less* than *another*;” whereas, THE FATHER is “*afore*” the SON, in order of precedence, (Mal. i. 6,) and THE SON himself declares, “THE FATHER is *greater* than I,”—“is *greater* than *all*,” (John x. 29, xiv. 28;) the creed, also, inconsistently admitting afterwards, that “THE SON is *inferior* to THE FATHER, as touching his *manhood*.”

We cannot, therefore, but regret its admission from the *Romish* into our *reformed*, and truly *evangelical Liturgy*, and express our wish, with the honest and candid Archbishop Tillotson, that “*the Church were well rid of it*,” as a *stumbling-block* to those that are within its pale, and a *scandal* to those that are without, and as furnishing a specious *pretext* for those deplorable *schisms* which are now, alas, rending the vitals of the Established Church.—*Unitas irrationaliter collecta hæresin facit; Trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituit*.—*Veritatem male accipit idiotæ quisque aut perversus*.—Tertull.

How widely different was the caution of that illustrious philosopher, *Newton*, in his admirable description of THE DEITY, in the *Scholium generale* of his immortal *Principia*, p. 528, concluding with this reflection:

“As a *blind man* has no idea of *colours*, so we have no idea of the *modes* in which GOD MOST WISE *perceives* and *understands all things*. He is totally void of *all body*, and *bodily figure*, and therefore can neither be *seen*, nor *heard*, nor *touched*; neither ought HE to be *worshipped* under the appearance of any thing *corporeal*. We have ideas of His *attributes*, but we know nothing at all of the *substance* of any thing.—We know not their *intimate substances* by any act of *sensation* or *reflexion*; and much less have we the remotest idea of the SUBSTANCE OF GOD. We know Him only by his *properties* and *attributes*, by the *wisest* and *best structures* of things, and by *final causes*. We admire him for his *perfections*, and we worship Him for his PROVIDENTIAL DOMINION”——“He rules *all*, not as the [*material*] *soul of the world*, but as [the *spiritual*] LORD OF THE UNIVERSE, and on account of his [*universal*] DOMINION, is called Παντοκράτωρ.—And from his true dominion it follows, that the TRUE GOD is [EVER-] LIVING, INTELLIGENT, and POWERFUL; from his other perfections, that He is SUPREME, or SUPREMELY PERFECT,” &c.

The following is the admirable *philosophical* reflexion of his illustrious predecessor, Lord Bacon.

“In the entrance of *philosophy*, when the *second causes*, most obvious to the senses, offer to the mind, we are apt to cleave unto them, and dwell too much upon them, so as to *forget* what is superior in nature; but when we pass further, and behold the *dependency* and *confederacy* of *causes*, and the *works* of PROVIDENCE, then, according to the poets, we easily perceive that the *highest link* of *nature’s chain* must be tied to the *foot* of JUPITER’S *chair*; that PHILOSOPHY, like *Jacob’s* vision, discovers to us a *ladder*, whose top reaches up to the *footstool* of the *throne* of GOD.”

HINC OMNE PRINCIPIUM, HUC REFER EXITUM.—Hor.

1. THE SUPREME BEING is described throughout, in the most awful, sublime, and magnificent terms our puny intellects are able to conceive. He is represented as pervading and upholding the universe, as "filling *heaven* and *earth* with his *presence*; the *heaven of heavens* cannot contain," or confine HIM, Job xi. 7—9; xxiii. 3—9; Psalm cxxxix. 1—9; 1 Kings viii. 27; Jer. xxiii. 24. He is more particularly described as being "SPIRIT," John iv. 23; "THE ONE AND THE SAME SPIRIT," 1 Cor. xii. 11; and THE FATHER of *Spirits*, Heb. xii. 9; He is LIGHT, and in him is no darkness at all, 1 John i. 5; THE FATHER of *lights*, James i. 17; He is LOVE, 1 John iv. 8, the infinite and inexhaustible source of all that is *good*, and *fair*, and *lovely*, throughout the universe; to whom the SON OF HIS LOVE, Col. i. 13, with the profoundest modesty and humility, ascribed all his own *goodness* and *greatness*, Matt. xix. 17, John v. 30, xiv. 28, as HIS FATHER and HIS GOD, no less than OUR FATHER and OUR GOD, John xx. 17: for *we* are all HIS *offspring*, in whom *we live*, and *move ourselves*, and *are*, Acts xvii. 28; THE GOD, and FATHER of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, 2 Cor. xi. 31, the ONE GOD and FATHER OF ALL, who is *above all*, and *through all*, and *in us all*, Eph. iv. 6, who is *greater than all*, John x. 29; The ONLY TRUE GOD, John xvii. 3; the ONLY WISE GOD, Rom. xvi. 27; the ONLY GOOD GOD, Matt. xix. 17; THE BLESSED and ONLY POTENTATE, THE KING OF THE REIGNING KINGS, and LORD OF THE RULING LORDS*, who ONLY HATH IMMORTALITY, *inhabiting light inaccessible*; THE KING ETERNAL, INVISIBLE, whom *none of mankind saw, at any time, nor is able to see*; To HIM *be honour and glory for evermore*. Amen. 1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 15, 16; John i. 18.

2. THE SON OF GOD is described in terms of equal grandeur and magnificence, as "THE IMAGE, or visible representative OF THE INVISIBLE GOD, *the effulgence of HIS glory, the impress of HIS subsistence, upholding the universe by the dictate*

* This is a closer rendering of the original, ὁ βασιλευς των βασιλευοντων και κυριος των κυριεοντων. The received, "THE KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS," does not sufficiently discriminate this title of THE FATHER, 1 Tim. vi. 15, from "KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS," the proper rendering of βασιλευς βασιλεων και κυριος κυριων, the title of CHRIST, Rev. xix. 16, conferred on Him by THE FATHER, Phil. ii. 9, who is "THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT," κυριος ὁ Θεος ὁ Παντοκρατωρ, Rev. xix. 6.

of HIS POWER; THE ORACLE, who was in the beginning—before the world was,—with GOD THE FATHER, and had glory with HIM before the foundation of the world, as GOD THE SON, by whom were all things made, and without whom was not any thing made that hath been; the FIRST BORN of all creation, by whom GOD made the worlds; for by Him were all things made, both in the heavens and upon the earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or lordships, or principalities, or authorities; all things were made by Him, and for Him; and HE is before all things, and in Him all things consist, John i. 1—18; Col. i. 15—17; Heb. i. 1—3; John xvii. 5—24.

This ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD, full of grace and truth, “subsisting in form of God, reckoned to be GODLIKE, not a matter of usurpation [to be seized*, but rather of reward to be earned, and therefore] exhausted himself [of his divine form,] assuming a servile form, being born in the likeness of men. And having been found in figure as a man, HE HUMBLED HIMSELF, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the

* Ουκ ἀρπαγμα ἡγήσατο το ειναι ισα Θεω. The phrase ισα Θεω was shewn before to be equivalent to ισοθεως, “Godlike,” (see this Vol. p. 100, note,) to which we may add these examples, τιμην δε λελογχασι ισα θεοισι. “They were allotted Godlike honour,” Odys. XI. 304. τον νυν ισα θεω Ιθακησιοι εισορωσι, “whom now the Ithacans respect as Godlike,” Odys. xv. 519.

The expression ἀρπαγμα signifies hasty “seizure” of honours or rewards, without waiting till they be duly earned, and conferred for services performed. Thus *Plutarch* says of *Alexander* the Great, ου γαρ ληστρικως την Ασιαν καταδραμων, ουδε ωσπερ ἀρπαγμα και λαφυρον ευτυχιας ανελπιστου σπαραζαι και ανασυρασθαι διανοηθεις. “For he did not, robber like, overrun *Asia*, nor did he design to ravage and plunder it, as a booty and spoil of unexpected good fortune.” So *Æschines*, μη ἀρπαζε την φιλοτιμιαν, “Seize not the meed of honour;” and *Cicero*, Sapiens Virtutis honorem præmium haud prædam petit. “The wise seeks the honour of virtue as a reward, and not a prey.” And so *Vopiscus*, Discant qui regna cupiunt, non raptum ire imperia, sed mereri; “Let the ambitious learn, not hastily to seize empires, but to deserve them.”

Horace has a remarkable passage in his praise of *Pallas*, the goddess of wisdom, the immediate offspring of *Jove*.

Unde nil majus generatur IPSO (PARENTE)
Proximos ILLI tamen occupavit
PALLAS honores.

Here *Pallas* is said to “occupy” as an heritage, not by usurpation, “the honours next to THE FATHER,” by a striking resemblance to her prototype, the true ORACLE, or WISDOM.

cross*. Wherefore, GOD also transcendantly exalted Him, and bestowed on Him THE NAME ABOVE EVERY NAME; that at the name of JESUS every knee should bow, of celestial, terrestrial, and infernal beings, and every tongue profess that JESUS CHRIST is LORD, to GOD THE FATHER'S glory," Phil. ii. 6—11; Rev. xix. 16.

"Though he were a SON, yet learned he obedience from his sufferings; and having been perfected [thereby] became author of eternal salvation to all that obey Him,—that look up to the author and finisher of their faith, JESUS: who, for the joy proposed to Him, endured the cross*, despising shame, and sate down on the right hand of GOD,—when HE was ordained SON OF GOD, in power, by THE SPIRIT, on his resurrection from the dead; who Himself is THE HEAD of the corporation of the Church, THE BEGINNING, THE FIRST-BORN OF THE DEAD; that he might become PRESIDENT in all; as THE FIRST, and THE LAST, and THE LIVING; who became dead, and lo! he is LIVING FOR EVERMORE, Amen, and holds the keys of Hades and of Death.—To HIM, who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and made us kings and priests unto GOD HIS FATHER, be glory and dominion for evermore, Amen," Heb. v. 8, 9, xii. 2, Rom. i. 4, Col. i. 18, Rev. i. 5—18.

3. The personality of the HOLY SPIRIT, and his functions, are clearly described in the NEW TESTAMENT. He is plainly distinguished from THE FATHER and from THE SON, in the instituted form of *Baptism*, in the general *benediction*, and in the *spiritual gifts* and *graces* which He jointly confers with them, on the faithful, as we have seen. And his functions, 1. To be *another advocate* for us with THE FATHER, in addition to CHRIST our advocate; for HE jointly assisteth our infirmities, and intercedeth for us, with groanings unutterable, John xiv. 16, xvi. 7, 1 John ii. 1, Rom. viii. 26. 2. To be a powerful advocate with the Apostles, with the world, convincing the world, by their preaching, of sin, and righteousness, and judgment, and thereby making numerous proselytes to the

* In both these passages, Phil. ii. 8, and Heb. xii. 2, *σταυρος*, without the article, does not signify "a cross," or the individual cross on which Christ suffered; as imagined by Bishop Middleton, on the Greek article, p. 607, but rather that particular mode of punishment, *crucifixion*, as distinguished from all others.

Christian faith, John xvi. 8—11. 3. To bring all CHRIST'S sayings to their recollection, and *guide them into all the truth*, guarding their *preaching* and *writings* from error; and to shew them *things to come*, John xvi. 13; and 4. To *regenerate* and *sanctify* the *faithful* to the end of the world, John iii. 5, Tit. iii. 5, 1 Cor. vi. 11.

REGENERATION BY BAPTISM AND THE SPIRIT.

In steering our course through this mysterious, but most important subject, so as to avoid the opposite extremes of *enthusiasm* and *scepticism*, by which it has been either disgraced or denied, we shall be guided by the pole star of OUR LORD'S discourse with *Nicodemus*; which contains the fundamental doctrines of *regeneration*, *justification*, and *sanctification*, so important to all *Christians* rightly to know and understand.

This profound discourse, the occasion of which was noticed before, (see this Vol. p. 89,) opens with a respectful enquiry, on the part of *Nicodemus*, concerning the true way to salvation, from a *divine teacher*, as he acknowledged JESUS to be, from his signal *miracles*, both in his own opinion, and in that of others, we may suppose, the best informed.

“Rabbi, *we know* that thou art *a teacher come from GOD*; for none can do these *miracles* that thou doest, except GOD be with him,” John iii. 1, 2.

JESUS answered, “Verily, verily I say unto thee, except *any one be born anew**, he cannot see *the kingdom of GOD*,” ver. 3.

This figurative *new birth*, OUR LORD afterwards expressed more plainly to his disciples.

“Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye be *converted*, and become *as little children*, ye shall by no means enter into the *kingdom of heaven*,” Matt. xviii. 3, for “*of such* is the kingdom of heaven” attainable, Matt. xix. 14; such only as resemble *babes* in their leading characters of *humility*, *simplicity*, *innocency*, and *docility*, John i. 48, Matt. xviii. 4, xi. 25, Luke xii. 36, Matt. xxi. 16, 1 Pet. ii. 2. So *David* described the *MESIAH*, Psalm cxxxix. 1, 2.

* The original term *ανωθεν*, here should be rendered “*anew*,” corresponding to *δευτερον*, “*a second time*,” in the next verse. The full phrase, *παλιν ανωθεν*, “*again anew*,” Gal. iv. 9, is equivalent to *παλιν εκ δευτερου*, “*again a second time*,” Matt. xxvi. 42.

Understanding this *new birth* literally, *Nicodemus* expressed his surprise: "How can a man be *born* when he is old? Can he enter a *second time* into his mother's womb, and be born?" ver. 4.

Our Lord then, in reply, explained more fully its true figurative nature, by stating the *means* of procuring it, and its absolute necessity to salvation, from the *infirmity* and *corruption* of *human nature*, or of mankind in their *natural* state.

"Verily, verily I say unto thee, except *any one* be *born* [*anew*] of *water* and THE SPIRIT, he cannot enter into the *kingdom of God*," ver. 5, 6.

By *water*, in this place, we understand, with the *liturgy*, *articles*, and *ablest divines* of the Church of England*, *water-baptism*, and not merely with some *sectaries*, symbolical *purification* in general, for the following reasons.

1. OUR LORD here states the necessity of a higher *baptism* than that of *John*, with which *Nicodemus* must have been acquainted; and the insufficiency of which, *John* himself acknowledged, as ministering only to *repentance*; whereas the ensuing baptism of CHRIST was to be more efficacious, as being the baptism of the HOLY SPIRIT, unto *regeneration*, as shewn before, in the foregoing article of *John the Baptist*. See this Vol. p. 65.

2. And this is confirmed by the analogy between our Lord's doctrine here, and in his last commission to his Apostles; in which they were expressly required to *baptize* all nations with *water*, in the name of the HOLY TRINITY, to entitle them to *initiation* into the kingdom of heaven, or to the privileges of the Christian covenant, of which this peculiar mode of *baptism*, was to be the *instrument*, or *stipulated* condition, on GOD'S part, of *granting salvation*; as *faith* is required on our part, as the *indispensable* condition of receiving it.

3. And if we look to the practice of the Apostles, as the best explanation of the precept in question, we shall find, that all the converts who professed their *faith* or belief in the efficacy of CHRIST'S *atonement* for the sins of mankind, were invariably *baptized* in token of their conversion. Such as the *first fruits* of the Christian Church on the day of Pentecost, who witnessed

* See especially, *Waterland's* masterly Sermons on *Regeneration* and *Justification by Faith*, for the *scriptural* and *orthodox* doctrines of the *primitive Church* on these important articles. They are now scarce, and have lately been reprinted in the *Churchman's Remembrancer*, Vol. I. p. 1807. 8vo. Rivingtons.

the *baptism of THE SPIRIT*, in the form of *fire*, on the *Apostles* and their company, as foretold by *John*, Acts ii. 41; *Saul*, or *Paul*, Acts xxii. 16; *Simon Magus*, Acts viii. 13; the *Ethiopian Chamberlain*, Acts viii. 25—28; *Cornelius* and his friends, Acts xx. 44—48; the *jailor at Philippi*, Acts xvi. 30—34; the twelve disciples of *John the Baptist*, Acts xix. 2—7, &c.

4. The universality of the practice, satisfactorily explains also, the meaning of the indefinite term, *τις*, “*any one*,” in our Lord’s answer; by shewing that it must be understood universally, as equivalent to *πας*, “*every one*,” corresponding to his last commission to the Apostles, “to publish the Gospel to *all the creation*:—He that *believeth*, and is *baptized*, shall be *saved*; but he that *disbelieveth*, shall be *damned*; for “*He*” here signifies “*whosoever*,” or “*every one*.”

Though *baptism* is here considered as a necessary condition of *salvation*, in addition to *belief*; yet it is remarkable, that *damnation* is threatened only to *disbelief*, or obstinate unbelief without including the omission of *baptism*. This, *Waterland* remarks, may perhaps be a reserved case, in which GOD may dispense with the general rule of *baptism*, in favour of such as may not have the means or opportunity of performing this rite; as in the case of the *penitent* malefactor on the cross; or in sudden emergencies. At the same time, since the *Christian covenant* holds forth no engagement to *save mankind*, or make them heirs of *eternal life*, without the performance of this rite; *baptism* must be considered as the *ordinary* standing *instrument*, or *conveyance* of *Gospel salvation* on GOD’S part; and therefore, no person who neglects or despises it, can properly be entitled to those privileges. Hence *Quakers*, who explain away one part of the institution, *water baptism*, and hold only the other, the *baptism of THE SPIRIT* *, as if the former were only symbolical of the latter, seem to run a great risk of their salvation, by disobeying a positive rite prescribed by CHRIST, not only in his own name, but in that of the whole TRINITY, and practised by his *Apostles*.

The necessity of this initiatory sacrament, further appears from its *symbolical* nature.

Baptism, (βαπτισμα,) “*dipping*,” or “*immersion*” in water,

* As the *Quakers* have curtailed one part of the sacrament of *baptism*, so have the *Romanists* one part of the sacrament of the *Lord’s supper*, by denying the cup to the *laity*.

is a figurative *death* and *burial*, and “*rising again*,” or “*emersion*,” out of the water, is a figurative *resurrection*, Rom. vi. 3, 4, and well represents, in the scriptural language of our *Church Catechism*, “a *death* unto *sin*, and a *new birth* unto *righteousness*. For *being by* [our *fleshly*] *nature born in sin*, [or prone to sinning, and thereby] *children of wrath*, [or obnoxious to Divine punishment,] *we are hereby* [invested with a *spiritual nature*, ‘putting off the *old man*, and putting on the *new*,’ and] made *children of grace*,” [or heirs of eternal salvation, through CHRIST.] Compare Ephes. ii. 3—6, Col. iii. 1—10, Ephes. ii. 8.

Our Church, therefore, rightly considers *the baptized*, whether *infants* or *adult*, immediately after the ceremony is performed, as “*regenerate*, and grafted into the body of *Christ’s Church*.” See the Offices of *Baptism* for both.

Though no instances but of adult baptism are noticed in the NEW TESTAMENT, yet, that *infant baptism* was also practised from the beginning, may fairly be inferred from the analogy of this rite to that of *circumcision* in the *patriarchal* and *Jewish Church*, which it superseded in the *Christian*. And it was usually admitted within the eighth day, by the primitive Christians. Hence that admonition in our *Rubrick*, that “The people defer not the baptism of their children longer than the first or second *Sunday*, or *holy day*, after their birth; unless upon a great and reasonable cause.”

It was the opinion of several early Fathers of the Church, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyril*, *Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Ammonius*, *Damascen*, &c. that the *water* applied in baptism, secured, or sealed, as it were, *the body* to a happy resurrection; while THE SPIRIT more immediately sealed the *soul*; and so the *whole man* was understood to be *cleansed*, *sanctified*, and *accepted* by GOD in baptism. Which seems to be countenanced by the following texts, Titus iii. 5, Ephes. v. 25, 26, Rom. xv. 16, 1 Thess. v. 23.

Baptism once administered, is effectual unto *regeneration*, on GOD’s part, and need not be repeated. As there is but ONE LORD, and *one faith*, so there is but “*one baptism*” once performed, Eph. iv. 5. For as the *natural* birth happens but once, so does the *spiritual*. The grant of *regeneration* subsists in force after baptism, though its efficacy depends upon performance of the *conditions* of the covenant then made, (namely,

repentance, faith, and obedience,) for the *privileges* may be vacated, or forfeited, unless we walk in *newness of life*. And *lapsed* converts, in Scripture, such as *Simon Magus*, Acts viii. 22; the revolting Churches of *Asia Minor*, Rev. ii. 5—16, iii. 3—19; the wicked prophetess, *Jezebel*, Rev. ii. 20, 21, &c. are no where exhorted to be *born anew*, or *regenerated*, after they had been once baptized; but frequently to *repent*, to be *converted*, to be *renewed* in the *spirit of their mind*, or *transformed* by the *renewing of their mind*, Acts iii. 19, Ephes. iv. 23, Rom. xii. 2, upon which they may be *reinstated* in their former privileges.

Hence the *Anabaptists* and General *Baptists*, who re-baptize infants after they become adult, seem to perform a work of *supererogation*, running into the opposite extreme from the *Quakers*.

RENOVATION AND SANCTIFICATION BY THE LORD'S SUPPER, AND THE SPIRIT.

Renovation, or reformation of life, is not to be confounded with *regeneration*. We can be *born anew* but once, because we can *live* but once in this present world. But we can *rise* and *recover* often, we can *grow*, and be *nourished* often with spiritual food, because we can *fall* often, and *offend* often, (Prov. xxiv. 16. The distinction is noticed expressly in the NEW TESTAMENT.) “We are *saved* by the washing, [or baptism,] of *regeneration*, and by the *renovation* of THE HOLY SPIRIT,” Tit. iii. 5; we are exhorted, as *Christians*, after admission into the Church, or *regeneration*, “to present our bodies a *living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God*, which is our *reasonable service*: not to be *conformed to this world*, but to be *transformed* by the *renewing* of our mind, to approve what is the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of GOD,” Rom. xii. 1, 2. And accordingly, the *reasonable service* of the Church of *England* prays, “That we being *regenerate*, and made GOD’S *children* by adoption and grace, may *daily* be *renewed* by his HOLY SPIRIT.” *Collect* for *Christmas* day.

And this necessity of *renovation* after *regeneration*, results from the *fleshly* part of man’s nature: “CHRIST, indeed, in the *truth of our nature*, was made like unto us in all things, *sin* only except; from which he was clearly void, both in *his flesh*

and in *his spirit*.”——“ But *all we*, the rest, although *baptized*, and *born again* in CHRIST, yet *offend* in *many things*.” Article XV.—“ And this *infection of nature* doth remain, yea in them that are *regenerated*; whereby *the lust of the flesh*, always contrary to *the Spirit*, (Rom. viii. 6, 7,) is not subject to the LAW OF GOD.” Article IX*.

Hence the *baptismal* prayer before the ceremony, “ That all *carnal affections* may *die* in him, and that all things belonging to *the Spirit*, may *live* and *grow* in him;” and again, after, “ that we who are [already] *baptized*, may *continually mortify* all our *evil* and *corrupt affections*, and *daily proceed* in all *virtue* and *godliness* of living.”

Thus does the cautious wisdom of our Church, guard against two dangerous errors of *enthusiasm*.

1. That *regeneration* is a state of *sinless perfection* †.

* When it is said in this ninth article, that “ *original, or birth sin*,”——“ in every person born into this world, *deserveth GOD’s wrath and damnation* ;”——to *deserve*, must signify “ to be *liable* or *subject* to,” as formerly “ to *merit*,” signified “ to *obtain* ;” as in the *Wittenberg* confession, “ We teach that *good works* are necessary to be done, and by the *free kindness* of GOD, they *merit* their certain rewards.” So *Hooker* observes of that latter, p. 25.

† Nothing can be more express, than the whole tenor of SCRIPTURE, both OLD and NEW, against this *presumptuous* doctrine of *sinless perfection*, so contrary to our just sense of the present *imperfection* of *human nature*, even in its most *improved* state.—“ Behold I was *shapen in iniquity*, and *in sin* did my mother *conceive* me,” Psalm li. 5. “ Enter not into *judgment* with thy servant, O LORD, for in thy sight shall no man living be *justified*,” Psalm cxliii. 2. “ If thou, LORD, shouldst *mark iniquities*, O LORD, who shall *stand!*” Psalm cxxx. 3. For “ there is *no man* that *sinneth not*,” either in *thought, word, or deed*, 1 Kings viii. 46. “ There is no *just man* upon earth, that *doeth good*, and *sinneth not*,” Eccles. vii. 20; “ *In many things we all slip*,” James iii. 2. “ If we say that we have *no sin*, we *deceive ourselves*, and *the truth is not in us*,” we deceive others also, 1 John i. 8. ART. XV.

When, therefore, we meet with such counter-declarations in Scripture, as that “ *Noah* was *perfect* in his generation,” Gen. vi. 9, that “ *David* followed GOD with *all his heart*, to do only what was *right in His eyes*,” 1 Kings xiv. 8, that “ *Zecharias* and his wife *Elizabeth*, were both righteous before GOD, walking in *all the commandments and ordinances* of THE LORD, *blameless*,” Luke i. 6, &c. we know, from their history, that they were far from “ *perfect*,” or absolutely “ *sinless*.” Such declarations, therefore, to preserve truth and consistency, must be understood in a *qualified* sense, as if such persons were, *comparatively, perfect* or *blameless* in their generation, though not *absolutely*. And when it is said, “ Every one that is *born of GOD*, *committeth not sin*, because HIS *seed* remaineth in him; and he *cannot sin*, because he is *born of GOD*,” 1 John iii. 9, if we suppose the Apostle to write consistently with his former declaration, he must mean that whosoever is *born of GOD*, by *spiritual regeneration*, at *baptism*, neither *doth nor can* live in the *allowed* commission of sin; that he cannot sin with *allowance, continuance, and satisfaction* to himself. For as Dr. *Doddridge* justly observes, “ unless the words be understood in a *qualified* sense, they would prove not only the *sinless perfection* of every

2. That the work of *conversion*, or *renovation*, (which they confound with *regeneration*,) is *instantaneous*, and produced by a sudden and irresistible *impulse** of the HOLY SPIRIT upon the mind; and that it is *sensible*, or perceptible by the individual himself, at some particular place, and particular time †.

regenerate person, but the *impossibility* of his sinning *any more*; contrary to *reason*, *Scripture*, and *experience*."

"The *perfect Christian*, indeed, according to the representation of Holy Writ, is he, who, as far as the *infirmity* of his nature will admit, *aspires* to universal holiness of life; uniformly and habitually endeavouring to *stand perfect and complete in all the will of God*, and to *fulfil all righteousness*, in humble imitation of HIS REDEEMER;—who daily and fervently prays for '*increase of faith*,' like the Apostles themselves; and strenuously labours to '*add to his faith virtue*, and to *virtue knowledge*, and to *knowledge temperance*, and to *temperance godliness*, and to *godliness brotherly kindness*, and to *brotherly kindness charity*.' Such is the assemblage of virtues necessary to constitute the character of the perfect Christian; ever aiming at, though never attaining to *absolute* or *sinless perfection*, in this present state of trial, probation, and preparation for a better; and meekly resting all his hopes of favour and acceptance with God, not on his own defective or imperfect righteousness, but on the *free grace* of GOD, through the *redemption* that is in CHRIST JESUS; for '*by grace we are saved through faith*;' and this, not of ourselves, '*it is the gift of GOD*;' not of *works*, lest any one should boast.' See my *Methodism Inspected*, part I. p. 30. And Dr. *Magee's* learned and elaborate work on *Atonement*, second edit. in which this question is fully and ably discussed.

* Dr. *Whitehead*, in his *Life of Mr. John Wesley*, has the following excellent remark on the pretensions "to *instantaneous* deliverance from *all sin*; giving credit to which, on the testimony of several of his followers, Mr. *Wesley* seems to have built thereon his doctrine of an *instantaneous* attainment of *Christian perfection*."

"This *instantaneous* manner of attaining perfection in the *Christian temper* seems to have no foundation in *SCRIPTURE*; it even appears contrary to *reason*, and to the *constitution* and *order* which God has established throughout all *animated nature*, where we see *no instance of any thing arriving at perfection in a moment*." *Whitehead's Life*, Vol. II. p. 291.

† *Waterland*, in his sermon on *Regeneration*, has the following profound observations.

"The setting up of a *private spirit*, on *imaginary inspiration*, as a *rule of conduct*, has been one of the subtlest engines of *Satan* in all past ages. GOD has permitted it, probably for the *trial* of his *faithful* servants, that they may be proved and exercised every way, I Cor. xi. 19, and may learn to be as much on their guard against any *surprize* of their *understandings*, as against any *seduction* of their *wills*.

"There are strong *temptations* inclining *forward* men to set up their pretensions to a private spirit. It flatters the *pride*, *laziness*, and *vanity* of corrupt human nature. Most men love to indulge their own way and lumour, and to get from under the sober standing rules of *order*, *decency*, and *regularity*. They would be their *own masters* and *law-givers*, and even make laws for *others*; and if they can but once persuade themselves, (and what will not blind *self-love* persuade a man into?) that they are *full of the Spirit*, Job xxii. 18, they soon grow regardless of the open laws of GOD and *man*, affecting to conduct both themselves and others by some *secret* rule of their own breasts. This is a very *dangerous self-deceit*, and not more dangerous than it has been *common*, in all ages and countries. If none but *hypocrites*, or *ill designing men* were to be drawn into this

To guard, we may presume, against such, our LORD next remarked to *Nicodemus* ;

“Marvel not that I said unto you, ye must needs be *born anew* : [as] *the wind* bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest *the sound* thereof, but *knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth* ; so is every one that is *born [anew]* of THE SPIRIT,” ver. 7, 8.

This beautiful and apposite illustration of the mysterious nature of the agency of THE SPIRIT in *regeneration*, seems to have been borrowed from *Solomon's* illustration of the mystery of *natural generation*.

“As thou *knowest not* what is *the way of the wind*,
Nor [how] *the bones* [grow] in the womb of the pregnant ;
So thou *knowest not the work of GOD*,
Who maketh all things.” Eccles. xi. 5.

And the *gradual growth* of the spiritual life in the *regenerate*, as well as its *imperceptibility* by the individual himself, is most happily illustrated in the following parable of OUR LORD.

“So is the [preparation for the] *kingdom of heaven*, as if a man should cast *seed* into the ground ; and though he sleep by night and rise by day, [following his ordinary occupation,] yet the seed should *spring* and *grow up, himself knoweth not how*. For the ground *spontaneously* beareth fruit ; first the *blade*, then the *ear*, then the *full corn* in the ear. But when the fruit, [or *grain*,] is produced, immediately he sendeth the [reapers] sickle, because *the harvest* is ready,” Mark iv. 26—29.

In this beautiful agricultural imagery, the seed of *grace* and *holiness* is sown in the heart at *baptism*, by the HOLY SPIRIT ; it *vegetates* and *grows imperceptibly*, the man himself *knows not how*, he being utterly unconscious of the *way* of THE

snare, the temptation would be but *coarsely* laid, and be less apt to deceive ; but the *well-meaning* pretenders to the Spirit, who through a secret unperceived *self-flattery*, or a complexional *melancholy*, first *deceive themselves*, they are of all men the fittest to *deceive others*, 2 Tim. iii. 13. Their *artless simplicity*, their *strong* and *endearing professions*, are very apt to win upon some of the *best natured*, and *best disposed*, though *unguarded Christians* ; which *the Tempter* knows full well, and he never exercises a *deeper*, or *more refined policy*, Rev. ii. 24, than when he can thus *decoy* some very sincere and devout Christians in a *pious way* ; turning their very *graces* into *snares*, and, as it were, foiling them with their own artillery.”

What fine painting, and intimate knowledge of the recesses of the human heart, is displayed in this masterly picture of the popular founders of *schisms* and leaders of *sects* !

SPIRIT, or his mode of operation, and can only judge by the *fruits*, or by his spiritual improvement, until the *harvest*, or *general resurrection*.

But although the *regenerate* be utterly unconscious* of the *manner* of his spiritual growth, he is not to be idle or inactive, as if the HOLY SPIRIT is to do every thing, and himself nothing. “*Giving all diligence, he must add to his faith virtue,*” or *morality*, and all the *Christian* graces, noticed as requisite to attain “*a divine nature,*” 2 Pet. i. 4—8: he must *work out his own salvation with fear and trembling*, mindful of his own *inability* and *insufficiency* without the Divine aid, and humbly acknowledging that “*it is GOD who worketh in us, by HIS SPIRIT, both to will and do what is right of his own good pleasure,*” Phil. ii. 12, 13.

As the sacrament of *baptism* is the prescribed mode of *regeneration*, or initiation into the privileges of the *Christian covenant*, so is the sacrament of the *Lord’s supper*, the instituted mode of *renovation, sanctification*, and gradual *perfection* of the *Christian life*, in the opinion of the foregoing primitive Fathers, and also of the Church of *England*, which, in her Catechism, states the *benefits* of communicating worthily to be “*the strengthening and refreshing of our souls, by the body and blood of CHRIST, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.*” The *Lord’s supper* is indeed the *Christian tree of life*, replanted by our gracious REDEEMER, and watered by his blood, “*for the healing of the nations,*” in the spiritual *paradise*, Rev. xxii. 1, 2.

In the primitive Church, the *Lord’s supper* was administered every Sunday, as intimated by the phrase of *breaking bread*, Acts ii. 42—46; xx. 7—11; 1 Cor. x. 6, &c. And *Justin Martyr* informs us, that “*after they had read a portion of Scripture, sung a hymn, preached and prayed, then they proceeded to the administration of the Eucharist.*” Apol. II. p. 27. In

* Some pious divines maintain a *sensible* witness of THE SPIRIT, or *experience* of his operations, from Rom. viii. 16. “*THE SPIRIT itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of GOD.*” This, perhaps, should rather be limited to the *Apostle*, and *Roman converts*, who had the *first fruits* of THE SPIRIT, or *spiritual gifts*, ver. 23. We will not, however, presume to deny, that the HOLY SPIRIT may furnish suitable consolations *after a well spent life*, and an *assurance* of God’s favour at the *hour of death*. But the surest criterion of “*being sons of God,*” is “*being led by the SPIRIT OF GOD*” in their conduct, ver. 14.

Cyprian's days they celebrated it both morning and evening. "That as CHRIST instituted the sacrament in the *evening*, to signify the evening and end of the world, so they celebrated it in the *morning*, to denote the resurrection of their Lord and Master." Epist. LXIII. p. 177. And so necessary did they hold the *early*, as well as the *frequent* participation of this holy rite, that at *Carthage* it was usual to administer it even to children. *Cyprian* relates, that when a nursing child disliked and refused to taste the sacramental wine, the *deacon* who administered it, compelled her to swallow it, notwithstanding her resistance, p. 284. This indeed was proceeding to a superstitious excess. In the present age, professing Christians run into the opposite error of omission; and, perhaps, one of the leading causes of the prevailing *lukewarmness* of the *times*, and decay of *vital religion* among *Churchmen*, is to be ascribed to the prevailing neglect and disuse of this most holy rite, by *old* and *young*, *rich* and *poor*, to their great loss and spiritual detriment.

Æque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æque,
Æque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.

Nicodemus, however, still objected to this mysterious doctrine of spiritual regeneration by *baptism* as incomprehensible. "*How can these things be?*" ver. 9.

JESUS, in his turn, expressed surprise at his slowness of apprehension, mixed with a gentle reproof of his ignorance; alledging, that it was taught by the *Baptist* as well as by himself, and contained in the Scriptures of the OLD TESTAMENT, and with which he, as a celebrated *teacher*, ought to have been better acquainted.

"Art thou the teacher of Israel, and knowest not these things? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, *we speak what we know*, and *testify what we have seen*, but *ye receive not our testimony*," ver. 10, 11.

The rudiments, indeed, of the doctrine of *regeneration* are to be found scattered through the *prophetic* Scriptures, the substance of which was extracted by our Divine Teacher.

1. The opening of our Lord's discourse bears a remarkable analogy to the miraculous change of the *elements of nature* in the plagues of the *Egyptians*, noticed in the Apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon*, xix. 6.

"For all the creation, in its proper kind, was fashioned again

anew, (παλιν ανωθεν διευπουτο,) ministering to **THY** commands, that **THY children** might be preserved *unhurt*." But in our Lord's application, the *change* of the *human creation* is equally possible with **GOD**, as the change of the *inanimate*.

2. The fallen *David*, after the matter of *Uriah*, supplicates for a *regeneration* of his *corrupt* nature, by the influence of the **HOLY SPIRIT**, and explicitly states the doctrine of *original sin*, founded in the *fleshly* nature of man, even from his *birth*, in his penitential Psalm li. See Vol. II. p. 343.

" Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity,
And cleanse me from my sin.—
Lo, I was shapen-in iniquity,
And in sin did my mother conceive me," &c.

Our Office of *baptism*, therefore, adopting this language, begins, "Forasmuch as *all men* are *conceived* and *born in sin*; and that our Saviour **CHRIST** saith, *None* can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be *regenerate*, and *born anew** of *water*, and of the **HOLY GHOST**," &c.

3. The Prophet *Jeremiah* thus describes the **NEW COVENANT** in the *regeneration* of all things.

" This shall be the **NEW COVENANT**, which I (**THE LORD**)
Will make with the house of *Israel*, and with the house of *Judah*.
After these days, saith **THE LORD**,
I will put **MY LAW** into their *inmost parts*,
And will write it upon their *heart* ;
And I will be *their God*,
And they shall be *my people*." Jer. xxxi. 33.

4. *Ezekiel*, also, more particularly describes the process of their *regeneration*, and their final *conversion*.

" Then will I *sprinkle pure water* upon you,
And ye shall be cleansed from all your *defilements*,
And I will cleanse you from all your *idols*.
I will also give you a *new heart*,
And will put into you a *new spirit* ;
And I will remove from your body the *stony* † heart,
And will give you a *fleshly* ‡ heart:
And I will put **MY SPIRIT** within you,
And will cause you to walk in *My statutes*,

* It is to be regretted, that our last Bible translators receded from this earlier and more correct version of John iii. 3—5.

† *Hard*, or obdurate.

‡ *Soft*, or tender.

And to keep *My commandments*,
 And to practise them.
 And ye shall be *My people*,
 And I will be *your God.*" Ezek. xxxvi. 25—28.

This noble prophecy foretels, in explicit terms, the usage of *baptism* by *sprinkling*, that was to prevail in the *Christian Church*. It was practised probably in the *Jewish Church*, as well as *immersion*, on the admission of proselytes. And it is likely, that the first fruits of the *Christian Church*, on *Whit-sunday*, were rather baptized by *sprinkling* than by immersion, on account of the known scarcity of water at *Jerusalem* at that season, when the brook *Kedron* was dry; and of the number, *three thousand*, baptized in one day, Acts ii. 41. The primitive fathers founded the practice of *sprinkling* on this prophecy, among others*.

* The practice of *infant baptism*, and by *sprinkling* as well as by *immersion*, in the *primitive Church*, is explicitly recorded by the early Fathers.

Origen declares, " *Infants* are baptized for the remission of sins. Of what sins? or committed at what time? or how can there subsist any reason for the laver, in the case of infants, except according to the scriptural expressions aforesaid, ' *What is man that he should be clean; and one born of a woman that he should be righteous?*' Job xv. 14; and, ' *When THE LORD shall have washed away the filth of the daughter of Sion, and shall have purged the blood from the midst of Jerusalem,*' Isa. iv. 4. None is clean from the filth, not even if he lived but *one day* upon the earth. Wherefore, because through the sacrament of baptism, the impurities of childbirth are purged away, therefore are infants baptized," in *Lucam, Homil. 14*. And he reckons them little children (*παιδια*,) or *infants*, (*νηπια*,) under *three* or *four* years old. *Comment. on Matt. Vol. I. p. 321*.

When a scruple was raised about the *time* of their baptism, whether they might be baptized before the *second* or *third* day after their birth, or before the *eighth* day, as observed with respect to *circumcision* under the *Mosaical* economy; it was decreed at an *African synod* of threescore and six bishops, held A. D. 254, that " *as GOD is no respecter of persons*, so neither of years, since He equally offers himself as a FATHER to all, for the attainment of his heavenly grace.— An infant, therefore, newly born, is not to be prohibited, who is guilty of no sin but of original, which he contracted in his carnal descent from Adam.—And new born infants, especially, still more deserve our aid, and the Divine mercy, because at the very instant of their birth, they implore it, as it were, by their cries and tears." See the decree at length, in *Lord Chancellor King's learned Worship, Ceremonies, &c. of the primitive Church*, p. 47—53.

This valuable work informs us, that " *baptism* by *immersion* was reckoned more solemn, and that they dipped the person to be baptized thrice under water, once at the naming of each person of the HOLY TRINITY; that as *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith, by this dedication to the BLESSED TRINITY, the person baptized might be delivered from the corrupt trinity, the Devil, the world, and the flesh, and be sealed through THE FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST," p. 72, 78.

But in cases of necessity, *immersion* was dispensed with, and *sprinkling* used, such as sickness, approaching death, and we may presume, the weakness of infancy. And such baptism, by *sprinkling*, was reckoned equally valid as by *immersion*, as *Cyprian* proves,

St. Paul evidently alludes to these prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, in the following beautiful imagery, addressed to his *Corinthian* converts.

“Ye, through our ministry, are manifested to be an *epistle of CHRIST*, written, not with *ink*, but with THE SPIRIT OF THE LIVING GOD; not on tables of *stone*, [like the law at *Sinai*] but on the fleshly tables of *the heart*.” 2 Cor. iii. 3.

5. *Joel*, in a signal prophecy, foretold the copious and general effusion of THE HOLY SPIRIT, in the *Christian* dispensation; which was so applied by the Apostle *Peter*, on the day of *Pentecost*.

“And it shall come to pass, in the *last days*, saith THE LORD, I will *pour out MY SPIRIT* upon *all flesh*,” &c. Joel ii. 28, Acts ii. 17, &c.

Thus were the elements of the mysterious doctrine of *spiritual regeneration* by *baptism*, taught in the Scriptures of the OLD TESTAMENT; and we make no doubt, that this argument from *prophecy*, to which our Lord referred *Nicodemus*, with this honest and candid enquirer, when afterwards considered at leisure, had no less weight in confirming his *faith*, than the argument from *miracles* had in producing it originally.

The world in general, however, our Lord declared, did not receive his testimony respecting these *lower* mysteries, much less would they receive it respecting the *higher*, such as the *atonement* of CHRIST, *justification by faith*, and the *general judgment* to be held by Him, to which He proceeds in the sequel.

“If I told you *earthly* things and ye believe not, how shall ye *believe* if I tell you *heavenly*?” ver. 12.

And it is remarkable, that *John the Baptist*, without any personal intercourse with CHRIST, foretold the same, shortly after: “What HE hath *seen* and *heard*, [from *heaven*,] this He testifieth, and *none receiveth His testimony*,” John iii. 32.

II. But why did not the *Jewish* and *Gentile* world receive

because it was never to be repeated. And he shews its validity from Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, Numb. xix. 19, 20, viii. 6, 7. “From whence,” says he, it appears, “that *sprinkling* is sufficient instead of *immersion*; and whenever it is performed with *entire faith*, both of the *giver* and *receiver*, is *perfect and complete*, ratified by the majesty of THE LORD, and by the truth of THE FAITH,” p. 75—77.

These considerations are well worthy of the serious attention of *Quakers*, *Baptists*, and *Anabaptists*.

OUR LORD'S testimony, supported as it was by *John's* testimony, and by such credentials of *miracles* and *prophecy* from *heaven*?

The question is interesting and important. And though OUR LORD, in this concise discourse, did not stop to answer it, the answer may be collected from his general testimony; namely, on account of their *prejudices* and their *passions*; to overcome which, was the great use of *spiritual regeneration* *.

The principal of these were *spiritual pride* and *self-sufficiency*, on the one hand, which were the grand obstacles to the reception of the GOSPEL among both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, 1 Cor. i. 23, and an *affected humility* on the other, which impeded its progress, after it had been received among *enthusiasts* and *fanatics*, ascribing every thing to *faith*, and nothing to *works*, in the business of salvation, and trusting to other *mediators* with GOD beside CHRIST, Col. ii. 18.

1. The *Jews*, in general, were remarkable for their *pride*. They boasted that they were "*Abraham's children*" exclusively, the sole heirs of the temporal and spiritual promises made to him and his seed; this made them despise the *Gentiles*, as "*born in fornication*," or a spurious seed, and like "*dogs*" or "*stones*," either unworthy or incapable of admission into the land of promise and the kingdom of heaven. Among the *Jews* themselves, the sect of the *Pharisees*, were remarkable for their *self-sufficiency* and *superciliousness*, "*they trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others*," even of their own nation, as "*holier than they*," and more *knowing* in the law. "*This people, who know not the law, are accursed †!*"—"Thou wast altogether *born in sin †*, and dost *thou* presume to *teach*

* OUR LORD happily illustrated this in the following parable. "*Men do not put new wine into old leathern bottles; otherwise, the bottles are burst, [by the fermentation,] and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be spoiled: but they put new wine into new leathern bottles, and both are preserved,*" Matt. ix. 17.

† The *Pharisees* seem to have been the first broachers of the revolting doctrine of *absolute predestination*, or of the *unconditional election* of some *individuals* to happiness, and *reprobation* of others to misery, in the Divine decrees; without any regard to their obedience or disobedience.

This horrible doctrine is repugnant to the all-embracing *goodness* and *benevolence* of THE DEITY, whose *tender mercies* are over all his works; who is no *respector* of persons, bloods, or favoured classes of men, but in every nation, who-oever feareth HIM, and worketh righteousness, according to their lights, or means of information, is acceptable unto HIM; and it is equally injurious to mankind, ingendering either vain *presumption*

us!" and they *excommunicated*, without mercy, those that dared to dissent from their dogmas and decisions, as *heretics*. And

on the one hand, or groundless *despair* on the other; which sets aside the *atonement* of CHRIST for *all* men, and the necessity of a REDEEMER for *any*, and is equally adverse to *reason* and *Scripture*, rightly understood. It appears to have originated from the misinterpretation of some particular passages in the Scriptures of the OLD TESTAMENT.

I. When GOD entered into covenant with the *Jews*, he promised that "*they should be a peculiar treasure unto him, above all people,*" as "*the repositories of his oracles,*" destined to preserve the *knowledge* and *worship* of the TRUE GOD, amidst the reigning corruptions of *polytheism* and *idolatry*; "*though all the earth be his,*" Exod. xix. 5, 6, xx. 2—6; Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2. Not adverting to this last clause, representing GOD as THE FATHER OF ALL, "*the GOD of the spirits of all flesh,*" Numb. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16, the *pharisaical* Church considered the *Gentiles* as *aliens* from the commonwealth of *Israel*, *reprobate*, and *rejected* from their peculiar privileges. And the association of the *Gentiles* into the Church of CHRIST, was the most revolting doctrine to the *Judicizing* Christians of all others; forgetting that "*in Abraham's seed, (which was CHRIST,) all the nations of the earth were promised to be blessed,*" Gen. xxii. 18.

2. This decree of *election* and *reprobation* they extended even to *individuals* of their own nation, from the following text of *Malachi*, i. 1, 2. "*Jacob I have loved, but Esau have I hated;*" which was not meant of the individuals themselves, but of their respective *families* or *nations*; of whom it was foretold by the Oracle, that "*the elder should serve the younger,*" Gen. xxv. 23, which, though true of the nations, was the reverse of the individuals; for "*Jacob*" served, or paid homage to "*Esau,*" Gen. xxxiii. 3—11.

This doctrine of *absolute predestination* nearly corresponded to the absolute *fate* or *necessity* of the *Stoics*, which, according to their degrading notion, controuled even the DEITY himself.

It was afterwards embraced by the *Manichean* Heretics, in the East, and by *Augustine* in the West. From the former, it was adopted by the *Mahometans*, and retained till the present day. From the latter, it was adopted by the *Romanists*; though several of their Doctors, especially among the *Jesuits*, either deny *Augustine's* doctrine, or contend that it is not rightly interpreted.

From the Church of *Rome* it was borrowed by the first Reformers, *Luther* and *Calvin*; but *Luther* afterwards changed his sentiments, by the arguments of *Melancthon*; and the *moderate Calvinists* at present, as well as the *Lutherans* in general, nearly subscribe to the *five Arminian articles*, submitted to the decision of the Synod at *Dort*, though rejected by that council, through the influence of the *Calvinist* party, in 1618 and 1619.

These five articles are as follows.

I. "That GOD, from all eternity, has *elected to eternal life*, those that *believe in CHRIST*, and continue in *faith* and *obedience*; and on the contrary, that He resolved to reject *unbelievers* and *impenitent sinners,*" [Matt. xxv. 34—41, Acts xiii. 48, Rom. viii. 29, 30, Eph. i. 4—6, 2 Tim. i. 9, 1 Thess. v. 9, &c.]

II. "That consequently, JESUS CHRIST, the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD, *died for all men*, so that he has obtained by his *death*, their *reconciliation*, and the *forgiveness* of their *sins*; but in such a manner, that none but the *faithful* actually enjoy those benefits," [John iii. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 4, 2 Cor. v. 15—19, Col. i. 20, 1 John iii. 9, 10, &c. John iii. 36, Ephes. ii. 3, Mark xvi. 16, John xii. 48.]

III. "That *man* cannot acquire *saving faith* of himself, or by the strength of his *free will*; but he wants, for that purpose the *grace* of GOD, through JESUS CHRIST," [John i. 13, iii. 5, Ephes. ii. 8, 9, Phil. i. 29, ii. 12, 13, 2 Cor. iii. 5, ix. 8, John xv. 5.]

so high did they stand in the popular estimation for extraordinary sanctity, that the saying was proverbial, "If only *two* men should enter into the *kingdom of heaven*, the one would be a *Scribe*, and the other a *Pharisee*."

The *Sadducees*, who formed a powerful party among the rulers, were downright Infidels, and ridiculed the doctrine of the resurrection, and a future state of retribution, which were the chief points insisted on in the Gospel. *Caiaphas*, the high Priest, and several of the chief Priests also, at that time, were *Sadducees*.

2. Among the *Gentiles*, the *Stoic* philosophers strongly resembled the *Pharisees*, and the *Epicureans* the *Sadducees*; and they were still more hostile to the reception of a Gospel founded on the resurrection of a *crucified Saviour*, and that Saviour a *Jew*, a nation at that time held in general odium and contempt. The *Stoics*, in particular, were so *high-minded*, maintaining not only the *dignity* of man, but even the *divinity* of *human nature**, as a part of their material *Deity*, the *Æther*, or *soul of the world*,

IV. "That this *grace* is the cause of the beginning, progress, and completion of *man's salvation*; so that nobody can believe, nor persevere in the faith, without that *co-operating grace*; and consequently, that all *good works* are to be ascribed to the *grace of God*, in *JESUS CHRIST*. But that grace is not *irresistible*," [Matt. xxiv. 13, Luke xxi. 19, 1 Cor. ii. 3, Phil. iv. 13, 2 Cor. xii. 9, 1 Cor. ix. 27, Heb. ii. 1, 2 Pet. ii. 21, James iv. 17, Heb. x. 26, Matt. xii. 45, v. 13, &c.]

V. "That the *faithful* have a sufficient strength, through the *Divine grace*, to oppose *Satan*, *sin*, the *world*, and their *own flesh*, and to overcome them," [John xvi. 33, 1 John v. 5, iv. 4, James iv. 7, 1 Pet. v. 8, 9, Rom. viii. 13, Col. iii. 5.]

As for this question, "Whether men through their *negligence* can renounce true faith, lose a good conscience, and deprive themselves of the grace of God," the authors of that *Remonstrance*, (*Episcopius*, &c.) said, it was a matter to be further examined; but afterwards they declared, "Those who have a true faith, may, nevertheless, fall, by their own fault, and lose faith, wholly and for ever." See the cases of *Judas*, *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Simon Magus*, *Felix*, &c.

They who would wish to see a summary of the rigid *Calvinist* doctrine of *predestination*, may find it in *Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, abridged by *De La Roche*, along with these Articles, Vol. I. p. 306—308.

The *seventeenth Article* of the Church of England seems to be drawn up, nearly in the spirit of these *Arminian* Articles of the *Remonstrants*, which was also the doctrine of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, published in Edward VI's reign. *De Prædestinatione*, cap. xxii. p. 20. edit. 1640.

* Among the arguments adduced by the *Stoics* to prove the *immortality of the soul*, the principal, according to *Cicero* was its supposed *divine nature*: he thus states it in his *Tusculan Questions*, I. 25. Ergo animus, ut ego dico, divinus est; ut Euripides audet dicere, deus. Et quidem si Deus, aut anima, (air) aut ignis (fire) est, idem est animus hominum. Their *supreme God* was the *Æther*; as shewn in my *Analysis Fluxionum*, Appendix, 11.

and the sufficiency of reason to discover the whole of their duty, and plumed themselves so much on their *good morals**, that they could not easily relish the notion of a *Divine Teacher*, or the necessity of a REDEEMER.

Nearly allied to the *Stoics*, were the *Pelagians*, and the modern *Deists* †, undervaluing *Revelation*, as superfluous and unnecessary, and alledging that *Christianity* was as *old as the creation*; and boasting of their *morality* in opposition to *Gospel faith* and *Gospel obedience*.

The *Schoolmen* and *Romanists* going beyond these, maintained a *grace of congruity* in works before *justification*, and a *merit of condignity* after; and even held *works of supererogation*, or more than were necessary to salvation. Whence the doctrine of *justification* by *faith* alone, that is to say, “by the *alone merits* and *cross* of CHRIST,” as Bishop *Jewell* interprets it, came to be a distinguishing principle of the REFORMATION. See our *Articles*, XI, XII, XIII, XV.

This important doctrine OUR LORD next proceeds to explain.

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

It is introduced with much solemnity, as of heavenly origin, which no human teacher could discover. “*And none hath ascended into heaven, to learn it, but he that descended from heaven to teach it, THE SON OF MAN, who was † in heaven,*” ver. 13.

* *Augustine* thus represents the reasonings of these Pagan philosophers, nearly in the strain of the *Pharisee* praying in the temple.

“Many of them boast of their *works*. And I have found many who did not chuse to become *Christians*, because they deemed themselves *sufficient* to lead a *good life*. It is requisite, say they, to *live well*, why then should CHRIST enjoin me to live well? I live well already. What need have I of CHRIST? I commit *no murder, no theft, no robbery*: I covet not another’s goods; I am polluted by *no adultery*. Whosoever can discover any thing *blameable* in my life, let him make me a *Christian*.” Tom. iv. p. 171.

† The leading principle of the *Deists*, is comprized by Lord *Herbert*, in his *Religio Gentilium*, in this distich,

Haud crucient animum quæ circa Religionem
Vexantur lites: Sit modo vita proba.

Which *Pope* adopted, and thus translated in his *Moral Essays*,

“For *modes of faith*, let graceless *Bigots* fight:
His can’t be *wrong*, whose *life is in the right*.”

‡ Here the participle *was*, is indefinite, and to be rendered “*was*.” It is so rendered John ix. 25, xii. 17; and in a parallel passage afterwards, OUR LORD declares, “If,

The title of THE SON OF MAN, here assumed the second time by our Lord, and first after his own baptism, John i. 51, referring to the signal prophecy of *Daniel*, vii. 13, was appropriated to CHRIST, the SON OF GOD.

He then proceeds to lay the foundation of the doctrine, in the fulfilment of that remarkable *type* of the *Jewish* law, the *Brazen Serpent*, prefigurative of his own crucifixion, as the instituted means of the salvation of mankind; to which he had mysteriously alluded at the foregoing passover, “*Destroy this temple,*” &c. John ii. 19.

“For as *Moses* set up the [*brazen*] *serpent* [upon a pole,] in the wilderness, [that *every one* of the *people*, mortally bitten by the *flying serpents*, who looked thereon with the eye of faith, might be healed, Numb. xxi. 6—9.] So the SON OF MAN, [before he shall enter into his glory, Dan. vii. 14, Luke xxiv. 26,] *must needs be set up*, [on the cross,] *to the end that every one*, [*Jew or Gentile*,] *that believeth on Him, should not perish*, [by the snare of the *old Serpent*, the *Devil*, who brought *death* into the world,] *but might have eternal life,*” ver. 14, 15.

And *Nicodemus* might have so interpreted this designedly mysterious passage from the Scriptures, and the *Jewish* comments.

The Book of Wisdom calls the brazen serpent “a *sign* or symbol of *salvation*, to put them in mind of the commandment of *the law*; for he that turned himself toward it was not saved

then, ye shall see THE SON OF MAN ascending where he *was* before, (ὅπου ἦν το προ-
τερον,) [will ye then believe?] John vi. 62.

This usage of the participle may also be defended by *classical* authority :

Ὅς ἦδει τα τ' εοντα, τα τ' εσσομενα, ΠΡΟ τ' ΕΟΝΤΑ.

“Who knew both *the present*, and *the future*, and *the past*.”—HOMER.

“This example,” as Dr. *Middleton* judiciously observes, “tends to confirm the opinion of those grammarians, who make *εων* to have been *originally* a participle of a *past tense*; though even so early as in *Homer's* time, this acceptance seems not to have been sufficiently intelligible without the aid of the preposition *προ*; that *τα τ' εοντα*, *by itself*, would be understood of *things present*, is evident from this very passage, and from many others of *Homer*.” *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 43, note.

And nothing is more common in the *sacred* and *profane historians*, than the enallage of the *present* tense for the *past*; Thus *φαινεται* signifies “*appeared*,” Matt. ii. 13; *επιλαμβανεται*, “*he assumed*,” Heb. ii. 16, &c. See *Glassii Philologia sacra. Canon XLVIII.* p. 432.

We hesitate not, therefore, to render *ων*, “*was*,” in this important text, even though recommended by *Socinus*, as Dr. *Middleton* observes, p. 699.

by *the thing that he saw*, but by THEE, who art the SAVIOUR OF ALL," Wisd. xvi. 6, 7. And the Paraphrase of *Jonathan* on Numb. xvi. 6—9, thus explains, "It came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the *brazen serpent*, he lived, *provided he directed his heart to THE ORACLE OF GOD.*" Hence arose the tradition of *the Jews*, "that as the bites of the *fiery serpents* were cured by the *Israelites* looking up to the *brazen serpent*, so shall the bites of the *old Serpent*, inflicted on *Adam* and his posterity, be cured in the time of THE MESSIAH."

This illustration of OUR LORD leads us to the true nature of that *saving faith*, which it was designed to recommend. As the faith of the *Israelites* was a full trust that their bites should be healed, only by looking attentively on the *brazen serpent*, so the faith of *Christians* is a full trust, or firm persuasion, that their sins shall be forgiven, by looking to the *atonement* of CHRIST on the cross.

It is, therefore, a *pure act of the mind*, independent of works performed, either before or after.

Such was also the primitive patriarchal *faith* of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Job*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. which was counted to them for *righteousness* or *justification* in the sight of God; namely, a firm trust and belief in a future REDEEMER; by which they were not only acquitted, or absolved from their *sins past*, but, moreover, were accepted by God, as if they had been *actually righteous*, and never had offended, and made *heirs of eternal life*, to which no obedience of their own could have entitled them.

It is concisely, but critically defined by *Paul*, Heb. xi. 1. "*Faith* is a *subsistence* of things *hoped for*, a *conviction* of things *not [yet] seen.*"

It is, indeed, a pure act of the mind, which, by anticipation, gives "a *subsistence*" to future blessings, as if they were already existing; "a *conviction*," or *firm persuasion* of their *certainty*, as if they were *actually seen*. See *Chrysostom's* admirable commentary thereon, p. 145, note.

In the Apostle's definition, the two last words, *ου βλεπομενων*, are understood in the sense of *ουπω βλεπομενων*, "*not yet seen*," as in the case of *Noah* afterwards, who, when *oracularly warned* of the ensuing *deluge*, though *not yet seen*, (*μηδεπω βλεπομενων*),

being moved with fear, built an ark for the preservation of his family, ver. 7.

And that this is a correct explanation of the Apostle's definition may further appear from some remarkable cases, both of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

Job declared, "I know that my REDEEMER is living, and that at the last day he will arise in *judgment* upon dust, or mankind," (see Vol. II. p. 76.) Thus expressing the *fulness of his assurance* of the *certainty* of the future *general judgment*."

"The *Patriarchs* all died in *faith*, not having received the *promises*, [temporal and spiritual,] but having been *persuaded* [of their certainty,] and *embracing* them [as true,]" Heb. xi. 13, (see Vol. II. p. 29.)

Thus *Abraham* longed to see CHRIST'S day, [or his appearance in *the flesh*, as the blessed Seed, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed,] and he *saw* it [with the eye of faith, or in *prophetic vision*,] and was *glad*," John viii. 56, (see Vol. II. p. 25.)

Balaam also, the *Heathen* diviner, "*saw*, but not *now*, he *beheld*, but not *nigh*, the *star* and *sceptre*," of the blessed Seed, CHRIST, in *prophetic vision*; which his posterity, the pious *Parthian Magi*, actually saw long after, and *rejoiced with exceeding great joy*; collecting also, we may presume, from the *partial* accomplishment of the prophecy, that the *whole* of the gracious promise would be fulfilled in due season, (see Vol. II. p. 207, Vol. III. p. 56.)

Such also, in particular cases, was the nature of the faith of the *Roman centurion* and *Syrophenician* woman, extolled by CHRIST himself; namely, a *firm belief* or *persuasion* that CHRIST was fully able, by his divine power and authority, to cure the sick, though absent and at a distance, by a word or command, *before* they saw the cure actually performed. (See this Vol. p. 98, 128.)

Justifying or *saving faith*, therefore, is a simple act of the mind, or assent of the understanding, to the *redemption* through CHRIST. It is a single *Christian* virtue, and the basis of the rest, as distinguished from *hope* and *charity*, 1 Cor. xiii. 13; and as distinguished also from THE FAITH in general, or the Christian religion, including the *belief* and *profession* of the GOSPEL. These different acceptations of the word are material

and the neglect of them has produced much confusion and perplexity in *mystical* * writers on the subject. For the general sense of the word *faith* see Acts xxiv. 24, 25; Rom. i. 8; Gal. i. 23; 1 Tim. v. 8; Jude 20, &c.

OUR LORD next informed *Nicodemus* that this *justifying faith* originated from the sole and gratuitous benevolence of THE DEITY to *mankind*, and also its absolute necessity to salvation on their part.

“ For GOD so *loved* † the world that he gave his ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, to the end that *every one* who *believeth* on him, [whether *Jew* or *Gentile*,] should not perish, but have *eternal life*,” ver. 16.

“ For GOD sent not HIS SON into the world, [at first, in the *flesh*,] to *judge* the world, but that the world through him, [or his *death*,] might be saved. He that *believeth* on him is not to be *judged*, [at the *last day*,] but he that *believeth not*, *hath been*

* Take the following sample from *Madan's* translation of *Witsius's Treatise of Faith*.

“ *Faith* is not any single *habit* or *act* of the soul, nor ought it to be restrained to one *faculty* thereof only, but it is *something* made up of *various acts*, which, though not in a confused manner, may interfere one with the other, and in a kind of delightful fellowship and union, promote and help each other, and this constantly. It imports a *change of the whole man*, is the spring of the whole spiritual life; and, lastly, it denotes a *holy diligence* and *energy of the whole soul towards GOD in CHRIST*; so that its full compass can scarcely be comprehended in a distinct manner under *any one single idea*.”

This is called “ a *plain account of faith!* ”

† The finest comment, perhaps, on this noble expression of *all the benevolence of Divine goodness toward mankind*, 2 Thess. i. 11, and the fullest refutation of the gloomy and revolting doctrine of *absolute reprobation*, is furnished by the following argument against it, drawn from the infinite POWER of the CREATOR OF ALL, which could have no inducement to *will the misery* of *His creatures*, by the sage author of the *wisdom of Solomon*, probably to counteract this doctrine at its rise, in the *reformed Jewish Church*.
Wisd. XI. 23—26.

“ For THOU *pitiest all men*,
Because Thou art ALL POWERFUL ;
And overlookest their *sins*,
Upon their *repentance*.
For Thou *lovest* all things that exist,
And *abhorrest* nothing that Thou hast made.
For hadst thou *hated*,
Thou wouldst not have *formed any thing* :
And how could any thing have *endured*,
Had it not been THY WILL ?
Or how could it have been *preserved*,
Unless called by THEE ?
But THOU *sparest all*, because all things are *Thine*,
O LORD, THOU LOVER OF SOULS.”

judged already, (*ἡδὴ κερκεται*.) because he hath not believed on the name of the ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD," ver. 17, 18.

Here, by a usual anticipation, the future event of the *general judgment*, is represented as *already come*, to mark its absolute and infallible *certainty*, in the fulness of time. See John v. 24 ; Heb. xii. 22 ; Rom. viii. 28—30.

And our Lord concludes this interesting and awakening discourse, with stating "the grounds of the general *judgment*," in the *vices of mankind* ; which led, and would lead them, to *hate* and avoid the *light* of THE GOSPEL ; whereas the *well doer* readily came to *seek it*, and to shew that his *works* were wrought in GOD, ver. 19—21. Thus ending, probably, with an oblique commendation of *Nicodemus* himself, as a *well doer*, in thus seeking the *light* at the fountain head, and afterwards shewing the soundness and sincerity of his *faith*, by his *labour of love* in the LORD.

OUR LORD'S concise doctrine of *justification by faith*, is thus explained and illustrated by his *Apostles*.

Paul declares, "We are *justified* freely by GOD'S grace, through the *redemption* in JESUS CHRIST," Rom. iii. 21 ; for "GOD approved his *love* towards us, that while we were yet *sinner*s, CHRIST died for us," Rom. v. 8 ; and this, by his own gracious act ; for "CHRIST *loved* us also, and gave up himself for us, an *offering* and *sacrifice* to GOD, for a fragrant savour," Eph. v. 2 ; "while we were *enemies* we were *reconciled* to GOD by the *death* of HIS SON," Rom. v. 10.

It is truly remarkable, that GOD is no where in Scripture said to be *reconciled to us* ; but *we*, every where, to be reconciled to GOD, "when we were *dead* in trespasses and *sins*," 2 Cor. v. 18—20 ; Eph. ii. 1 ; Col. ii. 13. OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, indeed, is always ready and willing to receive with tenderness and joy, every *prodigal son*, who shall "*come to himself*," and with hearty *repentance*, and true *faith*, return to him, and humbly entreat to be restored to his *household*, of his true bounty, not our deserts. "For by *grace* we are *saved*, through *faith* ; and this, not of *ourselves* : it is the *gift* of GOD, not [the reward] of *works* ; that *none* should *boast*," Ephes. ii. 8, 9. "We reckon, therefore, that a man is *justified by faith*, *without the works of the Law*," Rom. iii. 28.

In this last passage, the Apostle is usually understood to mean the *ceremonial works* of the law of *Moses*, *circumcision*,

sacrifices *, &c. but that he meant to include the *moral* works, both of the *law of Moses*, and of the *law of nature*, is evident from his reckoning “*all under sin*, both *Jews and Greeks*,” for their gross violations of *moral* and *religious* duties ; “*not having the fear of GOD before their eyes* ;” that “*every mouth might be stopped*” [from *boasting*,] “*and all the world be made liable to punishment from GOD*,” Rom. iii. 9—19. Compare Ephes. ii. 3.

And the tenor of his argument necessarily includes *evangelical* works also ; “*for, if justification could come even of such, without taking in faith in the meritorious sufferings and satisfaction of a MEDIATOR*, then might we have *whereof to boast, or to glory*, (Eph. ii. 9 ; Rom. iv. 2.) And then it might be justly said, that *CHRIST died in vain*,” (Gal. ii. 21.)

And this judicious exposition of *Waterland*, p. 44, is confirmed by the high authority of *Clemens Romanus*, the intimate friend of the Apostle *Paul*, (Phil. iv. 3,) one of the most eminent of the “*saints at Rome*,” to whom this Epistle was addressed, (Rom. i. 17,) in the following passage, which he cites in the original.

“*The ancient Patriarchs, [Abraham, &c.] were all, therefore, greatly glorified and magnified ; not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness which they themselves wrought, but through HIS good pleasure. And we [Christians] also, being called, through his good pleasure in CHRIST JESUS, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done in holiness of heart, but by that faith by which THE ALMIGHTY GOD justified all, from the beginning of the world.*” Epist. I. c. 32.

The profound *Hooker* gives a similar explanation of the doctrine, in his Discourse on *Justification by Faith*.

“*GOD doth justify the believing man, yet not for the worthiness of his belief, but for the worthiness of HIM which is believed ; GOD rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the work, but through HIS mercy, by whose commandment he worketh.*”——“*The best things which we can do, have some-*

* See Bishop *Bull's Harmonia Apostolica*, or its abridgment in *Wells' New Testament*, preface to the *Epistles*.

thing in them to be *pardoned*. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be *rewarded*? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life, to as many as *sincerely* keep His law, though they be not *exactly* able to keep it. Wherefore, we acknowledge a *dutiful necessity* of doing well, but the *meritorious dignity* of doing well, we utterly renounce.”——“ Our doctrine, in truth, is no other than we have learned *at the feet of CHRIST*,” p. 21, 34. And we may add, it is also the doctrine of our *Articles*, XI. XIII.

The shortest, plainest, and fullest account, perhaps any where to be found, of this abstruse but most important doctrine, is furnished by the pious and learned Bishop *Hopkins**, in the following passages.

“ *Justification* is a gracious act of GOD, whereby, through the *righteousness* of CHRIST’S satisfaction imputed, He freely remits to the believing sinner, the *guilt* and *punishment* of his sins : and, [moreover,] through the righteousness of CHRIST’S *perfect obedience*, imputed, He accounts him *righteous*, and accepts him into *love* and *favour*, and unto *eternal life*.”

“ This is *justification*, which is the very sum and faith of the whole GOSPEL, and the only end of the COVENANT OF GRACE.” For wherefore was there such a covenant made with us, through CHRIST, but as *St. Paul* tells us, Acts xiii. 39, “ that by HIM, *all that believe might be justified from all things, which they could not be justified from by the law of Moses*.”——And he proves that *justification* is equivalent to *salvation*, by the following syllogism.

If the *righteousness of CHRIST be made thine, thou shalt be saved* ; If thou *believest*, the *righteousness of Christ shall be made thine* ; therefore, *If thou believest*, (from *first to last*,) *thou shalt be saved*.——“ When, therefore, a *sinner*, being on one hand thoroughly convinced of his *sins*, of the *wrath* of GOD due to him for them, (Rom. ii. 8, 9,) of his utter *inability* either to escape, or bear this wrath, (Rom. vii. 24,) and on the other hand, being likewise convinced of the *sufficiency, willingness, and designation* of CHRIST to *satisfy justice*, and to *reconcile and save sinners*, (Rom. vii. 25,) doth hereby yield a *firm assent* unto these truths revealed in THE SCRIPTURES ; and doth also *accept and receive JESUS CHRIST* in all his offices, as his PRO-

* See a new edition of his works, lately published, Vol. II. p. 382—386.

PHET, resolving to attend to his *teaching*, as his LORD and KING, resolving to obey his *commands*, and as his PRIEST, resolving to rely upon his *sacrifice alone*, and doth accordingly *submit* to him, and *confide* in Him *sincerely* and *perseveringly*; this is that *faith* which doth *justify*, and will certainly *save* all those in whom it is wrought."

This is indeed a *plain, rational, and Scriptural* account of a *doctrine* which is the corner-stone of CHRISTIANITY, and the foundation of the REFORMATION.

II. The strong and emphatic expressions of SCRIPTURE, and of the *primitive Fathers*, stating the utter inability of *works* to *justify* us, as a *meritorious* cause; that "whatsoever is not from *faith*, is *sin*," Rom. xiv. 23, which our Article XIII. understands of *works before justification*; and the slanderous misrepresentation of the Apostle's doctrine, as if he affirmed that GOD permitted the *Gentiles* "to do evil, that good may come," or that his "grace may abound to sinners," which he deprecates, "GOD forbid!" Rom. iii. 8, vi. 1, gave rise, even in the Apostle's days, to the opposite error of an *affected humility*, resolving the whole business of *justification* into "*faith alone*, not only *without works*," but even *exclusive of works*; for "that all our *righteousnesses* are as *filthy rags*," not only not acceptable, but even offensive to GOD; and equally unnecessary and insufficient to cover our nakedness in his sight, before whom "*no man living shall be justified*" by his own righteousness, Psalm cxliii. 2.

Hence "sprung up" early in the Church, "the *tares*," the licentious and immoral sects of the *Solifidians* and *Antinomians*, as they were called, from "resting solely in *faith*," and "reprobating the *law of works*;" and the *Libertines*, who were guilty of the most scandalous excesses, "abusing their *gospel liberty* as a *cloak of licentiousness* *," "through the *ignorance of senseless men*," *enthusiasts* and *fanatics*, 1 Pet. ii. 15, 16.

It is also remarkable that the same mischievous sect sprouted up again at the revival of pure Christianity, at the auspicious era of the REFORMATION, as will be shewn hereafter. The same mischievous errors are still to be found among the *schismatical* sects that disgrace our *land of liberty*.

Hence it became expedient, both for correction of reigning

* *Libertati præsidia quærentes, non licentia, ad impugnandum alios. Livii III. 53.*

errors, and anticipation of future, to state in HOLY WRIT the sacred and indissoluble union of *faith* and *works* as jointly necessary to salvation.

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH AND WORKS.

1. OUR LORD declares, "By *thy words* thou shalt be *justified*, and by *thy words* thou shalt be *condemned*," Matt. xii. 37; *words* intimating the *thoughts* and *intentions* of the *heart*, and forming no inconsiderable branch of *actions*, Matt. xv. 19, whence "*words*" and "*things*" were considered as synonymous in the *Hebrew* language, and are both expressed by the word *dabar*. And that OUR LORD meant both is evident from the following: "Why call ye me LORD, LORD, [expressive of your *faith*,] and do not the *things* that I say?" Luke vi. 46. "*Many* shall say to me in *that day* [of *judgment*,] LORD, LORD, have we not *prophesied* in thy name? and *expelled demons* in thy name? and done many *mighty works* in thy name? Then will I profess to them, I never *knew* you, [or *acknowledged* you as my disciples,] *depart from me all ye that work iniquity*," Matt. vii. 21—23. This is an awful and awakening declaration, intimating the insufficiency of the highest degrees of *faith*, even the *miraculous*, without *good works*, to procure salvation.

In like manner *Paul* declares, and evidently in allusion thereto, "Though I have the gift of *prophecy*, and know *all mysteries* and *all knowledge*, and though I have *all faith*, so that I could remove *mountains* figuratively, or work the greatest miracles, (Matt. xi. 23,) and have not *charity*, I am *nothing*," or of no value in the sight of God, 1 Cor. xiii. 2. "This is a faithful saying, and I desire thee *firmly to maintain* (*διαβεβαιωσθαι*,) that they who have *believed* in GOD be careful to *practise good works*," Tit. iii. 8.

This illustrious Apostle seems to have been aware of the false construction that had been or might be put upon his earlier epistles, especially to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, which were rather of a controversial nature, designed to remove the leaven of *Judaism*, that principally prevailed in those "*high minded*" Churches, (Rom. xi. 20, Gal. iii. 1.) Hence he so strongly insists on the indispensable necessity of *good works* to salvation. "Follow *holiness*, without which no man shall see THE LORD," Heb. xii. 14; "Being *freed* from [the *punishment* and *dominion* of] *sin*, and made *servants* to GOD, [by *faith*] ye have your

fruit in holiness, and the end everlasting life," Rom. vi. 22. Here the first requisite for the final attainment of salvation, or *everlasting life*, is the righteousness of *justification*; the second, the righteousness of *sanctification*, as critically remarked by *Hooker*, p. 20.

And to guard the *faithful* from these dangerous errors of the *Solifidians* and *Antinomians*, seems to have been a leading design of the *practical* epistles of *Peter* and *James*, of whom the former may refer to his doctrine of *justification*, among the things *hard to be understood* in *Paul's* Epistles, 2 Pet. iii. 16, and the latter expressly combats its abuse, James ii. 24.

3. *Peter* thus enumerates the *good works* that are the necessary appendages of *faith*.

“ Giving all diligence, *add to your faith virtue or morality, or probity of manners*, (Phil. iv. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 33,) and to virtue *knowledge or discretion* (Col. iv. 5; Matt. x. 16,) and to knowledge *temperance, or moderation* in prosperity, (Gal. v. 23,) and to temperance *patience* in tribulation, or *resignation* in adversity, (Rom. xii. 12, v. 3,) and to patience *godliness, or piety* toward GOD, (Acts iii. 12; Tit. ii. 12,) and to godliness *brotherly love* toward *fellow Christians*, (John xiii. 35; Rom. xii. 10,) and to brotherly love *charity* toward *all mankind*, for GOD and CHRIST'S sake, which is the *end* or completion of the *law*, and the *bond of perfectness*, (1 Tim. i. 5; Rom. xiii. 10; Col. iii. 14;) 2 Pet. i. 5—7.

It is the just and ingenious remark of *Paley*, in his *Moral Philosophy*, (Art. *Virtue*,) that the Apostle here enumerates the *virtues collectively*, the practice of all being necessary to salvation; but that *vices* are enumerated *disjunctively*, as separately and severally excluding the habitual sinner from heaven.

“ Neither *fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners*, shall inherit the kingdom of GOD,” 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

4. *James* also teaches the same doctrine. He carefully distinguishes mere *speculative* or *dead faith* from *operative* and *lively*. The former even “ the *demons* profess,” for “ they *believe and tremble* ;” and he considers *good works* as the proper evidence of *faith*; “ *shew me thy faith without thy works, and I will shew thee my faith by my works*,” and insists on the necessity of complete and perfect obedience. “ Whosoever shall

keep the *whole law*, and yet offend in *one* [point,] is *guilty of all*," that is, he is equally *obnoxious to punishment*, (*ενοχος*,) though not in so high a degree, as if he had broken the whole law; for every command of God is equally binding, and therefore the *wilful* breach of any one, even the *least*, is a violation of the authority that enacted the whole, and shall be punished accordingly, as our Lord himself declares, Matt. v. 19. Hence he infers the joint necessity of *faith* and *obedience*, "Ye see then that a man is *justified by works*, and not by *faith* only," James ii. 10—24.

And the inseparable connexion of *faith* and *works* was sedulously inculcated by our early divines, one of whom thus quaintly expounds the doctrine, *Justificamur per fidem solam, sed non per fidem solitariam*, or according to his own translation, "We are justified by *faith alone*, but not by that *faith which is alone*," or exclusive of *good works*.

And *Burkitt* well observes, "What GOD hath joined none must divide; and what GOD hath divided none must join: he hath separated *faith* and *works* in the business of *justification*; and he hath joined them in the *lives* of justified persons," or in the business of *sanctification*. Indeed, as well expressed in our XIIth *Article*, "*Good works* do spring necessarily out of a true and lively *faith*, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a *tree* discerned by *the fruit*;" according to OUR LORD'S illustration, Matt. vii. 16—20, adopted by *James*, iii. 12.

We next proceed to analyze the *duties of the Gospel*, respecting GOD and *man*; which naturally follow the consideration of its *mysteries*.

II. THE DUTIES OF THE GOSPEL.

"The LAW was our *school-master* [to *discipline* us] unto CHRIST; but THE FAITH being come, [or the Christian religion once established,] we are no longer under a school-master," Gal. iii. 24, 25.

The LAW, therefore, was only *preparatory* to the higher dispensation of the GOSPEL, and was not of *perpetual* obligation. It was designed to be superseded by the Gospel as "*the shadow*" by the "*substantial good*" which it indicated, Heb. x. 1.

Hence OUR LORD, in the beginning of his public ministry, laboured to remove the prejudices of his hearers in favour of the

propriety of the *Mosaical* dispensation, and to correct the vulgar error, that he came to subvert it; whereas, "He came, *not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil;*" 1. to accomplish, in his own person, the *types* and *prophecies* respecting THE MESSIAH and his *kingdom*; 2. to enlarge and spiritualize the *religious* and *moral law*; 3. to perfect its *sanctions* from *temporal* to *eternal*; and 4. to grant more *powerful aids* by the promise of the HOLY SPIRIT; and also 5. to accomplish all these minutely, critically, and permanently, until the dissolution of the world. "One *iota* or one *tittle** shall not pass away from THE LAW, [so improved,] until all things come to an end," Matt. v. 17, 18.

The *duties* of the Gospel are all comprized in that most concise and comprehensive summary,

THE LORD'S PRAYER;

which enlarges and spiritualizes the *Decalogue*, or summary of the *religious* and *moral law of Moses*. And the finest commentary on both is furnished by the *Sermon on the Mount*.

The prayer itself may thus be more closely rendered.

- I. OUR FATHER, *who [art] in the heavens* :
- II. 1. *Thy name be hallowed,*
 2. *Thy kingdom come,*
 3. *Thy will be done,*
 4. *As in heaven, even [so] upon the earth.*
- III. 1. *Give us this day our sufficient bread,*
 2. *And forgive us our debts,*
 3. *As we also forgive our debtors ;*
 4. *And bring us not into temptation,*
 5. *But deliver us from the wicked one :*
- IV. *For THINE is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory,*
For evermore. Amen.

Some of his disciples having requested our blessed Lord *to teach them to pray*, He was pleased to give them this perfect model of prayer, as an improvement upon the forms used by the *Baptist*, the *Rabbis*, and the *Heathen philosophers*, both in *conciseness* of manner, and *comprehensiveness* of matter †," Luke

* "Iota" denoted the smallest *Chaldee* letter *Iod*, י. And a "tittle," or rather "curl," the distinction between similar letters, a *Resh* ר from a *Daleth* ד, or a *Thau* ת from a *Heth* ח.

† The eloquent *Tertullian* delivers this encomium on the *Lord's Prayer*.

"In this compendium of few words, how many declarations of *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, and *Apostles* are contained! How many discourses, parables, examples, precepts of

xi. 1, Matt. vi. 5—8, xxiii. 14; compare Eccl. v. 7, Ecclus. vii. 14.

It opens with an invocation to THE DEITY, under the endearing title of "OUR FATHER," the common parent of the human race, *Christians, Jews, and Gentiles*. For "*we are all HIS offspring,*" Acts xvii. 28, who is "*no respecter of persons,*" but in "*every nation, whosoever feareth HIM, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto Him,*" Acts x. 34, 35. This is a more enlarged idea of his general providence, as "THE ONE GOD and FATHER OF ALL," Ephes. iv. 6, than was furnished by the *preamble* and *first commandment* of the *Decalogue*, representing Him rather in a partial light, as the TUTORIAL GOD OF ISRAEL, who delivered them from *Egyptian* bondage; whom therefore, they were required to hold for their ONLY GOD, in exclusion of all others, Exod. xx. 2, 3.

This is further intimated by the plural, "OUR," signifying that we should pray, not for ourselves *singly*, like the *Pharisee* in the temple, "GOD, I thank thee, that I am not as *other men are,*" &c. Luke xviii. 11; nor to GOD in the confined terms of the *Decalogue*, "I am THE LORD THY GOD, who brought thee," *Israel*, &c. but for *all mankind*.

The *foundation* of all *prayer* whatsoever, is a persuasion that THE BEING, whom we address, both *hears* us, and is also *able* to grant our petitions. And both these are implied in the sequel, "*who art in the heavens**," signifying "*the heaven of heavens*, which cannot contain or confine THE DEITY," 1 Kings viii. 26.

OUR LORD! How many duties toward GOD are briefly expressed! *Honour to THE FATHER, faith, profession in his name, offering of obedience in his will, expression of hope in his kingdom; petition for the necessaries of life in the bread, confession of sins in the supplication, solicitude against temptations, in the asking of protection.* What wonder! GOD alone could teach *how* He chose to be prayed to." De Oratione, p. 659.

The practice of the primitive Church, as we collect from *Tertullian*, was to begin their *public service* with this divine prayer, as the ground and foundation of all others; and then to offer up their *own prayers* to GOD, according to the variety of their circumstances and conditions, *provided they agreed with the precepts of this lawful and ordinary prayer*. "For as far as we recede from its precepts, so far are we from GOD's ears: our remembrance of the precepts, prepares the way for our prayers to heaven, of which this is the chief." *Ibid*.

* Ὦν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. The article ὁ, has the import of the pronoun *who*, ὦν, "*art,*" being understood. See the note on the introduction of *John's Gospel*, in this Vol. p. 67. Ἐν οὐρανοῖς, signifies in *the heavens*, or *highest heavens*, or *the universe*, as distinguished from ἐν οὐρανῷ, afterwards, "*in heaven,*" or the throne of GOD's glory, and residence of the *holy angels*.

This most sublime and amazing idea of the *omnipresence* or *ubiquity* of OUR HEAVENLY FATHER, exposes the gross absurdity, and the utter impossibility of representing him under any finite or corporeal image of *man*, *beast*, *bird*, or *fish*, prohibited by the *second commandment*.

His *willingness* also to listen to our prayers, implied in his *paternal* relation, and our *encouragement* to apply to Him repeatedly for relief, is stated by OUR LORD: “*Ask*, and it shall be given unto you, *seek*, and ye shall find, *knock*, and it shall be opened unto you.—For what man is there of *you*, who if his son ask *bread*, will give him a *stone*, [which cannot nourish him ;] and if he ask *fish*, will give him a *serpent*, [which will poison him.] If ye then, being *evil*, [or *imperfect* in your nature,] know how to give *good* things to your children, how much more shall your HEAVENLY FATHER, [who is *all perfection*,] give *good* things, (even his HOLY SPIRIT,) to them that ask him? Matt. vii. 11, Luke xi. 13.

Though *perseverance* in prayer is here recommended, and in several other places, as in the parable of the *unjust judge*, Luke xviii. 1—8, &c. yet in our private devotions, *long prayers* and *vain repetitions*, are censured as superfluous and unnecessary; because our HEAVENLY FATHER knoweth whereof we have need, *before we ask him*, Matt. vi. 8. And several efficacious prayers that we read of in Scripture, were *short*: such as of *Abraham's* steward, Gen. xxiv. 12—15; *Hezekiah*, 2 Kings xx. 1—6; the *publican* in the temple, Luke xviii. 13—14; the *penitent thief* on the cross, Luke xxiii. 42, &c. In public worship, however, or upon important *national* concerns, *long prayers* are admissible, as in *Solomon's* sublime prayer at the *dedication* of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 12—61; the *Levites'* thanksgiving for all God's mercies and forbearances to the people of *Israel*, after the captivity, Nehem. ix. 5—38; *Daniel's* pathetic supplication for the sins of his people, Dan. ix. 3—19, &c. which are of considerable length; and OUR LORD himself sometimes *continued all night in prayer unto GOD*, Luke vi. 12.

The second clause contains *general petitions* for all mankind.

1. That GOD'S *name may be hallowed*, or his *Divine Majesty* held in due honour and veneration throughout the world, (Malachi i. 6.) This is a positive precept, and a considerable improvement of the *third commandment*, which is negative, prohibiting the *profanation* of the *name of GOD*.

2. That *His kingdom may come*; or that *spiritual* kingdom founded by CHRIST at his first coming, may prevail or be established at his second, in the *regeneration*; when the spiritual worship of GOD and the LAMB shall sanctify *the Lord's day*, under the New Dispensation; as the legal worship did the *sabbath day*, according to the *fourth commandment*.

3. That *His will may be done*, or universally obeyed, in the exact performance of all the *moral duties* of the second table of the *Decalogue*, which it is the *will of GOD* that we should exercise toward *mankind*.

4. "*As in heaven, even so upon the earth*," expresses the measure or standard of obedience in all the foregoing petitions, as well as the last. For we pray that GOD'S *name may be hallowed* on earth, as it is in heaven; that *his kingdom may come*, on earth as in heaven; *his will be done* on earth, as it is in heaven; or that in all these cases, the example of the *holy angels** in heaven, in the pure and spiritual observance of all *religious* and *moral duties*, "*who do GOD'S will and pleasure with alacrity and delight*," (Psalm ciii. 21,) may be imitated by *mankind* on earth.

This is a higher and nobler standard of obedience, than was furnished by the *Mosaical law*; which, in the religious duties of the first table, totally wanted a standard or model, and in the *moral duties* of the second, furnished rather an insufficient and precarious standard in *self-love*; "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*," Levit. xix. 18.

Self-love, indeed, is sometimes a faulty standard; because men do not always *love themselves* as they ought; they are too often led by the *flesh*, rather than by the *Spirit*, to sacrifice their true interest and happiness in this life, and the glorious prospects of the next, to the *vanities* of this world; which prove, sooner or later, *vexation of spirit*. Such "*lovers of themselves*," or rather haters of themselves, and of the noblest part of their nature, which they debase and degrade †, are ill qualified to *love others* as they ought, and to consult their true interests.

* The love and services of the *holy angels* to *mankind*, are intimated in several passages of Scripture, Job xxxviii. 7, Gen. xix. 15, 16, xxviii. 12, xxxii. 1, Psa. xxxiv. 7, 2 Kings vi. 16, 17, Isai. vi. 6, 7, Dan ix. 21, Zech. ii. 3, 4, Tobit xii. 15, Luke i. 19, ii. 13, 14, Matt. xviii. 10, xvi. 9—22, &c.

† Atque humo affigunt DIVINÆ particulam AURÆ.

"And chain to the *dust*, their *particle* of THE DIVINE SPIRIT." Hor.

The *drunkard*, for instance, entices his friend to *wallow in the mire* of drunkenness, till *shameful spewing* be upon his glory, (Habbak. ii. 15, 16, 2 Pct. ii. 22.) And the misguided *zeal* of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* of old, compassed sea and land to make *one proselyte*, and then, to *render him two-fold more the child of hell* than *themselves*, Matt. xxiii. 15. Such *spirit of proselytism* is not yet extinct.

Proper self-love, however, is an useful standard in general, and was re-enacted by OUR LORD; “*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them. For this is [the substance of] the LAW and the PROPHETS,*” Matt. vii. 12. And we may add, of the *LAW of NATURE* also, in the *Heathen* world, derived from *primitive Revelation* to *Noah* and his family, Gen. ix. 5. Ὁ σὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιήσης. “*What thou hatest thyself, do not to another,*” was thence recommended by *Cleobulus*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*.

To remedy this precarious and uncertain standard of *self-love*, and the ideal standard of the *obedience* of *angelic spirits*, which does not fall within *human* observation, our blessed Lord condescended to furnish an imitable pattern of obedience to the will of God, in all its branches, by taking our nature upon him*, to furnish a *real* and a *perfect standard* of the most consummate *piety* toward GOD, and love toward *man*, in his own brightest example. “*Learn of ME, for I am meek and lowly of heart,*” Matt. xi. 29. Infinitely meeker and lowlier than *Moses*, who, though the meekest of men, yet *spake unadvisedly* with his lips; (see Vol. II. pp. 164, 198.) And accordingly, his *new Commandment* was, “*Love each other, as I have loved you;*” and He made their observance of this commandment, the characteristic of his religion: “*Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love among each other,*” John xiii. 34, 35.

This commandment, though not absolutely *new* in its *precept*, was 1. *new* in its *extent* and *degree*; 2. in its *standard* or *model*; 3. in its *motives*, and 4. in its *sanction*.

* The pure and spiritual devotion of CHRIST, and his obedience in the *flesh*, is finely foretold, Psalm xl. 6—8, as interpreted Heb. x. 5—9. “When (CHRIST) cometh into the world, he saith, *Sacrifice and oblation* thou wouldest not, but a [*human*] *body* hast Thou prepared for me. *Burnt offerings* and *sin offerings*, thou desiredst not. Then said I, *Lo I come [into the world,]* (in the volume of the [*Sacred*] *Book*, it is written of me,) *to do thy will, O MY GOD, I wished it; yea, thy law is within my heart!*”

1. By a considerable enlargement of the *Mosaical* law, *Christians* are required to *love* each other, not as "*neighbours*" only, but as "*brethren*," a nearer and tenderer connexion, Heb. ii. 11, 1 Pet. iii. 8, meaning by the word "*brethren*," not merely *fellow Christians*, but *strangers, aliens*, and the *whole human race*, by the most enlarged philanthropy, as explained in the parable of the *humane Samaritan*, (see Vol. II. p. 234. Vol. III. p. 150.)

The *degree of Christian love, or charity*, is also prescribed by OUR LORD, and taught by his example. "Ye have heard that it was said [in the LAW,] *Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy**; But I say unto you, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you*, Matt. v. 43, 44, Luke vi. 27, 28. And He thus illustrates its propriety,

For if *ye love them* [only] *that love you*, what *merit* have ye? do not even the *publicans* the same? [whom ye despise as *sinners* and *heathens*, Matt. xi. 19, xviii. 17.] And if ye *salute your brethren* only, what do ye more [than they?] do not even the *publicans* so? Matt. v. 46, 47.

He elsewhere also describes its extent; "*Greater love hath no one than this, that one (τις) lay down his life for his friends*," John xv. 13.

2. And how strictly did He practise his own precepts? "*CHRIST suffered for us*, leaving behind a *pattern to us*, that we should tread in his steps, who *did no sin*, nor was guile found in his mouth: who, when he was *reviled, reviled not in turn*, when he *suffered, he threatened not*, but *committed* [himself] *to Him that judgeth justly*," 1 Pet. ii. 21, 22; "*He laid down his life for the sheep*," John x. 15; and "*died for us when we were yet sinners*," Rom. v. 8, and "*poured out his soul to death on the cross*," Isai. liii. 12, breathing out a prayer and an apology for his *murderers*; "*FATHER, forgive them, for they know not what they do!*" Luke xxiii. 34.

3. The noble *motives* thereto, are the *imitation* of GOD and CHRIST, as far as the frailty and infirmity of our nature will permit us (Phil. iii. 12,) to copy these *all perfect standards* of

* This latter clause is no where found in *the law*, and is contrary to its spirit, Deut. xxxiii. 7. See Vol. II. p. 234. It was a gloss of the *Scribes*, founded, perhaps, on the prescribed extermination of the *devoted nations*, Deut. xxxiii. 7; to which *David* seems to allude, Psalm cxxxix. 21, 22.

love and mercy, towards not only the *good* and the *just*, but even towards the *wicked*, the *unjust*, and the *unthankful*, in “their creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life.” “Be ye therefore *perfect*, even as your HEAVENLY FATHER is *perfect*,” Matt. v. 45—48: “Be ye therefore *merciful*, even as your FATHER is *merciful*,” Luke vi. 35, 36. And the inference is, “If GOD so loved us, we ought also to *love each other*,” 1 John iv. 11. “Walk in *love*, as CHRIST also *loved us*, and gave himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to GOD for a fragrant savour,” Ephes. v. 2; and “*we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren*,” 1 John iii. 16.

4. The higher sanctions of reward are, to be called “*children of GOD*,” “*brethren*” and “*friends*” of CHRIST, and “*joint heirs*” with CHRIST, or inheritors of the kingdom of heaven: and the more awful sanctions of punishment, to be called “*children of the devil*,” “*enemies of GOD and CHRIST*,” and to be doomed to everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, with the *Devil* and his *angels* in hell. Both infinitely more awakening and alarming, than the *temporal* sanctions of the *Mosaical* law, Matt. v. 45, Luke xx. 36, Gal. iii. 26, Rom. viii. 17, Tit. iii. 7, 1 John iii. 10. Compare Exod. xx. 5, 6—12, Levit. xxvi. 3—46, Deut. xxviii. 1—68.

Christian love, or *charity*, therefore, as inculcated in OUR LORD’S *new commandment*, and improved and enlarged thereby, may now be defined more fully *, “That *Divine virtue*, by which we love GOD and CHRIST above all things, because they first loved us; and our brethren as ourselves, for the love of GOD, and for the sake of CHRIST.”

II. Having now considered the *exordium* and *general* petitions of the *Lord’s Prayer*, and shewn that they contain, enlarge, and spiritualize the *ten Commandments*; before we proceed to the ensuing *special* petitions, we shall endeavour to shew that the *Sermon on the Mount* was designed for a critical commentary and improvement of the *Decalogue*.

Following, therefore, our LORD’S order, we shall begin with the *moral* duties of the second table, which were all included in the general petition, *Thy will be done*; and which, therefore, the summary proceeds to specify and explain, upon the principles of the GOSPEL.

* See the definition of *Mosaical love*, or *benevolence*, Vol. II. p. 237.

The *sixth commandment*, “*delivered oracularly to the ancients*,” (ερρεθη τοις αρχαιοις,) prohibited the actual commission of *murder**, Exod. xx. 13, Deut. v. 17; and under the penalty of *death*, Exod. xxi. 12, Deut. xix. 11—13, but as re-enacted by CHRIST to his *disciples*, (εγω δε λεγω υμιν,) it is extended to prohibit every incitement or provocation thereto.

1. *Causeless anger*, breaking out into
2. Contemptuous expressions, *Raca*, “*Rascal*,” &c.
3. Slandorous epithets, *Fool*, i. e. “*Atheist*,” or “*Apostate*,” under the penalties of divine *judgment* for the first, a higher, corresponding to the *Sanhedrim*, for the second, and *hell fire* for the last.

To this commandment, so enlarged and fortified, several *collateral* duties are attached by OUR LORD.

1. *Reconciliation* to an *offended* Brother. This is required as absolutely necessary to make our devotions and voluntary sacrifices acceptable unto God.

“If thou bring thy *gift* to the altar, and there remember that thy brother hath any [complaint] against thee, *leave there* thy gift, [to ensure thy return,] *before* the altar, [not *upon* the altar, for it would pollute the altar,] and withdraw; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift,” Matt. v. 21—24.

2. *Speedy compromise* with a *plaintiff* in a law suit, whilst *on the way with him* to the courts of justice; in order to prevent rigorous costs and damages †, ver. 25, 26.

* There seems here to be some allowance for “*anger with cause*,” or well founded. And OUR LORD himself has given countenance thereto, by his conduct. For he was sometimes *angry* and *indignant*, in the course of his ministry, at the perverseness and malignity of the *chief priests*, *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Herod*, and the *Herodians*, whom He did not scruple to rebuke and censure with all authority, as “*fools and blind*,” “*hypocrites*,” “*whited sepulchres*,” “*a generation of vipers*,” “*children of the devil*,” as well as “*that fox*,” *Herod*. We, however, sinful and short-sighted mortals, should be exceedingly cautious how we plead the prescription of his example. He was THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS, and “*knew what was in man*,” but if *we*, “*be angry*,” we cannot be sure that we “*sin not*,” through ignorance, passion, or prejudice. Our wiser and safer course, therefore, is to follow that *Apostle’s* precept, who furnished some instances of his own frailty, in his violent contention with *Barnabas*, Acts xv. 39; and his abusive language to the *high priest*, Acts xxiii. 3.—“*Let all anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you*,” Ephes. iv. 31; and for the reason he assigns elsewhere, “*Vengeance, is MY prerogative, I will repay*, saith THE LORD,” Rom. xii. 19. The archangel *Michael* durst not rail against the *Devil*, but only said, THE LORD rebuke thee! Jude 9.

† This also was recommended in the laws of the *twelve tables* at Rome. *In via, rem*

3. A repeal of the law of retaliation, “an eye for an eye,” &c. ver. 38, which was tolerated, though not encouraged by *Moses*, Exod. xxi. 24, &c. Levit. xix. 18. In its stead, CHRIST recommended the following prudential maxims.

1. *Patience under insults.* “Resist not the wicked man, but whosoever shall smite thee on the *left cheek*, turn to him the *right* also,” rather than hastily or angrily resent it, ver. 39. That it was not designed for a law, appears from our Lord’s remonstrating himself against this insult, John xviii. 23. It was *proverbial* for patient endurance of insult, Lam. iii. 30.

2. *Patience under small injuries.* “If a man be *litigious*, and take away thy *vest*, let him have thy *mantle* also,” rather than go to law with him, ver. 40.

3. *Patience under personal grievances,* “When *pressed* into the public service, by any public officer, to go with him *one* mile, voluntarily go with him *twain*, rather than resist the ruling powers to your further detriment,” ver. 41.

4. *Compassion to the distressed.* “Give to him that *asketh* thee [*alms* ;] and from him that would *borrow* from thee, *turn not thou away*,” ver. 42.

This precept requires limitations, according to the *ability* of the *giver*, and the comparative *merits* of the petitioners. For the *idle* or *vicious* are not entitled to relief, Acts xi. 29, 2 Cor. viii. 13, Luke xv. 16, 2 Thess. iii. 10. But “*never turn away thy face* from any *poor* man, carelessly, or scornfully, and then *the face of the LORD* shall not be *turned away from thee*,” Tobit iv. 11, Luke xvi. 19—25.

Thus, even those precepts reckoned *paradoxical*, and *impracticable*, by gainsayers, when fairly interpreted, not according to the letter, but the spirit, as explained by our Lord’s conduct, and by parallel passages, exhibit useful lessons of *prudence* and *discretion*.

The *seventh commandment* prohibited the actual crime of *adultery*, and under the penalty of *stoning to death*, Exod. xx. 14, Levit. xx. 10, Deut. xxii. 22, John viii. 5.

But OUR LORD combines it with the *tenth commandment*, “Thou shalt not *covet* thy neighbour’s wife,” and extends the guilt to “the *lust* of the eye,” in looking lewdly upon a mar-

uti pacent, orato. “On the way, pray that they may compromise the matter.” *Blackstone’s Com.* III. B. III. c. 20.

ried woman, as committing “adultery in the heart;” and denounces against even the *intentional offender* *, the dreadful punishment of *hell fire*, unless the offending member, “the *right eye*,” or the *ruling passion*, of which it is the instrument, be “*plucked out*,” and “*cast away*” with abhorrence, by a timely repentance, to *save his soul alive* in the day of judgment, Matt. v. 27—29, Ezek. xviii. 27.

Divorces, which were tolerated by the law of *Moses*, for the *hardness of their hearts*, to prevent worse consequences, and carried to a scandalous excess in that age, as we have seen, p. 141. are confined by OUR LORD, to the sole cause of *adultery*. And if any man married a woman divorced upon any other account, both are represented as guilty of *adultery* †, Deut. xxiv. 1, Matt. v. 31, 32.

The *eighth commandment* is also coupled with the remainder of the *tenth*; and the same punishment of *hell fire* is denounced against it, unless the offending member, “the *right hand*,” or the *ruling passion* of which it is the instrument, be “*cut off*” and “*cast away*” with abhorrence likewise, Matt. v. 30.

The *ninth commandment* is considered by OUR LORD, not merely in a *moral*, but rather in a *religious* light, as an offence against the *third commandment*. Whosoever invokes the awful

* ————— Patitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas :
Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
Facti crimen habet——. Juv. Sat. XIII. 207.

†. The law of England, however excellent, and superior, perhaps, on the whole, to any other system of *human* legislation upon earth, has still its blemishes and imperfections. Such may well be accounted its deviations from the *DIVINE LAW* in the following cases; which, it will not, I hope, be deemed irrelevant nor presumptuous to notice, from an honest wish for their emendation, whenever the *wisdom* and *piety* of our legislature shall think fit.

Our laws seem to be unreasonably severe against the breach of the *eighth* commandment, and criminally lenient toward the breach of the *seventh*. Shall the *horse stealer*, the *cow stealer*, the *sheep stealer*, &c. be punished with *death*, while the *wife stealer*, the *daughter stealer*, &c. the abandoned *adulterer* and *fornicator*, who violates all the laws of hospitality and friendship, and destroys the peace of families, escape with a *pecuniary fine*, or *damages*!—And shall our legislature still continue to hold forth *encouragement* and *reward* to *adultery*, by tolerating and licensing the *marriages* of the offending parties convicted of *adultery*, after *divorce*!

Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Pudet hæc nobis opprobria dici,
Et non potuisse refelli!

name of GOD to witness any *untruth*, knowing it to be such, is guilty of *taking it in vain*, even though that *untruth* or *lie* be *harmless* in itself, or a "*white lie*," as it is sometimes improperly and profanely styled; but if it be a "*black lie*," solemnly uttered in a court of justice, to the injury of another's life, liberty, property, or reputation, by a heinous aggravation of complicated guilt against GOD and *man*; it becomes the most heinous and atrocious of all the crimes that can enter into the heart of man to conceive or commit. Accordingly, GOD himself threatened, that He would *not hold* the offender *guiltless*, that profaned his name, even in the slightest degree; and *blasphemy*, *swearing*, and *cursing*, was, by the express command of THE ORACLE, punished with *stoning to death* *, Levit. xxiv. 10—16.

OUR LORD, however, did not mean to preclude solemn appeals to heaven, whether *oaths* or *vows*, in courts of justice, or in important compacts. For an *oath*, or appeal to THE GREATEST of all beings, as THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS, to witness a transaction, and to punish *falsehood* or *perjury*, is necessary, for putting an end to all strife or controversy among men, to promote confirmation or security of property, Heb. vi. 16. And it was sanctioned by the example of GOD, swearing by HIMSELF, Gen. xxii. 15, Heb. vi. 17, 18. And by the example of the Patriarchs and saints of old; thus *Abraham* swore

* *Wilful* and deliberate *perjury*, before a *magistrate*, or in a public court of *justice*, and in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, is the most heinous crime that it is possible for mortal man to commit. It is *high treason* against the SUPREME MAJESTY OF HEAVEN AND EARTH. And shall *high treason* against the *lord of the land*, or against the *state*, be punished with the penalty of *death*, and *confiscation* of honours, *emoluments*, and *property*, not merely to the *children's children*, or to the *fourth generation*, but to *ages* yet unborn, involved in the parents' crime; while the blasted *perjurer*, who braves *eternal infamy*, and bursts the strongest barriers of *civil society*, shall escape with the loss of *his ears*, and with the transient disgrace of the *pillory*, on a *market day* !!

Tell it not in *Gath*!

Publish it not in *Askelon*!

2. The *multiplication of perjury*, by the *revenue* and *election laws*, is an evil of the first magnitude, and the most serious and alarming *national* consideration, which calls loudly for reformation; as does also the negligent and irreverent mode of *administering oaths* in our courts of justice, which has excited the horror of *Mahometans*, *Gentoo*s, and *Chinese* spectators, who never profane the names of their gods.

3. But even these shrink into nothing, and are lost, in the infinitely greater crime of *licensing perjury*, as practised by the See of *Rome*, in her *absolutions* for the violation of *oaths* and *vows*, the most solemn; and her *pecuniary dispensations* for crimes the most atrocious, according to the stated and decreed *impositions* of the *chancery court of Rome*, as shall be shewn in the following notes.

by THE MOST HIGH GOD, CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH, Gen. xiv. 22; the *Transjordanite tribes*, by THE GOD OF GODS THE LORD, Josh. xxii. 22. And the LAW prescribed, "Thou shalt *fear* THE LORD THY GOD, and *serve* him, and shalt *swear* by his name," Deut. vi. 13. And afterwards, "all *Judah* rejoiced at the *oath*, for they had sworn [unto the LORD with a loud voice,] with all their heart, and sought him with their whole desire: and He was found of them; and the Lord gave them rest round about," 2 Chron. xv. 14, 15. And a highly gifted Apostle uses the following most solemn asseveration, "THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, who is BLESSED FOR EVERMORE, *knoweth that I lye not**," 2 Cor. xi. 31.

Vows also were licensed by the law of *Moses*. "If a man vow a *vow* unto THE LORD, or swear an *oath*, to bind his soul with a bond; he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth," Numb. xxx. 2, Deut. xxiii. 31, Eccl. v. 4. See the cases of *Jephtha* and his daughter, Judges xi. 30, *Hannah*, and her son *Samuel*, 1 Sam. i. 11, The *Priests* and *Levites*, to put away *strange wives*, Ezra x. 5; and to take no usury from their brethren, Neh. x. 29. *Paul* also vowed a *vow*, which he performed, Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23. Our LORD, therefore, reenacted the law, while he guarded against the abuse of it, by prohibiting all *oaths* in common conversation, as a profanation either of GOD'S name, where that was irreverently used, or where any of his *works* was substituted instead of the awful and terrible name of [THE LORD, which the *Jews*, through superstitious dread, at length ceased to use, from misinterpretation of Deut. xxviii. 58.

"Again, ye have heard that it was *oracularly spoken* to the *ancients*, Thou shalt not *forswear* thyself, but shalt perform unto THE LORD thine *oaths*.

"But *I* say unto *you*, *Swear not at all*, [in common conversation, by any of your *usual oaths*,] neither *by heaven*, for it is GOD'S throne; nor *by the earth*, for it is his footstool; neither *by Jerusalem*, for it is the city of THE GREAT KING, as styled by *David*, Psalm xlvi. 2; neither shalt thou swear *by thy head*, for thou canst not make one *black* hair white, or one

* The Apostle *Paul* swore, as he lived, in *simplicity*, as well as *sincerity*, (2 Cor. i. 12.) by THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST; than which a more *awful* name is not to be uttered by the voice of man. *Ogden's Sermons*, Vol. II. Sermon 5.

white hair black. But let your conversation, if affirmative, be *yea*; if negative, *nay**; for whatsoever is over and above these, is of *the wicked one*," who instigates men to this vice, in order to lessen their reverence for GOD, and to lead them to *perjury*, Matt. v. 33—37.

For, by the detestable casuistry of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, some oaths were reckoned binding, others not, as we learn from the sequel; thus, to swear *by the temple, the altar, heaven, &c.* they considered as not binding: but to swear *by the gold of the temple, by the gift on the altar, &c.* they considered as binding; the *absurdity* and *impiety* of which practice is well exposed by OUR LORD elsewhere, Matt. xxiii. 16—22.

There is no immediate reference to the *fifth commandment* in the *Sermon on the Mount*; but it also is virtually included under the first table. For the *fifth commandment* is remarkably sanctioned by *Moses*, with the same reward and punishment. The *long* and *happy* possession of the land of *Canaan* was equally the reward promised to obedience in both cases, Exod. xx. 12, Deut. v. 16—33. The breach of this law also was equally capital, "*He that curseth father or mother shall die the death*," or shall assuredly be put to death, Exod. xxi. 17. And the legal punishment of an *incorrigible* and *rebellious* son, was *stoning to death*, Deut. xxi. 18—21, precisely in the same terms as for *idolatry*, Deut. xvii. 2—7, or for *blasphemy*, Levit. xxiv. 16. The similitude of the punishment resulting from the similitude of the offences against OUR HEAVENLY FATHER and *earthly parents*, "*He that forsaketh his father is a blasphemer*," Ecclus. iii. 16; and *Paul* ranks "*blasphemers, disobedient to parents*," in immediate succession, 2 Tim. iii. 2. Indeed, disobedience to parents is the prelude to the greatest crimes, and to the most dreadful punishments, even in this world; "*The eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it*," Prov. xxx. 17.

And as the *duty* of children to *parents* is most clearly enjoined and sanctioned by the LAW OF GOD, so it is also by the

* *Bowyer* ingeniously corrects the pointing of this passage thus, ὁ λογος ὑμων ναι; ναι' ου; ου. "Is your conversation *yea*? let it be *yea*: is it *nay*? let it be *nay*." A *Jewish* proverb: "The *yea* of the just is *yea*; and their *nay, nay*;" or they are sincere, and perform what they promise.

LAW OF NATURE, or by the voice of *natural affection, reason,* and *humanity*, which is equally the law of God, as being implanted in us by our Creator. And to this the Apostle appeals, in his exhortations to the *Gentiles*, “*Children, obey your parents in THE LORD, for this is right,*” Ephes. vi. 1.

Accordingly, our BLESSED LORD, who recommended his precepts by his own example, paid the most marked attention to his earthly and reputed parents; living in *subjection* to them from his childhood, Luke ii. 51; and his last moments on the cross, even in the midst of his own agonies, were spent in *honouring* his desolate mother, and in *providing* for her support, by recommending her to the care of his bosom friend, John xix. 26.

The high importance of this first commandment of the second table, “*with promise,*” or an express sanction annexed, and which includes *duty* to all our *superiors*, who exercise a *parental* care and authority over us*, appears from our Lord’s censure of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, for annulling the *law of Moses*, by their vain traditions, which He illustrates by their breach of this commandment, as the prominent example. “*Ye say, or teach, if a man say to his father or mother in want, It is corban, (or ‘a gift,’ dedicated to sacred uses,) whatever support thou mightest receive from me; ye no longer suffer him to do any thing for his father or mother,*”—“*and many such things do ye,*” Mark vii. 8—13.

And we learn from *Lightfoot*, that they made no scruple of violating this vow of *Corban*. For though it prohibited the party from relieving the wants of his father or mother, he was not at all bound to dedicate his property to sacred uses; and he was at liberty to relieve any others, except his parents, who were not included in the vow.

We learn also from *Josephus*, that these corrupt teachers of the law were accustomed to grant *pecuniary dispensations* from the vow of *Corban*, where it related to *personal* services; fifty shekels for a *man’s* discharge, and thirty for a *woman’s*. And if they were not able to pay so much, the priests were allowed

* Our *Church Catechism*, in that admirable summary of *duty to our neighbour*, has thus enlarged the fifth commandment:—“*To love, honour, and succour my father and mother; to honour and obey the king, and all [magistrates] that are put in authority under him; to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters.*”

to rate them at discretion, according to their ability. Ant. IV. 4, 4. It is truly remarkable, that both these usages were adopted by the See of *Rome*, in the table of *rates* for *dispensations* from *vows*, in their *court of chancery*, and exceeded in *indulgences for crimes* *.

* The *decreed impositions of the chancery court of Rome*, that “*great custom-house for sin*,” were first published to the world by *Anthony Egane*, a *Franciscan* friar, who had been for some years the pope’s *apostolical penitentiary*, or *confessor-general*, in *Ireland*, and revealed this *mystery of iniquity*, after his conversion to the Church of *England*. The original pamphlet, in 1673, went through a fifth edition in 1715; but having now grown very scarce, has been lately republished by the learned and public spirited *Francis Maseres*, Esq. *Cursitor Baron* of the *Exchequer*, in his last volume of *Occasional Essays*, 1809, 8vo. “thinking it can never be unseasonable to expose a *religion* so destructive to the peace and happiness of *societies*, so derogatory to the glory of *GOD*, so contrary to the main end and design of *CHRISTIANITY*, and that *persecutes* with such an unrelenting barbarity, (where it can,) those that have the courage and honesty to oppose its *innovations*,” p. 558.

This *table of impositions*, we learn from *Egane*, was carefully concealed among the *arcana imperii* of the court of *Rome*. “Of the *ordinary priests*,” says he, “hundreds knew nothing of the matter,” it being entrusted only to the *apostolical penitentiaries*, vested by the *Pope* with the power of *absolving sins* in the *reserved cases*, under an oath of secrecy, not only to conceal the mysteries of the Church from the *laity*, but even from the *ordinary priests* and *friars*, and especially from any of them suspected of such *acute parts*, or so much *learning* or *honesty*, as might make him scruple their authority. The *ordinary priest* can only inform persons who confess themselves guilty of the *reserved sins*, where the *pope’s banker* resides, (of whom there are one or two appointed in every county and diocese in *Ireland*,) who only can *absolve* them, and grant them a *bull* of *indulgence* from the *pope*, on paying the fees.

And this account of *Egane* is confirmed by *Father O’Leary*, in his “*Caution to the common people against PERJURY, so frequent at assizes and elections*,” published at *Cork*, 1783, after a general election.

“In this diocese,” says he, “and several others, *their crime* is considered as a *reserved case*, from which no man but the *Bishop* can absolve, let them be ever so penitent. This restraint shews the enormity of the guilt; whereas the *inferior clergy* can reconcile *ordinary sinners*, upon sincere repentance, and a firm resolution of amendment. But the *perjurer*, having exceeded the ordinary bounds, let his repentance be ever so sincere, must have recourse to an *extraordinary power*,” p. 18.

The *reserved cases*, from which none but the *pope* or his *penitentiary* can absolve, are, 1. the *vow* of *absolute* and *perpetual chastity*; 2. of the *religious order*; 3. of *pilgrimages* to *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, and *Compostella*; and *oaths* in general.

We shall now proceed to select from the *tables* themselves, some of the most remarkable cases of *dispensations of vows* and *oaths*, and also of *indulgences for crimes*, omitting some that are too horrid to be named.

I. DISPENSATIONS OF VOWS.

	s. d.
I. If a man has vowed, but <i>not solemnly</i> , to take the habit of some <i>religious order</i> , for changing his vow made, in <i>conscience</i> only, he is to pay	15 4 0

No wonder then, that OUR LORD, in his divine *Sermon on the Mount*, gave this warning to his disciples: "Except your

	£.	s.	d.
2. If a man has taken a vow of <i>chastity, solemnly</i> , he may have a dispensation, if necessary, for not keeping his vow, paying the <i>prelate</i>	15	4	0
3. For prolonging the <i>term of vows</i> to go to the <i>Holy Sepulchre</i> , or to St. <i>Peter's</i> , at <i>Rome</i> , upon a <i>lawful cause</i> assigned	9	2	9
4. If the dispensation be only for <i>two years</i>	4	0	1
For changing the pilgrimage to the <i>Holy Sepulchre</i> into another	12	3	6
5. For changing one <i>vow</i> into another for a <i>perpetuity</i> , in the case of a <i>chapter, convent, or great college</i>	100	0	0

II. DISPENSATIONS OF OATHS.

6. For the breach of an <i>oath</i> or <i>contract</i> respecting <i>civil employments</i> or <i>concerns</i>	7	2	3
7. For a <i>bull</i> containing both the <i>inhibitory clauses</i> , and <i>absolution from infamy</i> , in such cases	56	9	6
8. And if <i>several persons</i> are included in the same <i>act</i> or <i>contract</i> , each must pay	3	0	0
9. For the breach of an <i>oath</i> that cannot be kept without incurring <i>everlasting damnation</i> ; as for example, a <i>dishonest vow</i> , or a <i>wicked promise</i>	6	2	0

N.B. You are to take notice, that there is a difference to be made between the tax of a *bishop, abbot, or general of an order*, and of an ordinary person. The *prelates* are to be left to the discretion of their *confessors*, [who best know their incomes.]

III. DISPENSATIONS OF CRIMES.

10. For a <i>marriage</i> contracted in the <i>first degree of affinity</i> , and in <i>conscience</i> only, to be paid, or according to the ability of the party ..	1000	2	6
11. For a <i>marriage</i> in the <i>second degree</i> , beside a gratification to the <i>prelate, the pope, or his missionary</i> , is to be paid	100	15	6
12. For erecting a public <i>Jewish Synagogue</i>	603	15	0
13. For a <i>private Synagogue</i> in a <i>Jew's house</i>	300	1	6
14. For [a <i>crusader, or</i>] <i>soldier</i> in the <i>Catholic cause</i> , who neither kills nor wounds <i>any [Heretic]</i> in <i>war</i> , nor [as an <i>officer</i>] <i>causes another to do so</i>	36	9	0
15. For <i>pardon</i> and <i>rehabilitation</i> , [or readmission into the bosom of the Church] of a <i>heretic</i> , in an <i>ample form</i> , with the <i>inhibitory clause</i> , before <i>abjuration</i> [of his heresy]	36	9	0
16. For <i>simony, or for fornication of priests, friars, or nuns</i> , each	36	9	6
17. For <i>incest</i> in a <i>layman</i>	4	6	0
18. For <i>adultery</i> in the same	4	0	0
19. For <i>adultery</i> and <i>incest</i> together	6	2	0
20. For the <i>adulterer</i> and <i>adulteress</i> jointly	6	6	0
21. For <i>absolution</i> to keep a <i>concubine</i> at bed and board, with a dispensation to hold a <i>benefice</i>	4	5	6
22. For <i>striking a clerk</i> or <i>priest</i>	6	2	2

righteousness, [or observance of the law,] shall exceed that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, ye shall in no wise enter the *kingdom of heaven*," Matt. v. 20.

	£.	s.	d.
23. For striking an abbot or prelate	12	6	3
24. For striking a bishop or archbishop	24	6	0
25. For wounding a priest in any of his members	18	4	9
26. For wounding a layman.....	0	0	6
27. For murder committed by a bishop, abbot, chief of an order, or knight, each	50	12	6
28. For murder, by a friar, or guardian of a monastery	40	9	0
29. For murder, by an ordinary person, to be rated according to circumstances, at the discretion of the prelates	—	—	—
30. For the murder of a priest by a layman	6	2	0
31. And for commutation of public penance to private, for the same	18	4	6
32. For the murder of a layman by a layman	3	2	4
33. For the murder of a father, mother, brother, sister, or wife, each....	4	1	8
34. For marrying another wife, after murdering the former	8	2	9
&c. &c.			

“ The *Papists*, without doubt, will disown it,” says Mr. *Egane*, “ and say that this is mere *fiction*, and that such things are not practised in their church: but I am ready to prove, by my own knowledge and experience, all I here alledge to be true;”——“ and if you will but examine, and seriously consider the particulars, you will easily be convinced, that none but the *popish clergy* themselves could be the authors of it.”

Of this, indeed, the Articles themselves furnish *internal evidence*.

The sole object of these horrible *impositions* upon the understandings and purses of the deluded followers of these “*merchants of souls*,” evidently appears to be the *unrighteous mammon*. In all the cases, the rates are higher for the *rich* than for the *poor*; and the highest of all, No. 10, 11, 12, 13, for what are no crimes in *foro conscientiæ*, nor the *Divine law*. The marriages of *first* and *second cousins*, were prohibited by the see of *Rome*, from *political* motives, to levy a tax upon the *sovereigns* of *Europe*, who necessarily intermarried among each other. And the refusal of the court of *Rome* to gratify the haughty and imperious *Henry VIII.* with a divorce, and dispensation to marry *Ann Bullen*, brought about the *Reformation* in *England*; as the scandalous sale of *indulgences* in general, to recruit the coffers of the profuse and unprincipled pope *Leo X.* who uttered that profane speech, *Quantum nobis lucri attulit hæc de CHRISTO fabula!* roused the indignation of *Luther*, to protest against them, and to lay the foundation of the **REFORMATION.**

When the infamous *Tetzel*, a *Dominican* monk, and the *pope's* agent, was retailing indulgences in *Germany*, A.D. 1518, and had collected a great sum of money by the sale of them, at *Leipsic*; a gentleman of that city applied to *Tetzel* for an indulgence to commit a certain crime, without specifying what it was. *Tetzel* consented, received his fee, and granted the indulgence in due form. Soon after, the gentleman way-laid *Tetzel*, on his departure from the city, cudgelled him soundly, and robbed him of all his money, telling him at parting, that this was the crime for which he had purchased absolution. *George*, duke of *Saxony*, a zealous friend of the see of *Rome*, when he heard of the robbery, was very angry at first, but when he learned all the circumstances, he laughed heartily, and pardoned the offender. *Seckendorf*, I. 26, cited by *Jortin*, in his life of *Erasmus*, Vol. I. p. 117.

To confirm and support the veracity of his publication, Mr. *Egane* annexed the *form*

Their prevailing sins, therefore, are detailed for a warning to the faithful. 1. Their *ostentatious righteousness*, Matt. vi. 1.

of absolution, used by these *missionaries*, or *penitentiaries**, after the penitent had confessed his sins.

ABSOLUTIO GRATIALIS.

Misereatur tui OMNIPOTENS DEUS, et dimissis omnibus peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam æternam. Amen.

Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum tribuat tibi OMNIPOTENS et MISERICORS DOMINUS. Amen.

(Deinde, injungit penitentiam sicut ipsi videbitur conveniens, et postea dicit.)

DOMINUS NOSTER JESUS CHRISTUS te absolvat, et ego, AUCTORITATE IPSIUS qua fungor, te absolvo, Imprimis, ab omni vinculo excommunicationis majoris et minoris, (Si fuerit Clericus, dicet, “suspensionis aut interdicti,” si forte incurrit:) et deinde, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis, et ab omnibus pœnis tibi in purgatorio debitis pro peccatis et delictis: et restituo te unitati et participationi Ecclesiæ: et virtute et autoritate mihi in hac parte commissa, restituo te illi innocentiae, in qua eras, quando baptizatus fuisti; et si hac vice non moriaris, reservo tibi hanc gratiam pro extremo mortis articulo, in nomine PATRIS et FILII et SPIRITUS SANCTI. Amen. Jesus.

Passio DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI, et Merita Beatæ Mariæ Semper-virginis, et Omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum [conferant] ut quicquid boni feceris, vel mali patienter sustinueris, sint tibi in remissionem peccatorum, augmentum gratiæ, et præmium vitæ æternæ. Amen. Pax tecum.

TRANSLATION.

“The absolution of grace.

“The ALMIGHTY GOD have mercy on thee, and remitting all thy sins, lead thee to eternal life. Amen.

“THE ALMIGHTY and MERCIFUL LORD, grant thee indulgence, absolution, and remission of all thy sins. Amen.

(Then he enjoins penance, as he shall judge fit; and afterwards says,)

“OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST absolve thee: and, by virtue of HIS AUTHORITY, which I hold, I do absolve thee, First, from all restraint of excommunication, greater and lesser, (if the penitent be a priest, he shall say, “of suspension or interdict,” if either happen to be incurred;) and next, I do absolve thee from all thy sins, and from all pains due to thee in purgatory, for thy sins and transgressions; and restore thee to the unity and communion of the Church. And by virtue of the special authority committed to me in this case, [by the pope,] I do restore thee to that innocency in which thou wast when thou wert baptized. And if thou die not at this time, I do reserve unto thee this grace for the extreme article of death, in the name of THE FATHER, and of THE SON, and of THE HOLY GHOST. Amen. JESUS.

“The passion of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the merits of the blessed Mary, ever Virgin, and of all the Saints and Saintesses, [contribute] that whatever good thou mightest have done, or whatever evil thou mightest have patiently endured, may be unto thee for

* These names are synonymous: there is, however, this distinction between them; the *penitentiaries*, properly speaking, reside at the court of Rome; the *missionaries* are sent abroad, vested with the same powers to absolve, *a casibus reservatis*, “from the reserved cases.”

2. Their *public almsgivings*, ver. 2—4; 3. Their *frequent devotions* at their *synagogues*, and crowded *corners of the streets*, ver. 5, 6, in addition to the ordinary *temple service*, Luke xviii. 10. 4. Their *long prayers* and *vain repetitions*, ver. 7, Matt. xxiii.

*remission of sins, encrease of grace, and reward of eternal life. Amen. Peace be with thee *.*"

With this *plenary absolution* we shall contrast the tremendous form of the *greater excommunication*, as given by *Boxhornius*, in his History of the Low Countries, p. 111, and cited in *Brandt's Abridgment*, Vol. I. p. 6 †.

"By the command of THE FATHER, THE SON, and THE HOLY GHOST, of the blessed *Mary*, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of *St. Michael, John the Baptist, and Peter and Paul*, princes of the Apostles, of *St. Stephen* and all the *martyrs, St. Sylvester*, and all the *confessors, St. Aldegonde*, and all the *Virgins*, and all the other *saints* whatsoever, both in heaven and upon earth:

"We curse and cut off from Holy Mother Church, those who have done (*such or such a thing,*) or knew of it, or advised it, or had a hand therein. *Let them be cursed* in their houses, their beds, their fields, their lands, and their ways, and in towns and villages. *Let them be cursed* in woods, rivers, and churches; *cursed* in their law-suits and in their quarrels; *cursed* in their prayers, in speaking and in silence; in eating, drinking, and sleeping; in watching, walking, standing, running, resting, and riding; *cursed* in hearing, seeing, and tasting; *cursed* in all their actions. Let this curse strike their heads, their eyes, and their whole body, from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet.

"I adjure thee, *Satan*, and all thy agents, by the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, to take no rest, neither in the day, nor in the night, till you have brought a *temporal and eternal confusion* upon them, by contriving the matter so, that they may be drowned, or hanged, or devoured by wild beasts, or torn by vultures or eagles, or consumed by fire, or killed by their enemies. Make them odious to all living creatures. *Let their children be fatherless, and their wives widows.* Let nobody, for the time to come, help them, or take pity on their fatherless children. And as *Lucifer* was expelled from heaven, and *Adam* banished from paradise, let them likewise be expelled and banished from this world, being deprived of their estates; and let them be *buried with the burial of an ass.* Let them be partakers of the punishment of *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, of Judas and Pontius Pilate*, and of all those, who say to the Lord their God, *Get thee gone, we will have no knowledge of thy paths.*"

(Afterwards, he who pronounced these imprecations, put out two lighted candles, which he held in his hand, and added these dreadful words,)

"I adjure thee, *Satan*, and all thy agents, to extinguish the light of their eyes, as these candles are extinguished, unless they repent, and make full satisfaction. Amen, let it be so. Amen."

* * * The *corruptions* and *abominations* of the see of *Rome*, detailed in these notes, are not dictated by a *controversial* spirit, but introduced, principally, to illustrate and explain the wonderful prophecies of *Daniel*, respecting the *little horn*, and of the *Apocalypse*, respecting the mystical *Babylon*, from *original* and *scarce* documents.

* This translation is closer and correcter than *Egane's*. His mistakes furnish internal evidence that he did not compose the *Latin* form, which he did not critically understand.

† The *Latin* original of this horrible and blasphemous excommunication, is given, (if we rightly recollect,) in *Sterne's* eccentric rhapsody, *Tristram Shandy*.

14, to which *the Lord's prayer* is given as a striking contrast, ver. 8—15; 5. Their rigid *fasts* and *mortifications*, ver. 16—18, Luke xviii. 12; 6. Their *covetousness* and *extortions*, ver. 19, 20, Matt. xxiii. 14; 7. Their *ensoriousness* and *uncharitableness* in judging and damning all out of their own pale, Matt. vii. 1, 2, Luke xviii. 11, John ix. 34, Rom. ii. 1; 8. Their *quicksightedness* to the *minute faults* of others, and *blindness* to their own *enormous crimes*, ver. 3—5, vi. 22, 23, John ix. 39, 41; 9. Their brutal rejection of the *pure* and *holy* doctrines, and *precious* promises of the Gospel; and their virulent persecution of CHRIST and his *Apostles**, Matt. vii. 6, Luke vii. 30, xvii. 25, Matt. xxi. 42, 2 Pet. ii. 22.

* It is impossible not to be forcibly struck with the close resemblance in all these particulars between the *Romish Church*, and its prototype the *Pharisaical*.

1. The *pageantry* of their *public worship*; 2. Their *ostentatious alms*; 3. Their *religious processions* in *Romish* countries, and *adoration of the Host* in the principal streets; 4. Their bead roll of ten *Ave Marias*, or prayers to the Virgin, for one *Pater noster*, or prayer to God; and their tedious *litanies* to all the male and female *saints* of their *kalendar**; 5. Their stated *fasts*, ordinary and extraordinary, and their *abstinences* from *meat*, *eggs*, and other *mortifications*; 6. Their *covetousness* and *extortions*, shewn by their *pecuniary impositions* for *masses*, &c. and their *dispensations* for all manner of sins and irregularities: the greatest crimes being rated the lowest, and the least, or none at all, the highest. See the foregoing note; 7. Their *ensoriousness* and *uncharitableness* in reckoning all other sects of Christians *heretics* and *schismatics*, and excommunicating and excluding them from *salvation*; 8. Their *intolerant* and *persecuting* principles, which are thus openly avowed and defended by the celebrated *Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, in his controversy with *Jurieu*, a reformed clergyman.

“The Church of *Rome* is only excluded from this pretended society [of *tolerating* Christians,] because she *is*, and *ever will be* opposed to *religious indifference*, by her essential constitutions: in a word, because, as *M. Jurieu* says, *she is the most INTOLERANT of all Christian societies.*”

“Thus we see that what renders this Church so *odious* to *Protestants*, is principally, and more than all other tenets, her *holy* and *inflexible incompatibility*, if I may so speak; it is because she will *stand alone*, [Isa. lxxv. 5; Luke xi. 18,] because she conceives herself to be *the spouse*, [Psalm xlv. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Rev. xxi. 2,] a title which admits *no division*, [Gen. xxi. 10; Gal. iv. 30,] it is because she cannot suffer her *doctrines* to be *questioned*, [John ix. 34,] because she confides in the promises and perpetual assistance of the *HOLY GHOST*. For in reality this it is that renders her so *severe*, so *unsociable*, and consequently so *odious* to all sects separated from her: which, for the most part, desired nothing more than to be *tolerated* by her, and not to be *fulminated* with her *anathemas*. But her *holy severity*, and the *holy delicacy* of her sentiments forbad such indulgence, or rather such weakness: and her *inflexibility*, which renders

* See a list of these *saints* and *saintesses*, in that curious and malignant document, *the Litany of Intercession for England*, republished by Baron *Maseres*, in the *Occasional Essays*, p. 548.

The second commandment, beside prohibiting the idolatrous worship of THE LORD, contained the *temporal* rewards of obedience, and punishments of disobedience, as we have seen, Vol. II. p. 232. OUR LORD, therefore, opens his sermon with stating that *spiritual* worship, and those dispositions of mind that would be *truly* acceptable to our HEAVENLY FATHER, with their appropriate future rewards in heaven. To "the *poor in spirit*," or lowly minded, "the *mourners*" for their sins, "the *meeke*," the "*aspirants after righteousness*," the "*merciful*," the "*pure in heart*," the "*peace makers*," and "the *persecuted for righteousness sake*," v. 3—10, while he denounced appropriate woes on another occasion, to the "*rich*," who trust in their riches, the "*owners*" of worldly gratifications, the "*merry*," the "*popular teachers*," who preached smooth things, like the *false prophets* of old, Luke vi. 24—26; Jer. xxiii. 31.

To mark also more strongly the analogy between the LAW and the GOSPEL, these correspond to the *blessings* and *curses* pronounced on Mount *Gerizim* and Mount *Ebal*, Deut. xi. 26—29, xxvii. 12; Josh. viii. 33.

Next to these general blessings our Lord warns his *disciples*, and particularly his *Apostles*, of the *persecutions* they would necessarily experience in the course of their ministry, and of their great future reward, Matt. v. 11, 12. And he reminds the latter of their peculiar functions, as "the *salt of the earth*," designed to *season* the world with *pure* and *uncorrupt* doctrines; who were more strictly bound to attend to the purity of their own lives, because if they *relapsed into sin*, and became *corrupt*, there was no chance of their *regeneration*, like native or *rock salt*, which, when it has lost its *savour*, or saline particles, can never recover them again, but is left a mere *caput mortuum*, good for nothing but to be cast out on the dunghill, ver. 13.

As the *light of the world*, designed to illuminate it, also, they were peculiarly bound not to hide their talent, but to let the

her hated by *schismatical sects*, renders her dear and venerable to the *children of God*." *Avertissemens*, &c. p. 301.

This is perhaps the most faithful picture of the *intolerant* and *persecuting* spirit of the Church of *Rome*, drawn by a masterly hand; and the most correct comment on the *persecuting* clause in the *Romish* prelate's *consecration* oath. *Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et Rebelles contra Dominum nostrum Papam N. pro posse, persequar et impugnabo*. "*Hæretics, Schismatics, and Rebels* against our Lord the Pope, I will, with all my might, *persecute and impugn*." See also No. 14. in the foregoing note.

light of their good works shine before men, that seeing them, the world might glorify, (not them, but) their HEAVENLY FATHER, for giving such gifts unto men, and for the blessings dispensed to the world through their ministry, ver. 14—16.

The *first commandment* prohibited *polytheism*, and prescribed the worship of the ONLY TRUE GOD. In our Saviour's time the *Jews*, indeed, had been cured of that leaven of *idolatry* and *polytheism*, which they imported from *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, &c. by the *Babylonish* captivity, such as the *golden calves*, *Baal* and *Ashtaroth*, and the *host of heaven*; but they fell into another species of idolatry; they were remarkably *covetous* or *worldly minded*, intent on *gain*, *wealth*, or *money*, called in Syriac *mammon*. This OUR LORD elegantly personifies, and erects into that *golden idol* set up by the world in opposition to GOD; which all the peoples, the nations and languages fall down and worship. To correct this ruling passion, our Lord declares, "No man can serve two masters [together,] for either he will hate the one, and love the other, or else he will cleave to the one, and despise the other: ye cannot serve GOD and Mammon" at the same time, or render to both a *divided* worship, Matt. vi. 24. For "*covetousness* is justly styled *idolatry*," as alienating the heart and affections from GOD, Col. iii. 5; "if any man love the world, the love of the FATHER is not in him," 1 John ii. 15.

OUR LORD, therefore, recommends the pursuit of *heavenly treasures* in preference to *earthly*, stating that the latter are *corruptible* by *rust* and *moth*, and liable to be plundered by *thieves* and *robbers*; whereas the former are *imperishable* and *secure*. And that the *heavenly* will then engage and engross the heart and affections of those who are *illuminated* with true wisdom; who will look down with contempt on the *earthly*, that engross the hearts of those whom the *god of this world* hath so *blinded* that they cannot discern the glorious light of THE GOSPEL; whose case is truly deplorable, "since the light that is in them is *darkness*," so that they cannot discover their error, misled by an infatuation the most incurable, Matt. vi. 19—24. Compare John ix. 39—41.

III. Having traced the analogy between the entire *decalogue*, or summary of the *law of Moses*, and the *Sermon on the Mount*, the summary of our Lord's *religious* and *moral* doctrine, we

shall proceed to consider the particular petitions of our *Lord's prayer*, as explained by the remainder of the sermon, and by other parallel passages of Scripture.

The *particular petitions*, though adapted to individuals, are still carried on in the plural number, to signify that we are bound to pray not for *ourselves* singly, but for our *families*, our *friends*, and our *connexions*.

1. The first of this class prays for the supply of our *temporal* wants.

“ Give us this day our *sufficient bread*.”

The basis of this petition seems to be the following prayer of the wise *Agur*, in *Proverbs*, stating the respective temptations and dangers of *riches* and *poverty*.

“ Give me neither *poverty* nor *riches*,
Feed me with *bread sufficient for me* * ;

* The original Hebrew, לחם חקי, (*lehem hoki*), is rendered in the Syriac version, “ *the bread of my sufficiency*,” or “ *necessity* ;” and in the Septuagint, more freely, μοι τα δεοντα και αυταρκη, “ *the things necessary and sufficient for me*.” Our Lord, in his prayer, probably used the *Syriac*, or vernacular phrase, which is found in the *Syriac* version of the New Testament, in both the citations of the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi. 11 ; Luke xi. 3. But in these the Evangelists closely rendered it τον επιουσιον *, a word coined by them for the purpose, and no where else to be found, neither in the Greek Testament nor in classic authors, as observed formerly by *Origen*. Which has given birth to a variety of interpretations thereof, (as may be seen in the commentators, *Wetstein*, and *Schleusner's Lexicon*.) But the most probable is that which represents it as compounded of επι, *ad*, and ουσια, *essentia* ; as understood by *Theophylact*, who explained it επι τη ουσια και συστασει ημων αυταρκη, “ *sufficient for our existence and sustenance* :” in the last word, αυταρκη, evidently copying the foregoing rendering of the *Alex. Septuagint* : and it was so understood by *Suidas*, επι τη ουσια ημων αρμοζων, “ *suitable for our existence*,” In this sense of επιουσιος, (which is perfectly agreeable to the analogy of Greek composition, as in επιταφιον, “ *what relates to burial* ;” επιληνιον, “ *what relates to the wine vat*,” &c.) it is contrasted with περιουσιος, from περι, *super*, and ουσια, *essentia*, which is frequent in the New Testament and in classic authors, signifying “ *redundant*,” “ *superfluous*,” “ *more than sufficient for support*,” &c. And that this, indeed, is the true sense of this scarce word, we may further collect from the interpretation of the Apostle *James*, who freely renders it τα επιτηδεια του σωματος, “ *the necessaries of the body*,” ii. 16, where the *Syriac* version, to mark the sameness of signification, uses the same phrase as in the foregoing instances.

In addition to these cogent arguments for the sense proposed, we may observe, that “ *daily*,” adopted in our English Bible, is rather tautologous ; scarcely, if at all, differing from the preceding, σημερον, “ *this day*,” which is inadmissible in so very concise a

* In addition to the foregoing critical remarks, Vol. III. p. 9, &c. this unusual word, επιουσιος, seems conclusive to prove that *Matthew* wrote in *Greek*, and that *Luke* copied it from him.

Lest I be full, and *deny Thee*,
 And say, *Who is THE LORD?*
 Or lest I be *poor and steal*,
 And take the name of MY GOD [*in vain,*] Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

Affluence, indeed, is apt to produce *unmindfulness* of the Divine bounties, Deut. viii. 10, Job i. 5, Exod. v. 2, Dan. v. 20—23. *Poverty*, on the other hand, often leads to *theft*; and thence to *oaths, imprecations, and perjury*, in order to hide the fact, when challenged therewith, Josh. vii. 11—19. *Agur*, therefore, deprecating both extremes, wisely and moderately prayed for a *competency*, “*bread to eat, and raiment to put on,*” as expressed more fully in *Jacob’s* modest prayer and vow, Gen. xxviii. 20, 21.

“*Bread,*” that “*staff of life,*” (Levit. xxvi. 6,) is put for *food* in general; and so much is prayed for, as may “*suffice,*” for the supply of our wants, not for the superfluities or luxuries of life. OUR LORD improves *Agur’s* petition, by adding “*this day,*” or “*day by day,*” Luke xi. 3, to mark our *continual* and uninterrupted dependance on that bountiful PROVIDENCE, “*which giveth to all his offspring, life and breath, and all things*” necessary for their support, Acts xvii. 25, xiv. 17, Matt. v. 45.

In the *Sermon on the Mount*, OUR LORD censures a criminal distrust of GOD’S providence, as among those unbelieving *Heathens* who exclaim, *What shall we eat? or what shall we drink?—or wherewithal shall we be clothed?* We should learn wisdom from HIS usual operations in animated and even inanimate nature. The common FATHER OF ALL, whose mercy is over all his works, feeds the *birds* of the air, and “*clothes the lilies of the field.*” He helps the industry of the former to find their *daily food*, though “*they neither sow nor reap, nor gather into barns;*” and the latter, “*which neither work nor spin,*” unable to do any thing at all of themselves to promote their “*growth,*” He clothes in greater glory and beauty, than even *Solomon* in all his magnificence of apparel. But *man* ranks higher in the scale of creation, and in the sight of God,

composition, every word almost of which is equivalent to a sentence. Others render it *crastinus*, “*to-morrow’s bread;*” (as if derived from the participle of the verb *επειμι*, like *περιουσιος*, say they, from that of the verb *περιειμι*.) but this sense seems contradictory to our Lord’s exhortation, “*Be not anxious for the morrow,*” &c. Matt. vi. 34, and therefore is inadmissible, even if the grammatical derivation was correct, which does not appear to be the case.

than the birds, and much higher than the fleeting *lily*, which to-day is in bloom, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, when withered, for fuel; how much more then is He disposed to *feed and clothe us*? For these are necessary for that *life and body* which we owe solely to him, and to promote the growth of our *stature*, over which we have no power or concern at all. If *we seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness*, the "*bread of life*," or our spiritual growth and improvement, he will give us, in addition, our *necessary food and raiment*, Matt. vi. 25—33. And OUR LORD warns us not to anticipate and aggravate the natural and necessary ills of life, by over carefulness about our future support. "Therefore *be not ye anxious about the morrow, for the morrow shall be anxious about its own concerns: sufficient to the [present] day is the evil thereof*," Matt. vi. 34. What a world of artificial ills, and adventitious misery and uneasiness, would this *new commandment* respecting *ourselves* save to discontented and repining mortals, if strictly adhered to! "*O taste and see that THE LORD is good: happy is the man that trusteth in Him!*" Psalm xxxiv. 8. "*Casting all your anxiety upon Him, for HE careth for you*," O ye of *little faith!* 1 Pet. v. 7.

The *second* of the *particular petitions*, relates to the relief of our *spiritual wants*.

" And forgive us our debts,
As we also forgive our debtors."

Here *debts* (οφειλήματα,) primarily denote *omission of duties*. This appears from the interesting parable of the *debtors*, of whom the one owed his master the immense sum of *ten thousand talents*; the other, his *fellow-servant*, the comparatively trifling sum of *one hundred denarii*, Matt. xviii. 23—34; and these, perhaps, form the most formidable article in the catalogue of our *offences*, supplying, in the number of our "*negligences and ignorances*," what may be deficient in the weight of our positive *sins*.—For, "*in many things we all slip*," James iii. 2; and "*there is no man living that sinneth not*," in *thought, word, or deed*, 1 Kings viii. 46. "If thou, LORD, be severe to mark what we have *done amiss*, O Lord, *who may abide it!*" Psalm cxxx. 3.

Debts, also, denote *positive sins*, (ἁμαρτίας,) as in the parallel copy of the *Lord's Prayer*, Luke xi. 4; or actual *trespasses*,

(*παράπτωματα*), as in the following comment on this article, immediately subjoined, Matt. vi. 15, 16.

“ For if *ye* forgive *men* their *trespasses*,
Your HEAVENLY FATHER will also forgive *you* ;
But if *ye* forgive not *men* their *trespasses*,
Neither will YOUR FATHER forgive *your trespasses*.”

And this is repeated, Mark xi. 25. Compare Ecclus. xxviii. 1—6, in which this precept is strongly recommended.

Repentance, however, on the part of the *offender*, is an indispensable condition of *forgiveness*, both with GOD and *man* ; because, if he continue *impenitent*, he is unworthy to receive it ; and on *man's* part, it would be often unsafe to grant it. This is strongly illustrated in the parable of the two debtors, in which the *master* remitted one *servant's* debt, when he fell at his feet, and besought him, “ LORD, have *patience* with me, and *I will pay thee all*,” which indeed was promising more than he could possibly perform, were not another *ransom* found for his deficiency, in the great INTERCESSOR, or ADVOCATE, JESUS CHRIST, Job xxxiii. 23, 24. (See Vol. II. p. 87.)

This servant, for refusing his *fellow servant's* supplication, precisely in the same terms, lost the benefit of the former grant of forgiveness, and was sentenced to be *imprisoned* and *tormented* till he should pay the whole debt : intimating that his punishment would be endless.

And OUR LORD prescribed *repentance*, as absolutely necessary to procure *forgiveness*, even from *man*.

“ Take heed to yourselves, [or beware of a spirit of *revenge*,] if thy brother *sin* against thee, *rebuke* him ; and if he *repent*, *forgive* him. And if he sin against thee *seven times* in the day, and seven times in the day *turn himself* to thee, saying, *I repent*, thou shalt *forgive* him,” Luke xvii. 3, 4. The nature of *true repentance*, is finely explained and illustrated in the exquisite parable of the *prodigal son* ; who, *when he came to himself*, or to his right mind, instantly arose and returned to his kind father, with the most *humble* declaration of *his sin* against *heaven* and against *his father*, and of his utter *unworthiness* to be reinstated in his former privileges as *a son*, and only fit to be received as a *hired servant*, the lowest station in his father's household, Luke xv. 11—21.

Nor is *forgiveness* to be limited : when *Peter*, evidently following up the former conversation, enquired, LORD, how oft

shall my brother *sin* against me, and I *forgive* him? until *seven times*? JESUS saith unto him, I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until *seventy times seven* *, Matt. xviii. 27. And the nature of *true forgiveness* is thus expressed, "So likewise shall MY HEAVENLY FATHER do also unto you, if ye from *your hearts* forgive not each his brother their *trespasses*," Matt. xviii. 21—35.

The petition, therefore, may be thus explained;

"Forgive us *our offences*, upon our repentance,
As we forgive *our offenders* upon their repentance."

This is perfectly consonant to the dictates of *reason*, as well as of *revelation*.

The last petition prays for divine aid and support in our *spiritual dangers*.

"And bring us not into *temptation*,
But *deliver* us from the *wicked one*."

The word *πειρασμον*, is ambiguous; it is used both in a good, and a bad sense. It either denotes "*trial*," or "*proof*," which we may bear and surmount, or under which we may fall, and be overcome. In the latter case, it should appropriately be rendered "*temptation*."

GOD often *brings* the best men into *trial*, to *prove* the sincerity of their *faith* and *obedience*, by *tribulations* and *persecutions*; to *correct* them in kindness for their *faults*, to *humble* their *pride* and *self-sufficiency*, and to *perfect* them by *sufferings* in this life, in order to prepare them for a better. Thus THE LORD *tried* Job, v. 17, Heb. xii. 5—11; and *Abraham*, Gen. xxii. 1—18; and *Joseph*, Psalm cv. 19; and *Moses*, Exod. iv. 19, Heb. iii. 5, xi. 25; and the *Israelites*, Deut. viii. 2—5, Judges ii. 22, &c. &c. and by the highest of all examples, THE SON OF GOD himself, after his baptism; who was *led*, or *impelled* by THE HOLY SPIRIT, of which he was *full*, into the wilderness, to be *tried*, or *proved* by the *Devil*, that *wicked one* †, against whose wiles he has taught us, by his own experience, to pray for *deliverance*: "That GOD would not bring

* It is remarkable, that *seventy times seven*, or 490 years, critically expressed the *long-suffering* of GOD for the crimes of the *Jews*, from the restoration of their polity in Church and State, after the *Babylonian* captivity, B.C. 420, to its destruction again by the *Romans*, A.D. 70, as foretold in *Daniel's* prophecy of the *seventy weeks*, and noticed by *David Levi*. See Vol. II. p. 514, note.

† See the last note, p. 114.

us into any *trial* that may exceed our strength to bear, but along with the trial, may make also an *outlet*, that we may be able to support it," 1 Cor. x. 13.

It is in the former sense of the word, that the Apostle *James* says, "My brethren, count it *all joy* when ye fall into *various trials*, [like the *Apostles* themselves, Acts v. 41,] knowing that the *proof* of your *faith* worketh *patience*, but let *patience* have her *wcrk perfect*; that ye may be *perfect* and *complete*, deficient in nothing," James i. 2—4; compare Rom. v. 3—5. "*Happy* is the man that endureth *trial*, for when he is *proved*, he shall receive the *crown of glory*, which THE LORD hath promised to them that *love* him," James i. 12; see the promise, Luke xxii. 28—30; and compare 1 Pet. v. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 8.

But "let none say, when *tempted*, [in excuse for his *sinning*,] I am *tempted* by GOD: for GOD cannot be tempted by *evils*, neither *tempteth* He any one HIMSELF," James i. 13. The actual *tempter*, by Divine permission, is *Satan*, as in the temptations of *Eve*, *Job*, *David*, *Ahab*, and his *false Prophets*; *Peter*, *Judas*, and the *false Apostles* of CHRIST, 2 Cor. xi. 3—13. See *Cruden's Concordance*, voce *Satan*.

"The snare of the *Devil*," 1 Tim. iii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 26, or the *means* he used to tempt, or to "bring them into *temptation*," and its fatal *progress*, are critically described, with the most profound knowledge of *human nature*, by the Apostle *James*, in continuation.

"But every man is *tempted*, when he is *drawn out*, by means of his peculiar *appetite*, and *ensnared*: then, the *appetite* having conceived, produceth *sin*, and *sin*, when perfected, bringeth forth *Death* *," James i. 14, 15.

The various *baits* of "*appetite*," with which the *Devil*, that wicked *fisher of men*, "*ensnares*" his unwary prey, and "*draws them out*" of their proper element of *religion* and *virtue*, are "the lust of the *flesh*, the lust of the *eye*, and the *pride* of life," as illustrated in the cases of *Eve*, Vol. II. p. 13, of *David*, Vol. II. p. 351, and of CHRIST, Vol. III. p. 77, &c.

It is to the NEW TESTAMENT that we owe the fullest and clearest information of the *personal* existence and agency of this most inveterate *enemy* of GOD and *man*; whose *deepest* device

* See *Shakspeare's* admirable commentary on this passage, Vol. II. p. 100, foregoing; which also seems to have furnished *Milton* with his sublime allegory of *Sin*, the daughter, and *Death*, the incestuous offspring of *Satan*, P. L. 1.

has been to ridicule and to *allegorize* the idea of his own reality, in order to throw an unsuspecting world off their guard, (see this Vol. p. 11,) that he may find their hearts “*empty, swept, and garnished,*” fitted and prepared for the reception of himself and his *wicked spirits*, “*to enter in, and dwell there,*” by the most dreadful and alarming *possession*. The danger and extent of our *spiritual warfare*, indeed, is well expressed by *Paul*, his powerful opponent, in his own kingdom, the *Gentile world*, who was commissioned by CHRIST “*to open their eyes, to convert them from darkness to LIGHT, from the power of Satan unto GOD,*” Acts xxvi. 18.

“*For, our wrestling is not merely with flesh and blood, [mankind,] but with the principalities, with the powers, with the mundane rulers of the darkness of this world, with the wicked spirits among the celestial beings,*” Ephes. vi. 12. Here the Apostle’s imagery seems to be borrowed from the mysterious transaction of *Jacob’s wrestling with the angel of light*, Gen. xxxii. 24.

The most effectual means of defence, we learn from our Lord’s precept, “*watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation ;*” by over security, or self-confidence, “*the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak,*” Matt. xxvi. 41.

The most mischievous instrument employed by *Satan* for the destruction of souls, is THE WORD OF GOD itself, “*adulterated*” and *perverted*, according to “*his methodism of error,*” or *erroneous modelling* of HOLY WRIT*, as we have actually seen in the foregoing cases of *Eve*, Vol. II. p. 13, and of CHRIST, Vol. III. p. 78, 2 Cor. ii. 17, Ephes. iv. 14. For, by the confession of the inspired Apostles themselves, “*There are some parts of SCRIPTURE, (especially Paul’s Epistles,) hard to be understood, and hard to be interpreted,*” respecting “*the mystery of THE GOSPEL,*” which the *unlearned and unstable, tossed to and fro, and veering about with every wind of doctrine, wrest to their own, and their hearers’ destruction ; deceiving others, and deceived themselves ; whilst false apostles, and false teachers, like the false prophets of old, foist in pernicious heresies, even denying THE LORD that bought them, (with his precious blood,) bringing on themselves speedy destruction : the old Serpent, by*

* ————— “*in Religion,*
 What *darned error* but some sober brow
 Will *bless it, and approve it with a text ?*” *Shakspeare.*

his subtilty, corrupting their minds from the *simplicity* of the GOSPEL respecting CHRIST. Compare, in the originals, 2 Pet. iii. 16, Heb. v. 11, 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2, Gal. ii. 4, 2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Cor. xi. 19, Ephes. vi. 19, Col. i. 26, 27, iv. 3, 2 Tim. iii. 13.

“ To withstand *the Devil*,” and his emissaries, namely, “ *false apostles, deceitful workers*, transforming themselves into *apostles*” of CHRIST, we are exhorted “ to put on the *divine panoply*, to gird our loins with *truth* or *sincerity*, in opposition to *guile* or *falsehood*, to wear the breast-plate of *righteousness*, or a *conscience* void of offence toward GOD and toward *men*, and to be shod with the *preparation*, (or *sandals*), of the *Gospel of peace*,” in a meek and quiet spirit, a peaceable and inoffensive demeanor; “ above all, to assume the *shield of faith*, whereby we may be enabled to *quench* all the *fiery darts* of the *wicked one*, and to take the *helmet of salvation*, or the blessed *hope* of everlasting life. And in addition to this complete *defensive* armour, to take the *sword of the Spirit*, which is THE WORD OF GOD,” carefully compared, and critically expounded, so as to vanquish the enemy at his own weapons, like the great CAPTAIN OF OUR SALVATION, who permitted no other *offensive* weapon to be employed in his cause. But it is “ *two edged*,” and unless it be cautiously handled, and skilfully used, may recoil and cleave asunder the wretched victim of his own indiscretion, who *dares* to wield it, without due preparation and discipline.

To guard, therefore, against this danger of *handling* THE WORD OF GOD *deceitfully*, or *unskilfully*, we are further recommended “ to pray with *all prayer* and *supplication in spirit*, at every season, (especially of emergency,) and to be *vigilant* thereunto, with *all perseverance*.” Compare also in the originals, 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14, iv. 2, Ephes. vi. 10—18, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, 1 Pet. v. 9, James iv. 7.

And for our encouragement and support during this arduous and perilous warfare, we are assured, that “ Greater is HE presiding in *us*, than he presiding in the *world*,” 1 John iv. 4, as implied also in the doxology, or conclusion of the *Lord's Prayer*.

“ For THINE is the *kingdom*, and the *power*,
And the *glory*, for evermore. Amen.”

“ THINE,” and not *Satan's*, as he boasted even to THE SON OF GOD himself, Luke iv. 6. (See p. 79.) THE FATHER,

indeed, is *greater than all*," John x. 29. And though, in his infinite wisdom, He permits *Satan* to exercise a considerable sway in this world, for the punishment of the bad, and the trial of the good, yet it is but for *a season*. The time is approaching, when, in the *regeneration*, the whole world, convinced and converted, shall exclaim, THE LORD, HE IS THE GOD! THE LORD, HE IS THE GOD! and not *Satan*, nor his prime auxiliaries, *Baal* and *Mammon*, (*idolatry* and *worldly-mindedness*,) which now rule with divided sway; when the kingdoms of this world, from the rising to the setting sun, shall become the willing subjects of THE LORD and HIS CHRIST; and THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT shall be *all in all*; and reign for evermore, throughout all eternity. Amen.

And as OUR LORD began his *Sermon on the Mount* with an impressive warning to his disciples of that age, against "the leaven," or doctrine of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, so he concludes with a similar warning against *false teachers*, to the end of the world; with an infallible *criterion* for detecting such by *their fruits* or *works*; and he excludes from the happiness of heaven *all workers of iniquity*, however eminently gifted as *teachers*, in *prophesying* or *preaching*, expelling *demons*, and working *miracles*, in the name of CHRIST, Matt. vii. 21—24.

Thus does this *divine discourse* critically harmonize throughout with the *Decalogue* and the *Lord's prayer*, while it furnishes the finest comment and improvement of the whole *religious* and *moral law of Moses*.

The whole "*mystery of THE GOSPEL*" is summed up and comprized in one single text, furnished by that most highly gifted Apostle *Paul*, "according to the *wisdom* given to him," which he taught as a "*father in Christ*, worth ten thousand *school-masters*."

This most comprehensive text is given in his Epistle to *Titus*, ii. 11—14.

"For the *saving grace* of GOD hath appeared to all *men*, teaching us, that denying *ungodliness* and *worldly lusts*, we should live *soberly*, *righteously*, and *godly* in this present world, expecting the *blessed hope* and *glorious appearance* of OUR GREAT GOD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST *, who gave

* This rendering is ably vindicated by *Sharp*, *Wordsworth*, and *Middleton*. 1. From the *grammatical* construction of the *Greek* article, according to the rule noticed before,

himself [a ransom] for us, to *redeem* us from *all iniquity*, and to *purify* unto himself a *peculiar people, zealous of good works.*"

On this passage, more closely translated, we may remark, 1. THE GOD whose saving grace hath been manifested to all men in the *Gospel*, is "THE FATHER OF MERCIES, and GOD of *all consolation*, 2 Cor. i. 3, who *willeth all men to be saved*, and come unto *information of the truth*," 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4. 2. The epithet "THE SAVIOUR" is applied both to THE FATHER and to THE SON in the sequel.

"For when the *kindness and philanthropy* of GOD OUR SAVIOUR, [THE FATHER,] appeared, He saved us, not by *works* which we *ourselves* had done in *righteousness*, but according to his *mercy*, by the *baptism of regeneration*, and by *renovation of the HOLY SPIRIT*, whose influence He *shed forth richly* upon us, through JESUS CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, to the end that, having been *justified* by HIS [THE FATHER'S] *grace*, we might be made *heirs of eternal life*, according to *hope*," Tit. iii. 4—7.

This noble passage, apparently designed for the illustration of the former, intimates, that "*the grace*" there noticed originated from "OUR SAVIOUR GOD," THE FATHER, and was effected by "OUR SAVIOUR GOD likewise, JESUS CHRIST," through the instrumentality of the HOLY GHOST, *regenerating and sanctifying* us, by his influence, in *baptism*, and afterwards in the *course* of our lives.

(note on John xvii. 3,) in the article of CHRIST'S *intercession*. 2. From the concurrent testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus* and all the early Fathers, in favour of this rendering. 3. The *Geneva Bible* translators, 1593, so explain it in their note, "CHRIST here, most plainly called 'THAT MIGHTIE GOD,' and his *appearance and coming* is called by the figure metonymic '*our hope*.' 4. *The Assembly of Divines*, 1651, observe in their *annotations*, "To the confutation and confusion of all that deny the *deity* of CHRIST, the Apostle here calleth him, not only GOD, but THE GREAT GOD. 5. The parallel passage, *του Θεου ημων και Σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου*, "of OUR GOD and SAVIOUR, JESUS CHRIST," 2 Pet. i. 1, (which differs only in the position of *ημων* before or after *Σωτηρος*, without affecting the sense; for the pronoun, in fact, understood, ought to be repeated twice, namely, *του Θεου ημων και Σωτηρος ημων*, after each noun, as judiciously remarked by *Middleton*, p. 622,) is so rendered, and understood of CHRIST alone, by the versions of *Wickliffe*, *Coverdale*, *Matthews*, *Cranmer*, the *Bishops' Bible*, the *Geneva*, the *Rhemish*, and also by *Wells*, *Dodd*, *Doddridge*, *Wesley*, &c. 6. Hence we may conclude that this passage was also so understood by our *Bible translators* in 1609, "of the *great God*, and *our Saviour*, JESUS CHRIST." For had they meant two distinct persons they should have repeated the pronoun, "and (of) *our Saviour*." The ambiguity, however, ought to be removed, in order to establish this most powerful text for CHRIST'S *divinity* in its full lustre; plucking up *Unitarianism* by the roots.

2. But while the Apostle is thus careful to “ ascribe unto THE FATHER the *honour* due unto his name,” in the great work of our salvation, he is equally zealous to *glorify* the SON for his *kindness* and *gracious* condescension in becoming OUR GREAT GOD and SAVIOUR also, or THE TUTELAR GOD of his *peculiar people*, the *Christians*, as well as SAVIOUR, which seems to be the most correct interpretation of that important phrase. Compare Acts xix. 28; Luke i. 32; Isaiah ix. 6.

3. The evidence of our *regeneration*, as a holy people, separated as “ a *peculiar treasure* to CHRIST, above all people, though all the earth be his,” Exod. xix. 5, is to be shewn by “ denying *ungodliness* and *worldly lusts*,” by a sincere reformation in *religion* and *morals*; for the former must precede the latter: and the evidence of our *sanctification*, by “ living *soberly* with respect to ourselves, *righteously* toward men, and *piously* toward GOD, in our progress toward *Christian perfection*; the highest duty, as most difficult of attainment, being here placed last, by this consummate *Teacher of the Gospel* *.

* Of all the various *confessions of faith*, or *articles of religion*, that have been published since the *Apostles' creed*, by the several *Christian Churches* of the East and West, the simplest, and most comprehensive, and most scriptural, perhaps, is furnished by the *Albigensian confession*, about A.D. 1200, for which, alas! this small primitive *Christian Church*, (called *Albigenses* or *Albigeois*, from *Albi*, their principal town, in *France*,) was nearly extirpated in the *home crusade* stirred up against them by the see of *Rome*, about A.D. 1096, which lasted a century; and also by the *inquisition*, expressly instituted to take cognizance of their *heresies*. It had been fortunately preserved among their surviving remains, the *Merindolians* and *Caprarians*, who presented it A.D. 1544 to *Francis I.* king of *France*. *Molinæus* published it from the French original, in his *Monarchia Francorum*, whence it was copied by *Sands*, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 425, and thence by *Jortin*, in his *Life of Erasmus*, Vol. I. p. 611, of which the following is a literal translation.

ALBIGEOIS CONFESSION OF FAITH, A.D. 1200.

I. “ We believe that there is ONLY ONE GOD, who is SPIRIT, CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, FATHER OF ALL, ABOVE ALL, and THROUGH ALL, and IN US ALL, to be worshipped in spirit and truth; to WHOM alone we look up, as THE GIVER of life, food, and raiment, of health and sickness, of prosperity and adversity: and WHOM we love, as THE AUTHOR OF ALL GOODNESS, and fear as THE SEARCHER OF HEARTS.

II. “ We believe that JESUS CHRIST is THE SON OF GOD, and HIS IMAGE; in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the GODHEAD; through whom we know THE FATHER, who is both OUR MEDIATOR and OUR ADVOCATE; nor is there ANY OTHER NAME given to man whereby we can be saved; in whose NAME alone we invoke THE FATHER. Nor do we utter any PRAYERS before GOD, except those that are contained in HOLY SCRIPTURE, or are plainly conformable to the sense thereof.

III. “ We believe that we have a COMFORTER, THE HOLY SPIRIT, proceeding from THE FATHER and THE SON; by whose inspiration we pray, and by whose efficacy we are

III. THE SANCTIONS OF THE GOSPEL.

This momentous article is distinctly stated by OUR LORD, in his discourse with the unbelieving *Jews*, at the second pass-

regenerated; who worketh in us all good works; and through whom we are led into all THE TRUTH.

IV. "We believe that there is ONE HOLY CHURCH, the congregation of GOD'S ELECT, from the foundation to the end of the world, whose HEAD is JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD; which is governed by THE ORACLE OF GOD, and led by THE HOLY GHOST; in which ALL sincere Christians are bound to converse: for she prayeth without ceasing for ALL; she is acceptable unto GOD, to whom she flieth for succour, and out of which there is no salvation.

V. "It is ordained among us, that THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH, both *bishops* and *pastors*, ought to be blameless in morals and doctrine, otherwise that they are to be deposed, and others to be substituted, to fill their place and office; but that none should assume this honour to himself, unless called by GOD, like *Aaron*; feeding God's flock, not greedy of filthy lucre, or as domineering over the clergy, but with a ready mind, setting an example to the godly, in speech, conduct, charity, faith, and chastity.

VI. "We confess that KINGS, PRINCES, and MAGISTRATES are MINISTERS appointed by GOD, who ought to be obeyed, for they bear the sword [of justice] to protect the innocent, and to punish the bad: and for this cause we are bound to render unto them honour, and to pay tribute. Nor can any one exempt himself from this obedience, if so be that he desire to be called A CHRISTIAN, following the example of our Lord and Saviour, JESUS CHRIST; for He paid tribute, and did not usurp jurisdiction, nor any temporal domination, in that his state of humiliation, exercising only the sword of the heavenly word.

VII. "We believe that WATER in the sacrament of BAPTISM is a visible and outward sign, representing unto us that which is inwardly wrought in us by the DIVINE VIRTUE, namely, the renovation of our spirit, and mortification of our flesh, in CHRIST JESUS, through whom, CHRIST, we are also made members of GOD'S HOLY CHURCH, in which we do shew forth the profession of our faith, and amendment of our life.

VIII. "We believe that the sacrament of the HOLY TABLE, or SUPPER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, is a sacred memorial and thanksgiving for the benefits conferred upon us by CHRIST'S death; to be celebrated in the assembly of the godly, with faith, charity, and self-approving conscience: and that by so taking the bread and cup we do communicate with CHRIST'S flesh and blood, according as we are taught in THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

IX. "We profess that marriage is good, honorable, holy, and ordained by GOD; to be forbidden to none, unless GOD'S WORD do interpose.

X. "We believe that THE PIOUS, and they that FEAR GOD, will approve themselves unto GOD, so as to have leisure for GOOD WORKS, which He hath prepared to walk therein: and these works are, charity, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, modesty, temperance, and other works recommended in SCRIPTURE.

XI. "On the contrary, we acknowledge that we ought to beware of FALSE PROPHETS, whose aim is to draw off the people from the religious worship due to THE ONE GOD and LORD, to cleave unto the creatures, and to trust in them; to forsake the good works recommended in SCRIPTURE, and to follow HUMAN INVENTIONS.

XII. "We retain THE OLD and NEW TESTAMENT as the rule of our faith, and we follow the APOSTLES' CEEED.

"Whosoever shall say that we profess other doctrine, we will prove that he is widely

over, which may be considered as the continuation of his discourse with *Nicodemus*. (See this Vol. p. 100.)

The *plenary power*, and *judicial authority* conferred on Him by THE FATHER, is thus represented.

“ Verily, verily I say unto you, THE SON cannot do any thing of himself, except what he seeth THE FATHER doing; for what things soever HE doeth, these also THE SON doeth likewise. For THE FATHER *loveth* THE SON, and sheweth him all things that Himself doeth; and will shew him *greater works* than these [now wrought before you,] that ye may marvel.

For as THE FATHER *raiseth* and *quickeneth the dead*, even so THE SON *quickeneth* whom *he willeth*. “ For THE FATHER *judgeth* no one, but hath given the *whole judgment* to THE SON; to the end that *all should honour* THE SON, *according as they honour* THE FATHER: *he that honoureth* not THE SON, *honoureth* not THE FATHER *who sent him*,” John v. 19—23.

Here OUR LORD declares, in the plainest and most express terms, his *association* with THE FATHER, in *power* and *worship*, both positively and negatively, to give it more weight and impressiveness; and in the language of prophecy also, as spoken of the MESSIAH, who is styled “ MY ASSOCIATE” by THE FATHER, Zech. xiii. 7, and who declared of himself, “ *The sacrifice of praise shall honour me; and thereby will I shew him, [my worshipper] the way to the salvation of GOD**,” Psalm l. 23. Compare Psalm ii. 12.

Our *gracious* LORD, the *righteous* JUDGE of *all the earth*, in his conversation with *Nicodemus*, had briefly stated the *certainty* of the future judgment, by one of those bold figures of rhetoric, *prolepsis*, or *anticipation*, (John iii. 18,) which he here repeats.

deceived himself, and *deceiving* others; *provided* we may be allowed, by the *ordinary judges*, [or *civil magistrates*, not the *inquisition*.”]

For these *incomparable articles*, striking at the root of the *papal idolatry* and *superstition* throughout, in the most guarded and cautious *scriptural* terms, were the professors *persecuted unto death*; and for his *fiery zeal* against them, was *Dominick*, the *first inquisitor general*, canonized by the Church of Rome! And even still, at the present day, and in this enlightened age, (as it is called) *Romish malignity*, with “ *conscience seared with a hot iron*,” unblushingly dares to insult the memory of these *faithful witnesses* of evangelical truth, styling them “ THE INFAMOUS ALBIGENSES”!!!

* This rendering is warranted by the *Sept. Vulg. Syr.* and *Arab.* versions; which, instead of the participle ֹשֶׁר , (*Sam.*) “ *offering*,” evidently read the adverb, ֹשֶׁר , (*Sham.*) “ *there*.”

“ Verily, verily I say unto you, he that *heareth my word*, and believeth on HIM that *sent me*, *hath eternal life*, and is not to come into *judgment*, but *hath passed over* (μεταβέβηκεν,) from *death into life*,” ver. 24.

He now enters more minutely into the subject of

THE TWO RESURRECTIONS.

It is the peculiar glory of THE GOSPEL, to have unfolded this most awful and awakening doctrine, more clearly, distinctly, and explicitly than the OLD TESTAMENT.

The *first resurrection* is thus described by OUR LORD.

“ Verily, verily I say unto you, *the hour is coming*, and *is now* [at hand,] when *the dead* shall hear the voice of THE SON OF GOD, and *they that hear shall live* *,” ver. 25.

* *Lightfoot* is the single commentator, perhaps, who rightly interprets this very important verse (25,) of the *first resurrection*; supposing it equivalent to Rev. xx. 5. All the rest refer it, either to the miracles of raising the dead, in the course of our Lord’s ministry, the daughter of *Jairus*, the widow’s son at *Nain*, and *Lazarus*; or else, to the *saints* that *arose* after our Lord’s resurrection, and *appeared* to many in the holy city, Matt. xxvii. 53.

But neither of these supposed cases seem of sufficient importance for the occasion, nor suitable to the context. 1. They were but few; and the persons restored to life, *died again*, and *saw corruption*. 2. The *apparitions* were transient, and not generally seen; but the resurrection here meant, is to *eternal life*; as plainly intimated by ver. 26; and by its contrast with the *general resurrection* afterwards, ver. 28, corresponding with Rev. xx. 11—13. 2. The stated time on which the prevailing opinion is founded, *και νυν εστιν*, “*and is now* [at hand,]” admits of considerable latitude. OUR LORD, shortly before, expressed that blessed season of the *regeneration*, when the pure and spiritual worship of GOD should universally prevail throughout the earth, exactly by the same phrase, as *Lightfoot* remarks, “*the hour is coming and is now* [at hand,] when the true worshippers shall worship THE FATHER in *spirit and truth*,” John iv. 23. For the interval, however considerable it may seem to *men*, is nothing in the sight of GOD, to whom “*a thousand years* are but as *one day*,” Psalm xc. 4, 2 Pet. iii. 8.

3. Where OUR LORD meant to express a *near* event, such as the approaching desertion of his disciples, previous to his crucifixion, he clearly marks it by a definite sense, *ερχεται ωρα και νυν εληλυθεν*, “*the hour is coming, and hath now come*, when *ye* shall be scattered,” &c. John xvi. 32.

4. The foregoing expression, *και νυν εστιν*, is explained by *Paul*, *εγγυς εστιν*, “*THE LORD is nigh*,” or “*at hand*,” Phil. iv. 5; yet he denies that “*the day* of THE LORD, *ενεστηκεν*, is *actually impending*, or *ready to come upon us*, until after the appearance and removal of the *man of sin*, or the *lawless one*,” 2 Thess. ii. 1—8, which was confessedly a distant event. *James* also, thus exhorts the faithful, *μακροθυμησατε*, “*wait patiently*, until the presence of THE LORD, because his presence, *ηγγικε*, *draweth nigh*,” James v. 7, 8; and so *Peter* says, “*the end of all things, ηγγικε*, *draweth nigh*, be *sober* therefore, and *vigilant* unto prayers,” 1 Pet. iv. 7, and yet he represents CHRIST’s presence as rather a distant event, in his description of the “*new heavens and new earth*,” 2 Pet. iii. 4—13.

For as THE FATHER hath *life in Himself*, so gave He also to THE SON to have *life in himself*; and gave him *authority* also to exercise *judgment*, because he is THE SON OF MAN," ver. 26.

The second follows.

"Marvel not at this, [the *first* resurrection,] for *the hour is coming*, in which *all* that are in the tombs, shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done *good*, unto the *resurrection of life*, and they that have done *evil*, unto the *resurrection of damnation*," ver. 28, 29.

The analogy and the contrast in these mysterious passages, is remarkable. In both resurrections, *the hour*, or season of judgment, is said to be *coming*, or drawing on; but in the former, is *now at hand*, or nigh, compared with the latter, which is indefinite. In the former, only *some* of the dead shall hear, and live, or rise to eternal life, in consequence of the principle of *eternal life*, vested in THE SON by THE FATHER, and communicated to them, "*the just*," or eminently *righteous dead*; "*who shall then live by their faith*," in CHRIST as their REDEEMER, Habak. ii. 3, 4. as explained Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 36—39. Whence, perhaps, OUR LORD styles it, *the resurrection of the just*, Luke xiv. 14, and calls them *the children of the resurrection*, who shall *die no more for ever*, but shall be *like angels*, immediate *sons of God*, Luke xx. 36, John xi. 26, Job i. 6.

In this account of the *first resurrection*, OUR LORD seems particularly to allude to that famous prophecy of *Daniel*, in which he was styled THE SON OF MAN, and invested with *universal and everlasting dominion*, by THE ANCIENT OF DAYS, THE FATHER; when he shall come, a *second time*, with glory, in the *clouds of heaven*, to establish the *kingdom of the saints* upon earth, at the *regeneration*, or *restitution of all things*; and to gather *his elect* from the four quarters of the world; when his *Apostles*, according to promise, shall sit on *twelve thrones*, judging, or instructing, the twelve tribes of *Israel*; when *Daniel* also, *written in the book of life*, shall stand in his *lot*, or *proper order*, at the end of the [1260] days [of persecution.] Compare Dan. vii. 13, 14—27, and xii. 1—13, with Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii. 28—30, Matt. xxiv. 30, 31, Acts i. 6, 7, iii. 21, Heb. ix. 28, 1 Cor. xv. 23.

The fullest comment on *Daniel's* prophecy, and its duration, is furnished in the visions of the *Apocalypse*.

“And I saw *thrones*, and some [*the Apostles*,] sate thereon, and *judgment* was given to them. [I saw] also, the souls of the [*two faithful witnesses* of THE LAW and THE GOSPEL,] that were *beheaded* for the testimony of JESUS, [under the latter,] and for THE ORACLE OF GOD, [under the former, Rev. xi. 3—12.]——And they *lived* and *reigned* with CHRIST a *thousand years*. (But *the rest* of the dead *revived* not until the thousand years were finished.) This is the *first resurrection*. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; upon such the *second death* hath no power: but they shall be *priests* of GOD and of CHRIST, a thousand years,” Rev. xx. 4—6.

And this clear and explicit commentary of *John*, is fully supported by the other *Apostles*.

Paul calls this *first resurrection*, “*the extraordinary resurrection* * of the dead,” to which he himself aspired, Phil. iii. 11; he states that it is to take place at CHRIST'S *second appearance*, 1 Cor. xv. 23, Heb. ix. 28; who is to *reign until he has put all enemies under his feet*, as foretold by *David*, Psalm cx. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 25; and he critically distinguishes this, from *the end* of the world, and translation of his kingdom from *earth* to *heaven*, ver. 24.

Peter also, in a highly figurative passage, (which shall be considered hereafter,) expressly states the expectation of the *apostolic* age; “for, according to CHRIST'S promise, *we* do expect a *new heaven* and a *new earth*, wherein *righteousness* shall reside,” 2 Pet. iii. 13. Compare Acts iii. 21.

The *second resurrection*, and *general judgment* of all mankind, is fully explained by OUR LORD himself, in a most awful representation of his coming at the end of the world, with *all his holy angels*, sitting as KING upon his *throne*, summoning all nations before Him, separating the *sheep* from the *goats*, or

* Την εξαναστασιν. This compound is used only in this passage; the lexicographers reckon it of the same import as the simple, αναστασις, “*resurrection*,” but εκ is often *intensitive* in composition, as εκθαμβειω, “*to terrify exceedingly*.” And surely, St. *Paul* must have aimed at something higher for himself, than the ordinary *resurrection* at the *end* of the world, common to all; he who had the *first fruits* of the *Spirit*, and waited for the adoption, Rom. viii. 23.

the *good* from the *wicked*, and consigning the former to *heaven*, and the latter to *hell*, Matt. xxv. 31—46.

The fullest comment on this also is furnished by the *Apocalypse*.

“And I saw a great white *throne*, and Him that sate thereon, [CHRIST,] from whose face *the earth and the heaven fled*, [or disappeared,] and there was found no place for them. And I saw *the dead, small and great*, standing before the *throne**; and *books* were opened, and *another* was opened, which is the *book of life*; and the dead were judged from the registers in the books, according to *their works*. (And *the sea* gave up the *dead* therein, [the *Antediluvians* † especially,] and *Death* and *Hades* gave up the *dead* [*bodies and souls*] that were in them, and they were judged *each* (ἐκάστος,) according to their *works*.) —And *whosoever* (εἰ τις) was not found registered in the *book of life*, was cast into the *lake of fire*, along with *Death* and *Hades*. This is the *second death*,” Rev. xx. 11—15, xxi. 8.

We may trace here a likeness also, and an enlargement of the *Psalmist's* description of the *throne* of CHRIST, Psalm xlv. 6, 7, and of the *general judgment* by him, Psalm l. 1—5; noticed also by *Solomon*, Eccles. xii. 14.

The Apostle *Paul* has furnished some further most interesting particulars of the *general resurrection* and *judgment*.

* Ἐνωπιον τοῦ θρόνου. This reading is supported by all the *ancient versions*, and by the earliest editions, the *Complutensian*, *Plantin*, *Genevan*, and several MSS., and is restored to the text by *Bengelius* and *Griesbach*. The present reading, however, τοῦ Θεοῦ, is admissible, as referring to CHRIST, by the *grammatical* principles laid down, see this Vol. p. 67, note. But the former seems preferable from Rom. xiv. 10, 2 Cor. v. 10.

† The destiny of the *Antediluvians*, who perished in the general deluge, *reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day*, in *Tartarus*, or the lower *Hades*, is noticed by the Apostle *Jude*, 6—15; 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20; 2 Pet. ii. 4, 5. See those difficult passages explained before, Vol. II pp. 36, 40.

From these texts, and from the parable of the rich man and *Lazarus*, explained also, Vol. II. p. 84, note, and afterwards, is sufficiently refuted the *Popish* and *Pagan* doctrine of *purgatory*, that supposed intermediate state for purifying the souls of sinners, before the general resurrection, by *fire*; from which state of torment they may be relieved, sooner or later, by *masses* and *prayers*, to be performed by the *priests*, for *money*, given them by the friends and relations of the deceased, and sent directly to Heaven! For,

1. *Good souls* are not tormented, but “*comforted*” in *Paradise*, or the upper *Hades*, Luke xvi. 25.

2. *Bad souls* are confined in *Tartarus*, or the lower *Hades*, by an “*impassable gulph*,” which precludes all intercourse with the blessed, Luke xvi. 26.

3. No mortal ever yet went to *heaven nor to hell*, till the *general judgment*, Acts ii. 34, Rev. xx. 14.

For this I say unto you, by the [revealed] word of THE LORD, that *we*, the *quick*, (*οἱ ζῶντες*), who shall remain until the [final] *presence of THE LORD*, shall not *anticipate* them that are *asleep* [in THE LORD, or the *faithful* dead, Heb. xi. 13.] For THE LORD himself shall descend from heaven with a shout [of the *angelic* host,] with the voice of *the archangel*, and with the *trumpet of God*. And *the dead in CHRIST shall rise first*. Then *we, the quick*, who shall remain, shall be caught together with them, to meet THE LORD in the air. And so we shall be always with THE LORD [in heaven,] 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, according to his promise to his disciples, John xiv. 2, 3.

The *process* of their resurrection he thus describes: “Lo, I shew you a mystery: all *we*, [the *faithful quick*,] shall not sleep, [or die,] but shall all be *changed*, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at *the last trumpet*, (for it shall sound again,) and the [*faithful*] *dead* shall be raised [first,] incorruptible, and *we* shall be *changed* [from corruptible to incorruptible *bodies*, and from mortal to immortal *spirits*;] for this corruptible [body] must needs put on incorruption, and this mortal [spirit] put on immortality.—For this I say, brethren, that *flesh and blood*, [or mankind in their *natural* state,] cannot inherit the kingdom of God [in heaven,] neither shall corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. 50—53, as OUR LORD stated before to *Nicodemus*, John iii. 6.

The *resurrection and destruction* of the *infidels* and *wicked* is also thus described.

“When the LORD JESUS, [as the SON OF GOD, and the JUDGE of the world,] shall be revealed from heaven in *flaming fire*, attended with *the angels*, the ministers of *his power*, and shall inflict *exemplary punishment* (*εκδικησιν*) upon those that *know not* God, [the *infidels*,] and upon those that *obey not* the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, [*the wicked*,] who shall suffer punishment, namely, *everlasting destruction*, [far] from the face of THE LORD, and from the glory of his strength, [in *hell*, Psalm ix. 17 ;] when he shall come to be glorified by his *saints*, and to be admired by *all the believers*, [contrasting their own reward with the punishment of the others,] in *that day* [of final retribution,] 2 Thess. i. 7—10.

“Then shall *the righteous* shine forth like *the sun* in the kingdom of their Father,” Matt. xiii. 43, where “they that be *wise* shall shine as the *brightness of the firmament*, [the *sun*

and the *moon*,] and *the justified of the many*, as the *stars* for evermore," Dan. xii. 3. "As *one star* differeth from *another star* in glory," 1 Cor. xv. 40, 41. For in their Father's house, heaven, there are "*many mansions*," appropriated to each class, John xiv. 2.

The *bodies* of the *wicked* are not described in Scripture; but that they will be different in their nature from those of the righteous, may be inferred from the different forms of the *sheep* and the *goats*, to which both are compared by our Lord himself. They "whose God was their *belly*, who *gloried in their shame*," who "*mined earthly things*," will probably "wake to *everlasting shame* and *infamy*," in earthly bodies, like those in which they died; while the wicked *quick* will retain their bodies unchanged, and both "shall be destroyed, *soul* and *body*, in hell;" while "CHRIST shall *transform the body of the humiliation* of the righteous, or their *earthly* bodies, to become similar in form to the *body of his glory*, according to that *energy*, by which he is able even to subdue all things unto himself," Phil. iii. 19, 21; Dan. xii. 2; Matt. x. 28.

May the knowledge of these most awful mysteries, disclosed to us by CHRIST and his inspired *Prophets* and *Apostles*, sink deep into our hearts, and produce in us the fruit of *good living*, to the *honour* and *glory* of GOD, and of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and for the *preservation* of our *spirit*, *soul*, and *body*, which compose our whole frame, in that great and terrible day of the Lord, Amen! 1 Thess. v. 23.

II. This distinction of the *two resurrections* was also the doctrine of the *primitive Church*.

Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, "a man not far removed from the Apostles, in time and virtue," a *Samaritan*, who had the best opportunity of conversing with the disciples of Apostles, a *philosopher* by education, and a *convert* * to *Christianity*, who sealed the sincerity of his faith with his blood, thus states it.

"I, however, and such *Christians* as are *orthodox* in all respects, *do know* (επισταμεθα) that there will be a *resurrection of the flesh*, and a *thousand years in Jerusalem*, rebuilt, adorned,

* *Justin Martyr*, among the reasons for his conversion, assigned, that in the *Grecian* rites, he found nothing *holy*, or that could recommend *man* to GOD; whereas, in the *Christian* Baptism, *repentance* and *amendment* of life was required, without which, the mere act of washing was of no effect. Ad *Græcos Orat.*

and enlarged, according to the joint declarations of *Ezekiel*, *Isaiah*, and the other *Prophets*. And since a certain person from among us, whose name was *John*, in a *revelation* made to him, did prophesy, that the believers in OUR CHRIST shall spend a *thousand* years in the [*New*] *Jerusalem*. And that after these shall be expired, the *universal*, and (in a word,) *eternal resurrection of all*, without exception, shall come to pass." See the original passage, *Justin Martyr's Works*, p. 313—315. Thirlby: or Bishop *Newton's Prophecies*, Vol. III. p. 338.

To this prime testimony we may add that of *Tertullian*, A.D. 200, the most learned of the *Latin Fathers*.

"For we, (*Christians*,) also profess, that we are promised a *kingdom upon earth* again, but in another state, antecedent to the *kingdom in heaven*; which is to take place after the [*first*] *resurrection* for the *thousand years*, in a city of Divine workmanship, *Jerusalem, brought down from heaven*, (Rev. xx. 4, xxi. 2,) which the Apostle describes as *our mother above*, (Gal. iv. 26,) and our *municipality*, as being *in heaven*, (Phil. iii. 20,) namely, comparing it to some heavenly city. This both *Ezekiel* knew, (xl. 44,) and *John* the Apostle saw:—This we mean, which GOD hath provided for the reception of the *saints* on their *resurrection*, and for *refreshing* them with abundance of all goods, namely, *spiritual*, (Acts iii. 19,) as a compensation for those which we have either *disregarded* or *lost* in this world, (Mark x. 30:) inasmuch, as it is both just and meet of God, that even there should *his servants* rejoice, where they were afflicted for his name' sake, (Heb. xi. 13—16.) This is the nature of the *kingdom of heaven*."

"After the duration of this kingdom [upon earth,] during a *thousand years*, (within which period is included the *resurrection of the saints*, reviving sooner or later, according to their deserts, 1 Cor. xv. 23,) then shall the *destruction of the world*, and the *judicial conflagration* take place; when we shall be *changed* in a moment into an *angelic* substance, namely, by the putting on of *incorruption*, (1 Cor. xv. 53,) and then be translated into the *kingdom of heaven*," (Matt. xv. 34.) See the original passage, *Mede's Works*, p. 815.

This was also the doctrine of *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, A.D. 178; *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, A.D. 181, and of the early Fathers in general, both of the Greek and Latin Church, until

Jerom, A. D. 392. And so prevalent was the doctrine, that in the *Gothic Missals*, it was customary to insert a clause in the prayers for the dead, *ut partem haberent in resurrectione primá*, that they might partake of the *first resurrection*." See *Mede's Works*, p. 841.

III. It was also the primitive doctrine of the *Church of England*, at the commencement of the *Reformation*; as may appear from the following extract from King *Edward VI. Catechism*, in 1553*.

"*Master.* The *end of the world* Holi Scripture calleth the fulfyllinge and parformance of the *kyngdome* and *mystery* of CHRIST, and the *renewing of all things*: for, (sayth the Apostle *Peter*, in his second Epistle, the third chapter,) '*We loke for a new heaven and a new earth*, according to the promise of GOD, *wherein dwelleth ryghteousnesse.*' And it seemeth reason, that corruption, unstedfaste change and synne, whereunto the whole world is subject, should, at length, have an end. Now bi what way, and what fashiou circumstances, these things shal come to passe, I would fayne hear thee tell.

"*Scholer.* I will tell you as well as I can, accordynge to the wytnesse of the same Apostle. '*The heavens shall passe away like a storm: the elements shall melt awaye: the earth and all the workes therein shal bee consumed wyth fire:*' as though he should say, '*as gould is wont to be fined, so shal the whole world be purified with fire,*' and be brought to his full perfection. The lesser world, which is *man*, followynge the same, shal lykewyse be delyvered from corruption and chaunge. And so for man, this greater worlde, which for hys sake was first *created*, shal at length be *renewed*, and be clad wyth another hew, much more pleasaunte and beautiful."

This is an able explanation of the Apostle's figurative language on this occasion, in conformity with his speech to the Jews, of the continuance of CHRIST in heaven, "*until the times of the restitution of all things*, of which GOD spake by the mouth of *all his holy Prophets*, from the beginning of the world," Acts iii. 21, or his second advent. From which the *Catechism* pro-

* This most excellent *Catechism*, the last work of the first Reformers, *Cranmer, Ridley*, &c. at the close of his reign, was published both in English and Latin, in the same year, 1553, by the King's authority. The English is republished in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, by Dr. *Randolph*, 5 vols. duodecimo, 1792, Oxford, and is the first Tract in that useful collection.

ceeds to distinguish and explain his third and last advent, at the end of the world.

“*Master.* What then remaineth?”

“*Scholer.* *The general dome.* For CHRIST shal come, at whose voice *al the dead shal ryse agayne*, perfecte and sound both in bodi and soul. The whole world shal beholde Hym sittynge in the royal throne of hys majestie; and after the examination of *everye man’s conscience*, the laste sentence shal be pronounced. Then the *chyldren of GOD* shall bee in perfecte possession of *that kyngdom* of freedom from death, and everlasting life, ‘*whych was prepared for them before the foundacyons of the world were layd,*’ (Matt. xxv. 24,) and ‘*they shal reygne with CHRISTE for ever,*’ (Rev. xii. 5.) But *the ungodlye* that believed not, *shall be throwen from thence into everlastynge fyre, appointed for the Devil and his angelles,*” (Matt. xxv. 41—46, Rev. xx. 15.) P. 38—40.

And with what earnest expectation and joyful hope, indeed, our pious forefathers of the *Reformation* looked forward to the speedy establishment of GOD’S *kingdom upon earth*, at the *regeneration*, may appear from the following admirable comment in the same *Catechism*, upon the second general article of the *Lord’s Prayer*.

“*Scholer.* In the seconde part we require, that ‘*Hys kingdome come.*’ For we see not yet ‘*all things in subjection to CHRIST,*’ (Psalm cx. 1, 2, 1 Cor. xv. 25—27, Eph. i. 22, Heb. ii. 8.) We see not *the stone hewed off from the mountayne wythout work of man*, which also *brosed*, [*bruised*] and brought to nought the image, which *Daniel* descryveth, (ii. 34—41,) that the onlye rock, CHRIST, may *obtainye and possesse the dominion of the whole world*, graunted hym of his FATHER, (Dan. vii. 13—27, 1 Cor. x. 4, Matt. xvi. 18.) *Antichrist is not yet slayne*, (Dan. vii. 10, 2 Thess. ii. 8—10, Rev. xix. 20.)

“For thys cause do we *long for* and *praye*, that it may at length ‘*come to passe,*’ and that CHRIST *may reigne with his saintes*, according to God’s promises, (Rev. xx. 4, &c.) that He may *lyre* and be *LORDE* in the world, accordynge to the decrees of the *HOLY GOSPEL*, (Phil. ii. 11, Rom. xiv. 8, 9, Rev. xix. 6, &c.) not after the *tradition* and *laws of men*, nor pleasure of *worldly tyrants*.

“*Master.* GOD *graunte hys kyngdom may come*: and that *spedilye !*” (Rev. xxii. 20.) P. 59.

But most unfortunately, the sound *scriptural* and *orthodox* doctrine of the *two resurrections*, so well understood, and so clearly explained by our *first Reformers*, soon fell into disrepute and disgrace, however unjustly, by the reveries of some ignorant *enthusiasts*, and the excesses of some frantic *fanatics*, who sprung up, like *tares* among the *wheat* of the *Reformation*, in *Germany*; such as the *Anabaptists*, who sprouted up, headed by *Nicholas Storch*, at *Zwickaw* in *Saxony*, A.D. 1521, and for some years committed dreadful outrages in *Munster* and through *Germany*, whence they spread to the *Netherlands*, *Holland*, *France*, *England*, &c.

This turbulent sect derived their name, *Anabaptists*, "Rebaptizers," from rejecting infant baptism, and rebaptizing adults. They boasted of *inspirations* and *revelations*, and pretended to be the *only true Church*, and that there was no salvation out of their communion. They were accordingly most intolerant and tyrannical, excommunicating, without mercy, not only aliens, but each other, when they split, as they soon did, into *schisms* and *divisions*. They condemned all the liberal arts, destroyed all books but the Bible, pulled down all magistracies and civil government, wherever they prevailed*. And to complete their levelling principles, they abolished private property, and held all things in common; alleging the example of the first Christians. Their professed object was to root out all the *ungodly*, and to set up the *fifth monarchy*, or *kingdom of the saints*, foretold by *Daniel*; or the *kingdom of Sion*, and the *new Jerusalem*, in the *Apocalypse*. But their new kingdom of *Munster* was destroyed in 1524, and their ringleaders all perished by the sword or the halter.

These were followed in 1538 by the vile and profligate set of the *Antinomians*, or "enemies of the *law of works*," headed by *John Agricola*, who held that *it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith*, misinterpreting *Paul's* doctrine, Rom. iii. 28, vi. 1.

All these mischievous *enthusiasts* and *fanatics*, who were violent enemies of *popery*, and hated the whore of *Babylon*,

* A favourite text with these *fanatics*, and their successors in *England*, during the Grand Rebellion, was Psalm cxlix. 6—9, "Let the *saints* be joyful in glory, let them sing aloud upon their beds; let the *praises* of GOD be in their mouths, and a *two-edged sword* in their hands; to execute *judgment* upon the *heathen*, and *punishment* upon the *people*; to bind their *kings* in *chains*, and their *nobles* with *links of iron*," &c.

while they loved or practised her lusts and abominations, brought great scandal and odium upon *the Reformation*, and prevented *Erasmus* and others, from embracing it, who were friends to its principles. *Luther* vigorously opposed them, and had the merit of reclaiming their leader, *Agricola*, and bringing him back to his senses and his duty. "This poisonous *Antinomian* doctrine," said he, "proceedeth mildly, and is palatable to *flesh* and *blood*, but it will produce much mischief." Collect. Mens. p. 429. And when he found that the *Anabaptists* could not be reclaimed by reason or argument, he exhorted the *magistrates* to draw the sword against them, and destroy them; not for their opinions as *Heretics*, but for their misdemeanors, as *perjured* and *seditious rebels*.

And such was the general *odium* raised against them, that the *refugees* of these fanatical sects who fled to *England*, found no toleration there. *Jane Bocker* and *Van Pere*, Anabaptists, were burnt in *Smithfield*, in the reign of *Edward VI.* by *Cranmer* and *Ridley's* instigation, as *blasphemers*; and two more, *Henry Terwert* and *John Peterson*, who had been driven out of *Holland*, suffered in like manner, 22d July 1575, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was prejudiced against them as *Atheists*, that condemned all *governments*, and taught *seditious doctrines*. These executions, however, were considered as unreasonably severe*. The young King, *Edward*, signed the death warrant of the former with great reluctance and many tears; and in the latter case, several *English* and *Flemish*, eminent for their piety and learning, strongly interceded with the Queen to prevent their execution, but in vain.

* "There were also *divines* in *Lower Germany*," says Bishop *Taylor*, "who with reason spake against the *Inquisition*, and the restraining *prophesying*, [or liberty of *preaching*,] who yet, when they had shaken off the *Spanish* yoke, began to *persecute* their brethren." *Liberty of Proph.* p. 208. Thus, *Valentine Gentilis* was burnt at *Bern*, and *Servetus* at *Geneva*, by *Calvin*. And the *Calvinist* Synod, held at *Dort*, was no less arbitrary and overbearing against the *Remonstrants* of the *Arminian* sect, than the *Popish* Council of *Trent* against reputed *Heretics*.

There is, however, this wide difference between *Popish* and *Protestant* persecutions for religion; *persecution* is a fundamental principle of the *Romish* Church, and accordingly has been sanctioned by the *Popes*, councils, and *Divines*, and openly justified by *Bossuet*. But it is diametrically opposite to the principles of *Protestantism*, disclaiming all *religious tyranny*, and maintaining the rights of *private judgment*; and when the turbulence of those unsettled times had subsided, which carried away such excellent men as *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, (who repented of their error at the stake,) it was condemned by the *Reformed Churches* in general.

How great, indeed, was the general prejudice against such *fanatical enthusiasts*, we may judge from *Milton*, not long after, who, though rather a *Republican* in his political principles, and no friend to *arbitrary power* under any existing government, thus characterizes the *Puritans*, their successors :

“ They bawl for *Freedom* in their *frantic* mood,
 Yet still *revolt* when TRUTH would set them free ;
Licence they mean, when they cry *Liberty* !——
 For who loves that, must be first *wise* and *good*.”

Along with this scum of the *Reformation*, sprung up the atheistical set of the *Libertines*, in the Church of *Rome*, who flourished chiefly in *Italy* and *France*. These equally disregarded all religious establishments, as no better than *priestcraft*, though they attended the Churches of the *Romanists*, and the conventicles of the *Reformed*, through policy, dissembling their own opinions, and following the strongest party. *Calvin* attacked, with great severity, these “ *cabinet philosophers*, acting under the *papacy*,” as its secret emissaries, to confound the *Reformation*. “ These *conceited villains*,” says he, “ who pay no regard to all these things, *public worship*, *sermons*, &c. plainly shew, by this, that they have not a drop of *Christianity* in them *.”

The spawn of these *Libertines*, or *Freethinkers*, were the French *Scavans*, *Voltaire*, *D'Alembert*, *Diderot*, *Rousseau*, *Condorcet*, &c., who, like the *frogs* in the *Apocalypse*, xvi. 13, by their continual croakings against *Religion* and *Government*, produced the tremendous explosion of the *French Revolution*, in 1793. There is a *fanaticism* in *philosophy*, no less than in *Religion*, and still more dangerous, as *Atheism* is worse than *Superstition*.

Hence, the *Apocalypse*, from its abuse, grew into disrepute, even among the *Reformed*, from which such licentious and revolutionary practices were ignorantly deduced. Insomuch that *Calvin*, who wrote so largely on the Scriptures, omitted the Book of *Revelation*, as too mysterious and unintelligible for that age ; while the partizans of the See of *Rome* artfully decried its

* See a curious account of the opinions and excesses of the *Anabaptists*, and of the *Libertines*, in *Brandt's History of the Reformation of the Netherlands*, abridged by *De la Roche*, Vol. I. 38, 78, 204, &c., and in *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, Vol. I. p. 355, &c. which affords the most authentic information on these subjects.

authenticity, because it too plainly predicted the *abominations* and final *downfal* of that corrupt and apostate Church.

It is, therefore, more to be regretted than wondered at, that the framers of our present *Liturgy* confined themselves entirely to the *second*, or *general resurrection*, excluding the *first*; as may appear from the *collects* for the *first* and *third* Sundays after *Advent*, and for the *sixth* Sunday after the *Epiphany**, &c. which mention our *Lord's* coming *again*, or "*second coming* to judge the world at the *last day*," as contrasted with his "*first coming* in *humility*," or in the flesh. They should rather have said, "at his last coming to judge the world," which would not have interfered with the express declaration of Scripture, reckoning our *Lord's* appearance in glory, at the regeneration, "*the second*," Heb. ix. 28, nor with the primitive doctrine of King *Edward's Catechism*, as we have seen; even supposing that they wished chiefly to inculcate the doctrine of the *general resurrection*, as most important to all, both good and bad, who compose the visible Church of CHRIST, or "profess, and call themselves *Christians*."

Under this interdict lay the doctrine of the *first resurrection*, till A.D. 1627, when the learned and enlightened *Joseph Mede*, in his masterly *Clavis Apocalyptica*, opened the door to a rational and critical interpretation of the Apocalypse, and indicated and revived the important and momentous doctrine.

Mede plainly and firmly states his opinion respecting the misapplication of the Prophecies that relate only to the *first resurrection*, in the following terms.

"They (the interpreters) are absolutely proceeding to overturn the *pillar of evangelical truth* concerning the *glorious advent* of CHRIST, who, *neglecting the ancient tradition of the Church*, endeavour to transfer to another subject the parallel prophecies of Dan. vii. 9—22, and Rev. xx. 4 †."

Since his time, the doctrine has been gradually reviving, and must continue to gain ground with the skilful study of the *chronological Prophecies*. It is now openly maintained by the

* This *Collect* is framed from the *Gospel* of the Sunday, Matt. xxiv. 23—31, relating to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and to the ensuing *first resurrection*, rather than to the *second*, as will be shewn in the sequel.

† Omnino Fidei Evangelicæ de glorioso CHRISTI adventu columnam subductum eunt, qui, vetustâ Ecclesiæ traditione neglectâ, prophetiam istam, (Dan. vii. 9—22=Rev. xx. 4,) aliò transferre conantur. *Mede's Works*, p. 532.

most learned and sagacious critics and commentators of the present age, not only in *England*, such as *Wood, Whitaker, King, Henry Taylor, Faber, &c.* but throughout *Europe*. In-somuch, that *David Levi* does not hesitate to appeal to the general expectation: "All the nations, *Christians* as well as *Jews*, seem to talk with confidence of the *speedy restoration* of the *Jewish nation*, and of the *sudden appearance* of the TRUE MESSIAH*." Dissert. Vol. I. p. 286.

* *David Levi*, by a glaring *inconsistency*, (the natural result of his *partial blindness*,) contradicts the foregoing assertion by the following, in the same volume, p. 131.

"Several *Christian* writers contend, that these *glorious* promises (respecting THE MESSIAH,) are to be fulfilled at the *second* coming of *Jesus*, when he is to reign a *thousand* years with the *Saints* upon earth: I must observe, that they have no authority for this from the prophecies of the OLD TESTAMENT. Nay, I am confident that they cannot produce one single, clear, unequivocal *prophecy* from the Old Testament, which foretels a *two-fold* coming of *one and the same person*, as the MESSIAH; and that too at the distance of such a number of years as have elapsed from the supposed period of his being on earth. Whence it is manifest, that the whole scheme of the *Millennium* is a mere chimera, an *ignis fatuus*, notwithstanding all the noise and pother that has been made about it."

What thanks *David Levi* may gain from his own people, for thus overturning "the *hope and consolation of Israel*," warranted by their oldest *tradition*, of the seven *millenary* ages of the world, which even forms the basis of their *chronology*, is not for us to decide. But he has made those positive assertions here, which are refuted by the whole tenor of the OLD TESTAMENT.

1. The reign of the MESSIAH upon earth with his *Saints* for a *thousand* years, or a long portion of time, intimated by Dan. vii. 14, is confirmed by the following prophecies, as understood and interpreted by their most learned *Rabbis*, ancient and modern; *Jacob's* prophecy of SHILOH, Gen. xlix. 10—12. *Balaam's* prophecy of the *star and sceptre*, at a considerable distance of time, Numb. xxiv. 17, which gave rise to *Barchocab's* rebellion, under the auspices of Rabbi *Akiba*. *Nathan's* prophecy of the spiritual *Son of David*, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16. *David's* prophecies of the glorious reign of THE MESSIAH, Psalm xlv. 1—17, lxii. 1—19. To which we may add those of *Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, &c.*, noticed in the course of this work. In *Moses*, Psalm xc. 4, "The *thousand* years" are reckoned, by R. *Eliezar*, to denote the days of the MESSIAH in the seventh millenary age.

2. Some remarkable *single* prophecies intimate, figuratively, a *two-fold* character of THE MESSIAH. Such as the grand charter of mercy at the fall, in which the blessed *seed of the woman* was to *suffer*, before his *triumph* over the *old Serpent*, Gen. iii. 15. It is intimated plainly, and without any figure, in the *rejection* of the MESSIAH by the *Jews*, and the subsequent *glory* of his reign as THE SON OF GOD, Psalm ii. 1—12, in his remarkable *sufferings* at his crucifixion, which are followed by his *thanksgiving* in glory, Psalm xxii. 1—22—31, noticed also Psalm lxxxix. 19—46, and Isa. liii. 10, 11, &c.

3. The interval before his *second* coming, is foretold to be of *very long continuance*, by *Moses*, Deut. xxviii. 59, xxx. 1—3, Isa. vi. 11, 12, Hosea ii. 4, 5, Dan. viii. 13, 14. And the 2300 days or years of *Daniel's* grand prophetic period, will probably not expire sooner than A.D. 1880, according to the foregoing computation, Vol. II. p. 511, 521.

The revival of this important and momentous doctrine of the *first resurrection*, will, under GOD, be productive of several advantages.

1. It will contribute to prepare the way for the *conversion* of the *Jews*, by confirming their expectations of the approaching *restoration* of *Israel* to the land of promise; and help to reconcile them to those *Christians*, who hold the same doctrine in common with them. This advantage was noticed by *Mede*: “While we *Christians*, wrest those prophecies to the *first advent* of Christ (in the *flesh*,) which most clearly relate to the *second* (in *glory*,) the *Jews* hold us in *derision*, and are more strongly confirmed in their *infidelity*.” *Mede*, p. 537.

2. It will rescue a most salutary and awakening doctrine, from the wild reveries of ignorant *enthusiasts*, and mischievous *fanatics*, treading in the steps of the *old Anabaptists* and *Puritans*, with which the country is again infested; these impose not only on the credulity of the vulgar, but even upon some in the upper ranks, who from their education and station, ought to know better things. Witness the prophecies of a crazy *Brothers*, credulously swallowed even by the orientalist *Halhed*; and “*the seals*” of *Joanna Southcott*, vindicated by the Rev. *Philip Foley*, a beneficed clergyman of the established Church*.

* The following singular *advertisement*, by the Rev. *Philip Foley*, Rector of Old *Swinford*, near *Stourbridge*, *Worcestershire*, appeared in the *Salisbury Journal*, April, 1809.

“ TO THE PUBLIC.

“ Nothing is fairer or more desirable than TRUTH, and it is from this principle alone, that I am induced to put the following into the *Salisbury Journal*, to vindicate and clear a character, who has been most wantonly and wickedly traduced.—I mean the character of JOANNA SOUTHCOTT. She has been accused of *three heavy charges*, which, if substantiated against her, she ought to suffer every severity which the law of the land could inflict upon her: but happily, there is not the least shadow of truth in any one of the accusations.

“ The *first charge* made against her is, that *Mary Bateman’s* wicked and infamous conduct (and who has lately suffered the just sentence of the law at *Leeds*,) is to be ascribed to Joanna Southcott, because she happened to have one of her *seals*.

“ The *second charge* brought against her, is her having predicted the destruction of *Bath*, on *Good Friday* last.

“ The *third charge* brought against her, is her having sold her *seals* at *half-a-crown* each.

“ To the *first*:—— It is true, *Mary Bateman* had a *seal*; but her wicked and diabolical conduct can be no more, in justice, ascribed to *Joanna Southcott*, than the wicked and diabolical conduct of *Judas*, could, in justice, be ascribed to our BLESSED LORD, because he was one of his disciples. And this, ‘*the wise will understand, though the wicked will not.*’ [Dan. xii. 10.]

3. "The terrors of the Lord," during the *last woe*, and the effusion of the seven *last vials of wrath*, destined to precede the second advent of CHRIST in glory, may tend to rouse a *thoughtless* and a *lukewarm* world of the *ungodly* from their lethargy, to *repentance* and *reformation*; while the expectation of "a *new heavens* and *new earth*, wherein righteousness shall re-

"To the second: This is a direct falsehood, and can be proved by many witnesses. For when it was told Joanna Southcott, that some woman had predicted the destruction of Bath, on Good Friday last, she immediately answered that she would be found a *false prophetess*. And so, many people of that city discovered, when they experienced, upon their return, the mockery and ridicule of their neighbours.

"To the third:—This is as unfounded as the second, that Joanna Southcott sold her seals for *half-a-crown each*. Now it happens, that there are *more than fifteen thousand people*, who can prove she never sold a seal in her life, or ever suffered one to be sold; for her seals were given 'without money and without price,' [Isa. li. 1,] a free gift to all that had FAITH to believe in her inspired writings; as well to the poor as to the rich.

"[II.] Having thus cleared up the charges against Joanna Southcott, I shall give a sketch of her *divine mission*; which is to warn the world of the *second coming* of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, to destroy *Satan's kingdom* of misery and woe; and to establish his own *glorious kingdom* of love and peace upon earth for a *thousand years*; as promised Rev. xx. when He will reign, *in spirit*, among the children of men, during that period, before the *general judgment*.

"Her writings only lead those who will follow their directions to the SCRIPTURES OF TRUTH, [Dan. x. 21, xi. 2,] and point out HOW the *promises* and *prophecies* of that golden book, THE BIBLE, will be fulfilled and accomplished; and demonstrate, irresistibly, that 'the kingdoms of this world will soon become the kingdoms of THE LIVING GOD, and He will reign for ever.' Rev. ii. 15.

"*Illustrious era!* Thine it is to close the long series of *preparation* which PROVIDENCE has been carrying on from the first of time! Thine, to fulfil the wishes of the *worthy* and *devout* of every age and every clime! Thine, to recover *man* from depredation and dishonour! Thine, to *consummate the mission*, and to adorn with its brightest honour the crown of the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD! Thine, to vindicate the government, glorify the perfections, and illustrate the all-bounteous character of the GOD OF LOVE! Thy approach, glad period, will be hailed by *myriads of intelligent beings*, who, animated by THEE, with a celestial glow of devotion, will give expression to their raptures, in the long suspended song of *angels*, GLORY BE TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST—ON EARTH, PEACE—GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN."

"Philip Foley."

What sober and rational Christian, can avoid deeply regretting, that talents like these, qualified to join the *angelic choir* in hymning the praises of the GOD OF LOVE, and of the SAVIOUR OF MANKIND, with a *seraphic* glow of piety and devotion, could possibly be perverted, and even prostituted to prove the *divine mission* of a Joanna Southcott!!! Alas, we need not wonder at the currency of her *seals*, in blasphemous imitation of the 144,000, sealed in their foreheads, as the true disciples of the LAMB OF GOD, (Rev. vii. 3, xiv. 1,) when *fifteen thousand sealed disciples* may easily increase to the *apocalyptic number*, when they have such a champion as the pious, but deluded Rector of Old Swinford, at their head! Alas! when will *false Christs*, and *false prophets*, and *false prophetesses*, cease to *unsettle* and *disturb* the world!

"All the foundations of the earth are out of course!"

side," at the *regeneration*, will tend to comfort and support the *faithful* in the present hour of trial, and render them more *serious*, more *sober* and *vigilant*, to work out their salvation, according to the Apostle's exhortation: "*The end of all things, [or of the present dispensation,] is at hand: be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer,*" 1 Pet. iv. 7; "wherefore, expecting these, study to be found by Him, [CHRIST,] *spotless and blameless, in peace; and account the long suffering of the Lord for salvation,*" 2 Pet. iii. 14.

May the *light* of these wondrous *mysteries*, kindle in the hearts of the humble and diligent enquirers, a *warmth* to which they were before strangers*; and may the DIVINE BLESSING attend these honest and zealous, but sober and deliberate endeavours to revive, illustrate, and enforce this awful and awakening doctrine! Amen.

* Such was the effect of his *apocalyptic* studies, upon that illustrious reformer of the Church of England, in the momentous doctrine of the *Millennium*, the "sober minded" *Joseph Mede*, as noticed in one of his confidential letters.

"I find more true contentment in the contemplation of those things which GOD hath been pleased to *reveal* unto me, than the greatest dignities which *ambition* so hunteth after, could ever afford me.—And I give thanks to ALMIGHTY GOD, who hath made the light of these His *wonderful mysteries* to kindle that *warmth* in my heart, which I felt not till I began to see them, and which have *made* me that which they *found* me not."

His modesty and humility, caution and deliberation, in publishing his discoveries, were still more praiseworthy than his uncommon erudition and sagacity.

In a letter to a friend, giving an account of the leisurely and deliberate progress he made in his Exposition of the *Apocalypse*, he observes, "I am by nature *cunctabundus* (dilatatory) in all things, but in this let no man blame me if I take *more pause than ordinary.*" And he gives this reason for it: "*Altius enim hoc animo meo insedit, [for this hath been most deeply impressed on my mind,] that rashly to be the author of a false interpretation of SCRIPTURE, is TO TAKE GOD'S NAME IN VAIN, in a high degree.*"—"Words," says his excellent biographer, *Worthington*, "worthy to be written (to use *Jeremy's* expression, XVII. 1,) *with a pen of iron, or with the point of a diamond upon the table of the heart*, in the most legible and lasting characters; words arguing the author's most *serious* and *pious spirit*, full of reverence for the WORD OF GOD, and most sadly to be considered by the *over confident* and *superficial* expositors of the DIVINE ORACLES and MYSTERIES." General Preface to *Mede's Works*, p. 22.

And he concludes his *Clavis Apocalyptica* with this modest remark:

Hæc ita *disserui*, Lector, non temere *asserui*. Rem vero totam *Ecclesiæ*, ex VERBO DEI *arbitrandam*, defero: *cujus* *judicio*, ut par est, meam de *his mysteriis* sententiam, lubens submitto.

And his *Clavis Apocalyptica* ends thus devoutly, p. 432.

Id extremum te volo, Lector, qui in hæc incidetis, ut si *mihi* assidenti, *quid* forte *revelatum* esse perspexeris, aut *tibi ipsi*, aut *aliis*, ad hæc MYSTERIA [intelligenda] profuturum, id totum DEI in me misericordiæ acceptum referas; CUI, et ego, *ob tantillum sapientiæ* *Ejus radiolum*, grates persolvere nunquam desinam: Sin *quid aberratum* sit, id

IV. THE EXTRAORDINARY AIDS OF THE GOSPEL.

These are thus detailed in the fourth clause of the commission.

1. *The expulsion of demons.*
2. *The gift of tongues.*
3. *The handling serpents.*
4. *The drinking deadly potions, unhurt.*
5. *The miraculous cure of diseases.*

I. THE EXPULSION OF DEMONS.

This is noticed first, perhaps, as an earnest and pledge of the final downfall of *Satan*, their prince. This stupendous power was originally granted to the *Apostles* in their first commission, Matt. x. 1; afterwards to the *seventy*, Luke x. 17; and was now formally renewed. Instances of it are found in the *Acts of the Apostles*. See the cases of the damsel at *Philippi*, Acts xvi. 16—18; and of the *Jewish* exorcists at *Ephesus*, Acts xix. 13—16, noticed before, p. 106, 107.

The *apostolical fathers*, next in succession to the *Apostles*, notice this as common in their age.

Clemens Romanus, about A.D. 96, says, in his *Recognitions*, cap. 32, 33, “Every *faithful* Christian has power over *demons*.” “Be baptized in the name of the most HOLY TRINITY, and then if ye believe with *entire faith*, and *true purity* of mind, ye also shall expel *wicked spirits* and *demons* out of others, and free men from *diseases*. For the *demons* know and acknowledge them that have devoted themselves to GOD, and are sometimes expelled even at their presence. We therefore exhort you to become of our religion; and we assure you, that when ye advance to the *same faith* and *innocency* of life with us, ye also shall have equal and the same power against *demons*.”—This agrees with our Lord’s requisites of *faith*, *prayer*, and *fasting*, in the more difficult cases, Matt. xvii. 20, 21. See this Vol. p. 134, 135.

solum meum [mei] esse memineris, hominis quantillarum virium et nullatenus ad hæc (quod probè mihi conscius sum) ex meipso idonei.

Benedictio et Honor, et Gloria

EI

Qui insidet Throno et

AGNO

In sæcula sæculorum.

Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, also vouches the same in his *Apolo- gies*, p. 45, 302. “*Even now, we who believe in JESUS, ex- orcising all the demons and wicked spirits, have them subject to us;*” and this, he adds, “*throughout the world.*”

Heathen testimony also confirms their report.

Strabo, that judicious historian, contemporary with CHRIST, says, “*Divination and oracles were more in estimation among the ancients, but are now held in much indifference: wherefore the oracle at Ammon, which was formerly esteemed, has almost ceased. And the sacred oracle at Delphi is neglected, which before was exceedingly esteemed,*” p. 818, 419.

Plutarch also, who died A.D. 119, says, “*It is needless to enquire or debate here about the cessation of oracles, since we see a failure of them all, except one or two; the rest being silent or wholly deserted,*” p. 411.

These are curious and valuable testimonies. They go to establish the former prevalence of *demoniacal possession* and *oracular divination*; to distinguish that from ordinary *diseases*, and this from mere *priestcraft*.

2. THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

This amazing and astonishing gift was peculiar to the last commission. It was a miracle new and unheard of in former ages; and “*greater,*” or more decisive, than any wrought by OUR LORD himself during his ministry. *Possessions* or *diseases* might be counterfeited; even *death* might be only apparent; the reality, therefore, of such cures, and restorations to life, might be questioned by gainsayers, and denied by infidels*: but to *inspire* a company of “*unlettered Galileans,*” who knew only their mother tongue, and whose dialect was proverbial for its *vulgarity*, suddenly and *instantaneously* with the knowledge and expression of *sixteen* or *eighteen* different languages or dialects; when in the ordinary course of things, the acquisition of a *single new language* is a work of so much time and pains to understand, and still more to speak it with fluency and correctness, was indeed a miracle of the most stupendous size, carrying with it the most overpowering and irresistible conviction, the simplest and plainest in itself, and the most impossible

* See Lord Barrington's excellent observations on this head, *Miscellan. Sacra.* Vol. I. p. 318.

to be counterfeited. No wonder then that the effect was so prodigious, as the conversion of *three thousand* prejudiced *Jews* in *one day* to the faith of a CRUCIFIED SAVIOUR, at *Jerusalem*, the scene of his disgrace, and only fifty-two days after, on the memorable day of *Pentecost*, Acts ii.

As the *confusion of tongues* at *Babel* was produced by the agency of the HOLY SPIRIT, to perplex and punish the rebellion of the first colonizers of the earth after the flood, by defeating their impious project, and hiding from them that *primal language* in which the knowledge and worship of the TRUE GOD, and the mysterious dispensations of his providence, had been till then conveyed to righteous *Noah* and his family; so was the SAME SPIRIT graciously pleased to rescind that curse, in the fulness of time, 2500 years afterwards, and once more bring the benighted *Gentile* world from *darkness* to *light*, from the power of *Satan* unto GOD; by enabling his chosen instruments, the *Apostles*, to publish "the *wonderful* dispensations of GOD" to all these nations, in their own languages and dialects, to their infinite amazement; not only for the *manner*, but also for the *matter* of these extraordinary communications.

The *gift of tongues*, conferred on the *Apostles*, and probably also on their original company of 120 persons, assembled with them on the day of *Pentecost*, and afterwards on *Paul*, &c. was various and manifold. To some was granted the faculty of *speaking* in several languages to foreigners, more or fewer; to others the faculty of *interpreting* what was so spoken to natives, as remarked by *Paul*, who spoke a greater variety of languages than any of the Apostles, as he had intercourse with a greater variety of foreign nations, 1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 18.

This is the only gift noticed in our Lord's commission, as being the principal and the most brilliant of all the *gifts of the SPIRIT*, and the most necessary to convince unbelievers, 1 Cor. xiv. 22, but it was accompanied with others no less necessary for the discharge of their arduous ministry; 1. "the *word of wisdom*," 1 Cor. xii. 8, or revelation of the scheme of the *Christian dispensation* and future fortunes of the Church, conferred on the *Apostles*, fulfilling our Lord's promise to them, John xiv. 26, xvi. 13; Luke xxi. 15. 2. *The word of knowledge*, 1 Cor. xii. 8, which, as distinguished from the preceding, may denote an extraordinary insight into the meaning and drift of the *prophecies* of the OLD TESTAMENT, relating to the Christian dis-

pensation; respecting which OUR LORD himself began to open their minds, on the day of the resurrection, Luke xxiv. 27—45, and with these was connected, 3. an extraordinary spirit of *boldness* or *courage*, to publish the Gospel, in defiance of all dangers or persecutions, so different from that *spirit of fear* which had possessed them before. And an earnest of it was that "*Holy Spirit*" with which CHRIST *inspired* them on the evening of the resurrection, John xx. 22, the immediate effect of which appeared in their first act of calmly and deliberately filling up the vacancy made in their number by the treason and death of *Judas*, Acts i. 15—26; and more plainly, when *filled with the Spirit*, on their subsequent conduct. And these were crowned, 4. by the *discerning of spirits*, 1 Cor. xii. 10, or the faculty of distinguishing impostors and *false brethren* from the faithful, so necessary to guard the infant Church from imposition and ruin; and in order to punish such, 5. the *Apostles* were empowered to *deliver offenders to Satan*, and to smite them with *diseases*, and even with *death*, as exercised by *Peter* in the death of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, Acts v. 1—13, and by *Paul* in the blindness of *Elymas*, the sorcerer, Acts xiii. 8—12, and disease of the *incestuous* person at *Corinth*, 1 Cor. v. 1—5.

These extraordinary *gifts of the Spirit*, were *shed* or *poured forth* most abundantly on the *Apostles* and *original* disciples, on whom the HOLY SPIRIT visibly descended and rested, on the day of *Pentecost*; and they were not only *permanent*, or lasted during their lives, but the *Apostles* had the further astonishing privilege of conferring the *gifts of the Spirit* on *baptized* converts, by the *imposition of their hands*, as on the *first fruits* of the Church at *Jerusalem*, Acts ii. 38; in *Samaria*, Acts viii. 17, and at *Ephesus*, Acts xix. 1—7.

These *gifts of the Spirit* were exercised, not in obscure corners, but in the capital, and most populous cities of the world, *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Thessalonica*, *Philippi*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, &c. in which the Gospel was first preached. Of their frequency, therefore, and notoriety, there cannot be a doubt. *Paul* enquired of the *Ephesian* converts, who had been disciples of the *Baptist*, as a matter of course, "Received ye the HOLY SPIRIT since ye believed?" Acts xix. 2. And we may collect from his Epistles, that the two greatest *Gentile* Churches, of *Rome* and *Corinth*, abounded most in spiritual gifts, Rom. i. 11, viii. 16, xii. 3, 1 Cor. i. 5—7, xiv. 1—22. *Clemens Romanus*, A.D. 97, in his

Epistle to the *Corinthians*, asserts, that “there was a full effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT upon them all;” *Ignatius*, A.D. 107, declares, that “the Church of *Smyrna* was favoured with every gift, and was deficient in none. See the original passages in *Grotius* on Mark xvi. 18; and *Whitby’s* excellent preface to the Epistles.

3. HANDLING SERPENTS.

Of this we have a remarkable instance in the *viper* that fastened on St. *Paul’s* hand, after his shipwreck, on the island of *Melita*, which he shook off again, without receiving any harm, to the amazement of the natives, who then looked upon him as a *god*, Acts xxvii. 3—6.

The *Jerusalem Talmud*, *Avoda Sara*, relates a remarkable tradition of R. *Eleazer*, the son of *Dama*. When he had been bitten by a serpent, *James*, a man of *Cepharsama*, came to him, and offered to cure him, in the name of *Jesus*, the son of *Pandira*. But his uncle, R. *Ismael*, forbid it, saying, Son of *Dama*, it is not lawful for thee to do so. The son of *Dama* answered, I will prove out of the law, that it is lawful. But R. *Ismael* would not permit him to prove it, until he died. Then R. *Ismael* rejoiced and said, Blessed art thou, son of *Dama*, because thy soul departed in purity, and thou didst not break through the fence of the sages; for whosoever breaketh the fence, the Serpent shall bite him; and he was bitten [in this world,] to the end that the Serpent might not bite him in the world to come. And what text is in his favour, that he should not die therein?—Levit. xviii. 5. “Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgments, and keep my ordinances; which if a man do, he shall live by them: I am THE LORD.”

This instance is curious and valuable; it is a concession from a hostile quarter, of our Lord’s enabling his disciples “to trample upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy,” the *old Serpent*, as foretold of CHRIST, Psalm xci. 13, Luke x. 18. See this Vol. p. 147. While it proves, that by the *old Serpent*, the *Jewish Church* understood the *Devil*; and that they held the *eternal* as well as the *temporal* sanctions of the *Mosaical law*, in its genuine spirit. See the foregoing articles, Vol. II. p. 219, 255.

4. DRINKING DEADLY POTIONS.

The NEW TESTAMENT affords no example of this. But we learn from ecclesiastical tradition, that in the Heathen persecutions, the Apostle *John* drank a cup of poison unhurt. *Eusebius*, in his History, mentions other instances, of *Barsabas*, *Sabinus*, &c. p. 112.

The *Jerusalem Talmud* has also preserved a remarkable tradition of the son of R. *Joshua ben Levi*. This boy drank a deadly potion, but was cured by an incantation in the name of *Jesus*, the son of *Panthera*. "When he had escaped [death,] his father enquired what the enchanter had said? Who answered, that he had invoked the name of *Jesus of Nazareth*. Then his father said, it would have been better that he had died, rather than heard this name. And immediately it happened so," [the boy died.] See *Wetstein* on Mark xvi. 18, for these and other *Talmudic* legends.

This instance also, is extremely curious; it vouches the custom of invoking the name of JESUS among *Jewish* exorcists and enchanters, noticed in Scripture, Mark ix. 38, Acts xix. 13; and records the punishment of an unbelieving father in the death of his son.

5. CURING DISEASES.

It is remarkable that our LORD places this the last in the list, as if thereby, the more clearly to distinguish it from the first, the *dispossession of Demoniacs*. Of this, several signal instances occur in the *Acts*, and their frequency is intimated in the *Epistles*. The most remarkable are the following.

1. *Peter* cured a *cripple* at the temple gate....Acts iii. 1—9.
— acknowledged by the *Jewish* council — iv. 14—16.
2. His *shadow* cured many — v. 15.
3. He restored *Dorcas* to life..... — ix. 36—40.
4. *Paul* cured a *cripple* at *Lystra*..... — xiv. 8—11.
5. *Handkerchiefs* from his body performed
distant cures — xix. 11, 12.
6. He restored *Eutychus* to life — xx. 12.
7. The *prayer of faith* healed the sickJames v. 14—16.

The power of raising the *dead* was probably confined to the *Apostles*. Nor do they, at all times, appear to have possessed the gift of *healing*. Otherwise *Paul* would not probably have

left behind him his friend *Trophimus*, sick at *Miletus*, 2 Tim. iv. 20, nor prescribed "wine" for his favourite pupil, *Timothy's* "*many infirmities*," 1 Tim. v. 23, if it rested solely on his own option to cure them, any more than himself, 2 Cor. xii. 8.

THEIR DURATION.

How long these miraculous *gifts* and *powers* lasted in the Church, is not ascertained in ecclesiastical history. We have strong grounds, however, to think, that they did not extend, in general, beyond the end of the first century.

1. Their continuance longer was *unnecessary* after THE GOSPEL had been preached and received throughout the known world. They naturally ceased with their uses, 1. "to *confirm the word* by *signs co-operating*," Mark xvi. 20; 2. to arrest the *attention* of *unbelievers*, Acts xiv. 11, and 3. to overcome their *prejudices*, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25.

2. OUR LORD and his *Apostles* frequently forewarn the faithful, by the *spirit of prophecy*, against *false prophets*, and *false teachers*, who should propose great *signs* and *wonders*, so specious, that if it were possible, they should deceive even the elect, Matt. xxiv. 24. That an *apostate* power should appear in the Church itself, according to the energy of *Satan*, with all *false power*, and *signs*, and *wonders*, whose deluded followers should *believe a lie*, 2 Thess. ii. 3—9. That *many false prophets*, and many *Antichrists* had gone forth, even in the Apostle *John's* days, 1 John ii. 18, iv. 1—3.

This leads us to infer the cessation of the *true* gifts and powers at an early period, which during their continuance had extinguished the false.

The Fathers of the second and third centuries, frequently *report* their continuance, but apparently from *hearsay*, and not from *actual knowledge* or *observation*. Thus *Irenæus*, A.D. 178, says, "We *hear* (*ακουομεν*) of many brethren in the Church, having many *prophetic* gifts, and speaking all sorts of *tongues* by THE SPIRIT, and exposing the *secret* intentions of men for the [public] good, and expounding the *mysteries* of GOD." Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 7. And *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, A.D. 181, declined the proposal of a noble *Greek*, to embrace *Christianity*, if the Bishop would shew him a single person raised from the *dead*. When it was objected to *Chrysostom*, A.D. 398, "*Why are not miracles performed at this day?*" he evidently admitted

the fact in his answer, “for want of *faith*, and *virtue*, and *piety* in these times.” *Middleton’s Enquiry*, p. 130—137. And yet this same Father was a zealous advocate for the *Monkish miracles*. “There is no region, says he, where *new* and *unthought* of miracles are not famous; which, if they were *forgeries*, could never have gained such admiration.” And he gravely relates, that “the *coffins* and *bones* of the *martyrs* had great virtue and power;” that “even *Devils* were tormented by the bones of the *martyrs*.” He, and the rest of the *Monkish Fathers*, even the most celebrated, *Athanasius*, *Augustine*, *Tertullian*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, &c. first attested these *lying wonders*, to support the credit of their own *inventions* and *innovations*, concerning the worship of *saints* and veneration of *reliques*; and then, when brought into repute, upon the credit of their testimony, as holy and religious men, they urge this very repute as an argument of their truth! Such *lying wonders* being implicitly swallowed by their superstitious and credulous followers.

The natural and necessary consequence of these *pious frauds*, to uphold the *corruptions* of Christianity, was the revival of the “*doctrine of Demons*,” and admission of the reality of *Pagan miracles*, and miraculous cure of diseases wrought by *Demons* in confirmation of Paganism. These same Fathers of the Church all admit, that the Heathen *magicians* and *jugglers* performed many wonderful things, surpassing human powers, by the assistance of *Demons*; thus betraying the cause of CHRISTIANITY, and degrading the true miracles wrought in its support, to a level with “*lying wonders*,” and thereby lessening their credibility.

Hence we are warranted to conclude, that the *true miracles* ceased, before the false ones sprouted up in the Church; because their continuance would even have been *prejudicial* to the cause of Christianity, by the mistaken and mischievous *zeal* of the Fathers, confounding both together, and thereby, as far as in them lay, setting the *seal* of GOD to *false doctrines*, and the worship of *false mediators*, and introducing that grand *apostacy*, expressly foretold by THE SPIRIT, 1 Tim. iv. 1. And we scruple not to agree with Mr. *Gibbon*, in “limiting the gift of *supernatural powers* to that *happy period*, exempt from error and *deceit*,” the age of the *Apostles*, and of the first succession of *apostolical* Fathers, to whom the gifts of the Spirit had been

imparted by the Apostles. See *Henry Taylor's Thoughts on the grand Apostacy*, p. 92—95.

V. THE ORDINARY AIDS OF THE GOSPEL.

Though the extraordinary aids of Christianity, or the *gifts of the SPIRIT*, and other *miraculous powers*, were not probably of long duration, CHRIST, “the Father of the everlasting age,” did not leave his faithful disciples “*orphans*,” (John xiv. 18,) after they were withdrawn; He solemnly promised them his sufficient aid, “*all the days*” of their ministry, “*to the end of the world*,” in the last clause of his commission; in continuation of his former promises, that “*where two or three should meet together in his name, there would he be present with them*,” to grant their requests; that “*he would pray THE FATHER to send them ANOTHER ADVOCATE, who should remain with them for ever*,” John xiv. 16—18, Matt. xviii. 20. Thus putting them under the joint protection of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY SPIRIT, to whose service they were jointly dedicated in *baptism*.

THE FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT.

These also are the *gift of GOD* no less than the *extraordinary*, but given, like our food and raiment, as the encouragements and rewards of our own industry. “*In his ordinary operations THE SPIRIT works with us, not for us, offers his assistance, but forces it not upon us; accompanies, not excludes our endeavours**.” And *the genuine fruits of the SPIRIT* are these, pious and virtuous *dispositions* of mind, and settled *habits*, which the HOLY SPIRIT gradually produces in the *regenerate*, together with those *good works* which spring and grow out of them, as naturally as the tree produces its proper fruit. They are thus enumerated by the Apostle *Paul*.

“*But the fruit of the Spirit is love*” toward God and our neighbour; “*joy*,” or delight in God, arising from a cheering sense of our interest in Him and His love to us, shed abroad in our hearts; “*peace*,” or tranquillity of mind, springing from a

* For THE SPIRIT *co-operating, helpeth our infirmities*,” or feeble endeavours of obedience, (συναντιλαμβανεται ταις ασθενειαις ημων,) — “for we know that HE *co-operateth [in] all things*, for good, with them that *love GOD*, who are *called*, according to His purpose,” (τοις αγαπωσι τον Θεον [κατα] παντα συνεργει εις αγαθον,) Rom. viii. 26—28.

conscience void of offence toward God and man ; “ *long suffering*,” or patient endurance and forgiveness of provocations and injuries ; “ *kindness*,” or readiness to assist and serve others ; “ *goodness*,” or benevolence of disposition, liberality of mind ; “ *fidelity*,” or faithfulness in adhering to truth, and performing our engagements, even to our own loss ; “ *meekness*,” or mildness of disposition ; “ *temperance*,” or self government, continence with regard to sensual pleasures of every kind, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. “ *For they that are CHRIST’S have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts*,” Gal. v. 22—24.

This gracious “ *fruit of the light* *,” or illumination of the HOLY SPIRIT, shining forth in the hearts and lives of the *faithful*, who walk as *children of light*, and have no fellowship with the *unfruitful works of darkness*, but rather abhor and reprove them,—constitutes that “ *wisdom from above*,” descending ultimately from THE FATHER OF LIGHTS, which “ *first, is pure*,” or free from all pollution of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God ; “ *then peaceable*,” disposed to promote peace and good will among men ; “ *gentle*,” or accommodating to others in things not sinful ; “ *easy to be persuaded*,” or ready to admit a reasonable excuse ; “ *full of mercy and of good fruits*” springing from mercy, such as beneficence, liberality, &c. “ *impartial*,” not unduly respecting persons, parties, or sects ; “ *without hypocrisy*,” free from all affectation of superior sanctity, purity, or orthodoxy. James iii. 17.

This *heavenly wisdom*, as contrasted with “ *the earthly*,” which is “ *carnal, demoniacal*, abounding in *bitter zeal and contention*, subversive of *order*, and productive of every *evil work*,” James iii. 14—16, coincides with that first and choicest *fruit of the Spirit*, *Christian love*, or *charity*, which was defined before ; and which is thus described by its distinguishing properties †.

* Instead of the received reading, Ephes. v. 9, ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος, *Griesbach* has restored ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτός, which is required by the context, and supported by several ancient MSS.

† In this admired description of *Christian love*, or *charity*, (ἀγάπη,) denoting, according to *Sir Thomas More*, “ a good, virtuous, well ordered love,” as distinguished from the passion of *sensual love*, (ἔρως *,) so frequent in the *Heathen* classics, and deified in

* It is remarkable, that the classic noun, ἔρως, *amor*, and the verb ἔραω, *amo*, do not occur in the NEW TESTAMENT ; their places are supplied by ἐπιθυμία, *cupido*, and ἐπιθυμῶ, *cupio*.

“ *Charity is long suffering, is kind ;
Charity envieth not, is not puffed up,*

their mythology as *Cupid*, the Apostle, so well versed in *Pagan philosophy*, seems tacitly to correct their reigning vices, in his address to the *Grecian* philosophers of *Corinth* ; as he had before exposed those of the *Roman* philosophers, Rom. i. 29—32.

I. *μακροθυμει*, is “ *long suffering*,” or “ *slow to anger*.” This was recommended by the *Stoic* philosophy ; the sum of which was comprised by *Epictetus*, in two words, *ανεχου και απεχου*, “ *bear and forbear*.” And some of the Sages and Philosophers shewed themselves remarkably patient of injuries, *Lycurgus, Solon, Socrates, &c.*

II. *χρηστευεται* is “ *kind*” or “ *beneficent*.” The *Stoics* placed “ *all the praise of virtue, in action*,” or *active benevolence* ; as the best means of acquiring *popularity*, which is principally gained by conferring *benefits*, and next, by shewing a wish to *serve* others, even if the ability be wanting. *Ciceró de Officiis*, ii. 5—9. But the Apostle, rejecting the motive of *self interest*, shews that *charity* is disposed to “ *serve*” others “ *of her own accord*,” which seems to be the import of the middle verb, *χρηστευεται*.

These form the general outline of *charity*.

The particulars are as follow.

1. *ου ζηλοι*, “ *envieth not*” the superior endowments or prosperity of others. The *Roman* philosophers were represented as “ *full of envy*,” Rom. i. 29, and the *Grecian*, of “ *emulations*,” (*ζηλοι*) and “ *envyings*,” (*φθονοι*), Gal. v. 20, 21, 1 Cor. iii. 3.

2. *ου περπερευεται*, “ *vaunteth not herself*” in all the pompous figures of heathen oratory, or “ *enticing words of man’s wisdom*,” 1 Cor. ii. 4. This scarce word is well defined by *Basil*, *τι εστι περπερευεσθαι ; παν ο μη δια χρειαν, αλλα δια καλλωπισμον παραλαμβάνεται*, “ *all that is adventitiously introduced, not for use, but for ornament*.” And *Cicero*, who uses the word, has well illustrated its meaning by his own example, stating how he *played the orator* in a public speech before *Pompey*. *Ego autem ipse, Dii boni ! quo modo ενεπερπερευσαμην novo auditori Pompeio ! si unquam mihi περιοδοι, η καμπαι, η ενθυμηματα, η κατασκευαι, suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa ? clamores [plaudentium]—intellexi hominem [Pompeium] moveri. Epist. ad Atticum, i. 14.* Here the verb, in a compound state, evidently signifies, “ *to make an ostentatious display of oratory*,” as well explained by *Casaubon*, *Me ostentari, res meas augendo, ornando, amplificando.*

3. *ου φυσουται*, “ *is not puffed up*” with *spiritual pride*, on account of superior knowledge, eloquence, or spiritual gifts, like his factious opponents at *Corinth*, who were so *puffed up*, 1 Cor. iv. 6—18, 19, v. 2 ; and at *Colosse*, Col. ii. 18.

4. *ουκ ασχημονει*, “ *is not disorderly*,” violating *decorum* or *decency*, like the *incetuous* person at *Corinth*, 1 Cor. v. 1—13 ; *women* praying with their heads uncovered, 1 Cor. xi. 13 ; the disorderly celebration of the *Lord’s Supper*, 1 Cor. xi. 17—34 ; the irregular display of *spiritual gifts* in their assemblies, 1 Cor. xiv. 26—33 ; the preaching of *women*, 1 Cor. xiv. 34.—“ *Let all things be done decently, (ευσχημονως), and according to order*,” (*κατα ταξιν*), 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

5. *ου ζητει τα εαυτης*, “ *seeketh not her own*” gain, but rather the gain of others, 1 Cor. x. 24 ; Rom. xv. 2, most ready to *spend* and be *spent* in the service of her friends, with perfect *disinterestedness*, 2 Cor. xii. 15.

6. *ου παροξυνεται*, “ *is not highly provoked*,” or *wrathful*, for *παροξυσμος* signifies “ *a sharp contention*” or *violent quarrel*, as between *Paul* himself and *Barnabas*, so that they were separated, Acts xv. 39. Compare Acts xxiii. 3 ; Ephes. iv. 31 ; James i. 19.

7. *ου λογιζεται το κακον*, “ *imputeth not the evil*,” or reckoneth not the mischief offered to her, intending to retaliate, rather imitating the generosity of *Joseph* to his brethren, Gen. xlv. 4—8, l. 20 ; and the goodness of *GOD* to *sinners*, Rom. iv. 8 ;

Is not disorderly, seeketh not her own [gain,]
 Is not highly provoked, imputeth not the evil [done to her,]
 Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth,
 Covereth all things, believeth all things,
 Hopeth all things, endureth all things."—1 Cor. xiii. 4—7.

The permanence of this choicest *fruit of the Spirit* is finely contrasted by the Apostle, with the occasional and temporary *gifts of the Spirit*, in the sequel.

“Charity never faileth; but whether there be *prophecies*, they shall end” when they come to be fulfilled; “whether there be *tongues*, they shall cease” with their necessity; “whether there be *knowledge*, it shall end” with the *mystery of the Gospel*, in the full establishment of THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

“For now we know in part, and we prophesy in part,” or imperfectly; “but when the perfect [revelation of THE LORD] is come, then the partial knowledge shall end.” Thus, “When I was a child, (νηπιος,) I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I reasoned as a child; but when I became a man, (ανηρ,) I left off the things of a child. For now we behold [THE LORD] in a mirror enigmatically, or obscurely; but then face to face, or clearly; now I know in part, but then shall I myself know intimately, (επιγνωσομαι,) even as I am known intimately, [by the SEARCHER OF HEARTS.]”

“And now remaineth FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY, these three,

2 Cor. v. 19; Tit. iii. 4—7: Quære, Did Paul himself strictly observe this rule to Alexander the copper-smith? 2 Tim. iv. 14.

8. οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, “rejoiceth not in iniquity,” or at the success of the unjust, Psalm x. 3; Rom. i. 32.

9. συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, “but rejoiceth with the truth,” “rejoiceth with them that rejoice,” Rom. xii. 15, or shares in the joy of the righteous at their prosperity, Job xlii. 11; Luke i. 58, x. 21, xv. 6—9—32; 2 John iv.

10. πάντα σκεπτεῖ, “covereth all things, concealeth the frailties and infirmities of others, Gen. ix. 23; Prov. x. 12, xvii. 9; Eccles. xxviii. 7; Matt. i. 19; 2 Pet. iv. 8. Pope, in his *Universal Prayer*, has well expressed this:

“Teach me to feel another’s woe,
 To hide the fault I see,
 That mercy I to others shew,
 That mercy shew to me.”

11. πάντα πιστεύει, “believeth all things,” is disposed to credit reports favourable to the character and conduct of others, Matt. i. 20; James iii. 17; Rom. i. 8.

12. πάντα ἐλπίζει, “hopeth all things” for the best, as to the intentions of others, or for their reformation or improvement, Acts xxvi. 27; 2 Cor. x. 15.

13. πάντα ὑπομένει, “endureth all things” with patience and resignation to the will of GOD, Matt. xxiv. 13; Rev. xiii. 10, xiv. 12.

but the greatest of these is CHARITY:” for FAITH shall end in sight, when GOD shall be *seen as he is*, unveiled in all his glory; HOPE shall expire in *fruition*, or “fulness of joy in HIS presence, and pleasures for evermore;” but CHARITY shall then attain that “*perfect love which casteth out fear*,” and proceeding from strength to strength, and from glory to glory, shall contemplate and adore, with ever increasing ardour and delight, and interest, the inexhaustible FOUNTAIN OF ALL GOODNESS, the infinite ESSENCE OF ALL PERFECTION, ver. 8—13.

Such is the decided superiority of the *fruits of the Spirit* over the *gifts of the Spirit*, in the judgment of a most highly gifted Apostle. May we, following his advice, “*earnestly covet the best gifts, and that most excellent way of CHARITY*,” which he represents as infinitely preferable to all kinds of *tongues, prophecy, wisdom, knowledge, miraculous faith, liberality to the poor*, and even to *religious zeal*, 1 Cor. xii. 31, xiii. 1—3.

“O LORD, who hast taught us that all our doings without *charity* are nothing worth, send thy HOLY GHOST, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of *charity*, the very bond of *peace*, and of *all virtues*; without which, *whosoever liveth*, is counted *dead* before Thee. Grant this, for thine only Son JESUS CHRIST’S sake. Amen.” *Quinquagesima S. Collect.*

SKETCH OF THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE

PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

OUR BLESSED LORD declared to his Apostles, "Upon THIS ROCK will I build *my Church*, and the gates of *Hades* shall not prevail against it," Matt. xvi. 18, thus intimating its genuine foundation and perpetual duration; that when built upon HIMSELF and upon HIS DOCTRINE, as upon a rock, it should resist all the efforts and brave all the storms and tempests of the powers of *darkness* to overthrow it, Matt. vii. 24, 25; Acts xx. 28; for it should be supported by his continual presence and protection to the end of the world, Matt. xxviii. 20.

The Church of CHRIST, in this place, evidently signifies the *Catholic* or *universal Church*, comprizing the united congregation of the faithful throughout the whole world, wheresoever His Gospel should be published and embraced, Matt. xxvi. 13, in pursuance of his last commission to his Apostles, Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15.

At first, however, the word *Church* was necessarily taken in a *particular* sense to denote the *Mother Church* at *Jerusalem*, Matt. xviii. 17; Acts ii. 47, viii. 1, &c. and her offspring, the particular Churches of *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Corinth*, *Rome*, &c. It was also sometimes taken for the *building* or *edifice* where they assembled, 1 Cor. xi. 18.

The constitution of these several Churches, which composed the primitive Church, was framed from the constitution of the *Mother Church*; and this was evidently framed upon the model of the *Jewish Church*, founded at Mount *Sinai*, Gal. iv. 25, 26.

The *Jewish Church* was a THEOCRACY, and so was the

Christian. See Vol. II. p. 238. In the *Jewish* the ORACLE presided, and delivered responses, either with an audible voice, or by *Urim* and *Thummim*, or by *prophets*. In the *Christian* "CHRIST was the *head*" of the corporation, "in all things *presiding* therein," Col. i. 18, appointed by THE FATHER, Eph. i. 22, 23; and also the chief *corner stone*, binding together the partition walls of the *Jewish* and *Christian* edifice, Eph. ii. 20—22, as foretold Psalm xviii. 43. And as the *Jewish* Church was administered under THE ORACLE by different orders of ecclesiastics, the *prophets*, *Moses*, &c. the *high priest*, the *priests*, chief and inferior, and the *Levites*; so was the *Christian* by THE SPIRIT, and under Him the *Apostles*, the *bishops*, *priests*, higher or lower, and *deacons*.

"The twelve *Apostles* of THE LAMB were the twelve *foundations* of the Church," Eph. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 14. Their peculiar function was to publish THE GOSPEL to all nations, as the *heralds* and *ambassadors* of CHRIST, to plant and confirm *particular Churches*, and to ordain the several orders of *ministers* therein; and to exercise a *general episcopacy*, or superintendance at large over the several Churches within their respective districts, to which they were ordained or appointed by the HOLY SPIRIT, as *John* over the seven Churches of *Asia Minor*, *Paul* over the foreign Gentile Churches of *Rome*, *Corinth*, &c. *Peter* over the Churches of the circumcision, or *Jewish* converts at *Antioch*, *Bithynia*, &c. of the dispersion; *Matthew* over the Churches in *Parthia*, *Andrew* in *Scythia*, *Bartholomew* in *India*, &c. Each, for the sake of order, confining themselves, after their separation from the Mother Church, to their allotted districts or provinces, Gal. ii. 7; Acts xiii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 1; Rom. xv. 20, &c.

Before their separation, while they were all assembled together at *Jerusalem*, *Peter* acted as "*first* of the *Apostles*," or president, and by the express appointment of CHRIST himself, Luke xxii. 32; John xxi. 15. This appeared, in the first instance, at the election of a successor into "the *episcopal office* and *apostleship*" of the traitor *Judas*, in which he took the lead, Acts i. 15—26; and also in addressing the multitudes on the day of *Pentecost*, and afterwards before the *Jewish council*, and in the case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, &c.

The *Apostles* ordained the several orders of *ministers*, with the consent and approbation of the Church, namely, the orders

of *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, by *prayer* and *imposition of hands*. The order of *Deacons* was first instituted to *serve at tables*, or assist the *Apostles* in dispensing the contributions of the Church to the poor, Acts vi. 1—6; their office afterwards was to prepare the elements for the Lord's Supper, &c. corresponding to the *Levites* in the *Jewish Church*. Some of the first *Evangelists* also, that acted as coadjutors to the *Apostles* in preaching the Gospel, and planting Churches under their direction, were of the order of *Deacons*, as *Stephen, Philip, &c.* When the Church was increased and multiplied, *Presbyters, Elders, or Priests*, were recommended by the *brethren*, and *ordained* by the *Apostles*, with *prayer, fasting* and *imposition* of their hands, Acts xiv. 23. Of these there were different orders, "*Prophets, or inspired preachers and teachers,*" &c. Acts xiii. 1, 1 Cor. xii. 5—29, designed to assist the *Apostles* in the sacred offices of the ministry; corresponding to the different orders of *Priests* in the *Jewish Church*, the *chief Priests*, or heads of the twenty-four courses; and the *ordinary Priests*, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7—19, Luke i. 8. To the former correspond the four and twenty *Presbyters* or *elders*, in the *symbolical Church* of the *Apocalypse*, Rev. iv. 4.

At first the *Apostles* acted as *bishops at large*; they administered the concerns of the Churches which they founded, by the *Presbyters* their *coadjutors*; whence it was customary with them to assume, out of modesty, the title of *Presbyters* themselves, and to give them in turn the title of *Bishops*. Thus *Peter*, the first president of the Mother Church, in his exhortation to the *Presbyters* of the *dispersion*, styles himself their "*fellow Presbyter,*" (συμπρεσβυτερος,) 1 Pet. v. 1; *John* also called himself "*the Presbyter,*" (ὁ πρεσβυτερος,) 2 John 1.

The contributions of the Church of *Antioch* were brought to "*the presbyters at Jerusalem, of whom James was head,*" Acts xi. 30, xii. 17; the *Presbyters* of the Church of *Ephesus*, are also styled "*Bishops thereof*" by *Paul*, Acts xx. 17—28. And he salutes the Church at *Philippi* by the title of "*all the Saints, Bishops, and Deacons,*" Phil. i. 1, where the "*Bishops**" evi-

* It is remarkable, the *Syriac* vulgate Version, the *Peshito*, renders επισκοποις, in this place, (Phil. i. 1,) "*with the elders,*" and επισκοπη, 1 Tim. iii. 1, "*the office of an elder;*" the distinction between the offices of *Bishops* and *Elders* being not yet established at that time. See *Michaelis'* Introduction, &c. Vol. II. p. 32, Marsh's Translation.

dently denote *Presbyters*, and “*the Saints*,” the *brethren* or *Laitie**.

The *Apostles* all remained at *Jerusalem* during *Stephen's* persecution, Acts viii. 1, and probably did not begin to separate from thence to their respective districts, till the second persecution by *Herod* the King, A.D. 44, ten years after the first; when the death of the elder *James*, and the apprehension, and miraculous deliverance of *Peter*, the two prime leaders, or “*PILLARS* of the *Mother Church*,” probably obliged the rest to quit the city, as well as *Peter*, who “*went to another place*,” Acts xii. 1—17, probably to *Antioch*, Gal. ii. 11, where he chiefly resided until he went to *Rome*, as we learn from *Chrysostom*.

At this time, probably A.D. 44, the other *James*, styled “*THE LORD'S brother*,” Gal. i. 19, was elected, (we may presume from his merit and his kindred to *CHRIST*,) the first resident Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by the *HOLY SPIRIT*, to superintend the affairs of the *Mother Church*, “*which it was not meet should be left void of some Apostle*.” And to fill up the vacancy thus made in the original number of the *itinerant* *Apostles*, by his appointment, and by the death of the other *James*, the two supernumerary *Apostles*, *Barnabas* and *Saul*, of the Church of *Antioch*, (the first of the *Gentile Churches*, Acts xi. 19—26,)

* Lord Chancellor *King*, in his learned Enquiry into the *Constitution*, &c. of the *primitive Church*, within the first 300 years after *Christ*, has confounded the orders of *Bishop* and *Priest*, alledging that they were equal in order, though different in degree or rank. And that as there was but *one Bishop* to *one Church*, so there was but *one Church* to *one Bishop*; considering the word *Church*, or *Diocese*, as equivalent to a *Parish*: and reckoning the three orders of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, as corresponding to *Rectors*, *Vicars*, and *Deacons* in our Church, pp. 14—54.

But this is obviously a mistake, for

1. From the foregoing instances, it appears that there were *several Presbyters* in *one Church*, as at *Ephesus* and *Philippi*.

2. His argument would tend to equal *Presbyters* to *Apostles* also, who called themselves *Presbyters*, as *Peter* and *John*.

3. He has adduced himself a multitude of examples from *Ignatius* and the primitive Fathers, representing the ministry of a Church as composed of the *Bishop*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, p. 21, 30, 42, &c.

Slater's original Draught of the *Primitive Church*, in answer to Lord *King's* Enquiry, though now little read, is a work of such merit, that it is said to have converted Lord *King* himself, who certainly preferred its author in the Church, highly to his own honour.

It is rather surprizing, that Lord *King* does not refer to the *seventh* Book of *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which the subject is fully and ably discussed, in answer to the *Presbyterian* and *Puritan* writers, who maintained Lord *King's* doctrine, before the *Grand Rebellion*.

were elected, immediately by the HOLY SPIRIT himself, and “*separated for the apostleship to the Gentiles; and after fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands of the Presbytery there, they directly proceeded, under the guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT, to Seleucia, Cyprus,*” &c. Acts xiii. 2—4, Gal. ii. 9. Here we may observe, that the “*imposition of the hands of the Presbytery,*” was by no means necessary to constitute them *Apostles*; for their apostolic commission was immediately from “*GOD, CHRIST, and THE HOLY SPIRIT,*” as *Paul* frequently asserted, Rom. i. 1, 1 Cor. i. 1, ix. 1, 2 Cor. i. 1, 1 Tim. ii. 7, “*not of men, nor by man,*” Gal. i. 1, &c. but rather as a solemn recommendation of them to the Divine grace and protection; as afterwards, a second time, by the same Church of *Antioch*. Comp. Acts xiv. 26, xv. 40.

This sagacious conjecture of the deeply learned *Hooker*, respecting the time of the election of *James* to be Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and of *Barnabas* and *Saul*, to supply the deficiency in the original number of the *Apostles*, *Eccles. Polity*, VII. 4, p. 337, appears to be supported by *Peter's* message, on leaving *Jerusalem*, “*to James and the brethren,*” Acts xii. 17, plainly intimating that *James* then presided in that Church; and also from his vindication of his conduct before the Church there, in baptizing *Cornelius*; in which debate *James* took a lead, though *other Apostles* were also present, Acts xv. 13—23, who might have returned thither again, after the death of their persecutor, *Herod*, for some time before they took their final departure.

It was not until *Churches* had multiplied in their respective districts or provinces, that the *Apostles* appointed *Bishops**, to whom they delegated their own authority for the *regimen* of those Churches, and for ordaining *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* therein. A prerogative which distinguished *Bishops* from *Presbyters* or *Priests*, who never presumed to ordain in the *primitive Church*. “*No man,*” says *Hooker*, “*is able to shew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters only,*

* According to *Ignatius*, the office of a Bishop was twofold, *ἱερατεῖν καὶ ἀρχεῖν*, to “*exercise the sacerdotal functions and to rule.*” When he was going to suffer martyrdom, he wrote to the *Presbyters* and *Pastors* under him, “*Let the Presbyters guide the flock, until God shall shew who shall rule over you, for I am going to be offered up.*” See *Hooker's Eccles. Polity*, B. VII, p. 343.

and his ordination lawful in any *ancient* part of the Church; every where examples being found, both of Deacons and Presbyters, ordained by *Bishops alone*, oftentimes; neither [being] ever, in that respect, thought insufficient," p. 342. The association of *Presbyters* also, in the consecration of *Bishops*, which was practised from the beginning of the Church, was not necessary to their *consecration*, for that was the peculiar prerogative of the *Apostles*, and their successors, the *Bishops**. Thus *Paul* consecrated *Timothy* to be his coadjutor, who was afterwards

* Soon after the *Reformation*, a *controversy* was carried on by the partizans of the See of *Rome*, against the *validity* of *English* ordination of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, as if they were not truly consecrated nor ordained by *lawful Bishops*, in regular succession from the *Apostles*. The learned and impartial Father *Courayer*, has fully discussed the question, in his *Treatise on the validity*, &c. and in his *defence* of that *Treatise*, in answer to the *Romish* writers who attempted to reply thereto.

Among the *Romish* writers in this *controversy*, was *Ward*, whose book was first printed in *London*, 1719, after the author's death; and was refuted by *Courayer*. It has been recently raked up from the dust, in which it had lain quietly for near a century, and republished in *Dublin*, 1807, with his *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, and has drawn forth an able vindication from Doctor *Elrington*, late *Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1808, who has critically analyzed the work, and exposed its misrepresentations. "Do the *Roman Catholics*," (says Dr. E.) "hope to conciliate those whom they style their *Protestant brethren*, by telling them that they are not *Christians*?—that, as often as they *communicate* or *co-operate* with these, who are neither *Priests* nor *Bishops*, in any act belonging to those offices, so often are they involved, with them, in the damnable sin of *sacrilege!*" Preface, p. vi. vii.

Dr. *Elrington* has cited some eminent *Romish authorities*, admitting the *validity* of *English ordination*. Among them,

1. The celebrated *Bossuet*, Bishop of *Meaux*, in his letter to *Mabillon*, says, "The *English* pretend that there is no difficulty as to the *succession* of their *Bishops*, in the beginning of the *schism*; and it appears that they have reason on their side." And for proof of *Bossuet's* continuance in this opinion, see *Courayer's Defence*, Vol. I. p. 35, Lond. Edit. 1728.

2. The learned and candid Father *Walsh*, author of the *Irish Remonstrance*, in 1674, says, that "The ordination of the *Protestant Church of England* is valid, according to both the public doctrines of the *Roman Catholic Schools* themselves, and the *ancient rituals* of all the *Catholic Churches*, *Latin* and *Greek*."

And again: "In that place where I seem somewhat too severe on *Matthew Parker*, the first *Protestant Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, you must not persuade yourself that I do at all reflect upon his ordination, as if indeed, that had not been only *uncanonical* or *unlawful*, but really *void* and *null*, or, as the *Schoolmen* speak, *invalid*. Were I to deliver my opinion of this matter, or were it my purpose to speak thereof, I should certainly hold myself obliged, in *conscience*, (for any thing I know yet,) to concur with them, who doubt not the ordination of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons* in the *Protestant Church of England*, to be, at least, valid: and yet, I have read all, whatever hath been to the contrary objected by *Roman Catholic* writers, whether against the *matter* or *form*, or want of *power* in the first consecrators, by reason of their *schism* and *heresy*, or of their being *deposed* formerly from their *Sees*," &c.

first *Bishop of Ephesus*, (1 Tim. i. 3, and *superscription* to his Epistles to *Timothy*,) (*δια*,) “*by the imposition of his hands*,” 2 Tim. i. 6, but with the approbation of the *Presbyters*, commending him to the Divine grace and protection, (*μετα*,) “*with the imposition of the hands of the presbytery*,” 1 Tim. iv. 14. The Apostle, by these different prepositions, *δια*, implying *agency*, and *μετα*, *association* only, critically distinguishing both. He also consecrated *Titus* to be his coadjutor, and afterwards first Bishop of *Crete*, (Tit. i. 5, and *superscription* to this *Epistle*,) without any mention of the concurrence of the *presbytery*, who probably were not consulted; and commissioned him “to ordain *Presbyters* in every city,” Tit. i. 5, appointing both *Timothy* and *Titus* to act as *Bishops*, when he himself was no longer able to take “*care of all the Churches*” that he had planted, on account of their number, and his long imprisonments at *Jerusalem*, *Cæsarea*, and *Rome*, which pressed heavily upon his mind, 2 Cor. xi. 28.

In like manner, the *Angels*, or *Bishops* of the seven Churches of *Asia Minor*, seem to have been appointed by the Apostle *John*, to supply his place, previous to his banishment in the Isle of *Patmos*.

In such circumstances, the appointment of *Bishops*, or Superintendants, to supply the place of the *Apostles*, and to watch over the concerns of the Church, became a matter of imperious necessity. For *Paul* predicted, that in his absence, many “*grievous wolves* in sheep’s cloathing, or *false apostles* and *false teachers*, would break into the *Christian* fold, not sparing the flock,” Acts xx. 29, 2 Cor. xi. 3—15; who should not only clandestinely introduce *false doctrines*, subversive of Gospel faith, 1 Cor. xi. 19, Gal. i. 8, but also split the Church into *parties* and *factions*, 1 Cor. i. 12, 13, Col. ii. 19, as *John* likewise complained, at a later period. 2 John 7, 1 John ii. 18, 3 John 9, 10.

And that the *episcopal* order, indeed, was introduced into the Church for the better maintenance of *ecclesiastical discipline*, we learn from the *primitive Fathers*.

The apostolical martyr, *Ignatius*, bishop of *Antioch*, A.D. 107, in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, soon after the death of St. *John*, thus exhorts them.

“*Follow ye all, the Bishop*, as JESUS CHRIST THE FATHER; and *the Presbytery*, as *the Apostles*; and respect the

Deacons, according to GOD'S command. Let *none* do any *ecclesiastical services without the Bishop*: let that *Eucharist*, only, be accounted valid which is performed by the Bishop, or by the person whom he may appoint. Wherever *the Bishop* is seen, let there the *multitude* be; as wheresoever JESUS CHRIST is, there is *the Catholic Church*, (Matt. xviii. 20.) It is not lawful, without the Bishop, neither to *baptize*, nor to celebrate the *Lord's Supper*; but only for him whom the Bishop may approve. This is well pleasing to GOD, in order that every thing that is done may be correct and valid.—“*Whosoever officiates, in any respect, unknown to the Bishop, serveth the Devil!*”

In his Epistle to the *Ephesians*,

“Resist not *the Bishop*, that we may be servants of GOD.”

In his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*,

“Attend to *the Bishop*, and *the Presbytery*, and *Deacons*; without *the Bishop*, do nothing. Keep your flesh [body] as *the temple of GOD*. Love *unity*, fly *divisions*; become imitators of JESUS CHRIST, as he also was of HIS FATHER. For where *division* and *anger* is, there GOD dwelleth not. THE LORD, therefore, pardoneth all penitents, if they penitentially return to the *unity of GOD*, and *the assembly of the Bishop*.”——“Be not deceived, my brethren, if any one follow a *schismatic*, he shall not inherit the ‘*kingdom of heaven*,’” (Gal. v. 20. 21, 1 Cor. xi. 18.)

In his Epistle to the *Magnesians*,

“I exhort you, strive to do all things in the unanimity of GOD, the *Bishop* presiding in the place of GOD, and the *Presbyters* in the place of the assembly of the *Apostles*, and the *Deacons*, as intrusted with the ministry of JESUS CHRIST. Let there be nothing among you that shall be able to *divide* you; but be ye united to *the Bishop* and to *the Presidents*. As, therefore, THE LORD did nothing without THE FATHER, being united with Him, neither by Himself, nor by *the Apostles*; so likewise, do ye nothing without *the Bishop* and *the Presbyters*; nor, *shall ye attempt what may seem to you fit worship, apart from them*, but assemble together at the same place, having *one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope* *,” (1 Cor. i. 10, Ephes. iv. 3.)

* See the original passages of these and the following Epistles, cited by Lord King,

Irenæus also, the Bishop of *Lyons* in *Gaul*, A.D. 178, declares, "CHRIST, at the last day, shall judge those that fabricate *schisms*, who are *lawless*, not having the love of GOD, but preferring their *own interest* before *the unity of the Church*, for slight and trivial causes, *rent* and *divide* the great and glorious body of CHRIST, and, as much as in them lieth, slay it. *Speaking peace, but waging war, straining at a gnat, but swallowing a camel.*"

Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage*, in *Africa*, A.D. 248, says, "From no other source do *schisms* spring up, than that *the Bishop is not obeyed*, nor is it considered that there ought to be but *one Priest* in a Church for a time, and *one Judge* for a time, in CHRIST'S stead."——Such are the vices and endeavours of *schismatics*, idly imagining to please themselves, that through *swelling pride* contemn their *president*. Thus they *secede* from the Church, they erect a *profane altar* without; thus they *rebel* against the *ordination* and *unity* of GOD.——From thence have arisen, and do still arise, *schisms* and *heresies*; while the *Bishop*, who is one, and presides in the Church, is contemned by the *proud presumption* of certain persons, and the man honoured with the approbation of GOD, is judged unworthy by *men*.——*The Church* is the *people* united to their *Bishop*, and the *flock* adhering to their *Pastor*. Whence you ought to know, that *the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop*, and that if there be any who are not with the Bishop, they are not in the Church; and that they flatter themselves in vain, who not having peace with GOD'S *Priests*, creep about, and privily communicate with *some persons*, as they believe; although the *Catholic Church* is but *one*, neither *rent* nor *divided*, and is made, connected together, and coupled, by the cement of *the Bishops* [of the several Churches,] cohering together with each other." And he calls them *schismatics*, who *set up a particular Church, in a particular Church*, and acting in opposition to the *lawful Bishop* thereof, draw away the inhabitants of a parish from the communion of their *legal minister*, setting up *separate conventicles for themselves*, (*Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt.*) And he further declares, that *the*

and more correctly translated than by him, p. 169—171. They are abundantly sufficient to refute his error, and to prove the distinctness of the three orders of *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons* in the *primitive Church*, so early, at least, as the days of *Ignatius*.

Devil invented *heresies* and *schisms* to subvert the *faith*, corrupt the *truth*, and divide the *unity* *.”

Jerom also, A.D. 392, thus states the cause of the institution of the *episcopal* order.

“ It was for a remedy against *schism*, that *one* was afterwards chosen to be placed above the rest ; lest every one pulling unto himself, should rend asunder the Church of CHRIST.— For until, through the instigation of the *Devil*, *factions* grew up in the Church, and it began to be professed among the people, I am of *Paul*, I of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*, Churches were governed by the common advice of *Presbyters* ; but when every one began to reckon those whom himself had baptized, his own, and not CHRIST’S, it was decreed in the whole world, that *one* chosen out of the *Presbyters*, should be placed above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, and so the seeds of *schism* be removed.” And writing against the Heretics called *Luciferians*, “ The very safety of the Church,” says he, “ depends on the dignity of the chief Priest ; to whom unless an exceeding and pre-eminent power be granted, there will grow in Churches as many *schisms* as there are persons who have authority.

And the authority of *Jerom* on this subject carries with it the greater weight, not only because he was a *Presbyter*, not a Bishop, like the rest, who might naturally be suspected of partiality to their own order, but also because the pride of insolent Bishops had not a sharper enemy than this Father, who often took occasion to inveigh against them most severely, for contempt of their clergy, for not suffering themselves to be told of their faults, or admonished of their duty by inferiors, for not conferring with them, &c.

Calvin himself, though no friend to *episcopal* regimen, yet confesses that in old time the teaching ministers in every city chose *one* out of their company, to whom they appropriated the title of *Bishop*, lest equality should breed dissension. And he compares the power of the *Bishop*, in the assembly of *Ministers*, to that of the *Roman Consuls* in the *Senate*, namely, to propose matters to them, to ask their opinions, to direct their proceedings by advice, admonition, and exhortation, and to carry their resolutions into execution. Instit. IV. 4, 2.

* See Lord King’s Enquiry, p. 160—163.

It is deeply to be regretted, indeed, that, at the auspicious era of the *Reformation*, and of our forefathers' emancipation from the spiritual tyranny of the See of *Rome*, the *Protestant Churches* of the Continent did not follow the wise example of the Church of *England*, in retaining the *episcopal* regimen of the primitive Church. At the Synod of *Dort*, held in 1619, the Bishop of *Llandaff*, one of the English Divines who attended it, openly controverted a proposition inserted in the Calvinist *confession of faith* of the Low Countries, that CHRIST *established an equality among ministers of the Gospel* *. He said, that CHRIST chose twelve *Apostles* and seventy *Disciples*; that the *Apostles* had authority and inspection over all the other *ministers* of the Gospel; and that *the Church* had preserved the same *subordination*, constantly and without interruption; for which he appealed to all *antiquity*, and to all *the learned* at present, and challenged the Synod to prove the contrary. And it was very remarkable, that *not one member of the Synod undertook to answer him*. Afterwards, conversing on the subject, in private, with some of the most learned divines of that assembly, "I told them," said he, "that the troubles of *Holland* proceeded from their want of *Bishops*, who might have curbed *factious men* by their power and authority; that every body in that country was at liberty to say and write whatever he pleased; and that *the*

* The learned *Hooker* has well explained the origin of this notion, promulgated by the *Presbyterian* and *Puritan* writers of his day, and adopted by Lord *King*.

"The first, whom we read to have bent themselves against the superiority of *Bishops*, were *Aerius* and his followers. *Aerius*, seeking to be made a Bishop, could not brook that *Eustathius* was thereunto preferred before him, [about A.D. 320.] Whenas, therefore, he saw himself unable to rise to that greatness, which his *ambitious pride* did affect, his way of revenge was to try what *wit*, sharpened by *envy* and *malice*, could do, in raising a *new seditious opinion*, that the superiority which Bishops had was a thing which they should not have, that a *Bishop might not ordain*, and that a *Bishop ought not any way to be distinguished from a Presbyterian*."—The former he inferred from 1 Tim. iv. 14, where *Timothy* is said to have been elected Bishop, *with the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery*; the latter from the title of *Bishops* given to *Presbyters*, Acts xx. 17—23, explained above, upon *Hooker's* principles. *Eccl. Pol.* VII. 9, p. 361.

The *Presbyterian schism*, founded thereon, he thus explains also, in the words of *Lactantius*, A.D. 306.

"Men of a *slippery faith* they were, who feigned that they knew and worshipped GOD, but seeking only that they might *grow in wealth and honour*, affected *the highest priesthood*; whereunto when their *bettors* were chosen before them, they thought it better to *leave the Church*, and to draw *their favourers* with them, than to endure those men as their *governors*, whom *themselves desired to govern*," p. 381.

Churches of those provinces would never be quiet, unless Bishops were appointed to govern the clergy."

They answered, "that they highly esteemed the good order and discipline of the Church of *England*, and *heartily wished the same order was established in their country, but they could not hope for it in the present posture of affairs.* They added, that *they hoped God would assist them with his grace, and that they would contribute, with all their might, to the establishment of that good order.*"—"They groan," says he, "under the government of [a *democratic*, or] popular constitution, *without authority*, and would free themselves from it if they knew *how.*" See his book, entitled *Appello ad Cæsarem*, cited in *Brandt's Abridgment*, Vol. II. p. 509.

As the order of *Bishops* was originally instituted for the better government of the inferior orders of *Priests* and *Deacons*, in the particular Churches, so were *Archbishops* appointed to preside over their suffragan *Bishops* in their respective Sees, and *Primates* to preside over *Archbishops* within their respective provinces, by a regular and useful gradation. The chief Primates of the Christian Church were the Prelates of the three principal Sees of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria* *, to which afterwards was added a fourth, *Constantinople*, when that city became the residence of the Christian Emperors. *Chrysostom* had under his care and charge the city of *Constantinople*, all *Thrace*, divided into six Bishopricks, and all *Asia Minor*, divided into eleven. The rest of the east was under *Antioch*, the south under *Alexandria*, and the west under *Rome*.

To correct abuses, and to maintain unity of doctrine, and conformity of discipline in the Church, *provincial Synods* were held, usually every year, in each province, wherein the Arch-

* When *John*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was charged with *heresy*, and wrote an apology for himself to *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Jerom* censured him for a breach of ecclesiastical order, saying, "You that seek the rules of the Church, and follow the canons of the *Nicene council*, (A.D. 325,) tell me what relation has *Palestine* to the Bishop of *Alexandria*? If I am not mistaken, it was there determined, that *Cæsarea* should be the metropolitan See of *Palestine*, and *Antioch* of all the rest. You ought, therefore, to have referred your cause to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, or if you determined to go further, you should rather have directed your letter to *Antioch.*" See the original, *Hooker's Eccl. Pol.* B. vii. p. 351.

Hence clearly appears how unfounded were the pretensions of the Bishop of *Rome* to *universal primacy*, in the primitive Church, even upon the authority of her oracle, *Jerom*.

bishop presided, and occasionally, from time to time, *General Councils*, composed of representatives from the *Catholic*, or *Universal Church*, consisting of *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, *Deacons*, and *lay deputies*, chosen in behalf of the several Churches. One of the four *Primates*, or some *Bishop* of distinguished learning and worth, presided in these, and acted as moderator, whose business was to regulate the proceedings, sum up the heads of debate, take the votes, and give his own last of all.

MAINTENANCE OF THE CHURCH.

The best account of this we have any where seen, is furnished by the judicious *Hooker*, in his masterly *Vindication of the Discipline of the Church of England*, as founded upon the model of primitive *ecclesiastical polity**, Book VII. p. 380.

“In the prime of the *Christian world*, that [*voluntary contribution*] which was brought and laid down at the *Apostles’ feet*, Acts iv. 35, they disposed of by distribution, according to the exigence of *each man’s need*. Neither can we think that they, who out of *CHRIST’S treasury* made provision for *all others*, were careless to furnish *the clergy* with all things fit and convenient for their state. And as *the Apostles* themselves were chiefest in place of authority and calling, so no man doubteth but that, proportionally, they had power to use the same for *their own decent maintenance* †. The *Apostles*, with the rest of the *clergy* in *Jerusalem*, lived at that time, according to the

* The highest eulogy ever pronounced upon this great champion of *Protestantism*, and pillar of the *Church of England*, was by Pope *Clement VIII.*, on hearing the first book of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* read in *Latin* to him, by Dr. *Stapleton*: *There is no learning that this man hath not searcht into; nothing too hard for his understanding. This man, indeed, deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they will last till the last fire shall consume all learning.*” This eulogy was equally honourable to the Pope himself.

† The *poverty* of the *Apostles* was emphatically expressed by *Peter*; “Lo we have forsaken *all*, and followed Thee,” (*CHRIST*,) Matt. xix. 27; “*Silver* and *gold* have I none,” Acts iii. 6. They were therefore bound to be maintained by the congregation of the *faithful*. “For the *labourer* is worthy of his *hire*,” Luke x. 7; and how much more the *spiritual labourer*?—“Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the *milk* of the flock?” If, says *Paul*, we have sown unto you *spiritual things*, is it a great matter if we shall reap your *worldly things*? Do ye not know, that they who minister about *holy things*, live by the *sacrifice*? and they who wait at the *altar*, are partakers of the *altar*? Even so *THE LORD* also ordained, that they who *preach THE GOSPEL*, should live by *THE GOSPEL*,” 1 Cor. iv. 9—14.

manner of a *fellowship*, or *collegiate society*, maintaining *themselves*, and *the poor* of the Church, with a *common purse*; the rest of the *faithful* keeping that purse continually stored. And in this sense it is that the SACRED HISTORY saith, ‘All which *believed* were in *one place*, and had *all things common*,’ Acts ii. 44.

“In the *histories of the Church*, and in the writings of the *ancient Fathers* for centuries after, we find no other way for the maintenance of the *clergy*, but only this, *the treasury of JESUS CHRIST*, furnished through men’s devotion, bestowing sometimes *goods*, sometimes *lands*, that way; and out of His treasury, the charge of the *service of GOD* was defrayed, the *Bishop*, and the *clergy* under him, maintained; the *poor*, in their necessity, ministered unto. For which purpose, every Bishop had some one of the Presbyters under him, to be *treasurer of the Church*, to receive, keep, and deliver all, which office, in Churches *Cathedral*, remaineth even till this day, albeit the use thereof, be not altogether so large now as heretofore. The disposition [disposal] of their goods was by the appointment of the *Bishop*. Wherefore *Prosper*, speaking of the Bishops’ care therein, saith, “It was necessary for *one* to be troubled therewith, to the end

The *Levitical priesthood* was amply provided for by THE LAW OF GOD. *Hooker*, p. 379, 380, reckons, that if the quality of the *tythes* and *offerings* assigned to the *Jewish* clergy, the *priests* and *Levites*, and their manner of receiving them without labour, expence, or charge, be taken into consideration, the tribe of *Levi* had *four-twelfths* of the produce of the Holy Land, or four times as much as any of the other tribes. They had also a considerable *landed* property, for GOD was pleased to appoint them *forty-eight cities*, scattered through the twelve tribes, with *territories of land* or *glebes* adjoining, to hold as their own free inheritance for ever, both to enable them to discharge, and reward them for discharging duly, their sacred functions of *instructing* and *educating* the people in *religion* and *morality*. *Barnabas*, the *Levite*, was one of the foremost contributors to the maintenance of the *Christian Church*, “who sold the *land* in *his possession*, and brought the money, and laid it at the *Apostles’ feet*,” Acts iv. 36, 37. And his example was followed by several of the primitive Fathers of the Church, *Paulinus*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, &c. who, before they were made *bishops*, having been owners of ample possessions, sold them, and gave them away to the poor.

When, therefore, the Apostle judged that “*Presbyters*, who ruled well in the *Church of CHRIST*, should be accounted worthy of *double honour*,” 1 Tim. v. 17, he meant *double the stipend* which the *priests of the law* received, as is evident from the parallel passage, “For if *that ministry* which was of the *letter* were so *glorious*, how shall not the *ministry of the Spirit* be *more glorious*?” 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8. That is, if the ministers of the *LAW*, which was only “*the letter*,” or contained the *rudiments* or *elements* of the *GOSPEL*, was so *honourably* maintained, how much more the ministers of the *Spirit*, or higher *evangelical* dispensation? “If the *labourer* was worthy of his *hire*” under THE *LAW*, how much more under THE *GOSPEL*? 1 Tim. v. 18.

that the *rest under him* might be *freer to attend quietly their spiritual businesses*.

“Touching *the Bishop*, as his place and estate was higher, so [was] likewise the proportion of his charges about himself: [they] being for that cause, in all equity and reason, greater. Yet forasmuch as his *stint* herein was no other than it pleased himself to set, *the rest* [of the clergy] (as the manner of *inferiors* is, to think that they which are *over them* have always *too much*,) grudged many times at the measure of the Bishop’s private expense; *perhaps not without cause*. Howsoever [that might be,] by this occasion, there grew amongst them great *heart burning, quarrel, and strife*. Wheresoever the Bishops were found culpable, as *eating too much beyond their tether*, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of CHRIST’S *patrimony*, being not greatly abundant, could bear; *sundry constitutions* [of *councils*] hereupon were made to moderate the same, according to the Church’s condition, [or revenue,] in those times.

“Of *contentions* about these matters there was no end, neither appeared there any possible way for *quietness*, otherwise than by making *partition of the Church revenues*, according to the several ends and uses for which they did serve; so that the Bishop’s part might be certain [or fixed.] Such partition being agreed upon, and made, and the whole *yearly rents and revenues of the Church* divided into four equal parts or quarters:

“ 1. The *Bishop* was allotted one part, and enjoyed his portion several [or separate] to himself; 2. *the rest of the clergy* another; 3. a third was severed [or set aside] to the *furnishing and upholding the Church* [or place of public worship;] 4. and a fourth to the *erection and maintenance* of [*alms*] *houses*, wherein the *poor* might have relief*.

* This ancient division of the *revenues of the Church*, for *sacred uses*, was founded in consummate *wisdom and policy*. One quarter was allotted to the *Bishop*, in order to enable him the better to support his rank, and to exercise hospitality; for it was usual for the Bishop to keep a public table, at which a certain number of the dignitaries and most respectable of the clergy lived or *commoned* with him, such as the *Dean and Chapter*, whose *prebendal houses*, therefore, were usually built near the *Bishop’s palace* and the *Cathedral*, in the *collegiate style*.

This proportion was also warranted by the revenues of the *High Priest* under THE LAW. To him was allotted the tenth or tythe of all the *Priests’ and Levites’ tythes*, offerings, and incomes, consisting of the choice or best part thereof. And *Phineas*, the High Priest, had, moreover, *lands* allotted to him by the state, in Mount *Ephraim*, for his public services in the *Moabite idolatry*, &c. Numb. xxv. 11; Josh. xxiv. 33. See

“ After this separation [was] made, *lands* and *livings* began to be dedicated every day unto each use severally, by means

the foregoing articles of the *Priest's maintenance*, Vol. II. p. 243, and *division of lands*, Vol. II. p. 267, &c. We are, therefore, warranted to reckon that the *High Priest's* revenue was a fourth part at least of what all the *Priests* and *Levites* together enjoyed, whose number was large in proportion to the extent of the *Holy Land*, 22000 in the time of *Moses*, Numb. iii. 34; iv. 3, and 30000 in the time of *David*, 1 Chron. xxiii. 3. *Hooker* rates it too low, at a seventh or eighth part, p. 379, for he did not take into account the landed property of the *High Priest*. And if we consider that the *clergy*, in the infancy of the Church, were not near so numerous in proportion as afterwards, we must allow that the *Jewish hierarchy* and *clergy* were amply and liberally maintained, and the *Christian*, even at first, not deficiently.

The other half of the *ecclesiastical* revenue, was divided between the building and repairs of *churches* and *alms houses*; and the support of the honest and industrious *poor*, when unable to work, 2 Thess. iii. 10.

Much as we are bound to praise and extol the blessed REFORMATION, which emancipated our forefathers from the spiritual tyranny of *papal despotism*, to the glorious liberty of the GOSPEL, we cannot too deeply lament and deplore that iniquitous and sacrilegious spoliation of Church property that accompanied it; and the *lay impropriations*, so profusely and unwisely granted at the suppression of the *monasteries* and religious orders, and the confiscation of their revenues, both in *lands* and *tythes*. These ought to have been religiously restored to *sacred uses*, as the *patrimony* of CHRIST; and the present generation has to rue the *impolicy* of the misapplication. The *poor rates*, which are now so grievous a burden upon the industry of the community, were created thereby; for before the suppression they did not exist, they were unnecessary; and it is now, indeed, difficult for the *curtailed* revenues of the Church even to keep in repair those splendid *churches* and *cathedrals* formerly built out of the sacred funds, much less to build *new churches* for the increased population of the land. The consequences of this inability are truly calamitous already, and threaten still greater evils.

Nor was the *warning voice* of the first and greatest *luminaries* of the Reformation, and firmest *pillars* and *bulwarks* of the Church of England, wanting to deprecate and expose the evil tendency of these abuses.

1. The learned Bishop *Jewel*, whose *Apology for the Church of England* is so deservedly admired by the soundest divines, in one of his sermons, preached before Q. Elizabeth, (who, it is well known, gave at first but *too much encouragement* thereto,) had the boldness to notice these abuses, and to foretel their fatal consequences.

“ In other countries, (said he,) the receiving of THE GOSPEL hath always been the cause that LEARNING was more set by; and learning hath ever been THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL: in England, I know not how, it cometh otherwise to pass, for since THE GOSPEL hath been received, the maintenance of LEARNING hath been decayed; and the lack of LEARNING will be the decay of THE GOSPEL.”——“ You,” said he, addressing himself to her rapacious courtiers and favourites, “ you enriched them which mocked, and blinded, and devoured you! Spoil not them now that feed, and instruct, and comfort you!”

2. The intelligent *Hooker* reckoned that what had been taken in his time, from the Church, in *lay appropriations*, was known to amount to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly. “ We rest,” says he, “ contentedly and quietly without it, till it shall please GOD to touch the hearts of men, of their own voluntary accord, to restore it to HIM again.”——“ What hath been taken away, as dedicated unto *uses superstitious*, and consequently, not given to GOD, or at the leastwise not so *rightly* given, we

whereof every one of them became in a short time much greater than they had been for *worldly* maintenance; the fervent devo-

repine not thereat: that which hath gone, by *means secret* and *indirect*, through *corrupt compositions* or *compacts*, we cannot help: what the *hardness of men's hearts* doth make them loth to have *exacted*, though being due by *law*, even thereof the want we do also bear.— All that we have to sustain our *miserable life* with is but a *remnant of God's own treasure*; so far already *diminished* and *clipt*, that if there were any sense of *common humanity* left in this hard-hearted world, the *impoverished estate of the clergy of God* would, at the length, even of very commiseration, be spared!" p. 389. "Surely, wheresoever this *wicked intendment* of overthrowing *cathedral churches*, or of taking away those *livings, lands, and possessions* which *Bishops* hitherto have enjoyed, shall once prevail, the handmaids attending thereupon will be *paganism* and *extreme barbarity* [or *barbarism,*"] p. 387. And he thus remarkably predicted the ensuing *Grand Rebellion* *.

"We have *just cause* exceedingly to fear, that those *miserable times of confusion* are drawing on, wherein 'the people shall be oppressed one of another,' (Isa. iii. 5,) inasmuch as already, that which *prepareth the way* thereunto, is come to pass: 'Children presume against the ancient, and the vile against the honourable,' (Isa. iii. 5.) *Prelacy*, the temperature of excesses in *all estates*, the glew and soder of the *public wealth*, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the *limbs* of this *body politic* together, hath instead of deserved *honour*, all extremity of *disgrace*: the *foolish* every where plead, that unto the *wise in heart* they owe neither service, subjection, nor honour," p. 373.

Bishop *Jewel* died A.D. 1571, and *Hooker* A.D. 1600.

3. The chief stay and support of the tottering Church at that time, under God, was *Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who *devoutly consecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of the Church*, in the language of *Cambden*. He was in great favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and induced her to put a stop to the breach that had been already made in the lands and immunities of the Church, and to maintain, with more care than she had done before, its remaining rights. Her prime favourite, the earl of *Leicester*, having abused his power, as one of the trustees of an act designed for the better preservation of Church lands, by preventing their alienation, the Archbishop withstood him openly to his face, before the Queen; and they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But *Whitgift* made a sudden and seasonable return to her Majesty, whom he found alone, and addressed her with great humility and reverence indeed, but with the spirit and frankness of an *Apostle*, in the following terms.

"I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that *yours* and the *Churches safety* are dearer to me than my life, but *my conscience* dearer than both; and therefore, give me leave to do *my duty*, and tell you, that *princes* are deputed *nursing fathers of the Church*, and owe it a protection: and therefore, *God forbid*, that you should be so much as passive in her ruins, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it, without horror and detestation; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger. And though you and myself are born in an *age of frailties*, when the *primitive piety and care of the Church lands and immunities* are much decayed, yet, Ma-

* How highly *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* was admired by *Charles I.* appears from his advice to his children, a few days before he suffered, to read it diligently, even next to *THE BIBLE*, as an excellent means to settle them in the *truth of religion*, and in the *peace of the Church*.

tion of men being glad that this new opportunity was given them of shewing *zeal to the house of GOD* in more certain order.”

dam, let me beg that you will but first consider, and then you will believe, there are such sins as *profaneness* and *sacrilege*; for if there were not, they could not have names in *HOLY WRIT*, and particularly in the *NEW TESTAMENT*.

“ And I beseech you to consider, that though *OUR SAVIOUR* said, *He judged no man*, and to testify it, would not judge nor *divide the inheritance* betwixt the *two brethren*, nor would *judge the woman taken in adultery*, yet in this point of the *Churches rights*, he was so *zealous*, that he made himself both the *accuser* and the *judge*, and the *executioner* to punish these sins, witnessed, in that He himself *made the whip to drive the profaners out of the Temple*, *overthrew the tables of the money-changers*, and *drove them out of it*. And consider, that it was *St. Paul* that said to these Christians of his time, that were offended at idolatry, ‘ *yet thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?*’ supposing, I think, *sacrilege* to be the greater sin: this may occasion your Majesty to consider, that there is such a sin as *sacrilege*. And to incline you to prevent the *curse* that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider, that *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperor, and *Helena*, his mother, that King *Edgar*, and *Edward the Confessor*, and indeed, many others of your *predecessors*, and many *private Christians*, have also given to *GOD* and his *Church* much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their *own families*, and did not, but gave them as an absolute *right* and *sacrifice* to *GOD*; and with these immunities and lands, they have *entailed a curse upon the alienators* of them; *GOD* prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse.

“ And to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the *danger* of it, I beseech you forget not, that besides these *curses*, the *Church land and power* have been also endeavoured to be preserved, (as far as *human reason*, and the *law of this nation* have been able to preserve them,) by an immediate and most sacred *obligation* on the *consciences* of the princes of this realm. For they that consult *Magna Charta* shall find, that as all your predecessors, at their coronation, so you also, were sworn before all the *Nobility* and *Bishops*, then present, and in the presence of *GOD*, and in his stead, to him that anointed you, *to maintain the Church lands, and the rights belonging to it*; and this, testified openly at the *Holy Altar*, by laying your hand upon the *BIBLE*, then lying upon it. And not only *Magna Charta*, but many *modern statutes* have denounced a curse upon those that break *Magna Charta*. And now what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the *last great day*, either by your Majesty or by me, if it be *wilfully* or but *negligently violated*, I know not.

“ And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lord (*Leicester's*) exceptions against the *failings of some few Clergymen*, prevail with you to *punish posterity* for the errors of this present age: let *particular men* suffer for their particular errors, but let *GOD* and His *Church* have their rights. And though I pretend not to *prophecy*, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; *That Church land, added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both!* or like the *eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it*. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, (*Henry VIII.*) yet I beg you to take notice, that a *part of the Churches rights*, added to the *vast treasure* left him by his Father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable *consumption* upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve it.

“ And consider, that after the *violation* of those laws to which he had sworn in *Magna*

HERESY AND SCHISM.

The foregoing complaints of the *primitive Fathers*, shew how soon these “*tares*” sprung up in the *Church* of CHRIST; at-

Charta, GOD did so far deny him *His restraining grace*, that he fell into greater *sins* than I am willing to mention.

“Madam, RELIGION is the foundation and cement of human societies, and when they that serve at GOD’s altar shall be exposed to *poverty*, then RELIGION itself will be exposed to *scorn*, and become *contemptible*; as you may already observe in too many *poor vicarages* in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act, or acts [of Parliament,] entrusted with a great power to *preserve*, or [to] *waste the Churches lands*, yet dispose of them, for JESUS’s sake, as the *donors* intended. Let neither *falsehood* nor *flattery* beguile you to do otherwise, and put a stop, I beseech you, to the approaching ruin of GOD’s Church, as you expect comfort at the *last great day*; for *Kings must be judged*.

“Pardon this *affectionate plainness*, my most dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in *your favour*, and THE LORD continue you in *Hts.*”

This animated speech, (impossible to be abridged,) to which the Queen listened patiently, produced its full effect; and her future care to preserve the Church’s rights, which till then had been neglected, proved that it sunk deep into her heart. Notwithstanding all the flowings and ebbings of her favour towards his opposers, (and the latter especially, to the Earl of *Leicester*,) he still maintained a uniform ascendancy in her esteem, for his *piety*, and in her councils for his *wisdom*, during twenty years, in those dangerous and unsettled times, in which he had to cope with the most *powerful* and *active enemies* of the Church, both open and concealed, the *Nonconformists* and the *Courtiers*. And he made good his motto,

Vincit qui patitur.

See *Walton’s Life of Hooker*, p. 9, 10. *Whitgift* died A.D. 1604, two years after his royal mistress.

4. To these curious, valuable, and interesting testimonies of the *eye-witnesses*, we cannot refrain from adding the awakening testimony of the pious and sagacious, but cautious *Mede*, who died in A.D. 1638, ten years before his royal master, *Charles I.*

Alluding to the foregoing spoliation of Church property, he says, “Moreover there is a *sin* of which the *whole body of the reformation* is notoriously guilty, which nevertheless is accounted no sin; and yet such an one, as I know not whether GOD ever passed by, without some visible and remarkable *judgment*. This seems to call for a *scourge* before *Antichrist* shall go down, and that may be, as far as I know, this feared *clades testium*, [“slaughter of the witnesses,” foretold Rev. xi. 7,] *I will not name it, because it is invidious*; and I am not willing to say so much for the *probability* thereof, in this case, as perhaps I could,” p. 760.

But he speaks of it elsewhere thus more unreservedly, in his *Latin* writings, “Who knows whether the *reformed Church* may not suffer for the *insult* offered to CHRIST in this respect, by the *temporary suppression of the witnesses*: because they held them not in due honour, as *His ambassadors*, while they enjoyed the benefit of their testimony? It is too notorious, how much the *reformed Churches* have offended in this way: for while CHRIST’s *Prophets* strenuously applied themselves to *purge* the temple of GOD, others, meantime, the *robbers*, by plundering its treasures, and alienating its oblations, fixed an indelible *stain* upon that *most holy work*, to the great disgrace of *true religion*;

tributing such, as we have seen, to the instigation of the *Devil*, working upon the overweening *pride*, *ambition*, and *worldliness* of the *inferior ecclesiastics*, aspiring to make themselves a *name*, and to set themselves *above* their betters.

But their seeds were sown in *human nature* itself, and not easily eradicated, even in the *regenerate*. Witness the *contentions* among OUR LORD'S favourite Apostles, who should be *greatest* in his kingdom. And St. *Paul*, writing to the Church of *Corinth*, the metropolis of *Achaia*, that great commercial city, corrupted by *wealth*, and the influx of *strangers*, and spoiled by *luxury* and *licentiousness*, their usual concomitants, seems to consider *heresies* and *schisms* as matters of course :

“ I hear, that when ye assemble together in *the Church*, there are *schisms* among you, and I believe it, *in part* ; for there must needs be even *heresies* among you ; to the end that the *approved* among you may become *manifest*,” [by rejecting and avoiding such,] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

The Apostle does not here mean, that *schisms* and *heresies* are essential to the Church ; for he ranks such among “ the works of *the flesh*,” Gal. v. 20, but only, that GOD permits *Satan* to sow those *tares* ; both that *ungodly* and *pestilent* disciples might shew forth the innate *pride* and *naughtiness* of

in some places, not leaving even adequate supplies for the *decent support* of his *Ministers*, according to the dignity of their order ; much less a redundancy for the promotion of the *Reformation*, the necessities of the *sacred warfare*, the relief of the *distressed brethren*, and other *pious uses*.—But *I will not fret this sore*,” p. 487.

“ I conceive not this *clades* to be such as should extinguish the *persons*, or whole materials, (as I may so speak,) of the *reformed Churches* ; but the *public fabric* of the *Reformation*,” p. 761, namely, “ an *extermination* of the *reformed Pastors* out of their *places* and *Churches* ; and not a general extermination of the *body* of the *reformed people*, which are *too many* to be dealt with according to former violence ; and shall remain to terrify *the beast*, and revenge the *clades* of their *Prophets*, before almost they shall have done rejoicing over them,” (Rev. xi. 10,) p. 766.

“ Either I am mistaken, or the *Apocalypse* too plainly intimates, that a *little before* the destruction of the *Beast*, (Rev. xix. 20,) *the whole reformed world* shall be oppressed, (though but for a *very short time*,) and I shudder to say, *entirely subverted* ! (Rev. xi. 11.) Whether those miserable *clades* of the *reformed Churches* and *unsettlements*, may *prepare the way* for this last catastrophe, I cannot say, GOD only knoweth, in whose hand are the *times* and *seasons*. But this I will not hesitate to say, that if any one shall attentively consider the *present aspect* of *affairs*, there will occur to him no slight causes of *dread*.” p. ult.

Such *faithful witnesses* as *Jewel*, *Hooker*, *Whitgift*, and *Mede*, are not to be despised by those that have ears to hear, at the present crisis of the *Established Church*, and of the BRITISH EMPIRE. (1811.)

their hearts, by countenancing and propagating such; and the *faithful* on the other hand, *prove* the purity of their doctrine, and stedfastness of their discipline, by opposing and exposing innovations and irregularities. Bishop *Pearce* has judiciously remarked, "It is observable of the *earlier* and *purser* ages of the Church, that when *Heretics* arose, and carried some doctrines to an extreme, it commonly was, when *the Church* seemed inclinable to lean too much toward the other extreme. Thus *Heresies* then, under the guidance of PROVIDENCE, caused a *revulsion of humours* in the *ecclesiastical body*: it brought men back again into the *right channel*, and made them stick more closely to THE TRUTH, than they would probably have done if no opposition had been made. So that *disputes* about THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION seem to have contributed as much to the preserving it *pure*, as the *constant motion* of the *waters* does to the keeping them *sweet*: and if so, that can be no argument *against believing* CHRISTIANITY, which has been one great cause of continuing it a thing *worthy to be believed*." *Pearce's* Sermons, Vol. I. p. 387. And this exactly corresponds with the same Apostle's advice, "*Prove all things: hold fast what is right*," 1 Thess. v. 21.

The foregoing observations may lead us to the true Scriptural meaning of *heresy* and *schism*; which it is of so much *religious* and *civil* importance clearly to ascertain and define.

The word *αἵρεσις*, is used both in a good and a bad sense in Scripture, and by *Paul* himself. He styled himself of the strictest *Sect* of the *Pharisees*, (*αἵρεσιν*,) Acts xxvi. 5. Here it evidently signifies a *sect* or *party*; but, "In the way that they call *heresy*, so serve I THE PATRIARCHAL GOD," (*αἵρεσιν—τῷ πατρῷῳ Θεῷ*,) xxiv. 14. Here it is evidently used as a term of reproach.

Heresy, therefore, is ambiguous, and may subsist in a true Church as well as in a false. The followers of it in the former, are usually termed *Sectaries*. Thus, the disciples in the Church of *Corinth*, of whom "one said, I am of *Paul*, another, I am of *Apollos*, another, I am of *Cephas* or *Peter*;" (under which names, the Apostle adumbrated the *leaders* of those *Sects*), 1 Cor. i. 12, 13, iii. 5, iv. 6, are censured by him for not sufficiently "maintaining *the head* CHRIST;" for paying too much deference to the peculiar opinions of their *teachers*; although those teachers, perhaps, might not differ from each other, nor

from the Gospel in *fundamentals*, but only in *external ordinances*, &c. And may not this censure equally involve *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, *Wesleians*, *Whitfieldites**, &c. at the present day?

But *heresy* is by *St. Paul* decidedly reprobated, where it signifies, *ἑτεροδιδασκαλία*, "*Heterodox Doctrine*," repugnant to THE GOSPEL, as taught by CHRIST and his *Apostles*, and *plainly* and *critically* expounded, in conformity with the *whole tenor* of Scripture, 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3, &c.

Hence it follows, that every *erroneous opinion* is not *heresy*,

* The following admirable reflexion on the propensity of *mankind* to erect their favourite *teachers* into *Apostles*, we owe to *Hooker*; addressing himself thus to the *Sectaries* of his day, p. 41.

"Loth ye are to think that they whom *ye* judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of *doctrine* as any since the *Apostles* time, [such as *Calvin*, in his admired *Institutes* and *Expositions* of Holy Scripture] should mistake in *discipline*. Such is naturally our affection [or disposition] that whom, in *great things*, we mightily admire; in them, we are not persuaded willingly, that *any thing* should be amiss. The reason whereof is, that 'as *dead flies* putrify the ointment of the apothecary, so, a little *folly*, him that is in estimation for wisdom,' (Eccl. x. 1.) This, in *every profession*, hath too much authorized the judgment of a few [*leaders*]: this, with *Germans*, hath caused *Luther*, and with many other *Churches*, *Calvin*, to prevail in all things. Yet, we are not able to define [or determine] whether THE WISDOM of that GOD (who setteth before us in Holy Scripture *so many* admirable patterns of *virtue*, and *no one* of them without something noted wherein they were *culpable*; to the end that to HIM ALONE it might always be acknowledged, 'THOU *only art* HOLY, THOU *only art* JUST;') might not permit these *worthy vessels* of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of *human frailty*; even for this cause: *lest we should esteem any man above that which becometh.*"

It were much to be wished, that the invaluable *Preface* to *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, in which this fine observation is found, with many others, was reprinted separately, and disseminated widely. It contains, in the moderate compass of 18 pages folio, the *substance*, and unfolds the *design*, and *application* of the *whole eight books* of that prolix work. And it is written with the most affectionate earnestness, the soundest and most impressive reasoning, religious and political, the soberest, yet the most pointed wit and humour, and the greatest fairness and candour to his opponents; commending most cheerfully *Calvin's* great *piety* and *learning*, though disapproving his *New Ecclesiastical Discipline*, as receding from the usage of the *primitive Church*, and little inferior in *Spiritual tyranny* to that of *Rome* herself; and contrasting the original *professions* with the subsequent *practices* of the would be *Reformists* of the *ecclesiastical regimen* of the *Church of England*; wishing to new model it upon the plan of the *Churches* of *Geneva* and *Scotland*, by abolishing the *episcopal order*, and imparting a share of its government to *Lay-presbyters*, vested with power of *ordination*, *excommunication*, &c.

It is, indeed, a finished model of *religious* and *political controversy* without acrimony. — "There *will come a time*," says he, "when *three words* uttered with *charity* and *mekness*, shall receive a far more *blessed reward* than *three thousand volumes* written with *disdainful sharpness* of wit." P. 36.

according to *Augustine's* * judicious distinction, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo*. "I may *err*, but I will not be a *Heretic*," intimating that he would not *knowingly* or *wilfully* embrace an *error*, though he might *involuntarily* fall into such, on account of the difficulty of finding out the true meaning of Scripture. Such error is surely venial, or pardonable. Thus, GOD pardoned the friends of *Job*, though *they did not speak rightly of HIM*, because they were good and pious men, and spoke according to the best of their skill and knowledge, in sincerity, though but in error. And the Apostle *Paul* evidently included *wilful* rejection of *Gospel truth* in his notion of *heresy*, or *Heterodoxy*; as may appear from the following texts :

"A *Heretical* person, after one or two admonitions, *avoid* † ;

* *Augustine* thus explains his sentiments, in his controversy with the *Manichæans*.

"Those persons who maintain an *opinion*, though *false* and *perverse*, without *pertinacious animosity*, and who seek THE TRUTH with *cautious solicitude*, when they have found it, ready to be *corrected*, are by no means to be classed among *Heretics*," xxiv. 9—3.

Hales of Eton, calls "*heresy* an act of the *will*, and not of *reason*; a *lye*, and not a *mistake*."

Bishop *Taylor*, says, "If a man's *error* be not *voluntary*, and part of an *ill life*, then, because he leads a good life, he is a good man, and therefore no *Heretic*."—"A *bad life* is the *worst heresy*," said one of the Fathers.

"It it be an *error*," says *Hooker*, "to think, that GOD may be merciful to *save* men even when they *err*; my greatest comfort is my error. Were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wish to speak or to live." And he strenuously maintained the possibility of *salvation* in the *Romish* Church against the *Presbyterian* and *Puritanical* factions; resembling the Church of *Rome* herself in their uncharitableness.

From that Church, the following definition of *heresy* was copied in the *Reformatio Legum*, carried on under *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* pursuant to act of parliament :

"*Hæresis errore falsas opiniones suscipit, et inscienter.*"

"*Heresy* takes up *false opinions*, through *error*, even *unwittingly*."

Under the dreadful latitude of this definition, several wretched enthusiasts were condemned to the flames in the reigns of the Reformists, *Henry VIII.*, *Edward VI.*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, as we have seen; before the *Church of England* was sufficiently purged from the persecuting leaven of *popery*.

† The Greek, *ἀρετικὸν ἀνθρώπου παραιτοῦ*, is rendered by the Vulgate, *Hæreticum hominem devita*, which gave rise to the following mistake. An old and rigid Theologian having been once asked in council, whether there was any *canonical* authority for the *capital punishments* of *Heretics*, immediately cited this passage in support of it; *de vitâ!* said he, *de vitâ!*—ignorantly splitting the Latin verb, *devita*, "avoid," into two, *de vitâ*, "out of life." This anecdote *Erasmus* reports, on the authority of *John Colet*, a man of approved integrity, who acted as president of that council, *Jortin's Erasmus*, Vol. II. p. 225.

Here, *ignorance* was the parent of *persecution*!—Many such "*methodisms of error*," are to be found in the persecuting annals of the Church. The council here alluded to

knowing that such is *perverted*, and *sinneth*, being *self condemned*," Tit. iii. 10, 11.

"If any one *teach other doctrine* [than this] and attendeth not to *the wholesome words* of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, and to *the doctrine according to Godliness*, he hath been *puffed up*, knowing nothing, and is *distempered* about *questions* and *logomachies*, from whence proceed *envy, strife, contention, blasphemies; evil surmises, perverse disputations* of men of *corrupt mind*, and *devoid of the truth*, reckoning *Godliness a traffic; withdraw* thyself from such," 1 Tim. vi. 3—5.

And he censures the Church of *Galatia* in the following strong terms :

"I wonder that ye are so soon *removed from [me]* who called you by the grace of CHRIST, unto a *different Gospel* [of the *Judaizing* teachers]; which, indeed, is not *another Gospel*, [but in reality, *no Gospel* at all; preached only] by *some* who *disturb you*, and wish to *subvert the Gospel of CHRIST*. But if even *we*, [the *Apostles*] or an *Angel from Heaven*, should preach to you any Gospel *beside* * that which we have [already] preached to you, let him be *accursed*."

"As *we* [the *Apostles*] said before, so now I [*Paul*] say again, if *any one* preaches among you a Gospel *beside* * what ye have received, let him be *accursed*," Gal. i. 6—9.

Peter also foretels "*heresies of perdition*" to be *foisted clandestinely* into the *Christian Church*, by *false teachers*, as formerly into the *Jewish*, by *false prophets; denying even THE LORD* that purchased them [by his *blood*,] bringing on themselves and their numerous followers, *speedy perdition*; by means of whom, "*the way of the truth shall be blasphemed*," 2 Pet. ii. 1. Comp. Heb. vi. 6.

He seems here to comment on *Paul*, and both perhaps, to glance at *Popery*, "*a religion taken up, and believed from the traditions of men, and additions to the word of GOD;*" as skil-

seems to have been *Protestant*. And certainly, several *Calvinist* Divines of the Synod of *Dort* would have seconded the Old Theologian. The *Remonstrants* maintained the unlawfulness of *religious persecution upon SCRIPTURAL* grounds; yet, they were censured by the Synod.

* * παρα' ὅ. Here, the preposition παρα, "*beside*" marks those *additional* doctrines grafted upon the GOSPEL by the *Judaizing* teachers; which he compares to "*the wood, hay, stubble*, built upon the *gold, silver, and precious stones* of the *Apostolic* foundation," 1 Cor. iii. 12. *Peter* has given a fine comment on it in the compound verb, παρεισαζουσιν, "*they shall clandestinely introduce*," 2 Pet. ii. 1.

fully defined by *Milton*; whence also it follows clearly, says *Milton*, “that of all known *Sects*, or pretended *Religions* at this day in Christendom, *Popery* is the only, or the greatest *Heresy*: and he who is so forward to brand all others for Heretics, the *obstinate Papist*, the only *Heretic*.” Hence, one of their own famous writers found just cause to style the *Romish Church*, “*Mother of Error, School of Heresy**.”

Schism (σχίσμα) is a “*division*,” or “*rent*” in the Church. It is either *partial* or *total*. *Partial*, as in the disorderly mode of celebrating the *Eucharist* among the *Corinthians*; reprehended by *Paul*, 1 Cor. xi. 20—34. or *Total*, where it comes to the separating of congregations from the common rites and ordinances of religious worship; as of the *Reformed Churches* from the *Romish*.

Schisms, therefore, may subsist in a true Church as well as in a false; where they only involve *secondary* points of doctrine or discipline, without subverting the foundations of the *Christian Faith*. Hence, *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, &c. and *Churchmen*, ought not to separate from each other, nor break off communion, since they agree in fundamentals; no more than the different sects or parties in the Church of Rome, *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Carthusians*, *Thomists*, *Molinists*, *Jansenists*, *Jesuits*, &c. who, notwithstanding the diversity of their tenets, and their mutual controversies, all live in communion with each other.

Protestant Sects, however, *were*, and *are*, imperiously required to separate from the Church of *Rome*, because she *erred*, and still *errs* in fundamentals, respecting *Faith* and *Works*; and this, in obedience to SCRIPTURE:—“to *avoid Heresies* and *Heretics*,” subversive of the Gospel, and “to *secede*” from such, and “*withdraw*” from them for fear of contamination; “to *come out of*” the mystical and devoted “*Babylon*,” the mother of “*Harlots*,” *idolatries* and *heresies*, “that they might not be partakers of her sins and of her punishment,” Rom. xvi. 17, 2 Thess. iii. 6—14; 1 Tim. vi. 3—5; 2 Tim. iii. 5; Tit. iii. 10; Rev. xiv. 6—11, xviii. 4, &c. &c.

“*Grace* be with *all* that *love* OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

* See *Milton's* excellent Tract on *true religion, heresy, schism, and toleration*, &c. first printed in the year 1673; and lately republished in *Baron Maseres' Occasional Essays*, p. 418.

incorruptly *. *Amen*," Eph. vi. 24.—“ If any love not the LORD CHRIST [*incorruptly*] let him be *anathema*, *maran atha* [*accursed*, or *excommunicated*] 1 Cor. xvi. 22 †.

But the *mild Spirit of Christianity* abhors all manner of *Religious persecution* for conscience sake. “ THE SON of MAN came not to *destroy* men's lives but to *save*,” Luke ix. 55, 56. And the prudential and tolerant wisdom of the Gospel, suffers “ the *wheat* and the *tares*” of *pure* and of *corrupt* Churches, “ to grow both together” in the field of this world, “ till the *harvest*,” or *general resurrection* at the end of it; when a final separation shall be made between them by “ OUR LORD and his *reapers*,” the Holy Angels. See the foregoing explanation of this parable, this Vol. p. 117.

While the Gospel earnestly recommends the “ *divine panoply*,” for our *defensive* armour, so beautifully described by St. Paul; the only *offensive* weapon it permits, is the “ *sword of the Spirit*, which is THE WORD OF GOD,” (Eph. vi. 10—17.) cautiously and skilfully handled, in humble imitation of CHRIST himself in his controversy with *Satan*; and of *Michael* the Archangel, his representative, contending with the *Devil*. He declares, that “ *all they* that use the *temporal sword*, to maintain his cause, shall *perish by the sword*,” Matt. xxvi. 52. A most awful warning to all *persecuting* Churches. And is not the *Church of Rome*, in particular, now drinking the *bitter cup* of all her *former* persecutions, in fulfilment of prophecy? While those *reformed Churches* are sharing in her potion, who were infected by her example, more or less.

The spirit of *Antichrist* is not exclusively confined to the Church of *Rome*; for we are told, there are “ *many Antichrists*” among the *Laity* as well as the *Clergy* every where. Who can read, without amazement, the resolutions of the *Whig* parliament in 1689, to charge the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Peterborough*, Sir *Edward Hales* and Mr. *Walker*, with *high treason* for their conversion to *popery*!—How infinitely wiser was the declaration of that great lawyer, Lord *Mansfield*: “ Nothing is more *unreasonable*, more inconsistent with the *rights of human nature*, more contrary to the *precepts* and *spirit* of the CHRIS-

* *Ev αθαρσια*, “ in *incorruption* or *purity* ;” put for *αθαρτως*, “ *incorruptly* or *purely*.” Schleusn.

† *Αναθεμα*, is the Greek rendering of the Syro-Chaldaic, *μαραν αθα* (מָרַן אֲתָא) “ *accursed be thou*,” which was the Jewish form of *excommunication*, Galat. i. 8.

TIAN RELIGION, more *unjust* and *iniquitous*, more *impolitic*, than *persecution*: it is against *natural Religion, revealed Religion* and *Polity*." *Taylor's Thoughts on the Grand Apostacy*, p. 67—70.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

Τα μὲν οὖν Εὐαγγέλια ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησε καὶ εἶπεν ἱστορία τις ἐστὶν αἱ δὲ Πράξεις, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος Παρακλητὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐποίησε.

"The *Gospels*, are a *History* of what CHRIST *did and said* ;
The *Acts*, of what THE OTHER ADVOCATE *said and did*.—*Chrysostom*.

THE latter portion of the HISTORY, to which we are now arrived, is comprized in the sequel of the

IX. CHRONOLOGICAL PERIOD, reaching from OUR LORD'S *ascension*, A. D. 31, to the *destruction of Jerusalem*, A. D. 70. See this Vol. p. 1, 2. During which, "beginning from *Jerusalem*, the GOSPEL was published among *all nations*, until the *end*" of that devoted city, Matt. xxiv. 14 ; Acts i. 8.

Before we proceed thereto, it will be necessary, 1. to verify its *chronology*, as assumed in the foregoing outline ; and 2. to establish the *canonical authority* of the *Acts* and *Epistles*, in which the history is principally contained.

THE CHRONOLOGY VERIFIED.

The first leading date therein is that of the martyrdom of *Stephen*, and ensuing *persecution* of the Church, A. D. 34, according to *Syncellus*, *Usher*, and *Pearson*. This closed the latter half of the *single week* of *Daniel's* famous prophecy of the 70 weeks, in the midst of which, "THE MESSIAH was *cut off*," A. D. 31. which began, therefore, A. D. 28. See the explanation of that prophecy, Vol. II. p. 514.

The next is the *conversion* of *Saul*, afterwards the Apostle *Paul*, A. D. 35. This introduced a new era in the History of the Church ; corresponding to the beginning of *Daniel's* five last weeks, or 35 years, ending with the destruction of *Jerusalem*, A. D. 70. In this assigned date A. D. 35, agree *Syncellus*, *Usher*, *Pearson*, *Barrington*, and the *Bible Chronology**, corrected from *Usher's*, by Bishop *Lloyd*.

* *Petavius* and *Cave*, date *Paul's* conversion A. D. 33.
Lenfant, *Beausobre*, and *Lardner* 36.
Michaelis, about 38.
Spanheim, *Witsius* and *Fabrics* 40.

Pontius Pilate, the fifth procurator of *Judea*, was deposed by *Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, upon a complaint of mal-administration by the *Samaritans*, A. D. 35, as shewn in the first volume of this work, p. 87. And the same date is thus verified from *Eusebius*. *Pilate*, according to him, was appointed procurator in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, A. D. 14 + 11 = A. D. 25; but he governed ten years, according to *Josephus*, Ant. xviii. 5, 2. And therefore was deposed A. D. 35, as before. This fixes the time of the appointment of his successor *Marcellus*, to the year A. D. 35, noticed by *Josephus*, in that place; who observes, that *Tiberius* was dead before the arrival of *Pilate* at *Rome*. But *Tiberius* died A. D. 36. This fixes *Pilate's* deposal in the year A. D. 35, beyond a doubt, after he had witnessed and winked at the outrageous massacre of *Stephen*. Soon after his disgrace, he put an end to his life, like his accomplice, *Judas*, for "betraying the innocent blood."

The embassy of the *Jews* to *Caius Caligula*, deprecating the erection of the emperor's statue at *Jerusalem*, described by the intelligent *Philo*, who was employed therein, took place A. D. 40, in the last year of his reign, not long before he was assassinated, as we learn from *Tacitus**. He was succeeded by the emperor *Claudius*.

Soon after the accession of *Claudius* he appointed *Herod Agrippa* his friend king of *Judea*, and restored to him all the dominions of *Herod* the Great, his grandfather, Ant. XIX. 5, 1. We are warranted, therefore, to date *Herod's* reign A. D. 41. He reigned three years, and died of an extraordinary disease A. D. 44, which *Josephus* has caricatured from the Acts, xxii. 20—23; Ant. XIX. 8, 2.

This fixes the year of *famine* in *Judea* in the [fifth of] *Claudius Cæsar*, Acts xi. 28, and the second *Jewish* persecution by *Herod*, shortly before his death, A. D. 44.

After *Herod's* death *Cuspius Fadus* was appointed procurator, about A. D. 44, Joseph. Ant. XIX. 9, 2.

Tiberius Alexander succeeded him, and died in office, when *Ventidius Cumanus* was appointed procurator in the eighth year of *Claudius*, A. D. 47, Ant. XX. 4, 2.

The first *Apostolic* Council, held at *Jerusalem* to decide the

* *Judæi jussi a Caio Cæsare effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere: quem motum Cæsaris mors diremit*, Hist. V. 9.

question whether the *Gentile Church* was bound to submit to circumcision and the law of *Moses*, Acts xv. 1, 2, is reckoned to have been held fourteen years after the Apostle *Paul's* conversion, A.D. 35 + 14 = A.D. 49. Compare Gal. ii. 1—4. This fundamental date has been adopted by *Petavius*, *Pearson*, *Barrington*, *Lardner*, *Paley*, and *Michaelis* *.

* This important date, however, has been much disputed upon the grounds of the ambiguity of the original expression, *επειτα, δια δεκατεσσαρων ετων, παλιν ανεβην εις Ιεροσολυμα*, Gal. i. 1.

1. It has been contended that these “fourteen years” are rather to be counted from *Paul's* first visit to *Jerusalem*, three years after his conversion, A.D. 35 + 3 = A.D. 38, Gal. i. 18; which would give the date of the council, A.D. 38 + 14 = A.D. 52, three years later. And this has been adopted by *Jerom*, *Usher*, &c. and A.D. 51, by the *Bible Chronology*.

But it is more natural to refer them to the fundamental date of his conversion; especially as another *επειτα* intervenes, Gal. i. 21, to break the connexion with the first visit to *Jerusalem*, Gal. i. 18.

Lardner observes that the expression *δια* signifies “about,” or “during,” and that the fourteen years are *current*, not complete. If so, the date of the council should be A.D. 35 + 13 = A.D. 48; which, perhaps, is rather more correct.

2. But *Paley* doubts whether the visit to *Jerusalem* might not have been different from that at the time of the council, from the following differences in the circumstances of both, *Horæ Paulinæ*, p. 195—207.

1. *Titus* is mentioned as accompanying *Paul* and *Barnabas* in the *Epistle*, but not in the *Acts*.

But *Titus* is plainly included in the definite expression of their attendants, and “some others of them,” Acts xv. 2. The name of *Titus* is no where found in the *Acts*.

2. *Paul* is said to have gone up to *Jerusalem* by “revelation,” Gal. ii. 2; whereas he is represented as deputed by the Church of *Antioch* in the *Acts*.

Both these accounts are consistent. Thus *Peter* was sent for by *Cornelius*, but the HOLY SPIRIT directed him to go with the messengers, Acts x. 20.

3. *Paul* communicated his *Gospel* to the Gentiles, “privately to them which were of reputation,” or the *Pillars* of the Church, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, (Gal. ii. 2—9;) for which there seemed to be no occasion, since this formed the subject of his *public* mission, (Acts xv. 4.)

But *Paul's* peculiar mission as an *extraordinary Apostle* to the *remote Gentiles*, Acts xxii. 21, (*μακραν εξαποστειλω*,) would have been offensive to the *Mother Church* in general. The public avowal of it afterwards at *Jerusalem* occasioned great offence to the *Jewish zealots*, and much persecution of the Apostle, Acts xxii. 21—22, xxvi. 21.

4. The last and chief difficulty is, that in the *Epistle* no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree of the *Council of Jerusalem*, which formed the *business*, for the sake of which they were sent thither from *Antioch*.

But *Paley* himself has furnished satisfactory answers to this:

1. It was not agreeable to *St. Paul's* manner to defer much to the *authority* of the *Apostles*, with the chief of whom he reckoned himself equal, as receiving his commission not from *man*, but immediately from *CHRIST* himself, Gal. i. 1.

2. The authority of the council of *Jerusalem* would have had little weight with the *Gentile Galatians*. He, therefore, argues the point with them upon *principle*.

Cumanus was banished for mal-administration, and *Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, the favourite freedman of *Claudius*, was appointed procurator in the twelfth year of his reign complete, A.D. 40 + 12 = A.D. 52, Ant. XX. 6, 1; Bell. Jud. II, 12—8*.

Josephus has not noticed the length of *Felix's* administration,

3. The decree did not go the length of the *Epistle*, for the latter abrogated the *Mosaic* institution even to the *Jews* themselves, in the case of *justification by faith*.

* This date also is confirmed by *Tacitus*, who, in his *Annals* of the year U.C. 805, or A.D. 52, (*Faustus Sylla* and *Salvius Otho*, Coss.) after relating the shameful adulation of the Senate to *Pallas*, the favourite freedman of *Claudius*, and his mock moderation in refusing a more elevated station, when he had accumulated no less than *three millions of Sesterces*; proceeds thus: "But his brother, surnamed *Felix*, did not act with equal moderation; having been lately appointed governor of *Judea*, and thinking that he had an impunity for all manner of misdemeanors, relying upon so powerful a support," Annal. XII. 53, 54.

Here the phrase, *jam pridem Judææ impositus*, intimates recent preferment. For *jam pridem* signifies a short time back, which is still subsisting, as *Istud jampridem scio*, Plaut. *jam dudum* ausculto, Hor. *Jampridem* equidem audivi cepisse odium tui *Philumenam*, Ter. where *jam pridem* audivi, is explained by Valla, *jam aliquanto abhinc tempore* audivi. See other instances, *Stephens's Lat. Thesaurus*.

Not adverting to this earlier meaning of the word, which was afterwards ambiguously used to denote *remoter* time, as, *quod majores nostros jampridem fecisse* manifestum est, Pliny; that great chronologer *Petavius* unfortunately mistook the word in the foregoing passage of *Tacitus* in the latter sense; and thence antedated the appointment of *Felix* about the eighth year of *Claudius*, A.D. 48, which has deranged the ensuing part of his chronology, *De doctrinâ temporum*, Lib. XI. 11. p. 174, Vol. II. And *Pearson* has supposed two appointments of *Felix*, one in A.D. 48, in conjunction with *Cumanus*, and another A.D. 53, after his condemnation; preferring the authority of *Tacitus* to *Josephus*, a Jewish historian, and certainly more conversant in *Jewish* affairs, especially those of his own times; who might as well say,

————— *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,*
Et quorum pars magna fui. —————

For *Tacitus*, quitting his surer guide in the sequel of the foregoing chapter, supposes that *Cumanus* and *Felix* were governors at the same time, the former of *Galilee*, the latter of *Judea* and *Samaria*; that both fomented the public disorders and quarrels between these neighbouring states for their own emolument, for which they were called to account by the emperor, who had them tried by *Quadratus*, president of *Syria*, and he, to curry favour with *Pallas*, brought *Felix* into the tribunal among the judges, when he should have been tried as a delinquent; and so *Cumanus* was condemned alone for the crimes of both, and *Felix* continued in office.

Josephus much more consistently relates the trial of *Cumanus* alone, who was condemned to banishment by *Claudius* on a hearing of the cause, and *Felix* appointed procurator in his room, Ant. XX. 5, 3, 6, 1. This part of his excellent history appears to be written with peculiar accuracy of information. *Brotier*, the learned editor of *Tacitus*, in his *Notæ et Emendationes* ad Annal. XII. 54. Vol. II. p. 392, 4to. gives the preference to *Tacitus*; but he did not consider the subject as an *historian* and *chronologer*, but merely as a *commentator* prejudiced in favour of his author.

nor when he was succeeded by *Portius Festus*, Ant. XX. 7, 9; but it may be collected from the following curious circumstances of the *life of Josephus*, written by himself, 1—3.

Josephus states that himself was born in the first year of the Emperor *Caius*, (A.D. 36;) that when he was twenty-six years old, (A.D. 62,) he undertook a hazardous voyage to *Rome*, (in which he was shipwrecked, and out of six hundred souls in the vessel only eighty were saved,) in order to solicit the release of some *priests*, his friends, honest and good men, whom *Felix*, during his administration, had sent prisoners to *Rome*, for some trivial and ordinary offence, where they lived in penury, subsisting on figs and nuts; and that when he arrived there, he procured their release by the interest of the Empress *Poppæa*, to whom he had been introduced by *Aliturus*, a Jewish stage-player, in great favour with *Nero*. She kindly granted his request and dismissed him with presents.

While *Felix* was in office, and his brother *Pallas* in power at the *Roman* court, *Josephus* would not have ventured to set aside his arbitrary proceedings. *Felix*, therefore, must have been deposed the year before, A.D. 61, and though he escaped the punishment due to his crimes, by the interest of his brother *Pallas*, Ant. XX. 7, 9; yet *Pallas* himself next year, A.D. 62, was put to death by *Nero* for his immense wealth*.

Hence, we may collect, with a considerable degree of precision, the important fundamental date of *Paul's* last visit to *Jerusalem*, and imprisonment there, A.D. 59, two years before the expiration of *Felix's* government, and the succession of *Pontius Festus*, in A.D. 61, as we learn from the Acts xxiv. 27. And the length of his administration, which began seven years before the Apostle's visit, corresponds with the declarations of the Orator *Tertullus*, in his speech against *Paul*, that the country had enjoyed *much peace* under his government; and of *Paul's*, in his defence, that *Felix* had been Governor of the *Jewish* nation for *many years*, Acts xxiv. 3—10, which was true, in part, by his clearing the country of the *brigands*, or robbers, who had long infested it.

Paul, on his appeal to *Cæsar*, was sent prisoner by *Festus* to

* Eodem anno, (U.C. 815 = A.D. 62,) *libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse creditus est [Nero.]—Pallantem, quòd immensam pecuniam longâ senectâ detineret,* Annal. XIV. 65.

Rome, A.D. 61, shortly before "the *fast*," or great day of atonement, about the autumnal equinox, Acts xxvii. 9. He was shipwrecked on the island of *Melite*, in the *Adriatic*, and wintered there for *three* months, Acts xxviii. 1, and so proceeded to *Rome* early in A.D. 62, Acts xxviii. 14.

Festus died in office, and was succeeded by *Albinus*, about A.D. 63, the date adopted by *Usher*. Ant. XX. 8, 1.

Albinus was removed for mal-administration, and succeeded by *Gessius Florus*, in the eleventh year of *Nero*, A.D. 64; Ant. XX. 8, 5; XX. 10, 1.

The imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome* lasted *two* years, Acts xxviii. 30, therefore he was liberated about the spring of A.D. 64, and then visited *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Asia Minor*, and returned again to *Rome* towards the close of A.D. 64, where he was imprisoned, 2 Tim. iv. 9—21. Soon after, *Peter* visited *Rome*, 1 Pet. v. 13.

In the next year, A.D. 65, we are warranted to date the martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter* at *Rome**; commencing the first *Roman* persecution of the Christians by *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, according to *Epiphanius*, followed by *Orosius*, from *Tacitus*, Ant. XVI. 13, and by the moderns, *Dupin*, *Pagi*, *Basnage*, and *Lardner*. The last of these judiciously infers, from the silence of the Apostles *Paul* and *Peter* respecting this persecution, in their Epistles, written shortly before their death, that it did not happen till after. *Lardner*, vi. p. 300, 301.

In this ominous year, A.D. 65, the second of the administration of *Florus*, the *Jewish* war broke out, which *Josephus* attributed to his cruelty, rapacity, and corruption.

The destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, A.D. 70, is critically ascertained by the *lunar* eclipse of the year before, Oct. 18, A.D. 69, the night of the battle of *Cremona*. See Vol. I. p. 76, of this work.

THE CANONICAL ACTS AND EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLES.

The Acts of the Apostles form a truly valuable supplement to the *Gospels*. They were written by the Evangelist *Luke* in

* *Petavius*, *Usher*, and the *Bible Chronology* date it .. A.D. 67.
Fearson 68.

continuation of his Gospel, about the same year, A.D. 66, to the same *Theophilus*, probably president of *Achaia*, and at *Corinth*, the capital city of that province, and the residence of his predecessor *Gallio*, Acts xviii. 12.

The early fathers, *Clemens Romanus*, *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, &c. all agree in ascribing this work to him. Its *authenticity*, therefore, is unquestionable, both from the external and internal evidence, Acts i. 1.

The design of the book appears from its divisions. The first states the rise and progress of the mother Church at *Jerusalem*, from the time of OUR LORD'S *ascension* to the first *Jewish* persecution, A.D. 34, chap. i.—viii.

The second relates the dispersion of the *disciples*, (all but the *Apostles*,) in consequence of this persecution. Their planting the Gospel in *Judea* and *Samaría*, and probably in *Ethiopia*; the miraculous conversion of *Saul*; the miraculous conversion of *Cornelius*, the first fruits of the home *Gentiles*; and the foundation of the first *Gentile* Church at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, until the second *Jewish* persecution, A.D. 44, chap. viii.—xii.

The third relates the conversion of the remoter *Gentiles*, and the planting of their several Churches in *Asia Minor* or *Natolia*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, &c. by the supernumerary Apostles *Barnabas* and *Paul*; and, after their separation, by *Paul* and his associates, among whom was *Luke* himself during the latter part of *Paul's* travels, until his first visit to *Rome*; ending with his liberation there, A.D. 63, chap. xiii.—xxviii.

The Epistles form a most excellent commentary, both on the *Gospels* and the *Acts*. They help to unfold the grand *mysteries* and leading *doctrines* of THE GOSPEL, as we have already seen in the foregoing articles of THE SPIRIT OF THE GOSPEL, &c. and they continue the *history of the Church* beyond the period of the *Acts*; while OUR LORD'S *prophecies* in the *Gospels*, and those of his Apostles, *Peter*, *Paul*, and *John* in the *Epistles*, pursue the general outline of its history, *militant* and *triumphant*, to the end of the world.

Such being the high importance of the *Epistles* in general, we shall enquire into their *authenticity*, *design*, *order*, *time*, and *plan* of composition, *style*, *inspiration*, and *credibility*. And this enquiry is rendered more necessary, by the mischievous industry of many ancient and modern *Heretics* and *Sceptics*

labouring to impeach their *canonical authority*, and by the real difficulties of adjusting their *chronology*, occasioned, 1. By the want of formal references in the *Epistles* and *Acts* to each other ; 2. By reason of the few distinguishing characters of time, thinly and incidentally scattered through both ; insomuch that 3. Even the fundamental dates of *Paul's* conversion, his first voyage to *Rome*, and his *martyrdom*, are undecided among chronologers and critics hitherto, even the most eminent : *Usher, Lloyd, Peta-vius, Pearson, Wells, Whitby, Barrington, Benson, Lardner, Paley, Michaelis, &c. &c.* Quot homines, tot sententiæ ; furnishing a *choice of difficulties* to Biblical students, and of *objections* to Sceptics.

THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.

These, in the canon, are not ranged in *chronological* order, but according to the rank and importance of the several Churches to which they were addressed, the *Romans, Corinthians, &c.* then follow the private *Epistles* to *Timothy, Titus, &c.* and lastly, the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, or converted *Jews* of *Pales-tine*, probably because it is anonymous.

Paul's *Epistles*, in former times, were rejected by the *Juda-izing* Christians, the *Ebionites*, who called him an Apostate from THE LAW. *Lardner*, Vol. VII. p. 20.

And treading in their steps, (if we recollect right,) some lead-ing writers of the *Unitarian* school, *Evanson, &c.* have ques-tioned their genuineness ; but there are none whose *canonical authority* is better ascertained, both by external, or historical, and by internal evidence, than his *inimitable* writings (in the strictest sense of the word), which it would be impossible to *forge*, or counterfeit.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

This may rank among the earliest of *Paul's* *Epistles*. It was reckoned the first by the primitive heretic, *Marcion*, (whose heresy does not invalidate his testimony as to a matter of fact,) and also by his opponent, *Tertullian*.

The *Galatians* were originally a tribe of *Gauls*, who had in-vaded *Greece*, and afterwards settled in the upper, or northern part of *Asia Minor*. They were among the Apostle's earliest

converts, and had been converted probably during his ministry at *Antioch*, for a whole year, Acts xi. 26, Gal. i. 6.

This Epistle must have been written soon after their conversion: for he complains in it of their speedy apostacy from his doctrine, Gal. i. 6. And he warns them, in the strongest and most forcible terms, against the *Judaizing* teachers, with which *Syria* and *Asia* then swarmed, who wished to subject the *Gentile* Churches to *circumcision* and the yoke of the *Law*, i. 7—9. And he reproaches them, *O foolish Galatians*, &c. iii. 1. The warmth of this Epistle, indeed, led *Tertullian* to conclude that *Paul* was then a “*Neophyte*,” or a novice in Christianity himself, Cont. *Marcion*. I. 20. He thus reproaches them for their *Judaizing* spirit.

“Formerly, when ye knew not GOD, [in your pagan state,] ye served them, which, by nature, are not *Gods*, [*idols*,] and now, after ye have known GOD, (or rather have been known by HIM,) how can ye turn again to those weak and beggarly *elements* [of the *Levitical* law] which ye desire to serve *again anew*? Ye keep *days* and *months*, and *seasons* and *years*. I fear for you, lest somehow I have laboured as to you in vain,” Gal. iv. 8—11.

By a very ingenious conjecture, *Michaelis* reckons that these years meant Jewish *Sabbatical* years; and that the *Galatians* were then on the point of keeping such a year, by leaving their lands uncultivated, though the *Mosaical* law designed for the *Holy Land* certainly did not extend to *Galatia*. But the year A.D. 49, the year of the first *Apostolical* council held at *Jerusalem*, on the question whether the *Gentile* Church was bound to observe the law of *Moses*, he suspected was a *Sabbatical* year, and the same in which the Epistle itself was written. *Michaelis' Introduction to New Test.* Vol. IV. p. 11. *Marsh's* Translation.

What *Michaelis* conjectured, but was not able to establish from the discordant systems of *chronology* in his time, may be proved by the present. The first year of our Lord's public ministry, A.D. 28, was a *Sabbatical* year, and also a *jubilee*. (See note, p. 87.) Therefore, A.D. 49, which was $3 \times 7 = 12$ years after, was also a *Sabbatical* year.

It is more probable, however, that the Epistle was not written during the *Sabbatical* year itself in which *Paul* attended the

council at *Jerusalem*, Gal. ii. 1, but rather the year after, A.D. 50 *, during the Apostle's circuit through the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to confirm them in the faith, and to communicate to them the *Apostolical* decree, Acts xvi. 36—41, xvi. 4.

The *superscription* at the end of this epistle represents it as written from *Rome*. But this is a mistake, for *Paul* did not visit *Rome* till A.D. 62, twelve years after. The superscriptions, indeed, are of no authority, unless so far as they are supported by internal evidence.

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Thessalonica was the capital of one of the four districts into which *Macedonia* was divided by the *Romans*, after the conquest of that country. The *Jews* were extremely numerous here, and their synagogue was called by way of eminence ἡ συναγωγή, "*the Synagogue*," Acts xvii. 1.

During his first circuit *Paul* formed a Church here, composed of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, of whom the latter were most numerous, Acts xvii. 2—4. But the unbelieving *Jews* stirred up a persecution against him and his company, and they were forced to fly to *Berea*, and from thence to *Athens*, Acts xvii. 5—15. These persecutions prevented the Apostle from visiting them again, as he had intended, 1 Thess. ii. 17, 18; so he sent *Silas* and *Timothy* to visit them in his stead, 1 Thess. iii. 6. On their return to him at *Corinth*, Acts xvii. 14, 15, xviii. 5, he wrote, in conjunction with *Silas* and *Timothy*, his two Epistles to them, 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1, to correct some errors they entertained respecting the speedy approach of the *general judgment*, which they expected in that age; and to rectify some misconceptions of the meaning of his first letter.

We may rank the first Epistle next to that to the *Galatians*, written most probably about A.D. 51; and the second soon after, about the beginning of A.D. 52, with *Whitby* and *Michaelis* †.

* *Barrington, Benson and Lardner* date it.....A.D. 53.
Pearson..... 57.
Bible Chronology 58.

† *Pearson, Barrington, Benson, Lardner*, date bothA.D. 52.
The Bible Chronology 54.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

Titus was a *Greek*, and one of *Paul's* early converts, who attended him and *Barnabas* to the first council of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 49, and afterwards on his ensuing circuit, Gal. ii. 1—3; Acts xv. 2.

During *Paul's* stay at *Corinth* for a year and a half, the first time about A.D. 51 and A.D. 52, it is most likely that he made a voyage to the island of *Crete*, in order to preach the Gospel there, and took with him *Titus* as an assistant, whom he left behind him to regulate the concerns of that Church, Tit. i. 5. Shortly after his return, probably to *Corinth*, he wrote this letter of instructions to *Titus* how to conduct himself in his *episcopal* office, with directions to come back to him at *Nicopolis*, where he meant to winter, Tit. iii. 12. The *superscription* supposes that this was "*Nicopolis*, a city of *Macedonia*;" and *Michaelis* has shewn that there were several of the name both in *Asia* and *Europe*; but it was more probably the city of that name in the neighbourhood of *Corinth*, built by *Augustus*, in *Epirus*, near the promontory of *Actium*, in honour of his victory over *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*.

The *Acts* of the Apostles are totally silent respecting *Titus* and this voyage to *Crete*. Whence we may collect with *Michaelis* that it took place in the early part of *Paul's* ministry, which is very briefly noticed in the *Acts*. This is much more probable than the later period assigned by *Lardner* *, namely, during *Paul's* second visit to *Greece*; or the latest, by *Paley*, (following the *Bible Chronology*,) during *Paul's* third visit, between the time of his leaving *Rome* the first time until his return and martyrdom there. For the second circuit is described so

* *Lardner*, as usual, states his opinion with diffidence. "It appears to me very probable, that at this time *Paul* was in *Illyricum* and *Crete*. But I cannot digest the order of his journeys, since *St. Luke* has not related them," vi. p. 287. And *Michaelis* has well described the gradual change of his own opinion from the received, till the last, in which he rested.

"In the first edition of the *Introduction* I described the *Epistle to Titus*, as written after *St. Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*. In the second edition I wavered in this opinion. When I published the third edition, I thought it highly probable that the epistle was written long before *St. Paul's* voyage as a prisoner to *Italy*, [when he only touched at *Crete*, and the *Centurion* rejected his advice of wintering there, Acts xxvii. 7—21,] and at present [in the fourth edition, 1780.] I have no doubt that this *Epistle* was written long before *St. Paul's* voyage as a prisoner to *Italy*," iv. p. 32. *Marsh's* Translation.

particularly in the *Acts*, that there does not seem to be time or place for this voyage and wintering at *Nicopolis*; and still less in the last circuit, as we may collect from the incidental account of it in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, written by *Paul* during his second imprisonment at *Rome*, shortly before his death,*.

* *Paley*, in his admired *Horæ Paulinæ*, gives the following “*hypothetic route*,” as he terms it, of the Apostle’s last journey.

“If we may be allowed to suppose that *St. Paul*, after his liberation at *Rome*, sailed into *Asia*, taking *Crete* in his way; and that from *Asia*, and from *Ephesus*, the capital of that country, he proceeded into *Macedonia*; and crossing this peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*; we have a route which falls in with every thing. It executes the intention expressed by the Apostle of visiting *Colosse*, (*Philemon*, ver. 22.) and *Philippi*, (*Phil.* ii. 24,) as soon as he should be set at liberty at *Rome*. It allows him to leave ‘*Titus at Crete*,’ (*Tit.* i. 5,) and ‘*Timothy at Ephesus*, as he went into *Macedonia*,’ (*1 Tim.* i. 3;) and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of *Greece*, and probably the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis*: thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for that affinity between them both in *subject* and *language*, which our remarks have pointed at,” p. 366, 367.

It is really a pity that so simple and consistent an hypothesis throughout, “including a great number of independent circumstances without contradiction,” should be destitute of solid foundation.

The second Epistle to *Timothy*, (which *Paley* acknowledges was written during *Paul*’s second imprisonment,) in the last chapter, completely overturns his hypothesis.

1. There is no notice taken therein of any voyage by sea to *Asia*. But not to rest on this negative argument, let us trace the actual route through *Corinth*, *Troas* and *Miletus*, and probably through *Colosse* and *Philippi*.

2. *Titus* could not then be left in *Crete*, for he was actually in *Dalmatia*, near *Illyricum*, ver. 10.

3. *Timothy* was not left at *Ephesus*, because the Apostle did not visit *Ephesus*; he sailed by it on his last journey to *Jerusalem*, *Acts* xx. 16, though he stopped at *Miletus*, in its neighbourhood, and there told the *Presbyters of Ephesus*, whom he sent for, that they should see his face no more, which afflicted them with great grief, *Acts* xx. 17—38. *Paley* supposes that the Apostle said this rather “*despondingly*,” than “*by the Spirit*,” p. 326. But we can see good reason for the contrary; for what inducement could he have to revisit a city where he had been already so ill treated and persecuted, only to provoke fresh persecution? When he was forced to quit *Ephesus* in the uproar raised by the shrine makers of *Diana*, *Acts* xix. 23—40, he seems to have taken a final farewell of the disciples there, (*ασπασαμενος*,) *Acts* xx. 1.

Paul, it is true, left *Trophimus* sick at *Miletus*, the last time, ver. 20. But why should he communicate this intelligence, if *Timothy* was now at *Ephesus*, in that neighbourhood? especially as *Trophimus* himself was an *Ephesian*, *Acts* xxi. 29, and must have had intercourse with his friends there. But *Timothy* was not at *Ephesus*, he was rather in the northern part of *Asia*, in *Pontus* perhaps, with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, ver. 11, who were of that country, *Acts* xviii. 21. And from *Pontus*, *Timothy*’s route to *Corinth*, where *Paul* left *Erastus*, ver. 20, lay directly through *Troas*, whence he was commissioned to bring with him the letter case or trunk, the books, and especially the parchments which the Apostle had left behind him there, ver. 13.

4. *Nicopolis*, near *Actium*, was quite out of the route to *Rome* from *Corinth*; therefore the Apostle did not visit it, and certainly had not time to winter there on his last journey.

Hence, there is no date so controverted as that of this Epistle, according to the different hypotheses of *Paul's* voyage to *Crete*. *Michaelis* reckons, that "in the chronological arrangement of *St. Paul's* Epistles it should be placed between the second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* (A.D. 52,) and the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* (A.D. 57.) Accordingly it is here dated about the autumn of A.D. 52: supposing that *Paul* adhered to his intention of wintering that year at *Nicopolis*, whence he might have visited the regions of *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, &c. bordering on *Illyricum*, which he notices Rom. xv. 19.

They are unnoticed in the *Acts*, and may, therefore, best be assigned to this early part of *Paul's* ministry, where there is full room for them.

Lardner dates this Epistle A.D. 56; *Barrington* A.D. 57; *Whitby*, *Pearson*, *Paley*, and the *Bible Chronology*, A.D. 65.

THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

During his first visit to *Corinth*, the capital city of *Achaia*, or of the ancient *Greece*, the Apostle had founded Churches there, and at *Cenchrea*, in its neighbourhood; the Lord having promised him much success, Acts xviii. 1—11. But after his departure, *sects* or *factions* sprung up, headed by *Judaizing* teachers and *false Apostles*, who undervalued *Paul's* authority; they tolerated the *incestuous* marriage of a man with his father's wife, or his step-mother; various irregularities and disorders crept in, both in their mode of *preaching*, and celebrating the *Lord's Supper*, and the philosophizing *Greeks* openly denied the doctrine of the *corporeal* resurrection of the dead.

To support his *apostolical* authority, to correct these abuses, and to restore the genuine doctrine of the resurrection, the first

5. The resemblance between the Epistles to *Titus* and *Timothy*, which *Paley*, indeed, has ingeniously and skilfully traced, does not require that they should be written about the same time. It may naturally be ascribed to the sameness of their situations and circumstances, in the discharge of their respective *episcopal* functions.

From this review, it clearly appears, that no *chronological hypothesis*, however plausible or ingenious, is to be admitted merely on the score of its *simplicity* and *consistency* throughout, upon which *Dr. Paley* rested the validity of this; unless it be moreover "true," or well founded, and "sufficient" for explaining all the circumstances connected therewith, not only before, but after. His failure in this instance, (which should not have been noticed, were it not necessary to remove from error the sanction of his name or authority,) may serve to illustrate the necessity of the *rules of chronologizing*, laid down early in this work, as the basis of the whole, Vol. I. p. 265.

Epistle was written; in which he threatened them soon with an *apostolical* visit, and *rod* of correction, especially for the inces-
tuous offender, by *delivering him up to Satan*, for the *mortifica-*
tion of his flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of
THE LORD, 1 Cor. iv. 19—21, v. 1—5.

But he purposely postponed his visit, and sent *Timothy* at
first, to instruct them in the Gospel; hoping that they would
repent and reform their ways, as he afterwards, in his second
Epistle, explained the kind motive of his delay, that he might
not visit them in *grief* and *anger*; and also for *trial* or proof of
their obedience to his mandatory Epistle, 1 Cor. iv. 17, 2 Cor. ii.
1—4, ii. 9.

Impatient to learn the result, he afterwards sent *Titus* to
them, with directions to bring him word at *Troas*, but was dis-
appointed of finding him there, 2 Cor. ii. 12. *Titus* afterwards
joined him in *Macedonia*, and brought a favourable report
of their penitence and submission to his authority; which the
Apostle relates with delight, in the most lively and affecting
terms of Christian oratory, 2 Cor. vii. 6—13, in which, indeed,
these beautiful and animated Epistles abound.

The first Epistle was written from *Ephesus*, in *Asia*, 1 Cor.
xvi. 8—19, soon after he had sent *Timothy* to them, 1 Cor.
iv. 17. It was designed as a circular letter, not only for the
Church of *Corinth*, but for all the *Christians* throughout
Achaia, 1 Cor. i. 1, 2, &c. 2 Cor. i. 1; we are, therefore, war-
ranted to date it about A.D. 57, with *Pearson*, *Whitby*, *Benson*,
and *Michaelis*.

The *superscription* of this Epistle, therefore, is erroneous,
which represents it as sent by *Timothy* and others, from *Philippi*,
a city of *Macedonia*.

The second Epistle was written after the uproar at *Ephesus*,
Acts xix. 23—40, alluded to by the Apostle, 2 Cor. i. 8; and
during the Apostle's second visit to *Greece*, Acts xx. 2, about
a year after the first, in A.D. 58. Of this it furnishes internal
evidence; for the public contributions for the poor of the
Mother Church in *Jerusalem*, which, by desire of the Apostles,
he was then soliciting in *Macedonia*, to excite their emulation,
and quicken their proceedings, he says, had been already raised
the year before in *Achaia*, Gal. ii. 10; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; 2 Cor. ix.
1—4.

The supposition, therefore, is probable, that it was written

from "*Philippi*, a city of *Macedonia*," but not carried by "*Titus*," who had returned from them before the Epistle was written, 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7, viii. 16: it might have been by *Luke*, "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel," who was sent along with *Titus*, 2 Cor. viii. 18, but whose return is not noticed.

A considerable *chronological* difficulty occurs in two passages, 2 Cor. xii. 14, xiii. 1, 2, in which the Apostle mentions his intention of visiting *Corinth* "a *third time*;" whereas, only *one* visit, before the date of this Epistle, is noticed in the Acts, as we have seen, xviii. 1, about A.D. 51; and the next time that he visited *Greece*, Acts xx. 2, about A.D. 57, no mention is made of his going to *Corinth*. And, indeed, for the reasons already given, he purposely avoided that city. It has been conjectured by *Hammond*, *Grotius*, and *Paley*, that his first Epistle, *virtually* supplied the place of his presence, and that it is so represented by the Apostle in a corresponding passage also, 1 Cor. v. 3. It may be so: but the solution seems rather far-fetched, and is not satisfactory as a matter of fact. *Michaelis* has produced another, that is much more simple and natural; that *Paul*, on his return from *Crete*, visited *Corinth*, a second time, before he went to winter at *Nicopolis*. This *second* visit is unnoticed in the Acts, because the voyage itself to *Crete* is unnoticed, *Michaelis*, IV. p. 37. The *third* visit here promised was actually paid on the Apostle's second return to *Rome*, when he took *Corinth* in his way, 2 Tim. iv. 20. Thus critically does the book of the *Acts* harmonize, even in its omissions, with the *Epistles*, and they with each other, in this minute *incidental* circumstance of the *third* visit.

FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

After *Timothy* had discharged his commission at *Corinth*, as we have seen, 1 Cor. iv. 17, he returned to the Apostle at *Ephesus*, and joined him in the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* from thence, 2 Cor. i. 1. He was there also with *Paul*, at the time of the uproar raised by the shrine makers of *Diana*. And when the Apostle quitted that city, thereupon, in order to go into *Macedonia*, Acts xx. 1, *Timothy*, and others, attended him to the confines of *Asia*, as far as *Troas*, Acts xx. 4, 5. And then the Apostle sent him back to stay at *Ephesus*, and wrote to him to maintain the genuine doctrine of the GOSPEL against

the *Judaizing* zealots and *Heathen philosophers*, and their various errors, 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 3—5; and gave him instructions for the due discharge of his *episcopal* functions, 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c. similar to those to *Titus* in *Crete*, and more particular, as he was younger, 1 Tim. iv. 12.

We may date this Epistle A.D. 58, the same year as the foregoing, and rather after it, if we may judge from his being with *Paul*, when the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* was written, 2 Cor. i. 1.

The superscription from *Laodicea*, the metropolis of *Phrygia*, is evidently erroneous.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

The design of this abstruse Epistle seems to be nearly the same as of that to the *Galatians*. *Judaizing* teachers equally abounded at *Rome*, and were zealous for the *law of Moses*; while the *Roman* philosophers, (as we may judge from *Cicero*,) equally contended for the perfection and sufficiency of the *law of Nature*. To correct their respective errors, without offence, and to reform their lives, was the difficult and delicate task of the Apostle; especially as he had never personally visited *Rome* as yet. But he appears to have had some *relations*, and many *friends* among them, from his salutations at the close.

1. To prove the insufficiency of both these boasted *laws*, he gives a frightful catalogue of the vices of the age, and thence concludes *all under sin*, or liable to its punishment, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, i. 16—iii. 19.

2. He teaches the doctrine of *justification* by *faith* in *CHRIST* alone, without *works*, either of the *law of Moses* or the *law of Nature*, through the free *grace* of *GOD*, iii. 20—v. 1.

3. He discloses the mysterious doctrines of the present *rejection* of the *Jews*, the adoption of the *Gentiles* in their room, the vengeance to be inflicted upon the oppressors of the *Jews*, and upon apostate *Christians*; and the final *restoration* and *conversion* of the remnant of both, Rom. x. 19—xi. 36.

4. He subjoins a practical exhortation to *obedience* to *GOD*, to the *ruling powers* in being; to *brotherly love*, and to abstinence from the *ruling vices* of the age, xii. 1, xv. 33.

5. In the salutations he commends particularly those who were patterns to the Church; and warns them against *Schis-*

matics and *Heretics*, whose society was to be avoided, xvi. 3—23.

As *Timothy* was with the Apostle, and joined in the greeting, xvi. 21, we may date this Epistle later than the foregoing, after they had met again, about the end of A.D. 58*, or beginning of A.D. 59, when the Apostle was returning to *Asia*, in order to take the contributions from *Achaia* and *Macedonia* to *Jerusalem*, Rom. xv. 25, 26. It was sent from *Cenchrea* probably, and by *Phœbe* the deaconess, xvi. 1.

II. The remaining Epistles were written during the Apostle's confinement at *Rome*; their *chronology*, therefore, is more easily ascertained and adjusted. Being composed with more leisure, longer experience, and increasing illumination, as the time of his *decease*, or departure to CHRIST, for which he so ardently "*longed*," drew nigher, they shine with a clearer, brighter, and steadier flame; and are more uniformly sublime and beautiful in subject, sentiment, and language, than the preceding; which, however, are interspersed with many splendid passages, especially those addressed to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and *Timothy*.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

This was probably written in the second year of his confinement, A.D. 63 †.

Like the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, designed for the general use of the *Christians* in *Achaia*, as we have seen; this to the *Ephesians* seems to have been designed for that district of *Asia*, of which *Ephesus* was the capital, "for the *saints* at *Ephesus*, and the *faithful* in CHRIST JESUS," i. 1, which may also be inferred from the omission of salutations to individuals, at the conclusion, as in the Epistles addressed to particular Churches, as *Rome*, *Colosse*, &c.

Ephesus was *Satan's* chief seat in *Asia*, on account of the celebrity of *Diana's* temple there; as *Corinth* in *Europe*; and it is remarkable, that in none of his Epistles, are *Satan*, and his

* *Barrington*, *Lardner*, and *Michaelis*, date it A.D. 58.
Pearson and *Whitby* 57.
Bible Chronology 60.

† *Barrington*, *Lardner*, and *Michaelis*, date it A.D. 61.
The Bible Chronology 64.

emissaries, "*false apostles*," "his *methodisms of error*," or new modelling and perversion of HOLY WRIT, and the "*divine panoply*," or celestial armour, defensive and offensive, necessary in our Christian warfare, more clearly and distinctly noticed and recommended, than in these two Epistles.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

This is the epitome of the former. The intimate resemblance between them, in sentiment and expression, has been judiciously traced by *Paley*, in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, the most ingenious, perhaps, of all his compositions.

Hence it has been conjectured by *Michaelis* and others, that the longer and more circumstantial Epistle to the *Ephesians*, was that which was sent or communicated to the Church of *Laodicea*, in that neighbourhood; and which the Apostle recommended to the perusal of the Church at *Colosse*, in *Phrygia*. "When this Epistle is read by you, take care that it be read in the Church of the *Laodiceans*; and that ye read also that from *Laodicea*," Col. iv. 16.

The leading doctrine of both Epistles, is the future union of *Jews* and *Gentiles* under the *Christian* dispensation. Compare those admirable passages, Eph. iii. 14—21, and Col. i. 16—23, ii. 6, 7.

Both Epistles were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, *Tychicus*, as noticed in their superscriptions, and may be dated in the same year, A.D. 63.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

Philemon was a respectable inhabitant of *Colosse*, a *deacon* of the Church, whom *Paul* therefore styles his "*fellow-labourer*," i. 1. His servant, *Onesimus*, a native also of *Colosse*, Col. iv. 9, had robbed his master, and fled to *Rome*, where the Apostle met, and converted him, and now sent him back to his master with *Tychicus*, Col. iv. 7—9, and gave him this letter of intercession, entreating *Philemon* to be reconciled to him, and receive him again into favour, both upon his own, and *Paul's* account.

The tenderness and delicacy of this familiar letter, have long been admired by the learned, and must indeed be felt by every reader of taste, even in the translation, which is much beneath the original. As a *classical* model of epistolary composition, it

stands unrivalled. *Horace's* letter to *Tiberius Nero*, recommending *Septimius* for admission to his household, though celebrated, is greatly inferior in sentiment. Epist. i. 9.

This Epistle is to be dated in the same year, A.D. 63, or rather beginning of A.D. 64.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Of all the Epistles, this perhaps is the most interesting. It was written, *con amore*, to his favourite Church at *Philippi*, the chief city of the first district of *Macedonia*, and a *Roman* colony, Acts xvi. 12, which he had founded with much tribulation, and suffering, and persecution, as related in the history, during his first circuit through *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, Acts xvi. 14—40, and his friends there, *Lydia*, the *jailor*, &c. sincerely sympathized with him, and also shared in his sufferings and persecutions, as he reminds them, i. 29, 30.

Of all the Churches, this of *Philippi*, though rather “a *poor* community,” (as he told the rich and opulent Church of *Corinth*, 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2,) was the only one which contributed to the Apostle's support. Not only when he was present with them, but even in his absence, their contributions followed him, from the beginning to the end of his mission, i. 5—7, iv. 15—17; and the immediate occasion of this Epistle, was to thank them for their generous supply, sent to him by *Epaphroditus*, in his bonds at *Rome*; which had been *delayed*, or intermitted, for some time before, during his imprisonment at *Cæsarea*, and voyage to *Rome*, probably for want of opportunity. In this kind service, *Epaphroditus* had incurred a “*sickness near to death*,” whom therefore the Apostle sent home, because he longed to return, in order to relieve, by his presence, the anxiety of his friends upon his account, ii. 25—30. And in this letter by him, the Apostle addresses the whole community, “the *saints* in CHRIST JESUS, the *Bishops* and *Deacons*,” whose joint bounty he had received, i. 1, in the fondest terms of affection and tenderness.—“*My brethren, beloved and desired; my joy, and my crown* [of glory,] who jointly laboured with me, whose names are entered in the *book of life*,” iv. 1—3.

In this fine Epistle, he exhorts them to *concord* and *co-operation* in the work of the Gospel, from the highest of all examples; to imitate the *lowly mindedness* of JESUS CHRIST, who condescended so low, and who suffered so much for our sakes,

“*exhausting* himself of his original *glory*” in heaven, to suffer death upon a *cross* on earth! in the most pathetic, most sublime, and most luminous passage, unquestionably, to be found in all his Epistles, i. 27, ii. 11; the beauties of which, no translation can equal, and even the best can but faintly represent.

2. He warns them to beware of *Judaizing* teachers, “who preached CHRIST through *envy* and *strife* ;” to beware of the *dogs*, (who barked against the GOSPEL, Matt. vii. 6,) to beware of *bad workmen*, [or deceitful labourers,] to beware of the *circumcision*, [or spurious *circumcision*,] i. 15, iii. 2.

This Epistle was probably written not long before he was liberated at *Rome*, for “he trusted in THE LORD to come to them shortly,” ii. 24. We are warranted, therefore, to date it about the end of A.D. 63; with *Pearson*, *Whitby*, *Barrington*, *Benson*, and *Lardner*, or rather, the beginning of A.D. 64, with *Michaelis* and the *Bible Chronology*.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

This was the last of all the public Epistles, and the most highly wrought in composition and polished in language, affording a finished model of *didactic* writing. It is a masterly supplement to the Epistles to the *Galatians* and to the *Romans*, which are so obscure and involved; and also a luminous commentary thereon; shewing that the LEGAL dispensation was originally designed to be *superseded* by the *new* and *better covenant* of the CHRISTIAN, in a connected chain of argument, evincing the profoundest knowledge of both. This work, indeed, has extorted the admiration of the most learned *Rabbins*, as worthy of a pupil of *Gamaliel*.

It was addressed to the *Hebrew*, or *Jewish* converts, of *Palestine*, to keep them stedfast in the faith, that they might not *swerve*, under the persecutions they had already incurred from their unbelieving brethren; and the still heavier, they were to expect in the impending *Jewish* war, and destruction of *Jerusalem*, and desolation of *Judea*, by the *Romans*, ii. 1, x. 32—37, xii. 4—29, xiii. 14, and it concludes, like the rest, with a practical exhortation to cultivate *brotherly love*, to avoid *covetousness*, to beware of *diverse* and *strange doctrines*, or *heresies*; to *do good*, &c. peculiarly applicable to the *Jewish* nation, chap. xiii.

From the omission of *Paul's* name and *apostolical* functions,

throughout the Epistle, which is anonymous, and not directed from any place, nor sent by any special messenger, some commentators have doubted its *authenticity*. But these omissions are satisfactorily accounted for by *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Jerom*, intimating that as JESUS CHRIST himself was the peculiar APOSTLE TO THE HEBREWS, (as acknowledged in this Epistle, iii. 1,) *Paul* declined, through humility, to assume the title of an *Apostle*. See *Lardner*, II. 211, VI. 411, 412. To which, *Theodoret* adds, that *Paul*, being peculiarly the Apostle of the *uncircumcision*, as the rest were of the *circumcision*, (Gal. ii. 9, Rom. xi. 13.) he scrupled to assume any public character when writing to their department; that he might not be thought forward or obtrusive, as if wishing “to build upon another’s foundation,” which he always disclaimed, Rom. xv. 20, *ibid.* p. 412.

He did not mention his *name*, *messenger*, or particular *persons* to whom it was sent, because, as *Lardner* judiciously remarks, such a long letter might give umbrage to the ruling powers, at this crisis, when the *Jews* were most turbulent, and might endanger himself, the messenger, and those to whom it was directed. But they might know the author easily, by the style and writing, and also from the messenger, without any formal notice or superscription.

That the Apostle, however, did not mean to conceal himself, we learn from the Epistle itself: “Know ye, that *our brother Timothy hath been sent abroad*; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. Salute all your *leaders*, and all the *saints* [in *Judea* *.] Those of *Italy* salute you. Grace be with you all. Amen,” Heb. xiii. 23—25.

Instead of the received translation, “set at liberty,” *Mills* and *Lardner* judiciously render ἀπολευμενον, “sent abroad,” (as above,) namely, by the Apostle, confirmed by the comment of *Euthalius*, ἀελευσεν εις διακονιαν Τιμοθεον—Παυλος. “*Paul sent Timothy abroad, on a ministry.*” And we may collect from the Epistle to the *Philippians*, that *Timothy* was now actually at *Philippi*, because he did intend to send *Timothy* thither to enquire about their concerns, Phil. ii. 19, whose speedy return the Apostle expected, Heb. xiii. 23. This de-

* *Michaelis* thinks it highly improbable, that *Paul* would visit *Jerusalem* again, and expose his life to the *Zealots* there. But surely he might revisit *Judea*, without incurring that danger.

cides, that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was later than that to the *Philippians*.

The beginning of the year A.D. 64, in which it was written, appears to be determined by another incidental circumstance. It is remarkable, that the Apostle thrice recommends their *leaders* to their imitation and respect, ver. 7, 17, 24, and in the plural number, (*ἡγουμενοι*.) Hence it should seem, that the Apostle *James*, the LORD'S brother, and first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, had been previously put to death, in the persecution raised by *Ananus*, the high priest, and *Jewish* council, in the interregnum, between the death of *Festus* and the arrival of his successor, *Albinus*, as related by the Jewish historian, *Josephus*, and adopted by the early Christians, *Hegesippus*, *Eusebius*, *Origen*, *Jerom*, &c. See *Lardner* VI. p. 480.

II. The learned *Michaelis*, to whom we have been hitherto so much indebted in the course of this critical discussion, has strangely turned recreant on this occasion, and in an elaborate dissertation, Vol. IV. p. 186—268, endeavoured to set aside the *authenticity* of this Epistle, by the following positions.

1. That its style is *so very different* from that of *St. Paul* in his genuine Epistles, that he *could not possibly* have been the author of this *Greek* Epistle, p. 252.

2. That it was originally written in *Hebrew*, but whether by *St. Paul*, or not, is doubtful, p. 257.

3. That it was *early* translated into *Greek*, but by whom is unknown, p. 247.

An hypothesis, at once so *dogmatical* and *sceptical*, calculated to *pull down*, not to *build up*, or *edify*; to unsettle the faith of *wavering* Christians, and to rob this most learned and most highly illuminated Apostle, of his right and title to the noblest and most finished of all his compositions; and this too, upon the *paradoxical* plea of its acknowledged *excellence*, both of style and subject, (which none assents to more cheerfully than *Michaelis*, p. 242, 243, 247,) imperiously demands our consideration*. Fortunately, this copious writer has furnished materials in abundance for his own refutation; from which we shall select a few.

* See *Owen*, *Whitby*, *Wetstein*, and *Lardner*, who have ably vindicated the *originality* of the present Epistle, as written in *Greek*, the universal language of the age, like all the other *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the NEW TESTAMENT; and its *authenticity* proved from the *internal evidence* in my *Dissertations*, p. 38, &c. 287, &c.

1. Objections drawn from dissimilarity of style, are often *fan-
ciful* and *fallacious*; as we have seen already in the remarkable
attestation of *Josephus* to CHRIST, this Vol. p. 276. On the con-
trary, a striking analogy may be traced between this and the rest
of *Paul's* Epistles, in the use of singular and remarkable words
and compound terms; in the mode of constructing the sen-
tences, by long and involved parentheses, &c. with this differ-
ence however, that this being more leisurely written, and better
digested in his confinement, is more compressed in its argu-
ment, and more polished in its style than the rest, which were
written with all the ease and freedom of epistolary correspond-
ence, often in haste, and on the spur of the occasion, during his
travels.

The following remarkable instances of *analogy*, we owe to
Michaelis.

“ Ch. x. 33. *θεατριζόμενοι* is an expression perfectly agree-
able to St. *Paul's* mode of writing: as appears from 1 Cor. iv. 8.
But since other writers *may* likewise have used the same meta-
phor, the application of it in the present instance, shews only
that St. *Paul* *might* have written the Epistle to the *Hebrews*,
not that he really *did* write it,” p. 256.

But there is a propriety in its use here, that fits no other
writer but St. *Paul*; and this, by *Michaelis's* own confession.
It is here applied to the Apostle's public persecutions: “ *ex-
posed on a theatre* to public revilings and afflictions,” exactly
corresponding to his complaint to the *Corinthians*, in the pa-
rallel text, *θεατρον εγεννηθημεν τω κοσμω*, “ *We were made a
theatre to the world* ;” and *how?* the same Epistle will inform
us afterwards; “ after the [barbarous] custom of men, *I fought
with wild beasts at Ephesus*,” in the public theatre, 1 Cor. xv.
32, literally, not figuratively; if the remark of *Benson* be true,
supported by *Michaelis* himself, who assures us, that *Paul's*
“ deliverance from the *Lion's mouth*” at *Rome*, afterwards,
2 Tim. iv. 17, was “ not from suffering death by the *sword*, but
from being exposed in the amphitheatre to *wild beasts*, as
several *Christians* had already been, and in a very cruel man-
ner,” for which he refers to *Tacitus*, Annal. XV. 44, in his note,
p. 176.

“ Ch. x. 30. *Εμοι εκδικησις, Εγω ανταποδωσω*, is a quota-
tion from Deut. xxxii. 35, which differs both from the *Hebrew*
text, and from the *Septuagint*: and this passage is again quoted

in the very same words, Rom. xii. 19.——This agreement in a reading which has hitherto been discovered in *no other place*, (see the *New Orient. Bibl.* Vol. V. p. 231—236,) might form a *presumptive argument*, that both quotations were made by the same person; and consequently, that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written by St. *Paul*. But the argument is not decisive: for it is *very possible*, that in the first century, there were manuscripts with this reading in Deut. xxxii. 35, from which St. *Paul* might have copied, in Rom. xii. 19, and the *translator* of this Epistle in Heb. x. 38,” same page, 256.

A more decided instance of *scepticism*, is rarely to be found. To any other, the “*presumptive argument*” would appear irresistible, not to be overturned by a *bare possibility*, but a *very high improbability*; since this remarkable rendering is to be found in “*no other place*,” but in these two passages, as he himself acknowledges. The present Septuagint reading, εὐ ἡμέρα ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω, “*In the day of vengeance, I will repay*,” is found in both texts, the *Vatican* and *Alexandrine*, and therefore bids fair to have been the original reading of the first century. The Apostle’s rendering, in both places, is more correct and critical than the Septuagint, in the first clause, εὐ ἡμέρα ἐκδικήσεως, which is only a paraphrase, not a translation, like his ἐμοὶ ἐκδικήσεις, of the Hebrew, לִי נָקָם, and in the second, the joint rendering, ἀνταποδώσω, is founded on a various reading, אָשַׁלְם, supported by a parallel verse, Deut. xxxii. 41, and followed, not only by the *Sept.* but by the *Syriac*, *Vulgate*, and *Chaldee*. It is, therefore, greatly superior to the present *Masorete*, וְשָׁלַם, “*and recompence*,” supported only by the *Arabic* version, and followed by the *English Bible*, evidently for the worse. And the Apostle has further improved upon the Septuagint, in the common term, ἀνταποδώσω, by the emphatic prefix Ἐγὼ, which makes it stronger, as appropriated to the ALMIGHTY, than even the original Hebrew, which wants the personal pronoun.

2. *Michaelis* asks, “Why did the author of the *Syriac* version translate this Epistle from the *Greek*, if the original was in *Hebrew* * ?” p. 231.

* The hypothesis of the *Hebrew* original, was first broached by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, according to *Eusebius*. But *Michaelis* himself admits, that this Father did not pretend to assert it as a fact, but only to obviate the objection drawn from the difference of style,

The *Syriac* version was the earliest of all, written in the apostolic age, and in the days of the Apostle *Adæus*, *Thaddæus*, or *Jude*, according to the judicious *Abulfaragi*; and near the end of the first century, according to *Michaelis*, Vol. II. p. 30. If then, this most ancient version was translated immediately from the *Greek*, surely the presumption is infinitely strong, that there was *then* no *Hebrew* original. This argument, indeed, furnished by himself, seems decisive also to prove the *canonical authority* of the *Greek* Epistle, in the judgment of the *Syriac* translator; for why should he adopt the Epistle, unless written by the Apostle to whom the voice of the Church had assigned it? Surely *John* or *Jude*, the Apostles, would not have suffered it otherwise to have been admitted into the sacred Canon, either of the *Greek* or *Syriac Testament*.

Assuming it, however, to have been written in *Hebrew*, *Michaelis* draws the following objection from a supposed blunder of the translator into *Greek*, to shew that he could not possibly be *St. Paul*; which most completely recoils upon himself, and proves irrefragably that the *Greek* was the original, and written by the Apostle.

“ Ch. xii. 18. ου γαρ προσεληλυθατε ψηλαφωμενω ορει——
——— 22. αλλα προσεληλυθατε Σιων ορει.———

“ Here,” (says he,) “ the expression ορει ψηλαφωμενω, *monti palpabili*, which is opposed to Σιων ορει, is certainly a very extraordinary one: and I am wholly unable to give a satisfactory account of it, except on the supposition that the Epistle was written in *Hebrew*. But on this supposition the inaccuracy may be easily assigned. *Sinai*, or the *mountain* of *Moses*, is that which is here opposed to *Mount Sion*. Now the expression ‘to the *mountain of Moses*,’ is in *Hebrew* לְהַר מֹשֶׁה (*lehar Mosseh*.) This latter word the translator misunderstood; and instead of reading, and taking it for a proper name, he either read, by mistake, מַשֵּׁ, *palpatio*, or pronounced, by mistake, מַשָּׁה, (*Mashah*,) *palpatio*. Hence, instead of rendering, ‘to the *mountain of Moses*,’ he rendered, ‘to the *tangible mountain*.’”

But this “*mountain of Moses*” is a creation of his own brain. For “*Sinai in Arabia*,” the mountain here meant by the Apostle,

p. 245, 246. It was, therefore, of no intrinsic weight, and ought not to have been revived, as being suggested by an unfounded objection.

pursuing his former "*allegory*," Gal. iv. 24—26, is no where so styled in Scripture, but rather "*the mountain of GOD*," Exod. iii. 1, &c. "*the mountain of THE LORD*," Numb. x. 33, or "*the Holy mountain*," Psalm lxxviii. 17, because it was honoured with the presence of the GOD OF ISRAEL. To call it, therefore, by the name of *Moses*, or indeed of any mortal, would have been sacrilege.

To what then, did the Apostle refer, in the remarkable term *ψηλαφωμενω*? Evidently to the divine injunction to the people and their cattle, not to *ascend* or *touch* it, beyond the prescribed limits near its foot, under pain of *death*, Exod. xix. 12—24. Alluding to this awful command, the Apostle beautifully contrasts *the terrors of the LAW*, delivered on the *earthly Sinai*, not to be *touched* under pain of death; with the superabundant *grace of THE GOSPEL*, promising to the faithful *eternal life* in the *Heavenly Zion*: to which, by an admirable anticipation, he represents them as *already come*, (*προσεληλυθατε*.)

Michaelis was rather too fond of displaying his *oriental* learning; and never, surely, was there a more unfortunate specimen than this!

3. He is not less unfortunate in his last position.

He rested this principally on the testimony of *Origen*; who, according to *Eusebius*, Hist. Ecclesiast. B. VI. ch. 25, "held that the *matter* of the Epistle was from St. *Paul*, but the *construction of the words* from another, who recorded the *thoughts* of the Apostle, and made *notes*, as it were, or *commentaries*, of what was said by his master," p. 246.

— "Having delivered his own opinion, *Origen* adds: *ει τις ουν εκκλησια εχει ταυτην την επιστολην ως Παυλου, αυτη ευδοκιμειτω και επι τουτω, ου γαρ εικη οι αρχαιοι ανδρες ως Παυλου παραδεδωκασι. Τις δε ο γραφας την επιστολην, το μεν αληθες Θεος οιδεν. Η δε εις ημας φθασασα ιστορια, υπο τινων λεγοντων μεν οτι Κλημησ, ο γενομενος επισκοπος Ρωμαιων, εγραψε την επιστολην υπο τινων δε, οτι Δουκας, ο γραφας το ευαγγελιον και τας πραξεις.*"

The following is a literal translation of this, (which *Michaelis* ought not to have omitted.)

"If then, any Church [or, *whatsoever* Church,] holds this Epistle as *Paul's*, it should be *commended*, even upon this account; for *it was not without reason, the primitive worthies have handed it down as Paul's*. But *who* wrote the Epistle,

[in its present form*,] truly *God* indeed knows. The *historical* account that has reached us [is various and uncertain,] some saying that *Clemens*, who was Bishop of *Rome*, wrote the Epistle, others *Luke*, who wrote the *Gospel*, and the *Acts*," p. 247.

Michaelis here thinks, that by *ἱστορία εἰς ἡμᾶς φθασασα*, *Origen* meant "oral accounts;" and he contends, that "neither of these *contradictory* accounts can be true: for the style of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, is neither that of St. *Luke*, nor that of *Clement* of *Rome*: and the latter especially, if we may judge from what is now extant of his works, had it not even in his power to write an Epistle *so replete with Jewish learning*." p. 247.

What now is the force of *Origen's* evidence, supposing that his opinion is fairly and fully related by *Eusebius*, which may be doubted †? Why surely, that *Paul* was the *original author* of the Epistle, as confirmed by *primitive tradition*. The *oral* account, upon which he founded his conjecture was *vague*; and *Michaelis* has satisfactorily shewn, that it *could not be true* in either case: what then remains by all the rules of right reasoning? Unquestionably, that rejecting the *oral* account as *false*, we should embrace the *primitive* tradition as *true*. And consequently admit, that *no one but the Apostle* himself *could* be the author of an Epistle *so replete with Jewish learning*, who was educated at the feet of *Gamaliel* himself, (Acts xxii. 3,) and disputed with the first *Jewish Rabbis* of the age, in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Rome*.

By the failure, therefore, of the paradoxical hypothesis of *Michaelis*, in all its branches, the *positive* evidence is still further strengthened: we may now rest assured, that the Epistle was written in Greek, *not* in Hebrew, by St. *Paul* himself, *not* by any one else. The celebrity of *Michaelis*, as a sacred critic, and the deference paid to his authority, especially in *Germany*, combined with the high Biblical importance of the enquiry,

* *Origen* says nothing of *Hebrew*; and *Paul's* usual conversation was in *Greek*, his mother tongue. We may reckon, therefore, that he rejected the hypothesis of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, his master.

† *Origen*, in his writings still extant, expressly and repeatedly attributes this Epistle to St. *Paul* as the author. See *Lardner's* testimonies, II. p. 440, 472, 473, who thinks that *Origen* changed his former opinion with his riper years.

must apologize for this minute discussion of a few leading points of his prolix argument.

The *style* of this mighty master of *Grecian* eloquence, like his own magnificent compounds, πολυμερως, πολυτροπως, (Heb. i. 1,) πολυποικιλος, Eph. iii. 10, (which were evidently forged on the same anvil,) is “abundantly variegated and diversified;” animated with all the *energy* and *vehemence* and *abruptness* of *Demosthenes*; and enriched and adorned with all the *amplifications*, *tropes*, and *figures* of *Cicero*; while he excelled them both in the *sublime*, the *beautiful*, and the *pathetic*, on account of the greater dignity, importance, and variety of the subjects that engaged his highly furnished, ardent, and versatile mind, *making himself all things to all men, if by any means he might win some.*

Still it must be confessed, that there is much *obscurity* in his writings, arising from various sources.

1. Several of his Epistles were *answers* to questions put to him, on *doctrinal* or *ceremonial* points that were then contested between the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Churches; we therefore want, in many cases, the *key* to his arguments, in answer thereto.

2. The abrupt change of person, from *Paul* to his *correspondents*, or *opponents*, without notice given, often occasions perplexity; speaking of them in the first person, and of himself in the third, 2 Cor. xii. 2, &c. Rom. vii. 21—25, &c.

3. The involution of his flowing sentences, including parentheses, and digressions without number, often renders it extremely difficult to follow the thread of his argument*, through the labyrinth of his language. Even *Peter* complained that he was “*hard to be understood*,” and *James* intimated, that he was liable to be *misunderstood* †.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

“*I am now ready to be offered up as a libation,
And the season of my dissolution is at hand,*” iv. 6.

From this passage, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, and the ancient *tradition*, held, that this was the last of *Paul's* Epistles,

* See several ingenious and judicious remarks on the peculiarities of *Paul's* style, in *Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Michaelis*, and *Gilpin*, &c.

† Compare Jam. ii. 24, with Rom. iii. 28.

written not long before his predicted martyrdom ; and this opinion is generally followed by learned moderns.

Whether *Paul* visited *Rome* once only, or twice, has been much contested by critics ; at the head of the former class ranks *Lardner* ; at the head of the latter, *Michaelis* *. The latter opinion is better founded.

1. In the foregoing Epistles to the *Colossians*, *Philemon*, and the *Philippians*, the Apostle expressed, as we have seen, a *confident hope* of seeing them soon ; and we learn from the last chapter of this Epistle, that his expectation was realized ; describing his route, shortly before he wrote it, through *Corinth*, *Philippi*, *Troas*, *Miletus*, and *Colosse* ; as traced in a foregoing note, on the Epistle to *Titus*.

2. This route is not to be confounded with that described in the two last chapters of the *Acts* ; for *Paul* could neither visit *Corinth*, *Troas*, nor *Miletus*, on his first voyage to *Rome*, which lay considerably to the *north* of his course ; as *Michaelis* has acutely observed, p. 173—175.

3. That the Apostle was now at *Rome*, and in *prison*, when he wrote this Epistle, is plain, from i. 8—17, &c. ; therefore he visited *Rome* a second time, according to the received tradition.

4. His treatment was different both times. During the first visit, he was confined, indeed, according to the *Roman* usage, until both he and his accusers could be heard together before *Cæsar*, to whom he had appealed from the provincial tribunal at *Cæsarea*, as we may judge from the conduct of *Felix*, Acts xxiii. 35. But he was confined only to his own house, and treated with much indulgence ; probably in consequence of the favourable representations of his case by *Festus*, xxv. 24—27, and of his exemplary good conduct, and prediction, and miraculous powers, during the voyage, by his friend *Julius*, the centurion, Acts xxvii. 3—43 ; insomuch, that he made many converts at *Rome*, and even in *Cæsar's* household, Phil. i. 13, iv. 22 ; and at the end of *two years*, when either his accusers had failed to appear, or to substantiate their charges at *Cæsar's* tribunal,

* *Michaelis* has here again redeemed his character as a sacred critic. Though not to be implicitly trusted, as we have seen, he is sometimes excellent ; and no where more so than in his remarks on this Epistle ; in which, following a skilful guide, the learned *Mosheim*, he has ably and fully exposed the mistakes of *Lardner* and his party.

(before which he seems to have been brought to a hearing, Phil. i. 7,) he was honourably acquitted, and dismissed, Acts xxviii. 30, 31, as he expected, Phil. ii. 24; Philemon 22.

But on the second visit, his former success in proselytizing *Cæsar's* household, (Phil. iv. 22,) and probably among the rest, the Empress *Poppæa* * herself, as we may collect from *Josephus*, who remarkably styles her $\theta\epsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma$, “*devout*,” or a “*proselyte*,” and represents her as a friend to the *Jews*, Ant. XX. 7, 11, *Vita*. 3, probably gave umbrage to *Nero*. He was now “*imprisoned*, as a *malefactor*,” or a mover of sedition, 2 Tim. ii. 9, perhaps on account of the uproar at *Ephesus*, which the *recorder* might have reported to the Emperor, Acts xix. 40, and for which the Apostle was brought to a *first hearing* before *Nero*, when “all the *Christians* of *Asia*, or *Ephesus*, then at *Rome*, deserted him;” and “*Alexander* the coppersmith did him much harm,” by witnessing against him maliciously; so that he with difficulty was then “*saved from the mouth of the lion*,” or the cruelty of *Nero* †, iv. 14—17, i. 15. Sentence, indeed, was not passed at this *first hearing*, or *apology*; for, according to the forms of *Roman* judicature, a *nondum liquet* was declared, or the cause was put off to a second hearing, and his prosecutors still bound over to prosecute, and perhaps enjoined to procure fuller evi-

* *Poppæa Sabina* was remarkable for her *beauty*, and not less for her *lust* and *cruelty*, according to *Tacitus*; whereas *Josephus* celebrates her for *piety*, *humanity* in pleading for his friends the priests, and personal *kindness* to himself, whom she dismissed with presents.

† In a foregoing note on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, we stated the opinion of *Michaelis*, that this expression was to be understood literally, as according with the description *Tacitus* gives of the sufferings of the Christians in *Nero's* persecution, “who were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to be torn in pieces by *dogs*, with the most cruel mockery.” Annal. XV. 44. But the figurative application of the “*lion*,” to *Nero* himself, and the most generally received, is preferable. *Nero* had all the *Roman* “*fierceness of countenance*,” as appeared from the description of an impostor that resembled him, given in a foregoing note. Vol. II. p. 212. And his tutor *Seneca*, who for some time had, by dint of instruction, softened the native cruelty and ferocity of his disposition, used to say, among his intimate friends, *non fore sævo illi Leoni, quin gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenua redeat sævitia*, “that surely when once that *fierce lion* had tasted human blood, his *innate cruelty* would break out again.” *Lipsius* Not. Tacit. An. XII. 9. A prediction soon verified by the event. *Seneca* himself did not long survive *Paul*, being put to death in the same year, A.D. 65. On that emergency, he thus consoled his weeping friends: “Who can be ignorant of *Nero's* cruelty? Nothing can be wanting to fill up the measure of it, after the murder of his *mother*, (*Agrippina*,) and his *brother*, (*Britannicus*,) but the death of his *tutor* and *preceptor*!” Annal. XV. 62.

dence. But in the interim, as it seems, “*Paul converted Nero’s cup-bearer,*” which so provoked the jealous tyrant, that “he cut off” or beheaded the Apostle, as we learn from *Chrysostom* *.

That the Apostle, indeed, had no further hope of deliverance from his present bonds, is evident from his prediction, iv. 6, and from the sequel: “And THE LORD will deliver me [not from death, but] from every *wicked work*, [with which I am charged as a *malefactor*,] and will *save me* unto his *heavenly kingdom*. To whom be glory for evermore. Amen,” iv. 18.

Here the Apostle is clearly resigned to his fate.

5. In his disgrace, *Paul* was deserted by all his acquaintances, and most of his intimates. His *Asiatic* friends, *Phygellus*, *Hermogenes*, &c. forsook him at his first hearing, except *Onesiphorus*, of whose attentions and kindnesses, both at *Ephesus* and *Rome*, he makes honourable mention, i. 15—18, iv. 16; and what was more grievous, of his own disciples, *Demas* quitted him from worldly motives, and went to *Thessalonica*, *Crescens* to *Galatia*; and even *Titus*, (who could have expected that!) unto *Dalmatia*; none remained but the faithful *Luke*,

————— “ Faithful found
Among the faithless; *faithful only he.*”

The friends who now adhered to him were strangers, unnoticed in his former Epistles, *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, *Linus*, *Claudia*, &c. who join in the salutation to *Timothy*. No wonder, then, that he was anxious for the speedy return of his beloved pupil, *Timothy*, and his old friend *Mark*, “who was serviceable to him in the ministry,” to bid them farewell, and give them his parting instructions, iv. 9—21.

From *Paul’s* earnestness to see those two dearest friends, without delay, we may fairly collect, that *Nero’s* dreadful persecution of the *Christians*, at *Rome*, had not yet commenced; for surely if it had, he would not wish to bring them into the *lion’s mouth*, to inevitable destruction, when the bare confession of *Christianity* was sufficient for their seizure; according to *Tacitus*, *correpti qui fatebantur*. And if this conjecture be well

* Ποιαν δε πρωτην απολογιαν λεγει; παρεστη ηδε τη Νερωνι και διεφυγεν· επειδη δε τον οινοχοον αυτου κατηχησε, τοτε αυτον απετεμεν. *Lardner*, VI. p. 351. This testimony of *Chrysostom* carries its own evidence with it, and refutes the perplexed anachronisms of *Pearson*, respecting this event, which are justly censured by *Lardner*.

founded, we can determine the date of *Paul's* martyrdom with considerable precision. For *Nero's* burning of *Rome* is placed by *Tacitus* under the consulate of *C. Læcanius* and *M. Licinius*, about the month of *July*, A.D. 64. This act procured him the hatred and clamours of the people, which having endeavoured several ways to remove and pacify, but in vain, he at last devised the base and wicked expedient of throwing the odium of it upon the *Christians*. Whom, therefore, to appease the gods, and to please the people, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite tortures. This persecution took place, therefore, in the course of the year A.D. 65, when on *June 29th*, according to the annals both of the eastern and western Church, noticed by *Usher*, the Apostle was slain with the sword. Tacit. Annal. XV. 33—34. Usher's Annal. A.D. 67.

Hence we may be morally certain, that this leading date of *Paul's* martyrdom, could not have been *later* than A.D. 65*, in the twelfth of *Nero*, according to *Epiphanius*, *Pagi*, and *Lardner*, VI. p. 300, 301.

An *hypothesis* similar to that of Doctor *Marsh* respecting the *Gospels*, was proposed by Doctor *Paley*, in his ingenious *Horæ Paulinæ*; namely, that the *Epistles* of *Paul* and the *Acts* of the Apostles were written *without concert* on either side, while their *undesigned coincidences*, and *incidental references* to each other, mutually attest the truth of the facts as *independent vouchers*. See pp. 6, 47, 111, 158, 160, 171, 270, 278, 287, 306, &c.

In this work, many curious instances of *remote resemblance*, and *latent coincidence*, which have escaped ordinary readers, and even the best commentators, are deduced from minute and critical inspection and comparison of the originals: but the hypothesis itself that they were *undesigned*, appears to be rather specious than solid, for the following reasons:

1. *Paul* did not, indeed, consult the *Acts*, which were not written until after his decease, according to the present *chronological* adjustment; but it is most highly probable that *Luke* both saw and consulted *Paul's* *Epistles*; because he attended

* *Michaelis* dates it about A.D. 66.
Usher, Petavius, and Bible Chronology 67.
Pearson, Barrington 68.

him in his travels during the period in which most of them were written; and he remained with the Apostle till his death. And if *Paul*, as is probable, kept *copies* of his Epistles, they might naturally be included in those "*parchments*," he wrote "*especially*" about to *Timothy*, and desired him to bring with him, from *Troas*, iv. 13. These most valuable *documents* for his history, *Luke* would be unpardonable to have neglected; a history, which *Paul* probably commissioned him to write.

2. And that he actually did consult them, we may rather collect from the comparison of both. Even *Paley* himself concedes, that "the *accordancy* between both, in many points, is *circumstantial* and *complete*," and "the *harmony indubitable*," p. 297—299. And he also notices a remarkable conformity in the *order* of the Apostle's persecutions at *Antioch*, *Iconium*, and *Lystra*, as noticed briefly by the Apostle himself, 2 Tim. iii. 11; and more fully by *Luke*, in the Acts, xiii. 14—50, xiv. 1—19, p. 350—353.

Hence, we may safely conclude, that *Luke* did actually consult the *Epistles*; and that he borrowed, varied, or omitted incidents contained therein, at discretion, as best suited his particular plan; and with a thorough knowledge of the whole subject both from his own experience and the information of *Paul*, as an *original* and *independent* Historian: like the succeeding *Evangelists*, borrowing, varying, or omitting from their predecessors.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

These are attributed to the Apostles of the *circumcision*, *James*, the LORD'S brother or cousin, and first bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Jude*, his brother; and *Peter*, and *John*, the Apostles. Like the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, they seem to have been addressed to the *Jewish* converts in general, both of *Palestine* and of the *dispersion*, to keep them stedfast in the faith, that they might not *swerve* under their approaching trials, toward the end of the *Jewish* dispensation; to guard them against *Antichrists*, or *false Christs*, and *false Apostles* or *false teachers*, which were among the last *signs* or prognostics of the destruction of *Jerusalem*; against *wars and fightings*, which were a further *sign of the times*, and to exhort them to *good works*, and the practical duties of the GOSPEL. The style of *James*,

Peter, and *Jude* is *concise* and highly *figurative*, and has a general resemblance throughout.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

The authenticity of this excellent practical Epistle is supported by the following arguments.

It was translated in the *Syriac* version made in the Apostolic age, and all along received by the *Syrian Church*; and acknowledged as canonical by *Ephrem Syrus*, *Eusebius*, *Chrysostom*, *Jerom*, *Theodoret*, and in several canons of the *Greek* and *Latin* councils. And it is highly rational, and worthy of the president of the Mother Church at *Jerusalem*. No sober-minded critic therefore can reasonably doubt of its *authenticity* or *canonical authority* *.

It was probably written about a year before his death, when the troubles were beginning in *Judea*, from *false teachers*, iii. 1; *seditions* and *insurrections*, iv. 1; with the benevolent design of vindicating the true *faith working by love*, and recommending *peace* and *harmony* to a distracted world. We may date it, therefore, about A.D. 61, or the beginning of A.D. 62, with *Whitby*, *Lardner*, and *Michaelis*.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

This Epistle was held as genuine by several of the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Epiphanius*; and as it coincides in doctrine with the other Catholic Epistles, (see this Vol. note, p. 193,) should be admitted as canonical; especially as there is a marked resemblance between it, vers. 6, and the Epistle of *Peter*, 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20, 2 Pet. ii. 4, 5, in these abstruse passages, descriptive of the *fallen angels*, and their punishment; relating most probably to the pious *Sethites*, who were corrupted by their commerce with the daughters of *Cain*, and their posterity, who perished in the deluge, (as explained before, Vol. II. p. 36, 39.) These passages of *Peter*, which are fuller, seem to be designed as a commentary on the conciser account of *Jude*. We seem warranted, there-

* Both *Lardner* and *Michaelis*, however, have expended a great deal of criticism to determine who this *James* was; and after puzzling themselves, have come to the *sceptical* conclusion of doubting who he was, and of course, not knowing whether the Epistle be *canonical* or not.

fore, to date this Epistle before *Peter's*; and about the same time as his brother's, A.D. 62.

The *Jewish* legend or tradition of *Michael* contending with the *Devil* about the body of *Moses*, ver. 9, has given much offence to *Michaelis*, so that he doubts whether *Jude* could be "an inspired writer, or an immediate disciple of CHRIST," p. 385. But might not the Apostle have used it merely as a popular illustration (without vouching the fact) of that sober and wholesome doctrine, for the lower classes especially, *not to speak evil of dignities?* from the example of "the *Archangel*," who did not venture to rail even at the *devil*, but meekly said, "THE LORD rebuke thee!" as *Michaelis* himself has suggested*, p. 392.

THE EPISTLES OF PETER.

The first Epistle is addressed to the converted *Jews* of "the dispersion, sojourners in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, provincial *Asia*, and *Bithynia*," or the principal provinces of *Asia Minor*, or *Natolia*, i. 1, which had also been the chief scenes of the early part of *Paul's* ministry; and were probably attached to the Mother Church of *Antioch* in *Syria*, which seems to have been early under the particular inspection of *Peter* also, Gal. ii. 11. For, as we learn from *Eusebius*, "*Peter* having founded the Church in *Antioch*, went from thence to *Rome* preaching the *Gospel*;" *Origen* and *Jerom* agree, that "*Simon Peter* having had the episcopacy of the Church of *Antioch*, and preached to the converted *Jews* of the dispersion in *Pontus*, and the neighbouring provinces, proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crucified. And *Chrysostom* expressly says, "This is one prerogative of our city [*Antioch*] that at first, we received the chief of the Apostles as our teacher. However, we held him not to the end, but resigned him to the imperial city, *Rome*." See the original passages, Lardner, VI. p. 544.

* *Michaelis* has furnished the following curious remark thereon. "To the doctrine which St. *Jude* inculcates by this quotation, that we ought not to speak evil of dignities, not even of the fallen Angels, but that we should leave judgment to GOD, I have no objection. And I really think that they transgress the bounds of propriety, who make it their business, either in the pulpit, or in their writings, to represent the Devil as an object of detestation: since, notwithstanding his fall, he is still a being of a superior order."—Is this the doctrine of the NEW TESTAMENT? or, the usage of OUR LORD, of *Peter*, *Paul*, and *John* in the *Apocalypse*? We fancy not. "The old Serpent, &c. deceiving the whole world," as a "roaring lion, going about seeking whom he may devour," is surely an object of terror and detestation.

The arguments in favour of the *authenticity* of these Epistles are numerous and satisfactory. The first Epistle was *universally received*, according to *Eusebius* and *Origen*, and was referred to as his, by *Clemens Romanus*, *Polycarp*, the *Martyrs* at *Lyons*, *Papias*, *Theophilus*, bishop of *Antioch*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, &c. See *Lardner*, vi. p. 151, 152; and it is worthy, indeed, of the Apostle, containing, as *Ostervald* observes, “very weighty instructions written with great strength and majesty; so that it is one of the finest books of the NEW TESTAMENT.” The second, though not so well supported by external authority, is sufficiently established by the internal evidence, by its reference to the foregoing. It was evidently written soon after the former, from the continuation of the subject, and *shortly before* the Apostle’s martyrdom, which he expressly predicts, 2 Pet. i. 14, (as explained before, p. 21 of this volume.)

The Apostle represents his first Epistle as written from “*Babylon*, and sent by *Silvanus*, the faithful brother, to *Pontus*,” &c. 1 Pet. v. 12, 13.

Whether *Babylon* is to be understood here, literally, or mystically; as the city of that name in *Mesopotamia*, or in *Egypt*; or rather, *Rome*; or *Jerusalem*; has been long and warmly contested by the learned. The arguments on both sides are detailed at length by *Lardner*, who adopts the mystical application to *Rome*; and by *Michaelis*, the literal, to *Babylon* in *Mesopotamia*, or rather, as he supposes, *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*. See *Lardner*, vi. p. 572—580, *Michaelis*, iv. p. 328—341.

After a careful examination of both, the evidences in favour of the *mystical* interpretation seem greatly to preponderate, for the following reasons.

1. This was the primitive tradition adopted by most of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, *Papias*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Œcumenius*, *Cosmas*, *Bede*, &c. and by *Valesius*, and most of the writers of the *Romish* Church.

2. It is not probable that *Peter* ever visited *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, from the total silence of *Ecclesiastical* History. And *Babylon* in *Egypt* was too small and insignificant to be the subject of consideration.

3. *Silvanus* or *Silas* *, the bearer, was “*the faithful brother*,”

* *Silas*, in Hebrew, שלש, signifies, “*three*,” or “*third*,” and seems to have been

or associate of *Paul* in most of the Churches which he had planted. And though he was not at *Rome* with the Apostle when he wrote his last Epistle to *Timothy*, might naturally have come thither soon after; and have been sent by *Paul* and *Peter* jointly, to confirm the Churches in *Asia Minor*, &c. which he had assisted in planting. But *Silvanus*, *Paul*, and *Peter* had no connection with *Babylon*, which lay beyond their district; and, therefore, they were not likely at any time to *build upon another's foundation*. The Gospel was preached in *Persia* or *Parthia*, by the Apostle *Thaddeus*, or *Jude*, according to *Cosmas*; and *Abulfaragi* reckons, that the ancient *Syriac* version of the New Testament was made in his time, and probably, by his authority, for the use of the *Oriental Churches*, *Lardner*, v. p. 172, *Michaelis*, Vol. II. p. 30.

4. The *Jews*, to whom the Epistle was written, were fond of mystical appellations, especially in their captivities; *Edom* was a frequent title for their *Heathen* oppressors; and as *Babylon* was the principal scene of their first captivity; it was highly probable, that *Rome*, the principal scene of their second, and which so strongly resembled the former in her "*abominations*, her *idolatries* and *persecutions* of the *Saints*," should be denominated by the same title. And this argument is corroborated by the similar usage of the *Apocalypse*, where the *mystical* application is unquestionable, Rev. xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xviii. 2, &c. It is highly probable, indeed, that *John* borrowed it from *Peter*; or rather, that both took it by *inspiration*, from the prophecy of *Isaiah*, xxi. 9.

5. The *Syrian* hypothesis cited by *Michaelis*, from *Asseman's Bibliotheca Orientalis*, T. III. P. II. p. 7; that *Peter* wrote his first Epistle not only in *Jerusalem*, but in the very room where the Apostles first received the gifts of the HOLY SPIRIT, (iv. p. 341, note,) though of no weight in itself, is a voucher for the preceding observation.

6. The second Epistle is generally agreed to have been written *shortly* before *Peter's* death; but a journey from *Babylon* to *Rome*, (where he unquestionably suffered) must have employed

latinized by this Amanuensis of St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*; who joins in the salutation with the Apostle and his companion: "I *Tertius*, who wrote this Epistle, salute you in the Lord." Rom. xvi. 22. *Silas*, elsewhere called *Silvanus*, by his Christian name, 1 Thess. i. 1, was a *Roman* citizen, Acts xvi. 19—37; and as such, might naturally have used the Roman appellation, *Tertius*.

a long time, even by the shortest route that could be taken. And *Peter* must have passed through *Pontus*, &c. in his way to *Rome*, and, therefore, it would have been unnecessary for him to write. Writing from *Rome*, indeed, the case was different, as he never expected to see them more.

We are warranted, therefore, to date these Epistles about the beginning of A.D. 65; soon after the second Epistle to *Timothy*. Whether *Paul* and *Peter* suffered at the same time, or separately, is not known; probably the latter: for *Jerom* relates, that *Peter* was crucified by *Nero* for opposing the sorceries of *Simon Magus*, who had bewitched the *Romans*, as formerly the *Samaritans*, Act. viii. 9, 10, *Lardner* VI. p. 544, *Petav.* II. p. 379.

THE EPISTLES OF JOHN.

I. The authenticity of these three Epistles, especially of the first, and principal, is unquestionable. It was received as the Apostle's composition every where almost in the eastern and western Churches, and is cited by the early Fathers, *Polycarp*, *Papias*, the martyrs of *Lyons*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Cyril*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom*, venerable *Bede*, &c. &c. See *Lardner*, VI. p. 584. And, indeed, the internal evidence in its favour is striking and satisfactory, in the remarkable analogy of sentiment and expression to his Gospel throughout; especially to the beginning and the end of the Gospel in the animated exordium of the Epistle.

“What occurred from the beginning [of the GOSPEL] concerning THE ORACLE OF LIFE; what we have seen with our eyes, what we beheld, and our hands have handled—declare we unto you, that ye may participate with us;—and these, write we unto you, that your joy may be completed,” i. 1—4. (See note, p. 256 of this Volume.)

Whether this Epistle was written, 1. before or after his Gospel; and 2. before or after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, has been much disputed by commentators and critics. The generality agree, however, that it was written before his Gospel, and are followed herein by *Lardner* and *Michaelis*, concurring in this point, indeed; but differing with many commentators on each side, as to the other; *Michaelis* contending that it was written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*; *Lardner*, after.

It was probably written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, for the following reasons, not noticed by either.

1. As the other Apostles, *James, Jude, Paul, and Peter*, had written Catholic Epistles to the *Hebrew Christians* especially; it is likely that one of the principal “*pillars of the Church*,” the greatest surely of the *Mother Church*, the most highly gifted and illuminated of all the Apostles of the *circumcision*, and the *beloved disciple*, would not be deficient likewise in this *labour of love*.

2. Nothing could tend so strongly to establish the *faith* of the early *Jewish converts* as the remarkable circumstances of OUR LORD’S crucifixion, exhibiting the accomplishment of the ancient *types* and *prophecies* of the Old Testament respecting CHRIST’S *passion*, or sufferings in the flesh. These, *John* alone could record, as he was the only *eye witness* of that last solemn scene among the *Apostles*. To these, therefore, he alludes in the exordium, as well as to the circumstances of our Lord’s appearances after the *Resurrection*; and to these he again recalls their attention in that remarkable reference to “the *water*” at his baptism; to “the *water and blood*” at his passion, and to the dismissal of “*his spirit*,” when he commended it to HIS FATHER, and expired, v. 5—9. See the foregoing explanation of this most important and most disputed passage, p. 236, 237 of this Volume.

8. The parallel testimony in the *Gospel*, John xix. 35—37, p. 236, bears witness also to the priority of the *Epistle*, in the expression, “He that *saw, hath testified*,” (μεμαρτυρηκε,) intimating that he had delivered this testimony to the world *already*; for if *now*, for the first time, it should rather be expressed by the present tense, μαρτυρει, “*testifieth*.” And this is strongly confirmed by the Apostle’s same expression, after giving his evidence in the *Epistle*, “This is the *testimony of GOD*, which HE *hath testified* (μεμαρτυρηκε,) concerning HIS SON,” ver. 9, referring to the *past* transaction, as fulfilling prophecy.

This argument seems decisive for the priority of the *Epistle* to the *Gospel*.

Its priority also to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, may be inferred by *analogy*, from the dates of the other *Catholic Epistles*, which were all written not long *before* the destruction of *Jerusalem*, when it was most necessary to *prepare* the minds of the faithful for that catastrophe, and to *comfort* them under it, with the prospect of future “*joy*,” or happiness, in reward of their “*patience*,” and resignation to the will of God.

It was, therefore, probably written the last of the *Catholic Epistles*, and soon after the publication of the three first *Gospels*, whose omission of that most material testimony, it was absolutely necessary to supply without delay. And the allusions of this Epistle to the Gospel *prognostics* of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, are pointed and express.

The springing up of *false Christs* and *false teachers*, and *false prophets* in the Church, were among the first and last signs of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, foretold by OUR LORD, Matt. xxiv. 5—25. To these the Epistle evidently alludes :

“ Dear Children, this is *the last hour*, and *as ye have heard*, that *the Antichrist* is coming; even so now there *have been* (*γεγονασι*) *many Antichrists*: whence we know that it is the *last hour*,” ii. 18.

This word, *αντιχριστος*, is peculiar to *John*; it signifies in strictness, a “*deputy-Christ*,” or one who assumed his authority, see Vol. II. p. 505, corresponding to our Lord’s expression, a *false Christ*, or *impostor*; and *αντιχριστοι* in the plural, *false Apostles*, or *false teachers*, who sowed *heresies*, or erroneous doctrines in the Church. The earliest of these on record were the *Judaizing* teachers from the Church of *Jerusalem*, of the *Sect* of the *Pharisees*, who attempted to impose *circumcision* and the observance of the law of *Moses* on the *Gentile Church* of *Antioch*, Acts xv. 1—5; and who were censured by the first *Apostolic* council at *Jerusalem*, in A.D. 49; for “disturbing the peace of the *Gentile Church* without commission from the *Apostles*,” Acts xv. 23—29. And to these, in the first instance, the Epistle alludes pointedly :

“ They went out from *us*, (the *Apostles*) but they were not of *us*: for if they had been of *us*, they would have *remained* with *us*, [or kept our doctrine] but [they did not] that they might be *manifested*, that *all* are not of *us*,” ii. 19.

“ *The last hour*,” so emphatically repeated, seems to refer to the approach of the catastrophe, as intimated by OUR LORD, “ When ye see *all these* [signs] know ye that it is *near at the doors*. Verily I say unto you, that *this generation* shall not pass away till *all these* [woes] shall happen,” Matt. xxiv. 33, 34.

And that *this generation* was now “passing away,” the Apostle also emphatically repeats :

“ I write, (*γραφω*) to you *fathers*, because *ye have known HIM* that is from the *beginning*——

“ I wrote (εγραψα) to you *fathers*, because *ye have known HIM that is from the beginning*,”——ii. 13, 14.

Here the *Fathers*, or *Elders*, are distinguished twice from “ *the young men, and the children*,” by this circumstance of having known CHRIST, or seen him either during his ministry, or after his resurrection. They were, therefore, passing off the stage of this world, above an entire generation from our Lord’s resurrection, A.D. 31, supposing that this Epistle was written the year after the publication of the three Gospels, about A.D. 68, or two years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as the most seasonable time.

The leading doctrine of this sublime Epistle, is our Lord’s *New Commandment of Christian love, or charity*. This, it repeatedly inculcates and admirably enforces, ii. 7—11, iii. 16—18, iv. 7—12. And it warns the faithful, especially, against *false prophets, worldly-mindedness, and idolatry*, iv. 1, ii. 15, 16, v. 4, v. 21.

II. The second Epistle is an epitome of the first, touching, in few words, on the same points. It is addressed “ to the elect *Lady* and her *Children*,” ver. 1. The word *κυρια* is ambiguous, it may literally denote a *woman*, or figuratively, a *Church*. And the latter seems preferable; for *the Church of CHRIST* was styled, “ *the Queen*,” (ἡ βασιλισσα, Sept.) Ps. xlv. 10, which is a synonymous term. And this imagery is frequent in the New Testament, Matt. xxv. 10; Gal. iv. 25, 26; Eph. v. 25; Rev. xix. 7, xxi. 2.

CHRIST also is styled in prophecy, “ *the Father of the future Age*,” Isaiah ix. 6; whose “ *children should be made princes in all lands*,” Ps. xlv. 16; and he styled himself, “ *the bridegroom*,” Matt. ix. 15, and John Baptist, “ *the friend of the bridegroom*,” or *bride man*, John iii. 29.

And in support of the *allegorical* interpretation, we may observe, that though *τεκνα*, “ *children*,” may include *daughters*, those of the *elect lady* are plainly *sons*, (οὓς) “ *whom I love*,” ver. 1, (περιπατουντας) “ *walking in truth*,” ver. 4, whom he warns “ to look to *themselves*,” (ἐαυτους,) ver. 8, &c. the *masculine* relatives and participle restricting the sense to *sons* alone. “ Now, in a numerous family, it is very seldom that we find *all sons*, and no *daughters*: but when we speak of a *Church*, the word ‘*sons*’ includes persons of both sexes,” according to the acute remark of *Michaelis*, IV. p. 450.

Hence, we may presume, that this was a later brief epistle, referring to the first: "*I wrote to you, Fathers,*" &c. ii. 14.

That some particular *Church*, indeed, is here meant, may also be collected from the concluding salutation of, "The children of *thy elect sister,*" from which the Apostle wrote. But we know from Ecclesiastical History, that the Church of *Ephesus* was under his peculiar jurisdiction; therefore, it is highly probable that he wrote to the *Mother Church* at *Jerusalem*; according to *Whitby, Barrington, and Gilpin.*

III. The third Epistle is addressed to an individual, a respectable member of some *Church*; which, from the Greek names, *Gaius*, or *Caius*, *Diotrephes*, and *Demetrius*, seems to be *Gentile*, as intimated, ver. 7. And that this Church was *Corinth*, may be presumed, from the person addressed, *Caius*, and on the score of his hospitality; for which he was honourably distinguished by *Paul*, as "*his host, and the host of the whole Church,*" Rom. xvi. 23; who resided at *Corinth*, and had been one of his first converts, 1 Cor. i. 14. And this testimony, and the disinterestedness of *Paul* himself, who took nothing from the Church of *Corinth*, as he repeatedly told them, 2 Cor. iv. 5, xi. 7—11, xii. 13; working there at his trade as a *tent-maker*, for his support, Acts xviii. 3, seems to be here elegantly and forcibly alluded to, as a motive to *Caius* and the *Corinthians* for hospitality towards strangers of the *eastern Churches*, on their travels, ver. 6—8.

Nor is it any objection to this, that the Apostle styles *Caius*, and the Church, "*his children,*" whose "*walking in truth, gave him the highest joy,*" ver. 4; for, after the martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, "*the care of all the Churches*" that they had "*planted,*" necessarily devolved on him, the survivor, the last, and the greatest of the Apostles, "*to water.*" Though not his own converts, therefore, he might reasonably account the *Corinthians*, "*his children,*" or flock, as being comprized within his jurisdiction of the *western Churches.*

And the immediate occasion of this Epistle, seems to have been some inattention shewn to a former, which "*he wrote to the Church **," recommending some of the *Asiatic* brethren to

* *Lardner* renders, *εγραψα τη εκκλησια*, ver. 9, "*I would have written to the Church,*" (with the *Vulgate, Le Clerc, and Grotius,*) were it not for the opposition of *Diotrephes*: wherefore, the Apostle preferred writing to *Caius*, *Lardner* VI. p. 601. But the com-

their care and attentions; which was opposed by *Diotrephes*, an overbearing *leader*, who not only resisted the Apostle's recommendation, and "*prated against him with malicious words*," disclaiming his authority; but even proceeded such lengths, as to "*excommunicate** the persons who were willing to entertain the strangers." Whom, therefore, the venerable Apostle, with unusual warmth, threatens to correct, at his coming, by his *Apostolical* authority, ver. 9, 10. This very *Diotrephes* might have been the leading opponent of *Paul*, at *Corinth*; whom he forebore to name out of delicacy, though he censured, 1 Cor. iii. 3—5, iv. 6, &c.

According to this *simple* and *consistent* hypothesis, we may date this Epistle still earlier than the second: but about the same year, from the sameness of the doctrinal parts, and of the expressions in both. They all might have been written about A.D. 68 †, three years after the martyrdom of *Peter* and *Paul*, and from *Ephesus*; the two first, to the Mother Church of *Judea*; the last, to the Mother Church of *Achaia*. "And since *Corinth* lay almost opposite to *Ephesus*; and *St. John*, from his former occupation, before he became an Apostle, was accustomed to the sea; it is not improbable that the journey which he proposed to take, ver. 14, was a voyage by sea, from *Ephesus* to *Corinth*," as ingeniously remarked by *Michaelis*, IV. p. 456.

THE APOCALYPSE.

The external, or *historical* evidence in favour of the *authenticity* of this most sublime, most mysterious, and most important chain of *prophetic visions* vouchsafed to the Apostle *John*, has been partly anticipated in the foregoing article of *the two resurrections*; where the doctrine of the *Millennium* was immediately deduced from it by the primitive Fathers, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, and the work itself attributed by them to the Apostle *John*, who was banished to the Isle of *Patmos*, (as he himself relates, Rev. i. 9,) in the most clear and explicit terms.

mon rendering is more grammatical, and consistent with the context, and aggravates the offence.

* *Εκβαλλει εκ της εκκλησιας*, is applicable only to the actual *members* of the Church: not to the *strangers*, *Michaelis*, p. 454.

† *Whiston* and *Lardner* date these Epistles between A.D. 80 and A.D. 90.
Mill about 91 or 92.

To these ancient and powerful testimonies a multitude may be added, both from the eastern and western Church; such as *Papias**, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, A.D. 116, one of *John's* own disciples; *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, one of the seven Churches, A.D. 177, who wrote a commentary thereon; *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, A.D. 181; *Clemens Alexandrinus*, A.D. 194; *Origen*, A.D. 230; *Hippolytus* the martyr, A.D. 210; Bishop of *Ader*, and metropolitan of the *Arabians*, who also wrote a commentary thereon †. All these flourished in the course of 120 years after *John's* death, and were men of the greatest note for learning and information in those times. Soon after *Victorinus Pictaviensis*, A.D. 290, wrote another commentary on it, who lived in the time of *Diocletian*. "This may suffice, surely," says *Sir Isaac Newton*, "to shew how the *Apocalypse* was received and studied in the first ages: and I do not find, indeed, any other book of the NEW TESTAMENT so strongly attested, or commented upon so early as this." *Observations on the Apocalypse*, p. 247.

The mass of positive evidence in its favour is ably collected by *Lardner*, VI. p. 627—637. And the counter-evidence by *Michaelis*, in a long and elaborate article, IV. p. 457—544, the great preponderance of the former evidence is no less striking than the prepossession of *Michaelis*, that could set them on a par, or even give a preference to the latter! But, as we observed before, he was a most unequal critic, and here, as usual, has furnished arguments in abundance to overturn his own "suspicion that it is spurious," p. 487.

From *Michaelis* and *Newton* we may collect a satisfactory account of the causes that naturally contributed to impair the early reputation of this wondrous *Revelation*, which were partly noticed before.

1. "When the *Apocalypse* was first published, the encouragement to study it was strong: 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep the things

* See the character of *Papias* ably vindicated from the misrepresentations of *Eusebius*, by the learned and acute *Henry Taylor*, in his *Thoughts on the Grand Apostacy*, p. 61, 62.

† A statue of *Hippolytus* was discovered at *Rome* in 1551, on which are engraved the titles of his writings, and among them περι του κατα Ιωαννην ευαγγελιου και αποκαλυψεως. "Concerning the Gospel and Revelation according to *John*." This shews his celebrity in Europe. And his authority contributed greatly to the reception of the *Apocalypse*, *Lardner* VI. p. 404; *Michaelis* IV. p. 478.

that are written therein,' Rev. i. 3. 'This animated the *first Christians* to study it so much; but they were soon disheartened and deterred by its insurmountable difficulties and abstruse-nesses." *Newton*, p. 247.

For it is an unquestionable axiom in sacred criticism, that *no historical series of prophecy can be thoroughly understood before its full accomplishment, until it be explained by the event*, which is most strictly true of this.

Thus "they wearied themselves to find the door" to the mystery of the *two wild beasts*, and *image of the beast*, and the *number of the beast*, 666; before the great ecclesiastical *persecuting powers* sprung up in the western and eastern Church, and their genuine offspring, namely, the *Papal*, *Mahometan*, and *Infidel* powers. Nor is the meaning of this mystical number yet ascertained, though the "*Man's name*," *Mahomet*, in Greek, *Μαομετις*, seems to have the fairest claim hitherto, in the amount of its numeral letters, exactly corresponding.

Hence they might, perhaps, have exclaimed with the objectors to the *symbolical* prophecies of *Ezekiel*, so finely applied in these visions:

"Ah LORD, doth he not speak *parables* or *riddles*!" and so, at length, consider it like *Daniel's* "*sealed book*," as not to be realized neither in that nor in any age, but as merely *allegorical*. *Michaelis*, IV. p. 475.

2. The natural and necessary results of its *mysterious nature*, were the mistaken notions that sprung up early in the eastern and western churches respecting the momentous doctrine of the *Millennium*; which began to be corrupted by gross and mischievous interpretations. A *Paradise* of delights, or all manner of sensual enjoyments in eating, drinking, marrying, &c. became the prevailing notion of the *Millenary* state among the *western*, as well as the *Mahometan* heretics. This gave great offence, at a time when the opposite errors of *celibacy* and the mortifying austerities of *monks* and *hermits* began to be fashionable in both Churches. No wonder, then, that the succeeding *monkish* Fathers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, (on whose evidence *Michaelis* chiefly relies,) not only *neglected* the Apocalypse, but began to *decry* both its *authenticity* and *orthodoxy*, as contrary to the purity of the Gospel; and some went so far as to ascribe it even to the heretic *Cerinthus*, the adversary of the Apostle. *Michaelis* IV. p. 469.

3. Another, and more mischievous corruption of its genuine doctrines, were the *revolutionary* notions that began to be entertained of the *Kingdom of the Saints*, as designed “to smite in pieces and destroy” all subsisting governments, like Daniel’s stone, “the image,” or the four great monarchies that preceded it; which were afterwards carried to such an excess (as we have seen in the foregoing article of *the two resurrections*) by the *Anabaptists* of *Munster**. This completed the disgrace of the *Apocalypse*, by the odium which its misinterpretation brought upon the *Reformation*. This odium was artfully fomented by the advocates of the Church of *Rome*, in their controversies with the *reformed*.

To this principally may we attribute the prejudices of *Luther* himself against it, although it so strongly depicted the *abominations* of *popery*, and pointed him out as the *third angel* of the *Reformation*, (see Vol. II. page 526.) It was considered, indeed, by several of the reformers, as supporting not merely *speculative*, but dangerous *practical* errors. “For the expectation of a kingdom in which *pure saints* should rule over the *unregenerate* children of the world, began to excite a spirit of *sedition*, (as it is very easy for the *unruly* members of a *discontented party* to fancy that *they themselves* are the *saints*, and their *opponents* the *unregenerate*;) and for this very reason, the *Augsburg Confession*, (Art. XVII. *De Reditu Christi ad judicium*) condemns the doctrine of the *Millennium* in express terms.” *Michaelis* IV. p. 542.

4. This prejudice was supported by the objections drawn from the peculiar style of the *Apocalypse*. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in A.D. 247, (whom *Michaelis* evidently follows) took a middle course between the opposite opinions, either that the *Apocalypse* was written by *John* the Apostle, or by *Cerintus*; he admitted it to be a *divinely inspired* work, written, perhaps, by some other *John*; but he contended that it could not be the Apostle, from the difference of the style between this and his genuine writings, the *Gospel* and *Epistles*. And his authority had considerable weight with the *Greek Fathers* after him: though *Origen*, his much more learned preceptor, ad-

* In addition to the foregoing references, the curious may see their *doctrines* and *practices* stated by the judicious *Hooker*, *Preface*, p. 47—49, in an excellent abridgment of *Guy de Bres*, contre l’erreur des *Anabaptistes*.

mitted the *authenticity* of the book, notwithstanding his warm opposition to the doctrine of the *Millennium*; which is more than a counter-balance to the opinion of *Dionysius, Michaelis* IV. p. 480—486; especially, if we add “the celebrated names of *Jerom* and *Augustine*,” who received it after more cautious examination, and appealed, in support of its authenticity, to ancient testimonies, p. 493.

This difference of style is reducible to its alleged *solecisms* and *figurative* language, if compared with the *simple* and more classical style of the *Gospel*, which *Dionysius* contended was *perfectly pure* Greek; going too far on the other side, p. 529, 530.

But these alledged *solecisms*, or “*harsh constructions*,” are mere *Hebraisms*, common in the *Alexandrine* Greek, as we have noticed before, p. 31 of this Volume. Thus *απο Ιησου Χριστου, ομαρτυς ο πιστος*, Rev. i. 5, in classical language would be *του μαρτυρος του πιστου*, the latter genitive being in apposition to the former, but the given construction is perfectly grammatical, *ο ων*, being understood before the nominative, “from JESUS CHRIST [who is] *the faithful witness*.” The same construction is found in the *Alexandrine* Sept. *ορασις του ενυπνιου αυτου, ο αρχινοχοος και ο αρχισιτοποιος*. “*The vision of his dream [who was] the chief butler and the chief baker*,” Gen. xl. 5, where the *Vatican* copy alters the nominatives to genitives, according to classical usage, *του αρχινοχοου*, &c. It is also found in the *Gospel*: *υμεις φωνειτε με, ο διδασκαλος, και, ο κυριος*. “Ye call me THE TEACHER, and THE LORD; and ye say rightly, for *I am*,” John xiii. 13, which, in classical Greek, would be, *τον διδασκαλον*, in apposition with *με*, the preceding accusative case; but like the *Alexandrine*, *συ εις*, “*thou art*,” is plainly understood before the nominatives, as remarked in a foregoing note, p. 260 of this Volume.

The *figurative* language of the *Apocalypse* is admirably explained by *Michaelis* himself; and we cannot withhold from the reader the pleasure his remarks must give them, (as they have already given us,) in the words of his excellent translator.

“The language of the *Apocalypse* is both *beautiful* and *sublime*, is *affecting* and *animating*; and this, not only in the original, but in every, even the worst translation of it. Who can read, if he reads *without prejudice*, the following address of JESUS to *John*, sinking to the ground through fear, and not be

affected by the *greatness* of the thoughts and the expressions: ‘*Fear not, I am THE FIRST and THE LAST: I am He that was dead, but now liveth: Behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen, and have the keys of Hades, and of Death;*’ i. 17, 18.

“The Apocalypse has something in it which *enchants* and *insensibly inspires* the reader with the *sublime spirit* of the author. When *future blessedness* is promised (to the righteous), or the *New Jerusalem* described, a man must be devoid of feeling who is not affected: and when the author denounces ‘*judgment to the wicked;*’ and represents ‘*the smoke of their torment ascending up for ever and ever, before the throne of GOD and his Angels;*’ one must be either *prejudiced* before one reads, or one cannot read without *terror*.

“A great part of the imagery is borrowed from the *ancient Prophets*; but the imitation is for the most part *more beautiful* and *more magnificent* than the original, which is particularly true of what is borrowed from *Ezekiel*; and the imagery which is taken from the *Theology of the Rabbins*, acquires in the Apocalypse a *taste* and *eloquence*, of which the Rabbinical writings themselves are wholly destitute.

“*St. John’s Gospel* has likewise its *beauties*; but then they are beauties of a very different kind. For while the author of the Apocalypse hurries us away to *enchanted ground*, and resembles a *torrent* which carries every thing before it, *St. John the Apostle* is *plainness* and *gentleness*, and is like a *clear rivulet* which flows without rapidity and violence.—Is it possible, therefore, that *St. John the Apostle*, and the author of the Apocalypse, called *St. John the Divine*, were one and the same person?” p. 533, 534.

Yes, we will reply to this most unequal and provoking critic, whom we must praise and censure in the same breath. Yes, the very difference he stumbles at is the surest proof of the *identity* of both.

“*John the Apostle*” wrote in his proper character, and in his own language; “*John the Divine*,” in the language of *inspiration*, “as *THE SPIRIT* gave him *utterance*.” Of course, they differ as much as “the language of *the Gods and Men*” in *Homer*. And they *ought* to differ, that the learned might not idly mistake the Apocalypse for a *human* composition, the Apostle being only the vehicle of the divine *Afflatus*, like the *Prophet of old*,

“ Who saw the vision of THE ALMIGHTY,
*Entranced, but having his (mental) eyes * open.*”

And like his “ most noble compeer †,” so highly favoured with “ abundance of *visions and revelations* of THE LORD,” who was rapt into *Paradise*, and even into the *third Heaven*, (whether in the *body*, or out of the body, he knew not, GOD only knew,) and heard *unutterable expressions*, which it was not allowed for man to speak.”

Still we are highly indebted to *Michaelis* for that *candour* and *fairness of mind*, that did not withhold the curious and valuable counter-evidence which his copious stores of *general learning* supplied; though we cannot but regret, for *his own sake*, that he did not sufficiently avail himself of that information he has so liberally supplied to others. He had, indeed, more *learning* than *judgment*, and too great a deference to *authorities* of inferior weight.

We shall conclude this article with the valuable testimony of the ancient and learned historian, *Sulpitius Severus*, A.D. 401.

“ During the reign of *Domitian*, [about A.D. 95.] *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, was banished to the Isle of *Patmos*, where, after *hidden mysteries* had been revealed to him, he wrote and published his book of the *sacred Apocalypse*, which is *foolishly* or *wickedly* rejected by many.” See *Lardner*, v. p. 164.

From the foregoing *critical* investigation, we may collect the most probable

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF PAUL'S EPISTLES.

	A D.
<i>Galatians</i>	50
I. <i>Thessalonians</i>	51
II. <i>Thessalonians</i>	52
<i>Titus</i>	52
I. <i>Corinthians</i>	57
II. <i>Corinthians</i>	58

* So much the rather, THOU CELESTIAL LIGHT,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate : there, plant *eyes*, all mists from thence
 Purge and disperse; that I may *see*, and *tell*
 Of things *invisible to mortal sight* !—Milton.

† *Par nobile fratrum*, the two most highly illuminated *mortals* that ever appeared on earth, were *John* and *Paul*.

	A. D.
I. <i>Timothy</i>	58
<i>Romans</i>	58
<i>Ephesians</i>	62
<i>Colossians</i>	64
<i>Philemon</i>	64
<i>Philippians</i>	64
<i>Hebrews</i>	64
II. <i>Timothy</i>	65

CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

<i>James</i>	61
<i>Jude</i>	62
I. & II. <i>Peter</i>	65
I. II. & III. <i>John</i>	68
<i>Apocalypse</i>	95

The *credibility* of the *Acts* and *Epistles* may partly be collected from the foregoing enquiry into their *authenticity*; evincing a remarkable *harmony* and *consistency* between them, in a great variety of minute and incidental circumstances scattered throughout, so rarely to be found in *miscellaneous* historical documents. It will further appear, from the concurring information they afford, collectively, of *the history of this period*; to which we now proceed, after these *preliminary* observations.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH.

After OUR LORD'S *ascension*, (the particulars of which are recorded, as we have seen in the first chapter of the *Acts*, 1—11,) the infant community of our Lord's disciples, consisting of the "*eleven Apostles*," and the *seventy* disciples, (we may presume,) our Lord's mother, "*Mary*," and the rest of the pious "*women*," and the brethren, to the amount of 120 persons, (like the *grain of mustard seed*,) all persevered, with one consent in *prayer* and *supplication*, ver. 12—15.

MATTHIAS ELECTED APOSTLE.

To supply the vacancy in "the glorious company of the *Apostles*," occasioned by the defection and death of *Judas*; "*in those days*," and probably on the ensuing *Lord's day*, when they were assembled together for *public worship*, and might expect the presence of CHRIST, virtually at least, if not visibly, according to his gracious promise, Matt. xxviii. 20, *Peter* stood

up, and took the lead, as president, and being now “*converted himself, confirmed his brethren,*” Luke xxii. 32, and proposed this measure. In his speech, after reciting the dreadful catastrophe of *Judas*, who was “*guide to them that apprehended JESUS,*” he applied two remarkable *prophecies* to both. “*Let their abode * be desolate, and let no one dwell therein,*” (Psalm lxxix. 25,) so exactly fulfilled in the ensuing desolation of *Jerusalem*; and, “*Let another take his episcopal office,*” (Psalm cix. 8,) now to be fulfilled in the appointment of a successor to the transgressor *Judas* †.

* Instead of the received reading of the former citation, *επαυλις αυτου*, we have been induced to substitute *επαυλις αυτων*, for the following reasons.

1. This is the rendering of the *Septuagint* version, following the *Hebrew*, and describing the woes destined to be inflicted upon the *Jews*, for rejecting and persecuting *CHRIST*; which is the drift of the former Psalm; and the various reading, *αυτων*, is also supported by the *Vulgate*, *Ethiopic*, and *Armenian* versions of the New Testament, *edit. Cant.* and five MSS. including the *Lincoln*, (33,) and the *Vienna*, (43.) See *Griesbach*, *edit. secund.*

2. The prophecy, as applied to *Judas*, seems rather irrelevant, for though he was certainly included among our Lord’s persecutors in general, yet his case being particularly described in the latter Psalm, and the latter prophecy brought from thence, to warrant the choice of a successor in his apostolical office; the former prophecy, if applied to him, seems to be rather superfluous; whereas it is peculiarly applicable “to them that apprehended *JESUS*;” and whose midnight treachery, likewise, deserved to be also censured by the Apostle, as it was by OUR LORD, Matt. xxvi. 55. Another Psalm has combined both.

“Many are the afflictions of the JUST ONE, (CHRIST,)
But THE LORD delivereth him out of them all.
He preserveth all his bones,
Not one of them is broken.
Evil shall slay the wicked one, (*Judas*,)
And the haters of the JUST ONE (the *Jews*,)
Shall be desolate.” Psalm xxxiv. 19—21.

3. The learned Dr. Owen, in his vindication of the modes of quotation adopted by the evangelical writers, though he retains the received reading, *αυτου*, yet, rather inconsistently, is forced to explain it in the same sense of *αυτων*.—“There is in this quotation, it must be acknowledged, some difficulty. And this difficulty, I know not how otherwise to solve, than by observing, that *Judas* is not here specified as the *only* traitor, though the *chief* and most *infamous*; but as “the *guide* of them that took *JESUS*,” ver. 16. They therefore, plurally, were all concerned and involved in the prophecy. And as the prophecy was now singularly fulfilled in *Judas*, the *head*: so with reference to its plural construction, it was a plain presage, that the *rest*, the *body* of the *Jews*, would surely meet with the like fate; which they woefully experienced not long after, p. 68.

This reluctant witness against the received reading, strengthens the foregoing argument.

† Commentators have been greatly divided about the meaning of that expression concerning *Judas*, *πορευθηναι εις τον τοπον τον ιδιον*, “to go to his own place,” Acts i. 25.

From this case we learn the qualification of a candidate for the *Apostleship*, and the mode of election. 1. He was required to be an *eye-witness* of the *resurrection* of the LORD JESUS, chosen out of the attendants on him during his ministry, from his *baptism* till his *ascension*. 2. Two candidates were selected by the Apostles, (probably out of the seventy disciples.) 3. They were recommended by prayer to THE LORD*, as the

1. The generality understand thereby that region of *Hades* allotted to the souls of bad men; as in the parable of *Lazarus* and the *rich man*, in which the latter "lift up his eyes in *Hades*, being in torments," &c. Luke xvi. 23; and they ground this on our Lord's declaration, "*Woe unto that man by whom THE SON OF MAN is delivered up; it had been good for that man if he had never been born!*" Matt. xxvi. 24. This seems to have been also the decided opinion of the primitive Fathers. *Polycarp* thus speaks of the *Apostles* and *Martyrs*, *ὅτι εἰς τον οφειλομενον αυτοις τοπον εἰσι παρα τῷ κυριῷ.* "That they are in the place due to them, with THE LORD."

Clemens Romanus thus speaks of *Peter* himself, *οὕτω μαρτυρησας ἐπορευθη εἰς τον οφειλομενον τοπον της δοξης.* "Having thus testified, he went to the due place of glory." And *Ignatius* notices both, *ἐπικεῖται τα δυο ὁμοι, ὁ τε θανατος και ἡ ζωη και ἕκαστος εἰς τον ἰδιον τοπον μελλει χωρῆν.* "Death and life are both impending: and every one is destined to go to his own place."

2. The harshness, however, of *Peter's* thus passing judgment on an offending brother, who had been himself guilty, and had been recently forgiven, has induced some to look for a different interpretation. And *Gilpin*, with others, applies the expression to *Matthias*, who was appointed "to receive the lot of this ministry and apostleship, (from which *Judas* transgressed,) in order to go into his own place," or to take the station assigned to him. It may, however, be questioned, whether *τοπος*, here, can be properly taken in the figurative sense of *station*, combined with the transitive verb *πορευθῆναι*, to go, or travel.

3. Another interpretation may be offered, which is not liable to that objection, and seems to correspond also with the context. *Peter* had declared before, that "*Judas* purchased a place with the wages of iniquity," (*χωριον*,) ver. 18, or "the potter's field, to bury strangers in;" the purchase being attributed to him, since made with his money. Might it not then be said, with propriety, that when *Judas* transgressed, and became guilty of *suicide*, "he went to his own place," the potter's field, to be buried there as a "stranger," alien, or outcast from the congregation of *Israel*? The words *χωριον* and *τοπος*, are used indiscriminately. We propose this, however, with diffidence; for after all, the first interpretation is best supported by ancient authorities.

* *Σὺ κυριε, καρδιογνωστα παντων.* It is a matter of high importance to the cause of VITAL CHRISTIANITY, to know who is "THE LORD," here addressed as "SEARCHER OF ALL HEARTS." That this title belongs to THE FATHER, is unquestionable; and it is expressly attributed to Him, Psalm vii. 9, xxvi. 2, 1 Sam. xvi. 7, Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, xx. 12, &c.

It is also applied to THE SON, John i. 48—50, ii. 24, 25, vi. 64, xvi. 30, xix. 35, xxi. 17.

And that on this occasion it was immediately addressed to "THE LORD JESUS," we may humbly collect from the following reasons.

1. Because He was "THE LORD" specified immediately before this invocation, in *Peter's* discourse, ver. 21.

SEARCHER OF HEARTS, to chuse the fittest, by directing the lots; 4. when the lot fell upon *Matthias*, he was *voted* by the *whole community*, an *associate* with the *eleven Apostles*, (*συγκατα-εψηφισθη*), Acts i. 15—26.

THE DAY OF PENTECOST, OR WHITSUNDAY.

This auspicious day was memorable for the *first fruits of the Church*, in the conversion of *three thousand* prejudiced *Jews*, to the faith of a crucified Saviour, only *fifty-two* days after his passion, and at *Jerusalem* itself, the scene of it!

The following is the short and simple account of the wondrous transaction which led to this conversion.

“ And when the day of *Pentecost* was *fully come*, [or about *sun rise*,] they were all assembled, with one accord, at the same place, [probably the *cœnaculum*.] And suddenly there was a *sound* from the heaven, as of a *blast of wind*, rushing violently, and it filled *all the house* where they were sitting. And there appeared to them, as it were, *tongues on fire*, [or *tongue-like flames*,] distributed* among them; and there *sate* one upon *each of them*. And they were *all* filled with THE HOLY SPIRIT, and began to speak in *other tongues*, according as THE SPIRIT gave them utterance.

“ And there were *Jews* sojourning at *Jerusalem*, devout persons, from every nation under the heaven, [who came to attend

2. In the election of *Presbyters* afterwards, in the several Churches, “ after *prayer* and *fasting*, the Apostles *commended them* unto THE LORD, on whom they had believed,” Acts xiv. 23. But that LORD was unquestionably CHRIST. This case, precisely in point, determines the question.

3. OUR LORD himself expressly and formally assumed the title, “ And *all the Churches* shall know that I AM THE SEARCHER OF REINS AND HEARTS, and *I will give to each of you according to your works*,” Rev. ii. 23. Compare Heb. iv. 12.

This decides the important question at issue hitherto, between *Trinitarians* and *Unitarians*, in favour of *prayer* immediately offered to CHRIST, as foretold Psalm lxxii. 15, and practised on the foregoing occasions; and by *Paul* also, when “ he besought THE LORD thrice, that he might be relieved from some *thorn in the flesh*,” who refused him, that “ THE POWER OF CHRIST might be *perfected in the infirmity of his Apostle*,” 2 Cor. xii. 8—10.

The evangelical *Liturgy of the Church of England*, therefore, is fully warranted in offering prayer and supplication to CHRIST, jointly with THE FATHER, in the *Litany*, prayer of *Chrysostom*, *Collect for the first Sunday in Lent*, &c.

* The original, *διαμεριζομεναι*, incorrectly rendered “ *cloven*,” in the English Bible, *Gilpin* ingeniously conjectures, gave the idea to the form of the ancient episcopal *mitres*. The *sitting* or resting of these *lambent flames* upon the head of each, signified the *permanence* of the *spiritual gift*, now *shed forth* on the Apostles’ company.

the feast of *Pentecost* ;] and when this report was spread, the multitude assembled, [at the *temple* probably, with the disciples, on this most *holy day*,] and they were *confounded*, because *every one* of them heard the disciples speaking in their *own dialect*. And *all* were *astonished*, and *wondered*, saying to each other, *Lo, are not all these that speak, Galileans ?* [who were *vulgar* and *illiterate*, even to a proverb ;] and how hear we them speaking, to each of us, in our *own dialect*, in which we were born ? *Parthians*, and *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, *Judea*, [*Lydia*,] and *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Proconsular Asia*, *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia* ; *Egypt*, and the regions of *Libya*, and about *Cyrene* ; and *Roman* sojourners, native *Jews*, and *Gentile proselytes* ; *Cretes* and *Arabians* ; we do hear them *speaking in our own tongues, the grand dispensations of GOD !* And *all* were *astonished* and *perplexed*, saying to each other, *What portendeth this ?*"

" But others, [inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, probably, who understood not these various languages and dialects,] *mocking*, said, *These men are full of strong wine,*" or are drunken.

To repel the foul calumny of the latter hearers, and to solve the wonder and astonishment of the former, *Peter*, who continued to take the lead, addressed the multitude in a masterly discourse, "*lifting up his voice,*" with great readiness and boldness, in " the words of *truth* and *soberness.*"

1. He exposed the *absurdity* and *malignity* of the charge of *drunkenness* at that early hour, " the *third* of the day," or nine in the morning, and especially the very hour of the *temple* service, which the pious and devout attended *fasting* : as was *Peter's* own practice in his private devotions, Acts x. 9, 10.

2. He represented this stupendous *gift of tongues*, and of *spiritual illumination*, as the fulfilment of that *copious effusion* of THE SPIRIT OF GOD, upon all ranks and descriptions of the *Jews*, in the *last days* of the *Mosaical* dispensation, foretold by the Prophet *Joel*, (ii. 28, 29,) ver. 16—18.

3. He next reminded them of the dreadful *signs* and *portents*, foretold by the same prophet, (*Joel* ii. 30—32,) to precede the destruction of the impenitent and unbelieving part of the nation, in the *great and terrible day* of Divine vengeance. For their consolation, however, these denunciations were tempered with mercy, in the gracious promise of *salvation*, or deliverance, to

whosoever should call upon the name of THE LORD, with hearty repentance and true faith, ver. 19—21.

4. He then proceeds to unfold who that LORD and SAVIOUR was, that was meant in the prophecy; and this was no other than "JESUS OF NAZARETH,"—a person pointed out to them from GOD, by the *miracles*, and *wonders*, and *signs*, which GOD wrought by him in the midst of them, as they themselves knew; whom, notwithstanding, they, with *wicked hands*, had *crucified* and *slain*; unwittingly fulfilling the *predetermined* counsel and decree of GOD, ver. 22, 23.

5. But that GOD raised him again to life, fulfilling prophecy also, in the *Psalms*, "having loosed the toils* of death," (Psalm xviii. 5, cxvi. 3,) because he could not possibly be holden thereby, on account of his firm trust and confidence in GOD, his protector, that "HE would not leave his soul in Hades, nor suffer his HOLY ONE to see [*fleshly*] corruption; but would shew him the paths of life, and fill him with the delight of his countenance," (Psalm xvi. 8—11,) ver. 24—28.

6. He then finely explains to them the true drift of this prophecy, as relating to CHRIST'S resurrection, not to David, the Patriarch, who died, and was buried, and saw corruption, (Acts xiii. 36,) and his sepulchre was still subsisting among them; therefore he could not himself possibly be the subject of that prophecy, which he delivered by inspiration, ver. 29—31.

7. He next states the evidences of CHRIST'S resurrection, and also of his ascension, as inseparably linked and connected together, the former, as proved by the unanimous witness of the spectators, the Apostles and their company; the latter by the copious effusion of spiritual gifts and illuminations, fulfilling CHRIST'S promises, which they now actually beheld and heard, in the diversity of tongues in which they were addressed, and the grand dispensations of GOD, now unfolded to them, which he represented as an infallible proof of CHRIST'S exaltation, foretold also in the Psalms, "THE LORD said unto MY LORD, sit thou at my right hand," &c. (Psalm cx. 1,) which was not

* The Hebrew term הַבֵּלִי, (*Hhebeli*,) used in both these Psalms, literally signifies "toils," "snares," or "cords," as "holden in toils of affliction," Job xxxvi. 8, where the Septuagint renders ἐν σχοινοῖς πενίας, "in cords of penury." Hence it was used figuratively, to denote "pains" or "pangs," and rendered ὠδίνες by the Septuagint, in these passages. But the literal signification is more suited to the verb "loosed."

applicable to *David*; and he concludes with the most positive assertion of both these facts.

“Let then *all the house of Israel* know assuredly, that GOD hath made both LORD and CHRIST, [at his *resurrection and ascension,*] this same JESUS whom *ye crucified,*” ver. 32—36.

Such a discourse, exhibiting the most profound and intimate knowledge of *prophecy*, and supported by such *credentials*, produced an instantaneous conversion of a considerable part of the audience. “They were filled with *compunction and remorse*, and enquired of *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, *What shall we do to be saved!* And they readily and gladly accepted the proffered conditions of *repentance and baptism*, and as an assurance of their acceptance, they also received the promised *gift of THE HOLY SPIRIT*, proved most unequivocally by its *regenerating effects*; for after their admission into the Church, they persevered in *the Apostles’ doctrine*, in the *participation of the Lord’s Supper*, and in the *public prayers*; and what was still more extraordinary, and the surest proof of their disinterestedness and gratitude to GOD, “all the believers were *united together, and held all things common,*” fulfilling our LORD’S precept, “*freely ye have received, freely give,*” (Matt. x. 8,) ver. 37—46.

This *voluntary* resignation of private property to the public stock, was probably necessary, at that early time, when all *charity* ceased toward *Christians*, but among themselves; and when they scrupled to partake of the *temple sacrifices*, which were a great relief to the poor. It certainly was not meant to be *permanent*, because, throughout the NEW TESTAMENT, as well as the OLD, there is always a distinction supposed to subsist betwixt *rich and poor*; nor indeed could the affairs of the world possibly be carried on without such inequality of ranks and stations.

The great signs and wonders wrought by the Apostles, impressed *fear* on every soul, while the uncommon *harmony and concord* that reigned in the *Christian* community, their fervent *piety* in the public duties of religion, gained them favour with the people. “And THE LORD added to the Church *such as were saved**, (*σωζομενους*), from that *untoward generation,*” (ver. 40,) by embracing Christianity, (ver. 21.)

* This is improperly rendered in a *Calvinistic* sense by our translators, “*such as should be saved,*”——they misunderstood, “*by the determined will and foreknowledge of God,*”

THE CRIPPLE CURED.

The stupendous miracle, not long after, of healing a cripple from *his birth*, of more than *forty* years old, instantaneously, in the name of JESUS OF NAZARETH, and at the public station of the *beautiful gate* of the temple, at the hour of *morning prayer*, by *Peter*, made a prodigious impression upon the assembled multitude; for the man was *well known*, as an object of charity, Acts iii. 1—10.

Peter, therefore, availed himself of this favourable opportunity to address the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who all flocked to *Solomon's porch*, to see them and the person cured, in a second discourse, similar to the former, and if possible, more excellent and appropriate.

1. He disclaimed any merit to himself or his companion *John*, in working this consummate miracle by their own power or piety; for that it was effected on their part, "through the name," and on the cripple's part, "through faith in the name of JESUS," THE SON of the GOD of *their fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, THE HOLY ONE and THE JUST, and THE PRINCE OF LIFE, whom they denied before *Pilate*, and slew, preferring a murderer to be released unto them. But that GOD raised him from the dead, whereof they, (*the Apostles,*) were witnesses, ver. 12—16.

2. He apologized for their crime, by their *ignorance* of the real character of CHRIST, both theirs and their rulers: unwittingly fulfilling the prophecies of CHRIST'S sufferings, which GOD foretold by the mouth of *all his Prophets*, ver. 17, 18.

3. He admonished them to *repent* and be *converted*; and to wait for the promises of GOD made by all his holy Prophets, which should be fulfilled in *the seasons of refreshment*, and *times of restitution of all things*, at CHRIST'S second coming in *glory*, to *restore* again the kingdom to *Israel*, and establish the kingdom of the *saints* upon earth; until which *times* and *seasons*, CHRIST was to remain in *Heaven*, ver. 19—21. Compare Acts i. 6, 7.

4. He impressed on them the necessity of immediate *repent-*

whereas that relates to CHRIST'S atonement, ver. 23, as *Gilpin* has judiciously remarked, σωζομενοι, "the reformed," are contrasted with απολλυμενοι, "the abandoned," 1 Cor. i. 18, 2 Cor. ii. 15.

ance and reformation, for that CHRIST was the *Prophet like Moses*, to whom they were bound to *hearken* in all things that he should speak unto them, under the penalty of excision from his people, ver. 22—24.

5. He reminded them of their high privileges as *sons of the Prophets*, and *heirs of the covenant* made with the Patriarchs, *Abraham*, &c. their ancestors; and that GOD raised up a SAVIOUR to them, in the *first* instance, his Son JESUS, and sent him to *bless* them that believed in him, by turning away every one from his iniquities, ver. 25, 26.

This most impressive and conciliatory discourse, increased the Church to *five thousand* souls, by the additional converts it made*, Acts iv. 4.

TRIAL BEFORE THE SANHEDRIM.

For this they were seized and imprisoned by the *Priests* and *captain* of the temple, and the party of the *Sadducees*, and brought next day before the *Sanhedrim*, to account by what *power*, or by what *name* they had acted.

Then *Peter*, filled with the *Holy Spirit*, boldly said unto them, “Ye rulers of the people, and elders of *Israel*, if we are questioned this day respecting the relief of the impotent man, by what means he hath been healed, be it known unto *you all*, and to all the people of *Israel*, that by the *name* of JESUS OF NAZARETH, whom *ye* crucified, but whom GOD raised from the dead, even by Him doth this man stand here before you sound, Acts iv. 7—10.

“This is THE STONE that was despised by *you builders*, which is become *the head of the corner*,” (fulfilling prophecy, Psalm cxviii. 22, Isai. xxviii. 16, applied by CHRIST formerly to Himself and to you, Matt. xxi. 42, Rom. ix. 33, 1 Pet. ii. 4—7,) ver. 11.

“Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is *no other name under the heaven* given among men, whereby *we must needs be saved*,” ver. 12.

The *frankness* of this speech astonished the council, especially when they understood that they were *unlettered* and *private* persons, and were informed that they had been with JESUS, and after consulting in private, and admitting that such a *notable*

* Jam enim numerus credentium accreverat usque ad quinque virorum millia.—*Erasmus*.

miracle could not be denied, they ordered the Apostles not to utter a word, nor teach in the name of JESUS. But Peter and John answered, and said unto them, "Whether it is right in the sight of GOD to hearken unto you, rather than unto GOD *, judge ye, for we cannot but speak what we saw and heard," ver. 13—20.

SECOND EFFUSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

After the Apostles were dismissed, with only further threats, the council, being deterred from proceeding to severities by their popularity, they returned to their own company, and related what had passed. Who all, with one consent, burst forth into an expression of praise and thanksgiving to GOD, for fulfilling his prophecy, by the inspired David, in the second Psalm †, respecting the unavailing persecutions of CHRIST, by Herod, Pontius Pilate, and the Romans and Jews; and praying for further *spiritual aid* themselves, to encounter persecution likewise, and speak GOD'S word with all frankness, and to strengthen them with further *miraculous powers*. Much availed the energetic supplication of this pious company: the room was shaken, as before, on the day of Pentecost, and the effects of the Divine grace immediately appeared: 1. They were all filled with the HOLY SPIRIT, and spake the word of GOD with frankness; 2. They were possessed with the spirit of unanimity and disinterestedness; 3. With great power of miracles, they witnessed the resurrection and ascension of CHRIST, and 4. They continued to gain great favour with all the people, (ii. 47,) ver. 32, 33.

CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHURCH.

These were continued with greater spirit than before. For "as many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the prices of the things sold, and laid them at the Apostles' feet: and distribution was made to every one, according as he had need," ver. 34, 35. This sale of the lands and houses is a remarkable circumstance: it was probably dictated by "THE SPIRIT, shewing them things to come," the future state of that country, that there was no permanent settlement of

* Socrates, on his trial, told his judges, *πεισομαι τω Θεω, μαλλον η υμιν*, "I will obey GOD rather than you," according to Plato's account.

† See the foregoing explanation of the second Psalm, by means of the Apostle's commentary thereon, Vol. II. p. 337.

the Church to be expected there, on account of the impending wars and desolations of *Judea*. The *money* was fitter for *present* subsistence. This was the ingenious remark of *Melchiades*. See *Hooker*, p. 377.

Among the pious contributors to the maintenance of the infant Church at this time, during the years A.D. 32 and 33, honourable mention is made of a *Levite* of *Cyprus*, who was surnamed *Barnabas*, ("son of exhortation*,") ver. 36, 37, and afterward chosen, (for his *zeal* and his *learning*, we may presume,) by the HOLY SPIRIT, as a supernumerary Apostle to the *Gentiles*, along with *Saul*, Acts xiii. 2. He was probably, therefore, one of the *seventy* disciples, or he must have seen CHRIST after his resurrection, in order to be qualified to act as an *Apostle*, (1 Cor. ix. 1.) Lord *Barrington* suspects that he was *Barsabas*, who had been rejected for *Matthias*, as an Apostle, in the room of *Judas*, Acts i. 23, but, perhaps, without sufficient foundation.

Thus, even in the *infant Church*, before its full growth and establishment in the *Roman* empire, by *Constantine* the Great, was OUR LORD'S prophecy partly realized in answer to *Peter's* enquiry, "*Lo, we have left all, and followed thee, what shall we have therefore?*"——"*Verily I say unto you, There is none who hath left house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for MY SAKE and the GOSPEL'S, but shall receive a hundred fold now, at this season, houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, with persecutions; and in the world to come, eternal life,*" Matt. xix. 27, Mark x. 28—30. Thus beautifully prefiguring the enlargement of their *family* connexions, as members of the *Christian* Church, and the charitable *contributions* to its support, even in its *militant* state of *persecution*, by "*the free-will offerings of his people, in the day of his power,*" as foretold, Psalm cx. 3.

ANANIAS AND SAPPHIRA.

This man and his wife had dedicated their property to the Church, and sold it accordingly, but he purloined part of the price, and gave in the remainder to the Apostles, as if it were the whole. He was guilty, therefore, of a double crime; 1. breach

* Παρακλησις, "*exhortation*," Rom. xii. 8, is distinguished from παραμυθια, "*consolation*," 1 Cor. xiv. 3. *Barnabas* was called "*son of exhortation*," as "*a Prophet*," or inspired preacher of the Church of *Antioch*, Acts xiii. 1.

of his *vow*; and 2. a deliberate *lie*, in asserting that he had paid all. To deter *hypocrites* and *liars*, therefore, from joining the infant Church from *mercenary* motives, in order to be maintained out of the common stock, THE HOLY SPIRIT, as the protector of the Church, took cognizance of this complicated crime, by means of that faculty of *discerning spirits**, with which he endued *Peter*, and punished himself, both the offenders with death, on the spot. *And great fear*, as was natural, *came upon all the Church*, and *upon as many*, out of the Church, *as heard this*. *And of the rest, durst no one join himself to them fraudulently*. But the people magnified them; and the stupendous miracles of healing the sick and the possessed, even *by the shadow of Peter passing over them in the streets*, contributed greatly to multiply the Church, Acts v. 1—16.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SANHEDRIM.

Provoked at the rapid progress of the Apostles, the *high priest*, and all his party of the sect of the *Sadducees*, laid hands upon them, and put them into the public prison. But the Apostles were miraculously liberated, during the night, by an *angel of THE LORD*, who brought them forth and said, *Go ye, stand, and speak in the temple all the words of this life*, or doctrines of the Gospel. Accordingly they went into the temple about day break, and taught the people, ver. 17—21.

The whole council having assembled to try them in the morning, were astonished to hear, first, that they had some how been liberated from prison; and next, that they were teaching in the temple. They sent, therefore, to bring them before the council, but without violence, for fear of being stoned by the people. When they came, the high priest, reprimanded them for *teaching in this name*, after they had been prohibited; and for bringing public odium upon the council, *for this man's blood*. But *Peter*, in the name of the Apostles, vindicated their conduct in his third speech, still more animated than the preceding, ver. 21—28, “We must needs *obey the authority of GOD*, rather than of *men*. THE GOD OF OUR FATHERS raised up JESUS, whom ye *hanged upon a cross*, and *slew*. But GOD exalted

* This faculty of *discerning spirits*, was sometimes granted to the *Prophets* in the OLD TESTAMENT: as to *Elisha*, in the case of *Gehazi*, 2 Kings v. 25—27; to *Ahijah*, in the case of *Jeroboam's wife*, 1 Kings xiv. 5, 6.

him at his right hand, as a PRIME LEADER and SAVIOUR, to give *repentance* and *remission of sins* to the Israel [of GOD.]

“And *we* are his [chosen] *witnesses* of these things; and so is the HOLY SPIRIT also, whom GOD gave [us] who *obey his authority*,” (πειθαρχουσι αυτω,) ver. 29—32.

This intrepid answer, stating their credentials most concisely and comprehensively, vouching CHRIST’S *ascension* by their *own witness*, and the infallible witness of the HOLY SPIRIT, with which they were endued; and his *prophetic* functions, as PRIME LEADER, Micah v. 2, (explained by the former *Jewish* council, Matt. ii. 6,) and SAVIOUR, Isa. vii. 14, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1, (explained Matt. i. 21,) *cut to the heart as with a saw*, (διεπριοντο) the council, and they consulted to slay them: but they were dissuaded by the sage advice of *Gamaliel**, president of the council, and a *Pharisee*, highly esteemed by all the people, who recommended to do nothing rashly respecting them.

“And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone, lest haply ye be found to *fight against GOD*; for *if this council, or this work, be* (εαν η) *of men, it will come to nought*, like the foregoing factions of *Theudas* and *Judas of Galilee*, whose heads were slain, and their adherents dispersed; but *if it is* (ει εστιν) *of GOD, ye cannot overthrow it.*”

To him they agreed. So they only *scourged* the Apostles for disobeying their orders, and dismissed them, with fresh injunctions *not to speak in the name of Jesus*. But they departed from the presence of the council, *rejoicing* that they were accounted worthy to be *disgraced* for his name. And they ceased not, every day, in *the temple*, and *at home*, (Acts ii. 40,) *teaching* and *preaching* JESUS as THE CHRIST, ver. 38—42.

This decided countenance given by the respectable and dignified *Gamaliel* to the rising sect of *Christians*, partly we may suppose from *conviction*, if (according to *Prideaux*) he was the son of the pious old *Simeon*, who took CHRIST in his arms, when an infant, and hailed him, by inspiration, as the promised SAVIOUR, Luke ii. 25—32, and partly from *opposition* to the ruling sect of the *Sadducees*, produced a considerable revolution in the minds of the upper ranks. And to this we may, in

* *Gamaliel* was held in such high estimation, that at his funeral, *Onkelos*, the author of the *Targum*, is said to have burned seventy pounds weight of perfumes. And the Jews have a saying, that from the time *Rabban Gamaliel* the old died, the honour of the law, and the purity of *Pharisaism* failed. See his pedigree, Vol. II. p. 593.

good measure, ascribe the great progress the new religion made among the *priests*, of whom a great *crowd submitted* to THE FAITH, (οχλος—ὄηκουον,) soon after, Acts vi. 7, and among the *Pharisees* likewise, whom we find, A.D. 48, among the *Judaizing* teachers of the Church, Acts xv. 5; and they further supported *Paul*, (the pupil of *Gamaliel*), against the *Sadducees* in council, A.D. 59, and upon the very plea urged by *Gamaliel* on this occasion. “If a *spirit*, or *angel*, spake to him, *let us not fight against GOD*,” Acts xxii. 3, xxiii. 2.

THE ELECTION OF DEACONS.

The Apostles, to be relieved from the drudgery of *servng at tables*, or superintending the daily distributions of the charitable fund, recommended to the Church the appointment of *Deacons*, to assist them as *almoners*. And accordingly, seven persons, of *approved* character, and *full of the HOLY SPIRIT*, (which was necessary to enable them to distinguish true from false objects of the public charity,) were proposed by the *brethren*, and after *prayer* and *imposition of hands*, appointed* by the *Apostles*, Acts vi. 1—6, about A.D. 35.

These *Deacons* acted also as *Evangelists*, and assisted the *Apostles* in preaching the Gospel. *Stephen*, the first of them, *full of faith* and *power*, did great signs and wonders among the people, ver. 8. *Philip* preached the Gospel in *Samaria*, &c. soon after, Acts viii. 5, xxi. 8. And the last, *Nicolas*, a proselyte of *Antioch*, is said to have founded the heresy of the *Nicolaitans*, censured in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. ii. 6—15. The HOLY SPIRIT sometimes admitting a *false Deacon* into the Church, as CHRIST himself a *false Apostle* among the twelve; that “the *approved* might be manifested,” by resisting the *heresies* and *schisms* of such, 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. Need we then wonder, or complain, that such subsist at the present day in THE CHURCH?

STEPHEN’S TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM.

There was then in *Jerusalem* a body of *African* and *Asiatic* Jews, who had a synagogue called “*the Libertines*,” most pro-

* It is remarked by *Gilpin*, that, whether by accident or design, in eight or nine editions of the English Bible, between A.D. 1650, and A.D. 1680, the word καταστησομεν, “*we appoint*,” is mistranslated “*ye appoint*,” transferring the appointment from the *Apostles* to the *brethren*.

bably from *Libertina*, a city of *Africa*. These zealots for the *Mosaical law*, disputed with *Stephen*; and “not being able to resist the *wisdom* and *spirit* with which he spake,” when foiled in argument, as was natural*, they formally *prosecuted* him before the *Sanhedrim*, having formed a party of the people against him, and suborned false witnesses to charge him with blasphemy against the *Holy place*, or temple, and against the *law of Moses* and of *GOD*; for that “they had heard him say, that this *JESUS OF NAZARETH*, whom he preached, should *destroy the temple*, and *change the law*,” Acts vi. 9—14.

When *Stephen* was brought before the council, to answer these charges, *GOD* himself was pleased to witness their vanity or falsehood, by shewing the same singular and uncommon sign of his approbation of *Stephen*, as formerly of *Moses*, after his second conference with *God* on *Sinai*, whose *face* then *shone* with great brightness, Numb. xxxiv. 29—35. For all the council, looking stedfastly upon *Stephen*, saw his face resembling the *face of an angel*, ver. 8—15. This was a *glory* which none of the *Apostles* ever received.

On this occasion, *Stephen* received also a double portion of the Divine *wisdom* and *spirit*; for he most undauntedly *retorted* their own charges upon the accusers themselves; convicting them of *fighting against GOD*; and by *murdering HIS SON*, and *breaking HIS LAW*, contributing themselves to *destroy their temple*, and *change their law*. This he proved, by entering into a copious detail of their *rebellions*, from the first origin of their race, in a most masterly *historical* speech, which is a perfect commentary on our Lord’s last speech in the temple, Matt. xxiii.

1. He celebrated the *piety* and *faith* of *Abraham*, their illustrious ancestor, when the *GOD OF GLORY* was pleased to call him from the idolatry of his fathers, at first from *Ur* of the *Chaldees* to *Charran* †, and again, from thence to *Canaan*; and to establish with him and his chosen seed, the covenant of *circumcision*, and the promise of the future inheritance of the land of *Canaan*, Acts vii. 1—8.

2. The *evil spirit* of their *ancestors* first broke out in the

* *Solinus*, in his *Natural History* of the *bear*, observes, *Ursis caput debile est, vis maxima in lumbis*. An apt description of *disputants*, “weak in *head*, but strong in *arms*,” to *stone* those whom they cannot *confute*.

† See those *two calls* explained before Vol. I. p. 108, 109.

case of the renowned patriarch *Joseph*, whom the *envy* of his brethren sold as a slave into *Egypt*; but who afterwards proved the *saviour* and *protector* of his family, when he relieved them in the famine, and settled them in *Egypt*, seventy-five souls*, where they flourished till their subsequent bondage after his death, which continued till the time of *Moses*; who was wonderfully preserved at his birth, and adopted by *Pharaoh's* daughter, and educated in all the *wisdom* of the *Egyptians*, ver. 9—22.

3. He next shewed the *ingratitude* of their *ancestors*, and their *rejection* of this great *deliverer*, *Moses*, at first, when he offered to mediate between them, *Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us?* and their subsequent *rejection* of him, and *rebellion* against their TUTELAR GOD, the *angel that appeared to him in the bush*, under whose guidance *Moses* brought them forth out of *Egypt*, with great signs and wonders, to Mount *Sinai*, where they received the *lively oracles* of THE LAW; but during *Moses'* absence in the Mount, they made the *golden calf*, to lead them back to *Egypt*, in his stead, and offered *idolatrous* sacrifices thereto.

That even *Moses* himself, at the first promulgation of THE LAW, communicated to the *Church*, or congregation in the wilderness, GOD'S intention of raising up to them another *prophet like Moses*, "in word and deed," in *legislation* and *miracles*; to whom they should be bound to "*hearken*," under pain of incurring Divine chastisement.

This Prophet, from the resemblance, he plainly intimated to be JESUS OF NAZARETH, ver. 23—41.

4. That for the rebellion of the *golden calf*, or worshipping the true God under an *Egyptian* idolatrous symbol, he gave them up to worship false gods, to *serve the host of heaven*, during their wanderings of *forty years* in the *wilderness*, with which they were punished, when they worshipped the gods of the *Moabites* and *Midianites*, "*Moloch †*," or "*Baal peor*," the *sun*, as the procreative power of nature; and "*Chiun †*," or "*Remphan †*," the dog-star, the fertilizing power of the

* See this number of seventy-five souls, reconciled with the seventy of the OLD TESTAMENT, Gen. xlvi. 27, before, Vol. I. p. 143, 144.

† See this difficult prophecy of Amos, v. 25—27, explained and reconciled with *Stephen's* account, Vol. II. p. 405. And compare Deut. iv. 15—19, and Numb. xxv. 3, 2 Kings xxiii. 5.

Nile, described by the Prophet *Amos*; and that even after their settlement in the *promised land*, they retained and enlarged their *Egyptian* idolatries, adding thereto those of the neighbouring nations, the *Sidonians*, *Syrians*, &c. on the other side: for which repeated idolatries and rebellions, GOD threatened them with “captivity, beyond *Damascus* and beyond *Babylon*,” which was fulfilled in the *Assyrian* captivity of the ten tribes, and the *Babylonian* of the two remaining, foretold even from the time of *Moses**; which should lead them, as he plainly intimated, to dread the last, or *Roman* captivity, foretold also by him, which was destined to destroy their *holy place* and *nation*, and to change their *laws*, unless they repented, ver. 42, 43.

5. To lessen their superstitious veneration for their *temple*, he recounts its origin, whence it appeared,

1. That *Abraham* and the *Patriarchs* worshipped GOD acceptably before either *tabernacle* or *temple* was built. 2. That the *tabernacle* was not built till the time of *Moses*; and that, after a model furnished by GOD himself, and therefore equally venerable as the *temple*, and that this moveable *tabernacle* continued all the days of *Joshua*, and the succeeding *judges*, till *David*'s reign, without any want of a *temple*. 3. That *David* was precluded from building the *temple*, because he had been a *man of blood*; which was therefore reserved for his son *Solomon*, who was a man of peace. 4. That *Solomon* himself, in his dedication, and the *prophets*, corrected their gross ideas of THE DEITY, as if THE MOST HIGH, whom the *heaven of heavens* could not contain, whose *throne is heaven*, and the *earth his footstool*, could be confined within the precincts of an earthly *temple*, built with *men's hands*; or that He would accept any but a *pure* and *spiritual worship*, (1 Kings iii. 27—30; Isa. lxvi. 1, 2,) such as was *really* inculcated by the *law of Moses*, ver. 44—50.

From these premises he draws his most severe and pointed conclusion:

“*Ye stiff necked, or stubborn generation, boasting of your carnal circumcision, as Abraham's children, but uncircumcised in heart and ears, in spirit and in obedience, ye do always,*

* See the foregoing explanation of *Moses*' prophecies, Vol. II. p. 209, &c.

from the earliest times to the present, *struggle against* the HOLY SPIRIT, following the example of *your fathers*.

“ Which of the *Prophets* did not *your fathers persecute*? and even *slay* those that *foretold* of the coming of the JUST ONE? of WHOM *ye* have now become *betrayers* and *murderers**;” *ye* who boast that *ye* received THE LAW through innumerable ranks of *angels*, with the utmost pomp of Divine majesty, (Deut. xxxiii. 2,) but have not *kept it!*——It is *ye* therefore, and not I, that are *destroying the temple*, and *changing the law*, ver. 51—53.

“ *When they heard* these bitter but unanswerable reproaches, *they were cut through their hearts*, as with a saw, and *they gnashed on him with their teeth*,” in token of the most ungovernable rage and fury; but still they could not convict him, because his vindication was grounded throughout upon their OWN SCRIPTURES, and they could not deny the *historical facts* with which he charged them, ver. 54.

But as GOD had attested his innocence at the beginning of the trial, so now THE HOLY SPIRIT, of which he was full, THE FATHER and THE SON, rewarded him at the close of it, with the beatific vision, for his *good confession*, which he also witnessed as a *faithful witness*, treading in the steps of his LORD and MASTER; for looking stedfastly into the heaven he saw the glory of GOD, and JESUS *standing at the right hand of GOD*, and said, “ *Lo, I behold the heavens opened*, and THE SON OF MAN *standing on the right hand of GOD*,” thus fulfilling, early, in part, OUR LORD’S prophecy at his iniquitous trial, Matt. xxvi. 64. See p. 210 of this volume.

Without waiting any longer for the deliberation and judgment of the council, or for any formal sentence of death, as in CHRIST’S case, these frantic zealots, *exclaiming with a loud voice*, that he had spoken *blasphemy*, and *stopping their ears*, not to hear a word more in his defence, *rushed unanimously upon him*, in a tumultuous manner, and *hurrying him out of the city*, for fear of being prevented by *Pilate* and the temple guard, they *stoned Stephen*, *calling upon* †, and *saying*, LORD

* How strikingly does this resemble OUR LORD’S reproachful conclusion, Matt. xxiii. 32—38.

† The English Bible supplies “ calling upon GOD;” but the context plainly requires,

JESUS, *receive my spirit!* And falling on his knees, he exclaimed with a loud voice, LORD, *lay not this sin to their charge!* And having said this he *fell asleep*.—His devout friends, however, were suffered to carry his dead body to burial; and they made great lamentations for him, ver. 55—60, viii. 2.

FIRST JEWISH PERSECUTION.

The martyrdom of *Stephen* was probably one of the last outrages that disgraced *Pilate's* latter timid administration; who, even if he had time to interpose, and rescue this innocent victim from the rage of the *zealots*, probably was afraid of incurring the resentment of the *Sanhedrim*, who certainly were consenting to the deed, though they might not avowedly authorize it. But *Pilate* was displaced and recalled about this time, upon the complaint of the *Samaritan senate* to *Vitellius*, the president of *Syria*, for putting to death some of the heads of the *Samaritans*, in a sedition at Mount *Gerizim*, as we learn from *Josephus*, Ant. XVIII. 5, 2. *Caiaphas*, the high priest, his coadjutor, was also deposed by *Vitellius* soon after, who appointed *Jonathan*, son of *Ananus*, or *Ananias*, in his room. Ant. XVIII. 5, 3.

Availing themselves of this change of government, to *Marcellus*, and of the favour of *Vitellius*, who attended the passover of A.D. 35 at *Jerusalem*, and was entertained with great magnificence by the *Jews*; in return for which he remitted a part of their tribute, and restored to the temple the sacred robes of the high priest, which had been kept in the tower of *Antonia*, Ant. XVIII. 5, 3, the *Sanhedrim* set on foot a *great persecution against the Church*, in which all but the *Apostles* were scattered from *Jerusalem* throughout the regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*; which contributed to propagate the Gospel in those parts, Acts viii. 1—4.

In *Samaria*, *Philip* the deacon was very successful in preaching the Gospel; and the miraculous cures he wrought converted many, who were baptized; and among them *Simon Magus*, who for a long time had astonished the *Samaritans* with his sorceries, professing that *he was the great power of God*, (either their expected CHRIST, or THE HOLY SPIRIT, according to

“calling upon THE LORD JESUS.” This is so express an act of worship addressed to CHRIST, “to receive his spirit,” that it can neither be denied nor evaded by any but such bigots in infidelity, as stopped their ears and stoned *Stephen*.

Irenæus,) but was himself astonished at the signs and great powers wrought by *Philip*, ver. 5—13.

Hearing of this *early* spiritual harvest, (foretold by OUR LORD, John iv. 35,) the Apostles at *Jerusalem* sent *Peter* and *John* to confirm them in the faith, who, by *prayer* and *imposition of their hands*, communicated to the converts THE HOLY SPIRIT, enabling them to speak in *divers tongues*, to *prophecy*, or preach by inspiration, and *work miracles* also; which was the sole prerogative of the *Apostles*. This tempted *Simon Magus* to offer them money for conferring on him the same privilege. But *Peter*, with great indignation, rejected the offer, and rebuked him for supposing that the gift of God could be purchased with money; and exhorted him to repent, and to pray to GOD to forgive the wickedness of his heart. *Simon* seemed penitent, and intreated that they would pray to THE LORD for him, to avert the punishment which they had threatened, ver. 14—24. He might, perhaps, have dreaded the fate of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*.

PHILIP THE EVANGELIST.

Meanwhile *Philip* was sent by THE SPIRIT to join a pious foreigner, the chamberlain of *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, or *Abyssinia*, at *Gaza*, on the border of the desert, southward between *Palestine* and *Egypt*, who was returning home from *Jerusalem*, and was reading in his chariot the prophecies of *Isaiah*; whence he appears to have been a proselyte to *Judaism*. The passage he was reading was the description of CHRIST'S sufferings, at his iniquitous trial, *Isaiah* liii. 7, 8. *Philip* asked him, *Understandest thou what thou readest?* He modestly answered, *How can I without an instructor?* whereupon *Philip* explained to him the prophecy, as relating not to *Isaiah*, but to CHRIST*; and upon confession of his faith, *I believe that JESUS CHRIST is THE SON OF GOD*, baptized him, and then suddenly disappeared; being caught away by THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD, northwards to *Azotus*: perhaps to afford the chamberlain a miraculous attestation of the truth of the new religion he had now gladly embraced. He, therefore, went on his way *rejoicing*; and we may presume, contributed to plant the Gospel in *Ethiopia*, ver. 26—40.

* See the foregoing translation and exposition of the 53d chapter of *Isaiah*, Vol. II. p. 404, &c.

CONVERSION OF SAUL.

THIS forms a remarkable *epoch* in THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, and begins its second *chronological* division, A.D. 35.

Saul was a *Jew*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, a native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where was a celebrated school of philosophy*. He was educated at *Jerusalem*, under the famous *Gamaliel* the Old, and bred a *Pharisee*; and was excessively zealous for THE LAW, Romans ii. 1, Gal. i. 14, Acts xxii. 3, xxvi. 5. He had been consenting to the martyrdom of *Stephen*, and actually took care of the clothes of the witnesses who stoned him, Acts vii. 58, viii. 1.

Afterwards, he took an active and violent part in the ensuing persecution of the *Christians*, Acts viii. 3, xxii. 4, xxvi. 10. And having received authority from the *chief priests*, he dragged the saints, both men and women, from their houses to prison, and frequently punished them in all the Synagogues; and compelled them to *blaspheme* or abjure CHRIST throughout *Judea*, xxvi. 11.

And being excessively enraged against them on account of the progress made by the New Religion in *foreign cities*, and that, in consequence of the persecution which scattered the disciples; still breathing out threatening and slaughter, he applied to the *high priest*, and got letters of *commission* from him and the *Presbytery*, or *Sanhedrim*, addressed to the *Jewish* Synagogue at *Damascus*, the capital of *Syria*; that if he found any *Christians* there, men or women, to bring them prisoners to *Jerusalem*. He also got letters to the *governor* of *Damascus*, we may presume, to permit them to be brought from his jurisdiction, Acts ix. 2, xxii. 5, xxvi. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 32.

* “The *Tarsic* eloquence” was celebrated for sudden unpremeditated harangues, and prompt and ready replies: in which *Paul* excelled.

On his journey thither, as he approached to *Damascus*, at the Syrian town *Caucabe*, according to tradition, (so named by the people from *Cochab*, “a star,” or the luminous glory that then appeared to him) suddenly, at mid-day, a *great light* from the Heaven, exceeding the brightness of *the Sun*, shone round about* him and his company, at which they *all fell* to the ground, upon their faces. And *Saul* heard a voice saying unto him, in the *Hebrew* dialect, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* And he said, *Who art thou, LORD?* and the Lord said, “*I am JESUS OF NAZARETH whom thou persecutest: It is hard for thee to kick against the goads* †.”

Then *Saul*, trembling and astonished, said, *LORD, what wilt thou have me to do?* And THE LORD said unto him, *Arise, and go into the city; and it shall be told thee what thou oughtest to do.*

During this, his fellow-travellers stood astounded and affrighted, *seeing the light*, and *hearing*, indeed, *the voice*, (though not *the words*, or else, not understanding their meaning, 2 Cor. xiv. 2,) but *seeing no one*. And *Saul* arose from the ground, and when he opened his eyes, he saw no one, being blinded by the glory of that light; and his companions, leading him by the hand, conducted him to *Damascus*, Acts ix. 3—8, xxii. 6—11, xxvi. 13—15.

There he continued *three days* without *seeing*; during which he neither *ate* nor *drank*. So great was the agony of his mind, and so sharp his compunction. When, probably, he considered his *blindness*, alone of all the company, as a *just judgment* upon him for that *mental blindness* under which he had so long laboured; and for his *deafness* to the discourse, and to the declarations of the martyred *Stephen*; and for his utter *insensibility* to all the *signs* and *wonders* wrought in support of the *Christian Faith*; which even his own preceptor *Gamaliel* respected. That these were, indeed, the subject of his meditations, we may reasonably collect from the result, “*his praying*”

* This *celestial light* resembled that which appeared to the pious *Shepherds* near *Bethlehem*, on the night of the *Nativity*. See p. 55 of this volume.

† This was a proverbial expression of *impotent rage*, (like the *ox* kicking against the *goad*), which hurts only itself, not those against whom it is levelled. It is used by the ancient *Greek* writers; *προς κεντρα μη λακτιζει τοις κρατουσι σου*. “*Kick not against the goads*, with those who have you in their power.” *Æschylus Prometh.* 322. And also by *Pindar*, Isth. ii. 173. And by *Terence*, *Nam quæ inscitia est, adversum stimulos calces*. “*For what folly is it for you to kick against the goads.*” *Phormio*.

for pardon with heartfelt sorrow and penitence to that LORD whom he had ignorantly persecuted, in persecuting his disciples, Acts ix. 9—11.

No sooner did that symptom of his *conversion* take place, though in secret, than that same gracious LORD, who had “separated him as a *chosen vessel* for the *ministry*, to which he intended him, even from the womb, (Gal. i. 15,) appeared in vision to *Ananias*, a pious disciple at *Damascus*, and sent him to *Saul*, with commission to restore him to sight; who went accordingly, in obedience to this command, and entering into the house, and laying his hands upon him, said, “Brother *Saul*, the LORD JESUS, *who appeared to thee on the way by which thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest recover thy sight, and be filled with THE HOLY SPIRIT.* And immediately, there fell from his eyes, as it were scales; and he *instantly recovered his sight.* And *Ananias* said, *THE GOD of our Fathers* chose thee to know his will and to see that JUST ONE, and to hear the voice of his mouth; because thou shalt be his witness unto all men, of what thou hast seen and heard. And now, *why delayest thou? Arise, be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of THE LORD.*” And he arose, and was baptized; and after his baptism, we may presume, *was filled with THE HOLY SPIRIT.* Then he took food and was strengthened, Acts ix. 11—19, xxii. 12—16.

The blindness with which *Saul* alone, of all the company, was struck during this astonishing vision, was a significant chastisement; but designed in mercy to bring him to his right mind, and to impress on him, indelibly, a conviction of the *reality* of the vision; in addition to the evidence of the rest of the party, to which he twice solemnly appealed in public afterwards, at his trials before the *Jewish* council, and before King *Agrippa*. *Ananias* also, though not present at it, proved an additional voucher, by communicating from immediate revelation, that circumstance of CHRIST’S appearance to *Paul*, which none but himself knew. While *Ananias*, by his expostulation with THE LORD, deprecating a commission so apparently hazardous to such a notorious persecutor, shewed, that he was calm and collected, in full possession of the powers of his mind during the vision. The miracle also of restoring *Saul* to sight by the imposition of his hands, was sufficient to satisfy both *Ananias* and *Saul* that it was the same LORD JESUS who ap-

peared to both. Nothing, therefore, is wanting to establish the evidence of this stupendous transaction throughout upon the firmest basis.

Saul, indeed, as THE LORD told *Ananias*, was “His chosen vessel, to bear his name, or propagate his religion before *Gentiles* and *Kings*, and sons of *Israel*; and to suffer greatly for his name’s sake,” Acts ix. 15, 16.

And, for this arduous office, he was eminently qualified and gifted. He was deeply versed in *Jewish* and *Heathen* philosophy, and from his education in both, was, perhaps, the most learned man of his own, or of any age: and he spoke, by inspiration, in *more tongues*, and languages than any, or than all the *Apostles*, or the most highly gifted *converts*, 1 Cor. xiv. 18. He was also the *most powerful witness* of CHRIST; for he saw him in *glory*, after his ascension, which none of the other *Apostles* did, until that last, most distinct, and most glorious appearance to the beloved *John*, in *Patmos*, A.D. 95, crowning all the preceding manifestations of THE GOD OF GLORY from *Abraham’s* days, B.C. 2093.

Thus, by a singular and most unexpected and surprizing dispensation of *Him*, “whose *ways* are not as our ways, nor HIS *thoughts* as our thoughts,” was *Saul* “the *blasphemer*” of CHRIST, and “*persecutor*” of his *saints*, made the *first fruits* of the dying martyr *Stephen’s* intercession for his murderers, in the true Spirit of his Divine Master, “LORD lay not this *sin* to their charge;” as a *brand plucked out of the fire!* and also, the first voucher to the truth of his testimony of seeing JESUS CHRIST in *glory at the right hand* of GOD, by what he himself soon after saw and heard on his journey to *Damascus*. But *Saul*, as he afterwards candidly and humbly confessed, after he had been the *chief of sinners*, obtained mercy, for these reasons, 1. Because he sinned ignorantly in *disbelief*, in disbelief of the GOSPEL, and ignorance of the *elementary* nature of the LAW, designed as a *schoolmaster* to bring us to CHRIST; and 2. That in his most striking case, and for the encouragement of the greatest sinners not to despair, JESUS CHRIST might shew forth to the world a pattern of his *long sufferance* to future *believers*, unto *eternal life*; by graciously entrusting, even to this *blasphemer* and *persecutor*, THE GLORIOUS GOSPEL of THE BLESSED GOD, and enabling and strengthening him to suffer so greatly for his sake, by undauntedly and perseveringly encountering *trials* and *persecutions*, enough to have made him of

all men most miserable in this life, if he attested *a falsehood* in the sight of God, and in the face of the world; were it not for the animating hope of inheriting that *crown of righteousness*, reserved for *him* and for the *faithful* in the great day of *retribution*, after he had *fought a good fight*, *kept the faith*, and *finished his course*, after he had *laboured more abundantly* in planting the Gospel of the *uncircumcision*, than any of the Apostles of the *circumcision*; and withstood even to his face, *Peter*, the first of the Apostles, when his practice was inconsistent with his doctrine, 1 Tim. i. 11—16, 2 Tim. iv. 6—8, 1 Cor. xv. 15—19, 2 Cor. xi. 21—31, Gal. ii. 11—14.

Saul, after his baptism, remained *some days* with the disciples at *Damascus*; and *immediately* proclaimed in the Synagogues, JESUS* as THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, Acts ix. 20, xx. 21. Gal. i. 15.

And all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he who persecuted at *Jerusalem* them that called upon this name? and who came hither on purpose to bring them prisoners to the *chief priests*? But *Saul* was *strengthened [in spirit]* still more, and confuted the *Jews* residing in *Damascus*; *proving, by comparing* the prophecies (*συμβιβάζων*) that JESUS is THE CHRIST, Acts ix. 19—22.

This, indeed, was his usual mode of debating with the *Jews* every where, Acts xvii. 2, 3, xviii. 28, xxvi. 22, 23, xxviii. 23.

SUL RETIRES TO ARABIA.

During the persecution of the Church in *Judea*, *Saul* went into the heathen country of *Arabia Petræa*, as a place of security from the *Jews*. There he probably preached the Gospel also, Gal. i. 16.

Three years after his conversion, he returned to *Damascus*, A.D. 38, Gal. i. 18, corresponding to *Luke's* account, *when many days had been fulfilled*, Acts ix. 23. A phrase used also to express *three years* precisely, in the *Old Testament*, 1 Kings xi. 38, 39.

Here, the *Jews* rejected his testimony, as an Apostate, and conspired to kill him, and watched the city gates day and night

* The insertion of *Ἰησοῦν*, in the present text, is warranted by the two *Syriac* versions, the *Vulgate*, *Ethiopic*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, *Coptic*, and several ancient MSS. It is also absolutely required by the context. For the *Jews* admitted CHRIST to be THE SON OF GOD; they only doubted or denied that *Jesus of Nazareth* was he.

for that purpose, and procured the *Syrian* governor's concurrence. But the plot being made known to *Saul*, the disciples let him down from the city wall in a basket, by night; and so he escaped out of their hands, Acts ix. 23—25, Gal. i. 17, 18, 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.

Though *Luke*, in the *Acts*, passed over in silence *Saul's* visit to *Arabia*, he was evidently well acquainted therewith, and with *Paul's* account of it in the Epistle to the *Galatians* and *Corinthians*, with which his own so exactly, though tacitly, harmonizes. He purposely omitted this early part of *Paul's* history, as he did afterwards his voyage to *Crete*, as being both inconsiderable, compared with his more public ministry in the populous cities and countries of *Asia* and *Europe*; which form the principal part of the *Acts*; and to which he hastens, after a cursory view of the earlier transactions. *Medias in res rapit.*

SAUL'S FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

After his escape from *Damascus*, *Saul* went up to *Jerusalem*, A.D. 38, for the first time since his conversion; chiefly as he says, to get acquainted* (*ιστορησαι*) with *Peter*, Gal. i. 18. This, indeed, was a natural wish, from the resemblance of their dispositions and characters†, as marked by similar zeal and similar situations: both had erred, both had been converted; *Peter*, by a pitying, but penetrating look of his suffering LORD; *Saul*, by the brightness of his glory; *Peter* had been restored, upon repentance, to his *Apostolic* rank; *Saul* had been also, upon repentance, raised thereto. Both were susceptible of the warmest attachments.

————— *Mihi mens juvenili ardebat amore,
Compellare virum, et dextræ conjungere dextram.*

“ *Great souls, by instinct to each other turn,
Demand alliance, and in friendship burn.*”

We need not, however, be surprized at the shyness of the brethren at *Jerusalem* to associate with *Saul*, at first, when he proposed himself. They knew him to have been a most furious bigot and

* *Josephus* celebrates the uncommon valour of a Roman centurion, *Julian*, at the siege of *Jerusalem*, with whom, says he, “ *I got acquainted (ιστορησα)* during that war.” Bell. Jud. vi. 1, 8.

† *Estque ea jucundissima amicitia quam similitudo morum conjugavit.—Disparēs mores, disparia studia sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias. Cicero, De Offic. I. 17. De Amicit. 20.*

persecutor; and were probably quite unacquainted with his miraculous conversion; there being then but little intercourse with *Damascus*, during *Herod's* war with *Aretas*; and less between *Jerusalem* and *Arabia*, to which he had retired. But *Barnabas*, who is said to have been his fellow-student under *Gamaliel*, and knew him early, took him by the hand, and introduced him to the Apostles, *Peter* and *James*, the LORD'S brother, who then were at *Jerusalem*, and recounted all the circumstances of his conversion. Whereupon, they admitted him freely to their society, Acts ix. 26—28, Gal. i. 18, 19.

In *Jerusalem*, *Saul* spake boldly in the name of THE LORD JESUS, and debated with the *Grecising Jews*; but they attempted to kill him, Acts ix. 28, 29.

At this time, while *Saul* was praying in the Temple, he fell into an *ecstasy*, or *trance*, and saw CHRIST, who said unto him, *Hasten and depart quickly out of Jerusalem*, because *they will not favourably receive thy testimony concerning me*. But *Saul* pleaded for a longer stay, alledging that his former persecution of the *Saints*, and concurrence in the martyrdom of *Stephen*, contrasted with his present conversion to CHRIST, could not fail to persuade the *Jews*. THE LORD, however, knew their bigotry better, and that his labour among them would be in vain; and replied, "*Go, for I will send thee forth as an extra-Apostle, (ἐξαποστειλω) to the remote Gentiles,*" Acts xxii. 17—21, "*selecting thee (ἐξαιρουμενος σε) from the people of the Jews, and from the Gentiles, to whom [the latter] I am now going to send thee forth, (νυν αποστειλλω) to turn them from darkness to light, and from the jurisdiction of Satan unto GOD; in order that they might receive remission of sins, and an allotment among those that are sanctified by faith toward ME,*" Acts xxvi. 17, 18*.

Not disobeying therefore the heavenly vision, *Saul* staid this time only *fifteen* days in *Jerusalem*, Gal. i. 18. And the *brethren* also, well knowing the malice of the *Zealots*, escorted him to *Cæsarea*; and sent him away by land through the Churches of *Judea*, to *Tarsus*, his native city in *Cilicia*, Acts ix. 30, Gal. i.

* This is introduced in *Paul's* apology before King *Agrippa*, as if it immediately followed the *first vision* of Christ in the way to *Damascus*; the Apostle passing over the second *vision* or *trance* at *Jerusalem*, at which it really happened, when CHRIST said, "*But arise, and stand upon thy feet: for to this end I appeared unto thee, [at first, ωφθην] to ordain thee a minister and witness of what thou sawest [then, ειδες] and of my future appearances to thee' (ὡν οφθησομαι σοι.)* xxvi. 16.

21, 22. There he remained three or four years, till *Barnabas* summoned him to assist in preaching the Gospel, Acts xi. 25.

REST OF THE CHURCHES IN JUDEA, &c.

After the first persecution had raged about four years, an unexpected persecution of the *Jews* themselves put a stop to it. *Caius Caligula*, the Roman Emperor, about A.D. 39, commanded that his statue should be set up in the temple of *Jerusalem*: and sent *Petronius*, president of *Syria*, with a large army from *Antioch*, into *Judea*, to enforce obedience to his edict, under pain of death to the opposers, and of slavery to the whole nation unless they submitted thereto.

This was, indeed, a thunderstroke. And the universal consternation produced thereby, absorbed all inferior concerns. They desisted from persecuting the *Christians*, to deprecate this outrageous contempt of their laws and sacrilegious profanation of their temple. And when *Petronius* had advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, they earnestly besought him to suspend the execution of the order until they could send an embassy to Rome, and endeavour to deprecate and prevent this abomination. *Petronius*, unwilling to proceed to extremities, granted their request, and they sent an embassy accordingly; the history of which has been written by *Philo*, one of the deputies. But this only provoked the tyrant's rage—he was much displeased with *Petronius* for his delay, and threatened to go in person to *Alexandria* to enforce obedience. But fortunately for them, he was assassinated before he could fulfil his intentions, A.D. 40. *Josephus* has given a circumstantial account of his assassination. See also *Lardner*, Vol. I. p. 97—100.

During this time the *Churches throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria*, had peace, or respite from persecution; and being edified, or instructed by the *Apostles*, in the fundamental doctrines of THE GOSPEL, and walking in the fear of the LORD, and in the comfort of the HOLY SPIRIT, were multiplied, Acts ix. 31.

Peter in particular, took a circuit through the home Churches of *Judea* to confirm them in the faith; and at *Lydda*, a town between *Jerusalem* and *Joppa*, he cured a patient who had been confined eight years to his bed with a palsy. “*Æneas*, said he, *JESUS CHRIST* healeth thee, arise, and make thy bed,” and he arose immediately; and all the inhabitants of *Lydda*,

and of the vale of *Sharon*, saw him, and turned to THE LORD, Acts ix. 32—35.

Proceeding to *Joppa**, on the sea coast, about ten miles from *Iydda*, in compliance with a message brought by two of the disciples there, requesting he would come to them without delay; he restored to life a female disciple, called *Tabitha* in Hebrew, or *Dorcas* in Greek, (signifying the *Gazel* or *Antelope*, remarkable for its fine eyes) who was laid out in an upper chamber. For, excluding all the mourners, he fell on his knees, and *prayed* TO THE LORD, (*προσηύξατο*) and then turning to the body, said, *Tabitha, arise!* And she opened her eyes, and seeing *Peter*, sate up. And giving her his hand, he raised her, and then calling the saints and the widows that had been cloathed by her bounty, he presented her alive. And this miracle was made known throughout all the region of *Joppa*, and many believed ON THE LORD. This spiritual harvest probably induced *Peter* to spend *many days* at *Joppa*, where he lodged with one *Simon*, a tanner, Acts ix. 36—43; and we may observe, in the neighbourhood of *Jabneh* or *Jamnia*, where the *Sanhedrim* sometimes sate; the very center of *Judaism*.

CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS.

This also forms a memorable epoch in the History of the Church as the *first fruits* of the conversion of the *Gentiles* to CHRIST. We may date it A.D. 41, with the *Bible Chronology*.

Cornelius was a devout *Roman* centurion of the *Italian* band, or cohort, which was probably the life guard of the Roman governor residing at *Cæsarea*; “who feared GOD with all his house; and gave much alms to the people of the Jews, not confining his bounty to his own countrymen, and *prayed* to GOD continually †,” Acts x. 1, 2.

* *Joppa* was the nearest sea port to *Jerusalem*, and about 40 miles distant. It is now called *Jaffa*, recovering its ancient name, *Japho*, belonging to the tribe of *Dan*, Josh. xix. 46. As it lay between *Azotus* and *Cæsarea*, it was probably one of the towns in which *Philip* preached the Gospel, Acts viii. 40.

† From the admirable character of this *Roman*, we are strongly inclined to suspect, (though the conjecture is unwarranted by any of the commentators) that this was the centurion who attended CHRIST’s crucifixion; and was evidently converted thereby. See the foregoing remarks, p. 234 of this volume. It was only ten years after. And he might have been permanently stationed at *Cæsarea*, the seat of the *Roman* government. If so, we can humbly see an appropriate reason why he should be so highly distinguished and honoured by GOD on this occasion, after having been a *blasphemer* and

About the ninth hour of the day, or stated hour of *evening prayer*, he saw in vision plainly, an *Angel of God* entering into the house to him at his private devotions, and saying unto him, *Cornelius!* And he looking stedfastly at the Angel, and being possessed with fear, said, *What is it, LORD?* And he said, *Thy prayers and thine alms are ascended like the fragrant incense, for a memorial before GOD,* (Levit. ii. 2, Rev. v. 8;) and *now send messengers to Joppa,* and call for *Simon*, surnamed *Peter*; *he lodgeth with one Simon, a tanner, whose house is by the sea side. He shall declare unto thee what thou oughtest to do* [to attain *eternal life*] ver. 3—6.

When the Angel had departed, *Cornelius* accordingly sent two of his servants and a *devout soldier* of his band*, to *Joppa*, with the message; about thirty miles southward of *Cæsarea*; who arrived there next day about noon, ver. 7—9.

While they were approaching to the city, *Peter* went up on the house top to pray, about the sixth hour of noon, fasting. And after he had finished his devotions, he was hungry and wished to take some refreshment; but while the family were preparing it, he fell into an *ecstasy*, or trance; and beheld the heaven opened, and a certain vessel or receptacle, resembling a great square *sheet*, tied with four *cords* †, let down upon the earth, wherein were all sorts of tame and wild beasts, reptiles, and birds. And there came a voice to him saying, *Arise, Peter, sacrifice, and eat.* But *Peter* said, *By no means, LORD; for I never did eat any thing common or unclean.* And the voice again said to him a second time, *What GOD hath purified, count not thou common.* This was done thrice. And the vessel was taken up again into the Heaven, ver. 9—16.

While *Peter* was perplexed in himself, what could be the de-

persecutor in ignorance, like *Saul* himself. To him, only, an *Angel* appeared, perhaps *Gabriel*, Dan. viii. 16, Luke i. 19.

* The original expression, τῶν προσκατερουνητῶν αὐτοῦ, “of those that adhered to him” in his *belief* and *practice*, is very remarkable; and tends to justify the foregoing conjecture, by pointing out this *devout soldier* also as one of the *Roman guard*, attendant on the *crucifixion*, who was then converted, p. 234 of this volume.

† Τεσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς. *Diodorus Siculus* uses the phrase, ἀρχὰς στῦπινας, “*hempen strings*,” or *cords*, in describing the mode of harpooning the *Hippopotamus*, εἰθ’ ἐν τῶν ἐμπαγεντῶν ἐναπτοντες ἀρχὰς στῦπινας, ἀφιασι, μέχρις ἀν παραλυθῆ, Edit. Rhod. p. 32, as ingeniously noticed by *Wakefield*. If ἀρχαῖς signified “*corners*,” (as in the English Bible) the article ταις should be prefixed, as in Matt. xxiv. 31, τῶν τεσσαρῶν ἀνεμῶν. *Middleton*, p. 400.

sign of this *allegorical* vision, and was ruminating thereon, THE HOLY SPIRIT, as soon as the messengers of *Cornelius* arrived, and enquired for *Peter*; desired him to arise, descend, and go with the *three men* that sought him, without hesitation; for that they were sent by HIMSELF. Then *Peter* descended, and having asked the reason of their coming, and received their message, he entertained them hospitably that day; and went with them the next, accompanied by *six* of the brethren from *Joppa*, (Acts xi. 12,) ver. 17—23, a prudent precaution, not only consistent with his *apostolic* rank, which made it improper that he should go unattended; but also, that they might be joint *witnesses* of what might happen, and *advisers* of what ought to be done in such a singular and unprecedented case.

In SACRED HISTORY, no circumstance, even apparently the slightest, is insignificant. “From *Joppa*, the prophet *Jonah* was sent to preach to the Gentiles at *Nineveh*; and from thence the Apostle *Peter*, (probably his descendant) was sent to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles of *Cæsarea*,” according to the ingenious analogy noticed by *Benson*.

When *Peter* and his attendants, who had stopped by the way on the third night, were entering into *Cæsarea*, the fourth morning, *Cornelius*, (having received notice of his approach,) came to meet him, through respect, accompanied by his *kinsmen* and *intimate friends*; and *falling at his feet*, was going to worship him, as more than mortal; a most extraordinary instance of veneration from those proudest of mortals, the *Romans*; but *Peter* stopped and raised him, saying, *I also myself am a man*. He then freely conversed with him, entered into his house, and found *many others* there assembled, ver. 24—27.

And *Peter* said unto them, Ye know that it is unlawful for a *Jew* to associate with a *foreigner*; but GOD hath *shewed* me to call *no man common or unclean*. Therefore, also, without gainsaying, came I, when sent for. *I ask, therefore, upon what account ye sent for me?* ver. 28, 29. Though *Peter* knew beforehand, by the messengers, upon what account in general; yet he wished to learn the particulars more fully, both for his own and his companions' information.

Cornelius then recounted all the circumstances of the vision; and concluded with his thanks to *Peter* for coming, and a solemn request to receive divine instruction from him. “*Thou hast well done in coming hither. Now, therefore, are all we*

here present, ready and desirous to hear all GOD'S commands to thee respecting us," ver. 30—33.

Then *Peter* opened his mouth with much solemnity, and said, *In truth*, "I now comprehend, that GOD is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, whosoever feareth HIM, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto Him," ver. 34, 35.

This noble declaration of the *impartiality* of GOD, seems to have been a new light or unexpected illumination suddenly bursting upon his mind, to dispel the mists of his *national* prejudices. For though CHRIST had commissioned his Apostles to *discipline* and *baptize all nations*, in his final instructions; yet, several circumstances had prevented them from comprehending the spirit of the Gospel hitherto.

1. OUR LORD himself had early declared, that "*salvation was of the Jews*;" and, according to their narrow interpretation, confined to the *Jews*. 2. He also declared, that "*he was not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel*;" to "*feed the children, not the dogs*;" and 3. He charged his disciples, on their first circuit during his ministry, neither to go into the way of the *Gentiles*, nor enter into any city of the *Samaritans*, but rather, to the *lost sheep of the house of Israel*, and 4. in his last instructions, to be HIS witnesses in *Judea* and *Samaria*, and unto the ends of the earth, they might have understood "*the earth*" in the limited sense of the *Holy Land*. And that they did, indeed, so understand him, is evident; 1. from the conduct of *Peter* himself, and of the *Apostles* at *Jerusalem*, who preached only to their own nation; 2. and of the *Disciples* and *Evangelists* dispersed by the first persecution of *Stephen*, in *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, who preached the word to none but *Jews only*, Acts xi. 19; and 3. from the equal surprize expressed by *Peter's* company, and the rest of the *Apostles*, and *Mother Church* as *Jerusalem*, at the effusion of the HOLY SPIRIT upon these first fruits of the *Gentile* converts before their baptism, putting no difference between them and the *Jews* themselves on the day of *Pentecost*; for so *Peter* remarked and pleaded in his apology. "And when they of *Jerusalem* heard the whole account, they were silent; and glorified GOD, saying, *Then* (αγα) hath GOD granted to the *Gentiles* also repentance unto life eternal!" xi. 18, as a matter of surprize and astonishment. The same, indeed, is the purport of *Peter's* declaration; "I now at length comprehend, what I did not,

before I had seen the *allegorical* vision, as now explained by the application of these *Gentiles* for information respecting that *perfect rule of faith*, prescribed in THE GOSPEL; that GOD hath not confined his mercies to a *particular nation* only, but that *all* are capable of receiving the higher privileges of the GOSPEL, even *eternal life*, who are *duly prepared*, by the *fear of GOD*, and the *practice of righteousness*; upon the conditions of *repentance* toward GOD, *faith* toward JESUS CHRIST, as THEIR LORD, and *baptism* in the name of THE TRINITY."

The speech of *Peter* was worthy of the exordium; but it bears unequivocal marks of unusual agitation of mind in the involution, or embarrassed construction of its first periods, so different from the concise simplicity of his former speeches; this rather resembles *Paul's* style.

"*The word*, (τον λογον) or *Gospel*, which GOD sent forth to the children of *Israel*, publishing peace, by JESUS CHRIST, (who is LORD OF ALL) ye know; [namely,] *the oracular word* (το ρημα), (that was [spread] through all *Judea*, beginning from *Galilee*; after the *baptism* which *John* proclaimed) [concerning] JESUS OF NAZARETH: how GOD *anointed* him with THE HOLY SPIRIT and with POWER. Who went about doing good, and healing all those that were tyrannized over by *the Devil*: because GOD *was with Him*.

"And *we* are witnesses of all that *He did* in the country of the *Jews* [*Judea* and *Galilee*,] and in *Jerusalem*; whom they [of *Jerusalem*] *hanged upon a cross*, and *slew*.

"THIS same GOD raised up, the third day; and shewed Him openly: not to *all the people*, but to *us*, the witnesses *previously chosen by GOD*, who did *eat with him* and *drink with him*, after his resurrection from the dead.

"And *He* commissioned us to *proclaim to the people*, [of the *Jews*,] and to *testify thoroughly*, that it is *He himself* who is *ordained by GOD*, JUDGE of *quick and dead*.

"To HIM, *testify all the prophets*; that *every one who believeth on Him*, [whether *Jew* or *Gentile*,] shall receive, *through his name* or religion, *remission of sins*," ver. 36—43.

1. In this speech, *Peter* appeals to the *general knowledge* even of the *Gentiles*, in the regions through which the GOSPEL was preached, of the *active benevolence* and *miracles of mercy* performed by JESUS CHRIST, in the course of his ministry, as the surest test that GOD *was with him*.

2. He vouches the reality of his *miracles*, of his *crucifixion*, and of his *resurrection*, by the testimony of the *Apostles*, his *chosen witnesses*; who, from their *number*, *knowledge*, and *integrity*, were sufficient to satisfy the most scrupulous enquirers; whereas, *all the people of Jerusalem* were as *unfit* as *unworthy* of such a special *revelation*; as was, indeed, evinced already in the *mockery* of the *vulgar*, on the day of *Pentecost*; and in the subsequent *persecutions* by the *Sanhedrim*, after the most stupendous *miracles*, and the most indisputable by their own confession, wrought in the name of CHRIST.

3. He supports the testimony of the *Apostles* to these facts, (in which they did not volunteer, but were expressly *commissioned* by GOD and CHRIST,) by the whole series of *ancient prophecy*, addressed to the *Jews*, indeed, but foretelling the *universal redemption* of mankind through *faith* in CHRIST.

The stupendous issue of this speech, uttered in all the plenitude of divine inspiration, accorded therewith. While *Peter* was still speaking these *oracular words* (*σηματα*), THE HOLY SPIRIT fell upon all the hearers, (probably with a visible illumination.) And they of the *circumcision* who accompanied *Peter* were astonished, because *the gift* of the HOLY SPIRIT was *poured out also* upon the *Gentiles*; for they heard them *speaking in tongues*, and *magnifying GOD*, ver. 44—46, as on the day of *Pentecost*.

Then answered Peter, Can any one object, why *water* should not be brought, that these might be *baptized* who have now received the HOLY SPIRIT, as well as *we*, originally? And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of THE LORD, ver. 47, 48, and he afterwards thus apologized for doing so before the Church at *Jerusalem*; “Forasmuch then, as GOD gave them the like gift as he did unto us who believed on the LORD JESUS CHRIST; what was I, that I could withstand GOD?” Acts xi. 17.

Cornelius has been represented by Lord *Barrington*, and several commentators, as a lower *proselyte* to *Judaism*, which they call “a *proselyte* of the *gate*,” supposed to be uncircumcised, and bound only to the observance of the seven *Noachic* precepts; as distinguished from a perfect proselyte, or *proselyte* of *justice*, who was circumcised, and bound to keep the law of *Moses*. But there is no foundation for this distinction of *proselytes* in Scripture; for every *uncircumcised* person was consi-

dered as an "*alien* from the commonwealth of *Israel*," Eph. ii. 12; not being entitled to possess *land*; nor to enjoy the privileges of *citizens*. The *proselyte of the gate* was no other than the "*stranger within thy gates*," who was permitted to *sojourn* in the land, on submitting to circumcision and the observance of the law of *Moses*, Exod. xx. 10, Deut. v. 14; and was clearly distinguished from the *alien*, or *foreigner*, Deut. xiv. 21. But *Cornelius* was an *alien*, or *foreigner* (*αλλοφυλω*), with whom, *Peter* observed, that it was unlawful for a *Jew* to associate *hospitably*, as the word *κολλασθαι* implies; nor even to *go into their houses*, as implied by *προσερχεσθαι*, ver. 28, as confirmed by the censure of the *Judaizing Christians at Jerusalem*, "*Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them*," Acts xi. 3*.

Some *freethinkers* have grafted a dangerous error upon *Peter's* declaration of the *terms of acceptance with GOD*, to undervalue or exclude *CHRISTIANITY*; as if to *fear GOD*, and *work righteousness*, were the only duties every where essentially necessary to *salvation*; but that these were as *old as the creation*, inculcated by *NATURAL RELIGION*, and adopted by the *PATRIARCHAL*, Heb. xi. 6; Job xix. 25; and by the *MOSAICAL*, Matt. xxii. 40.

This may be refuted, and it should seem fully and satisfactorily,

1. By the case of *Cornelius* himself, who, though he possessed these requisites, was further, by a special *revelation*, required to embrace *CHRISTIANITY*,

2. By the general commission to the *Apostles*, to *publish the GOSPEL* throughout the *whole world*, or glad tidings of *salvation* upon the further terms of *faith* and *baptism* in the name of *THE TRINITY*.

3. Upon both accounts, therefore, *Peter* required *Cornelius* to be *baptized*, or admitted into the *Christian Church*, and entitled thereby to its higher benefits and privileges.

4. *Paul* has clearly stated the higher privileges of *Jews* above *Gentiles*, and of *Christians* above both, in his *doctrinal* epistles to the *Romans* and to the *Hebrews*.

* See this subject fully discussed by *Lardner*, VI. p. 522—530; who has satisfactorily shewn that this distinction between the two sorts of Jewish *proselytes* was not found in any *Christian* writer before the fourteenth century, or later.

5. NATURAL RELIGION, if opposed to REVEALED, is a mere fiction of *false philosophy*. “*The world by [human] wisdom, knew not GOD,*” at any time, from *the creation*; as we learn from that profound philosopher *Paul*, expressly asserting the fact to the first philosophers of *Greece*, 1 Cor. i. 21. Such *knowledge being too wonderful and excellent* for the attainment of *mankind* by the confession of the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets*, Job xi. 7, xxxvii. 23; Psalm cxxxix. 6; and of the wisest of the *Heathen philosophers* themselves, *Socrates*, &c.

6. The *Patriarchal* and *Mosaical dispensations* were only “*school-masters to the Christian,*” designed to train the *world* gradually for its reception in the fulness of time: as subordinate parts of one grand scheme of REDEMPTION, embracing *all mankind*; instituted at the *creation*, Gen. iii. 15, and gradually unfolding to the *end of the world*, John iii. 16; Rev. i. 18.

“All are but *parts* of one stupendous *whole.*”—*Pope*.

“*Parts*, like *half sentences*, confound; *the whole*
Conveys the sense; and GOD is understood;
Who, not in *fragments* writes to human race:
Read his *whole volume*, sceptic, then reply!”—*Young*.

Thus did *Peter* first exert the power of “*the keys,*” granted to him by his gracious Master, Matt. xvi. 19, by being made the foremost of the Apostles, to *open the door of faith* to the *first fruits* of the *Jews*, on the memorable day of *Pentecost*; and of the *Gentiles*, on this equally memorable day of their conversion. With whom, on their entreaty, he remained some days, Acts x. 48.

While *Peter* was thus employed on his circuit through *Judea*, the disciples dispersed on *Stephen's* persecution, spread the Gospel to *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, in *Syria*, speaking the word to none but *Jews* only. But hearing of the conversion of *Cornelius*, some of them, men of *Cyprus* and of *Cyrene*, preached the LORD JESUS to the *Greeks**, or idolatrous *Gentiles*, at *Antioch*; and the hand of THE LORD was with them, and a great number believed, and turned [from their *idols*] unto THE LORD, Acts xi. 19—21. Compare Acts xv. 19; 1 Thess. i. 9.

* Instead of the received reading, *Ἑλληνιστας*, *Griesbach* substitutes *Ἕλληνας*, upon the authority of several ancient MSS. and most of the ancient versions. Which is also evidently required by the context, because they were *idolaters*; whereas the *Hellenists* were *Jews*.

When the report of their success reached the ears of the Mother Church at *Jerusalem*, they sent, as usual, *Barnabas* to confirm the new converts in the faith, who was himself a *good man*, and *full of the HOLY SPIRIT* and *of faith*. Finding a considerable increase in their numbers, he went to *Tarsus* to seek *Saul* as an associate in the ministry, and brought him to *Antioch*. In that capital city they spent an *entire year*, which became the *Mother Church* of the *Gentile* converts; who then were first denominated *Christians*, ver. 22—26, while they were denominated *Nazarenes* by the unbelieving *Jews*, Acts xxiv. 5. We may date this occurrence, A.D. 43.

SAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

During those days, some *prophets*, or inspired preachers, came down from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, among whom was *Agabus*, who predicted a great famine throughout the whole land of *Judea*, which accordingly took place next year, A.D. 44, in the fifth year of *Claudius Cæsar*. *Josephus* has noticed this famine, and the relief which the people of *Jerusalem* obtained from *Helena*, queen of *Adiabene*, and her son *Izates*, Ant. XX. 2—6, which is recorded also in the Rabbinical Work, *Joma*, p. 66.

To relieve the suffering brethren in *Judea*, a collection was made by those of *Antioch*, each contributing according to his ability, and sent to "*the Presbyters*," or Church at *Jerusalem*, by the hand of *Barnabas* and *Saul*, ver. 27—30.

SECOND JEWISH PERSECUTION.

Herod Agrippa, the grandson of *Herod* the Great, by his son *Aristobulus*, had been appointed king of the Tetrarchies of *Philip* and *Lysanias*, by *Caius Caligula*, upon his accession to the empire, on the death of *Tiberius*, A.D. 36, at the same time that *Marullus* was appointed procurator of *Judea*, Joseph. Ant. XVIII. 7—10. After the assassination of *Caligula*, and the accession of *Claudius*, A.D. 40, the new emperor, to reward *Agrippa's* services on that occasion, granted him all his grandfather's dominions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, added to what he possessed before, Ant. XIX. 5—1. We may date this full grant A.D. 41. But he reigned three years after it, Ant. XIX. 8—2. And in the last year of his reign, A.D. 44, soon after the commencement of the famine, in order to please his new subjects the

Jews *, “*Herod*, the king, stretched forth his hands to molest certain [*Presbyters*] of the Church. And he slew *James*, the brother of *John*, with the sword; and seeing that this was acceptable to the *Jews*, he proceeded further to seize and imprison *Peter* also, at the time of the *passover*,” intending to bring him forth to execution after the *passover* *, Acts xii. 1—4.

The historical accuracy of *Luke* on this occasion is remarkable. This short interval of *Agrippa*'s reign was the only time from the deposal of *Archelaus* that the *Jews* had a king of their own, till the end of their state.

Thus was our Lord's prediction fulfilled respecting *James*, the elder of the sons of *Zebedee*, that *he should drink of his master's cup*, as the first martyr among the *Apostles*; while he graciously spared *Peter*, that main pillar of the Mother Church, for further services and sufferings when he should *grow old*, as he promised. Upon this ground, perhaps, *incessant prayer was made by the Church to GOD for his deliverance*. And their prayer was heard; for on the very night before *Herod* intended to have brought him forth to execution, while *Peter* was *sleeping*, with all the calmness of conscious innocence, *between two soldiers*, having each hand bound with a single chain to each soldier, according to the *Roman* custom, (Acts xxviii. 20; Ephes. vi. 20,) he was suddenly liberated by an *Angel of the LORD*, who brought him out of the prison, and through the *iron gate* of the city, and then left him near the house of *Mark* the Evangelist. After sending an account of his miraculous deliverance to *James*, (his successor in the superintendance of the Mother Church, as first *Bishop of Jerusalem*,) and to the *brethren*, he retired to *another place*, out of *Herod's* dominions, to avoid the tyrant's fury; probably to *Antioch*, (Gal. ii. 11,) to visit that first *Gentile Church*, whose bounty he had so recently shared, ver. 5—17.

Herod, probably, to counteract the report of this miracle, condemned the guards to be put to death, as if they had betrayed their trust, and soon after was smitten himself by an *Angel of THE LORD*, because he accepted the acclamation of the *Tyrians*, *It is the voice of a God and not of a man*, without giving *GOD*

* Josephus represents *Agrippa* as a munificent prince, who courted popularity, resided much at *Jerusalem*, and was zealous for the law, Ant. XIX. 7—3; which corresponds exactly with the Evangelist's account. *Agrippa* was, probably, afraid to execute *Peter* during the *passover*, for fear of exciting an insurrection in *Galilee*, where *Peter* was most popular, or a rescue by the *Galileans* at the feast.

the glory; and was devoured by vermin, and expired miserably, ver. 18—23, on the fifth day after he was struck, according to *Josephus*; who states, that for not rejecting *this impious adulation*, (*την κολακειαν ασεβουσαν*) he perceived over his head, *an owl, the messenger of ills**, and was instantly struck with insupportable pains in his bowels; and exclaimed, weeping to his friends, *I your God, am summoned to leave the world; and I, called by you, immortal, am now hurried away to death!* Ant. XIX. 8—2. *Josephus* unquestionably had seen *Luke's* account, which he thus parodied, and varnished the plain simple narrative in the Acts, with his *Heathenish* gloss.

SAUL'S VISION AND REVELATIONS.

During *Saul's* stay at *Jerusalem*, A.D. 44, “fourteen years before he wrote his second Epistle to the *Corinthians*,” A.D. 58, he was favoured with some remarkable *visions* and *revelations* of THE LORD; when, (whether *in the body* or *out of the body*, he knew not, GOD only knew) he was rapt, at one time, into the *third Heaven*; and at another time, into *Paradise*; where he heard “*unutterable words*, which it is *not permitted man to speak*,” 2 Cor. xii. 1—4.

These different scenes of future glory, the higher, in the highest Heaven, with GOD, and *all his holy Angels*, after the *general resurrection*; the lower, in *Paradise*, or that *place of glory* † also, set apart in *Hades* (or the general receptacle of

* *Virgil* represents a *fury* in the form of an *owl*, appearing to *Turpinus* during his combat with *Aeneas*, and terrifying him by screaming and flapping his shield with her wings.

Hanc versa in faciem, *Turni*, se, *Pestis*, ob ora

Pertque refertque, sonans, clypeumque everberat alis. *Æneid.* xii. 865.

† See the foregoing note, on “*Judas going to his own place*,” Acts i. 25, which was considered by the *ancient Fathers*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, &c. as a place of “*torment*,” with Luke xvi. 33. See also bishop *Bull's* two learned and excellent Sermons, on the *intermediate state of the soul after death*, Vol. I. p. 39—134. In which he has ably traced the origin of the *Popish* doctrine of *Purgatory*, from its embryo, a *Platonic* notion of *Origen*, that the *faithful*, not excepting the Apostles themselves, shall undergo a *purgation* in the *great conflagration* to precede the general judgment; but which *Augustine* doubted might take place earlier, between death and the resurrection, as to the souls of more *imperfect Christians*; this was adopted by the superstitious Pope *Gregory* the Great; and at length turned into an *article of faith*, by the council of *Florence*, in 1439. And fiercely maintained ever since, more for its *gain* than its *Godliness*. A gross imposition, that hath been, I am persuaded, says bishop *Bull*, the eternal ruin of thousands of souls, for whom our blessed Lord shed his most precious blood: who might have escaped *Hell*, if they had not trusted to a *purgatory!*

departed spirits) for the spirits of the good and just; who are there *gathered to their Fathers*, with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and are there “*comforted*,” and “*live before GOD in a state of joy and felicity* ;” awaiting their perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul, in *Heaven*, after the *general resurrection* ; seem to have been designed for *Paul’s* comfort, support, and encouragement under his ensuing trials and persecutions, by giving him a foretaste, as it were, of that *fullness of joy and pleasures for evermore*, at *GOD’S right hand in Heaven* ; and that antecedent *bliss* with *CHRIST*, which *eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive*, in *Paradise*, Psalm xvi. 11, Isai. lxiv. 4, 1 Cor. ii. 9, Phil. i. 23, Luke xxiii. 43.

They seem also admirably calculated to instruct the *infidel* world; refuting by anticipation, that mischievous heresy of the *Novellists*, about the middle of the third century, mentioned by *Eusebius*, Eccl. Hist. VI. 37, who held, that *the souls of men die with their bodies, but are restored to life together with the same bodies at the resurrection* ; nearly analogous to which, is the supposed *sleep of the soul* during the interval between death and the resurrection. For it is evident, from the Apostle’s doubts, whether he saw these visions *in the body, or out of the body*, that he clearly held the different natures of the *soul and body*, and that the former might subsist in a sentient state, totally separate, or detached from the latter; and that it is, indeed, actually separated from the body at death, he asserts elsewhere, “*We prefer rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with THE LORD*,” or I prefer death to life, 2 Cor. v. 8. “*I am desirous to depart [from the body,] and to be with CHRIST* ; for *this is better for me by far* ; but to *remain in the flesh*, is more necessary for *you* ;” or for your improvement in the faith, Phil. i. 23, 24. But how would it be *far better* for the Apostle to *die*, if his *soul* was then to be deprived of all sense, and sink into a total lethargy, and utter oblivion of things, as in *profound sleep* ? or, how could such a state of insensibility gratify his ardent wish to be *with CHRIST in Paradise* ?

To prevent the Apostle, however, from being *over-elated* by this *excellency of Revelations*, vouchsafed to him, and to remind him constantly of the imperfection of his nature, he was *tried* with a *thorn in the flesh*, an *Angel of Satan* permitted to *buffet him*, through the whole course of his ministry, 2 Cor. xii. 7.

What this "*thorn in the flesh*" was, the Apostle has nowhere precisely explained, though he has repeatedly alluded thereto. From what he has said, however, we may collect, that it was some remarkable *bodily infirmity*, which rendered his "*presence weak, or sickly, (ασθενης;)* or *impediment*, which rendered *his speech contemptible*," (εξουθενημενος,) 2 Cor. x. 10.

And this *thorn in the flesh* goaded him from the beginning of his ministry. "*Ye know*, says he to the *Galatians*, how through *infirmity of the flesh*, I preached the Gospel to you at the first. And *my trial in the flesh* ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an *Angel of GOD*, even as *CHRIST JESUS*," Gal. iv. 13, 14. And this *bodily infirmity*, he represented as a great impediment to his preaching; to the *Corinthians* especially. "And I was with you, in *weakness* and in *fear*, and in *much trembling*," 1 Cor. ii. 3. Whence some have suspected, that he was subject to the *epilepsy*, or falling sickness, or to the *palsy*, which might have affected his speech or utterance*. And, perhaps, might have been occasioned by the *glory* of those very *revelations*, proving too mighty for his weak frame; as he was deprived of sight by the first overpowering vision of *CHRIST*, on the way to *Damascus*.

This painful "*thorn in the flesh*," (or "*trial in the flesh*," or "*infirmity of the flesh*," which are all synonymous,) is called also "*an angel, or messenger of Satan, sent to buffet him*," for they are plainly set in apposition to each other, by the want of a copulative particle between them, (which is improperly understood, by some commentators, reckoning the latter to be the *false Apostle*, who principally opposed *Paul* at *Corinth*.) It was therefore denominated a "*messenger of Satan*," as a *disease* inflicted on him by *Satan*, with the Divine permission and appointment, as formerly on *Job*, or on that "*daughter of Abraham, or pious Jewess, whom Satan had bound with a spirit of infirmity* for eighteen years, before *JESUS* compassionately loosed her from her bond," Luke xiii. 11—16.

But when *Paul*, though one of the most excellent of the *sons of Abraham*, repeatedly and earnestly "*besought THE LORD thrice, that he might be relieved therefrom*," he was refused, as

* It seems to be a confirmation of this conjecture, that *Paul* twice prayed for "*utterance*," Eph. vi. 19; that "*GOD* would open to him a *door of utterance*," Col. iv. 3, as if he laboured under some hesitation or difficulty of speech, like *Moses* formerly.

he declares, "For THE LORD said unto me, MY GRACE is sufficient for thee; for MY POWER is perfected in *infirmity*."

"Most willingly then," proceeds the Apostle, "will I rather *glory* in my *infirmities*, that the *power* of CHRIST may reside upon me *," like the *Divine glory* on the *tabernacle* in the wilderness, which seems to be the import of επισκηνωση επ' εμε, 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9.

This very important passage, 1. warrants *direct prayer* to CHRIST; which is acknowledged even by the Socinian, *Slichtingius*. Nota exemplum precum ad CHRISTUM directarum; —whence, concludes *Whitby*, "Ergo, say I, here is an instance of HIS DIVINITY."

It teaches, 2. that whom THE LORD loveth, he chasteneth for their good.

3. That even the *best men*, and the most *highly gifted*, are liable to *pride*, or *over-elation* of mind, in consequence of those very endowments †. "Few men indeed, have such steady heads, as to be able to stand upon the spires and pinnacles of *glory*, without giddiness." The sin of *pride* is generally supposed to have ruined *Satan* himself, and his *host of angels*; "Those once glorious spirits, walking upon the battlements of heaven, grew dizzy with their own *greatness*, and fell down into a state of utter darkness and extreme misery." According to the ingenious, but startling imagery of Bishop *Bull*, p. 210.

But it may be asked, are the best of saints, the most excellent persons, *only* subject to this worst of vices, *pride*? No certainly. It flourishes with greater rankness and luxuriance among "many *schoolmasters in Christ*," founders of *sects*, and

* The *English Bible* has injured the force of this short, but very important passage, by variously rendering δυναμις, "power" and "strength," and ασθενεια, "infirmity" and "weakness." See Dr. *Myles Smith's* awkward Apology in the *Preface* to the *English Bible*, for such *diversity of translation*, embarrassing the sense.

† *Calvin*, (himself not the *humblest* of men,) has a very apposite note on this passage. Consideremus diligenter qui hic loquatur, &c. "Let us diligently consider *who* it is that here speaks. A man that had conquered infinite dangers, torments, and other evils; that had triumphed over all the enemies of CHRIST; that had shaken off the fear of death; and lastly, had renounced the world: and yet *this man* had not yet wholly subdued his propensity to *pride*. Nay, he was still engaged in so dreadful a conflict with it, that he could not conquer, without being himself *beaten* and *buffeted*!" ————Pride, as it was the *first sin* of man, so is it his *last*. It has been called, not unfitly, *indusium animæ*, "the *inner garment* of the *soul*," that sticks most closely, like a *shirt*; and the last, and hardest to be *put off*. Whence the frail *Peter* recommended, "Be clothed with *humility*!" It is truly remarkable, that *pride* ranks foremost in the *Romish catalogue* of mortal sins.

leaders of *schisms*, (1 Cor. iv. 15, James iii. 1,) who, utterly destitute of the profound *learning* and *illumination* of St. Paul, arrogate to themselves his *visions* and *revelations*, by the most revolting enthusiasm; and *methodize* his difficult writings, according to their *private fancies**, *deceived* themselves, and *deceiving* their blinded followers, (2 Tim. iii. 13, James i. 22,) whom this spirited Apostle, had they subsisted in his time, would, without scruple, have *delivered over unto Satan*, for the mortification of their *flesh*, that *the spirit* might be saved in the day of the LORD. There is still many a "*Diotrephes*" in the Church, that "*loveth to have the pre-eminence, prating against their betters with malicious words,*" who would provoke the castigation of the meekest of the Apostles.

"The *revelations* whose *excellence*" the Apostle here records, (if we may presume to pry into such,) in which "*he heard inexpressible words,*" might perhaps have disclosed to him those future *mysteries* of the *Church militant*, and *triumphant*; which were afterwards *revealed* to the beloved disciple *John*, in the *Apocalypse*. The harmony between the mysterious doctrines of both, seems to warrant this supposition.

To remove the imputation of *vain glory* from the Apostle, however, for disclosing such to the *Corinthians*, we must reflect that the disclosure was extorted from him after *fourteen years* silence, by the great *opposition* and *contempt* he, more than all the Apostles, met with from the *Judaizing* teachers every where, and particularly in that Church. The *true reason* of their hostility was, that he, first of all, avowedly taught and preached the utter abolition of *circumcision* and the *Mosaic law*, to *Jews* as well as *Gentiles*. But their *pretext* was, that he was not one of the twelve *original* Apostles, called by CHRIST himself when on earth; nor afterwards *formally* elected an Apostle, in the room of any of that number, and acknowledged by the Mother Church, as *Matthias* was; but a *supernumerary Apostle*, thrusting himself into that sacred office, (as they asserted,) clandestinely, they knew not *how*, nor by *what authority*.

Against such calumniators, he strenuously asserts and vindicates, as in duty bound, his *Divine mission* and *Apostolical*

* 'Ὅς ἀν μεθοδεύη τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, λέγει μὴτε ἀναστασιν μὴτε κρίσιν εἶναι, οὗτος πρωτοτοκος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σατανα. "Whosoever *methodizes* the Oracles of THE LORD according to his *private fancies*, and says that there is neither *resurrection* nor *judgment*, this is *Satan's first born*." Polycarp.

authority, in the following animated expostulations and apology, breathing all the *vehemence* of *Demosthenes'* oratory, and all the *closeness* of his reasoning, 1 Cor. ix. 1—23.

“Am not I an *Apostle*? Am not I a *freeman*? Have not I seen JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD? Are not *ye my work* in THE LORD, [as a Christian Church?] Supposing I am not an *Apostle* to *others*, [the *Jews*,] yet surely I am to *you*, [*Gentiles*:] for *ye* are the *seal*, or ratification of *my Apostleship* in THE LORD,” ver. 1, 2.—“But, though I preach the Gospel, I have no reason for *boasting* therein; for a *necessity* of doing so, is *imposed on me* [by CHRIST himself, equally with the *Apostles* of the *circumcision*, Acts iv. 20;] yea, a *woe* is due to me, unless I preach the Gospel,” ver. 16.—“Though a *freeman* in respect of all, [and even a *Roman citizen* by birth, of no mean city, *Tarsus*, Acts xxi. 39,] yet made I myself a *slave* to all, to gain the more [*converts*,] ver. 19. To the *Jews* I became as a *Jew*, to gain *Jews*, [by complying with their *ceremonies* ‘*under the law*,’ as in the *circumcision* of *Timothy*, Acts xvi. 3, and the *legal* performance of his own *vow*, Acts xxi. 26,] to the *Gentiles*, *not under the law*, as *not under the law* myself, (not being *exempt*, however, from the *law* of obedience to GOD, but rather *under the law* to CHRIST,) to gain them that are *not under the law*. To the *weak*, [or *scrupulous*,] I became *as weak*, to gain the *weak*; to *all men* I became *all things*; that *by all means*, I might save some. And this I still do, for the sake of THE GOSPEL; that I may become a *joint partaker* of its inestimable blessings, along with *my converts*,” (Dan. xii. 3, 2 Tim. iv. 8,) ver. 20—23.

This is a fair specimen of the Apostle’s energetic mode of reasoning; extremely diffusive and digressive, and yet extremely concise and elliptical, as may appear from comparing the *digressions* here omitted, and the *ellipses* here supplied, with the difficult and involved original, in order to exhibit the chain of his argument, unbroken, in succession. His digressions from the main argument, form a *subsidiary* argument, designed to prove the Apostle’s *disinterestedness*, that he sought their gain, not his own, in the true spirit of *charity*; which also may be thus represented, supplying ellipses.

“My *apology* to my examiners is this:

“1. Have not we, *Barnabas* and I, the *Apostles* of the *uncircumcision*, a right to eat and drink, &c. or to a maintenance

for *ourselves* and our *families*, (if we have such,) as well as the other Apostles of the *circumcision*, even *James* and *Jude*, THE LORD'S *brothers*, and *Peter*? Or have not *we* an equal right *not to work*, unless we also be maintained by our flocks? ver. 3—7.

“2. Is this *my doctrine* only, or is it not warranted by THE LAW? Thou shalt not muzzle the *ox*, &c. Doth GOD take care of *oxen*, and not of his *Apostles*? If we have sown to you *spiritual* goods, is it a great matter that we reap your *temporal* goods? —But GOD himself ordained, that the *priests* that serve at the altar, should partake of the sacrifices of the altar; and even so, that the *Apostles* who preach the Gospel, should live by the Gospel, ver. 8—14.

“3. If your *Judaizing* teachers, or *false apostles*, partake of this right to your goods, [and even *devour* you, 2 Cor. xi. 20,] shall not *we* rather, your *faithful pastors*? But how different is *our* conduct from *theirs*? We have *not used* this right, but rather *endure all* privations, not to give *any hindrance* to the GOSPEL OF CHRIST, by affording a *pretext* to impute our labours for your sake to *mercenary* motives. I, in particular, have *used none* of your goods. But I wrote not thus to claim them in *my own case*: for I would much rather *die*, than that any one should render void my *boasting* in my own disinterestedness,” ver. 12—15.

By thus interweaving his apology with the *main argument*, the Apostle embarrassed both, to ordinary readers. But how natural was it for a generous mind, feeling indignation at an unfounded charge, with all the warmth of conscious innocence, to bring forward a refutation of it, in the foreground, which, on cooler consideration, deserved to be thrown into the background, as distinct, and of inferior moment. But what he lost in *method* he gained in *force*, oppressing his opponents with an accumulation of interrogations, not giving them time to breathe*.

And the “*pillars* of the Mother Church,” or leading Apostles of the *circumcision*, *James*, the Bishop of Jerusalem, *Peter* and *John*, did allow his and *Barnabas*' claim as *Apostles* of the

* *Virgil* thus represents a veteran pugilist overpowering his younger antagonist, with a shower of *blows*, as thick as *hail*.

Nec mora, nec requies: quam multâ grandine nimbi

Culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus, Heros,

Creber, utrâque manu, pulsat, versatque Dareta. Æn. v. 458.

uncircumcision, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, at their second visit to *Jerusalem*, as he asserted to the *Galatians*, ii. 7—9.

FIRST MISSION OF BARNABAS AND SAUL.

Having discharged their commission, *Barnabas* and *Saul* returned from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, taking with them *Mark*, the nephew of *Barnabas*, (afterwards the Evangelist,) as an assistant in their approaching mission to the Gentiles, which took place soon after, by the solemn and express appointment of the HOLY SPIRIT, to the leaders of the Church of *Antioch*, namely, the prophets and teachers, *Barnabas*, *Simeon*, surnamed *Niger*, *Lucius* the *Cyrenian*, *Manahen*, who had been bred up with *Herod* the Tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Saul*, the youngest, or last appointed, Acts xii. 25, xiii. 1.

“Separate unto me *Barnabas* and *Saul*, for the work whereunto I have now called them.”

Then the leaders, having fasted and prayed, [TO THE LORD,] and having laid their hands upon them, (commending them to his grace,) dismissed them, after they had been first chosen *Apostles* by THE HOLY SPIRIT himself, ver. 2—4.

Thus the election of these two *supernumerary Apostles*, in the room of *James* the elder, who was slain, and *James*, THE LORD’S brother, who was appointed *resident Bishop* at *Jerusalem*, in order to complete the original number of the twelve *itinerant Apostles*, as observed before; was equally valid with the election of *Matthias*; and even distinguished above it, by the more immediate appointment of the HOLY SPIRIT himself, signifying his pleasure by *declaration*, not by *lot*. We may date this election, A.D. 45, with the *Bible chronology*.

Under HIS guidance immediately, they went down to the sea-port of *Seleucia*, fifteen miles below *Antioch*, (κατηλθον,) near the mouth of the river *Orontes*; whence they sailed to *Cyprus*, the native country of *Barnabas*, and preached the word of GOD at *Salamis*, the nighest port to *Syria*, at first in the *Jewish Synagogues*, according to their custom. Thence they crossed the island to *Paphos*, the capital, at the western end, where the *Roman* proconsul, *Sergius Paulus*, resided. He also, like *Cornelius*, sent for the Apostles, desirous to hear the word of GOD. But a Jewish *false prophet*, *Barjesus*, surnamed *Elymas*, in Arabic, or *Magus*, “the *Magian*,” opposed them, and

sought to pervert the proconsul from the faith. But *Saul*, full of the HOLY SPIRIT, struck the *Magian* with blindness, for a season, as a punishment for his wicked interference. This astonishing judgment, confirming the doctrine of THE LORD, converted the proconsul to the faith, ver. 4—12.

This signal miracle, resembling *Peter's* in the case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, proved that *Saul* was not a whit inferior to the chief Apostles of the *circumcision*. And henceforth, in the course of the history, he takes the lead of *Barnabas*, although junior to him. He here, also, dropped his Jewish name, *Saul*, and in future adopted his Roman, *Paul*, as likely to gain him more respect with the Gentiles, ver. 9—13.

From *Paphos*, “*Paul and his party*” sailed to *Perga*, a town of *Pamphylia*, where *Mark* separated from them, and returned to *Jerusalem*, probably through dislike of the fatigues and dangers of the mission, ver. 13.

From *Perga* they proceeded to *Antioch*, in *Pisidia*. Here the Apostles, as usual, went into the *Jewish Synagogue*, on the sabbath day, and sat down in the seat of the doctors: and when called upon by the rulers of the Synagogue to speak a word of exhortation, or preach to the people, after the reading of the *Law* and the *Prophets* was over, *Paul* made that excellent speech to the *Jews* and religious *proselytes*, which is the counterpart of *Peter's*, at *Jerusalem*, on the day of *Pentecost*.

1. Beginning with their deliverance from *Egyptian* bondage, he recounts GOD'S providential care of their nation, from their settlement in *Canaan* till the reign of *David*, ver. 16—22.

2. That CHRIST was foretold to come of *David's* seed, as a SAVIOUR, implied in the name JESUS, ver. 23.

3. That *John the Baptist* testified his actual coming, and his high dignity. That the *Jews*, through ignorance, rejected and crucified him; but that God raised him from the dead, no more to return to corruption like *David*, his ancestor; whose prophecies respecting Christ, (Psalm ii. 7, xvi. 10,) he explains, as *Peter* had done before, ver. 24—37.

4. He states the doctrine of *justification by faith*; that “through Him every believer was justified, or saved from the punishment of all those sins, from which they could not be justified by the LAW OF MOSES,” ver. 38, 39. This forms the basis of his argument in the three Epistles to the *Galatians*, *Romans*, and *Hebrews*.

He warns them of the judgments foretold to be inflicted on the unbelieving nation of the *Jews*, (Isa. xxviii. 14, Heb. i. 5,) ver. 40, 41.

Here they had much greater success with the *proselytes* and with the *Gentiles*, than with the *Jews*; who filled with *envy*, or false zeal, contradicted *Paul's* arguments, and blasphemed CHRIST. Whereupon *Paul* and *Barnabas*, speaking freely, said, "It was necessary that the word of GOD should be first spoken to *you*; but since ye reject it, and *judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life*, lo, we turn ourselves to the *Gentiles*," (as enjoined by prophecy, Isa. xlix. 6, xlii. 6.) When the *Gentiles* heard this, they rejoiced, and glorified THE WORD OF THE LORD, and as many as were *well disposed**, or *prepared for eternal life*, believed. And though the *Jewish* zealots stirred up a persecution against *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and expelled them from their borders, (for which the Apostles gave them up to the judgment of GOD, by the ceremony of *shaking off the dust of their feet against them*, according to our Lord's injunction, Matt. x. 14,) yet GOD did not desert the Church now planted in *Pisidia*, for the disciples were *filled with joy* and with THE HOLY SPIRIT, ver. 42—52.

The *Bible chronology* dates this departure from *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, the same year, A.D. 45. But it is probable that they made some stay there, because *the word of THE LORD was spread throughout the whole country*, ver. 49, and the considerable progress of the Gospel, at length excited the *envy* of the *Jews* to counteract it. We may, therefore, with more propriety, date it A.D. 46, a year later.

After their expulsion the Apostles went to *Iconium*, a town of *Lycaonia*, bordering on *Pisidia*, where, according to their stated custom, they first preached the Gospel in the *Jewish* Synagogue. And a great multitude of *Jews* and *Greeks* believed, in consequence of their freedom of speech, and the *signs* and *wonders* wrought by their hands, during a considerable stay there. This success, as before, provoked the infidel *Jews* to prejudice the minds of the *Gentiles* against the brethren, as

* *τεταγμενοι* is unnecessarily rendered in a *prædestinarian* sense, "ordained," in the English Bible. It is evidently contrasted with the *obduracy* of the *Jews*; *αποσαντο—ιαντους ονκ αζιους εκριναν*—which is represented as their *own act and deed*. *Luke* uses the compound, *διατεταγμενος*, in the sense of *disposed*, Acts xx. 13. See *Mede's Works*, p. 21; *Whitby, Dodd, Wetstein, Parkhurst, Gilpin, &c.*

Christians; so that a *schism* was produced in the city, one party siding with the *Jews*, the other with the *Apostles*: the former, however, having gained over the *rulers*, intended to ill treat and stone* them; but being aware of it, they fled to the other cities of *Lycaonia*, namely, *Lystra* and *Derbe*, and the surrounding region, where they preached the Gospel, Acts xiv. 1—7.

At *Lystra*, *Paul* performed that signal miracle of curing a cripple from his birth; which so astonished the multitude, that they exclaimed, in their vernacular tongue, (which is supposed to have been a dialect of the *Syriac*) *The gods are descended to us in the likeness of men!* And they called *Barnabas*, *Jore*; and *Paul*, for his eloquence, *Mercury*. And this, perhaps, from the traditional fable of *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, visiting their ancestor, *Lycaon*, as travellers, and turning him into a *wolf*, for his inhospitality. *Ovid's Metamorph.* But the *Apostles*, expressing their grief and horror, by rending their clothes, with great difficulty restrained the priest of *Jupiter's* temple, outside the city, from offering them sacrifices of oxen, crowned with garlands. *Paul's* short speech on this occasion is admirable.

Disclaiming their intended worship, he declared that he and *Barnabas* were not *gods*, but *men of like infirmities* with themselves; who, by preaching the Gospel, wished to turn them from their *vain idols* to the LIVING GOD, who made the heaven, the earth, and the sea, and all things therein.

2. That although GOD, for many generations past, had suffered *all the heathen* to walk in their own ways, and follow their own inventions, Eccl. vii. 29, yet that He had never left himself unwitnessed, by the continued "*providence of his goodness,*" (*αγαθοποιων*;) by sending us refreshing *showers* from heaven, and *fruitful seasons*, filling our hearts with "*food and gladness †,*" ver. 13—18. From these premises, he left them to draw the obvious and necessary conclusion, that it was the height of *stu-*

* *Paley* has ingeniously adduced this intention to stone the *Apostles*, as a proof of the critical accuracy of the *history*, and its exact correspondence with the *Apostle's* declaration, "*Once was I stoned,*" 2 Cor. xi. 25, namely, afterwards at *Lystra*, as *Luke* relates, Acts xiv. 19. Had *Paul* been represented as actually stoned at *Iconium*, it would have contradicted his declaration.

† *Newton*, in the *Scholium generale* of his immortal *Principia*, has finely improved this argument of the *Apostle*.—"From blind metaphysical necessity, which is always and every where the same, there arises no variation of things," p. 529; or no variety of moist and fruitful; of dry and barren seasons, produced by GOD'S PROVIDENCE only; in order to reward or punish his rational creatures, Psalm cvii. 31—43.

pidity and *ingratitude*, to transfer to the *creature* the worship, due only to THE CREATOR; as more fully stated in his Epistle to the *Romans*, i. 19—25.

But the unbelieving *Jews* from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, coming to *Lystra*, soon changed the sentiments of the fickle multitude from veneration to persecution; insomuch that having stoned *Paul*, they dragged him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. However, when the *disciples* came about him, to mourn over him, we may presume, *he arose*, as it were, from the dead, and *entered into* the city, after his *miraculous* resurrection; for such we may deem it, when he was *immediately* able to walk, after all his *bruises*, and to quit the city *next day*, and retire with *Barnabas* and his party to *Derbe*, ver. 19, 20.

It is truly remarkable, that *Paul* here suffered the fate of *Stephen*. And the same zeal for GOD and CHRIST, now drew down on him alone, the fury of that tumultuous assembly; for *Barnabas*, *Timothy*, and the rest, were not molested. The Apostle himself refers to this, 2 Cor. xi. 25; and to his persecutions at *Antioch*, *Iconium*, and *Lystra*, “out of all which THE LORD *delivered* him,” 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.

Having preached the Gospel with considerable effect in *Derbe*, they undauntedly retraced their steps, and returned through *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*, confirming the new converts in the faith, notwithstanding those *persecutions* which were to be their passports to heaven. And attending no less to *discipline* than to *doctrine*, they ordained *presbyters* in every Church, to regulate its concerns. And so, having traversed all *Pisidia*, they went to *Pamphylia*, and having preached in its capital, *Perga*, they took shipping at *Attalia*, and returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the mother Church, after a circuit of about two years. There they recounted to the congregation, how GOD had prospered their mission, and opened to the *Gentiles* a *door of faith* for the reception of the Gospel.

At *Antioch*, their head quarters, they remained *no little time* with the disciples, probably about two years more, ver. 21—28. The wisdom of Providence appointing their chief residences in *capital cities*, *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, *Rome*, &c. where there was the greatest number of well-informed persons, and the greatest resort of strangers.

FIRST COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.

This was assembled to counteract and censure the first remarkable *heresy* that disturbed the harmony and concord which had hitherto prevailed in the infant Church.

The rise and progress of this *heresy* may thus be collected from the NEW TESTAMENT.

OUR LORD, during his ministry, warned his disciples "to beware of the leaven of the *Pharisees*," meaning their *doctrine*, Matt. xvi. 6—12. After his death, a considerable revolution took place in the sentiments of the *Pharisees*, (probably through the influence of *Gamaliel*, as we have seen,) and numbers of them believed in CHRIST, and were converted to his Church. But they brought with them their Jewish prejudices, and their *proselyting* spirit. "And *some* of their sect, who believed, *had stood up* * at *Jerusalem*, (even at the time of *Herod's* persecution, A.D. 44,) saying, that it was necessary for the *Gentile* converts to be *circumcised*, and to keep the LAW OF MOSES, that they might be saved, in *addition* to the GOSPEL, and a party of them went down to *Antioch* from *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, to teach this doctrine," Acts xv. 1—5.

After *Paul's* second return from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, Acts xii. 25, he and *Barnabas* had no small contest and controversy with these *Judaizing* teachers, whom he found there, and describes as "certain intermeddling *false brethren*, who came to spy out the *freedom* of the *Gentile* Church in JESUS CHRIST, to *enslave* them to the *law of Moses*," Gal. ii. 4. And such was their influence, that *Peter*, who came to *Antioch*, after his deliverance from *Herod*, although he had freely associated, at first, with the *Gentile* converts, and did eat with them, yet now withdrew, and separated himself, fearing these *Judaizing* teachers; who came, as they pretended, with commission from *James*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. And the rest of the *Jews* also, or *Jewish* Christians at *Antioch*, *temporized* with him, so that even *Barnabas* was drawn away by their *hypocrisy*, Acts xv. 2, Gal. ii. 4, 11—13.

But *Paul* did not yield in deference to them, not even for

* Εξανεστῆσαν should be rendered, "had stood up," Acts xv. 5, marking the origin of this *heresy* at *Jerusalem*, which was afterwards endeavoured to be introduced, from *Judea*, at *Antioch*, ver. 1, according to *Lardner's* judicious remark, Vol. VI. p. 273.

a moment; that the truth, or genuine doctrine of the GOSPEL might thoroughly continue, with respect to the *Gentile Church*.—And he withstood even *Peter* himself, publicly to his face, because he was *blameable*. “For,” says he, “when I saw that they walked not rightly, according to the truth of the GOSPEL, I said unto *Peter*, *before them all*, If thou thyself, who art a *Jew*, livest in the *Gentile*, and not in the *Jewish* fashion, why compellest thou the *Gentile* converts to *Judaize*?”—why deny them that liberty you at first took yourself?—But this *building of the Law upon the Gospel*, he proved to be sinful: “for if,” says he, “I *build up again* what I *had pulled down*, I render myself a *transgressor*: we (*Christians*) knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but only through faith in JESUS CHRIST.—For if *justification* is to be procured by the law, then CHRIST died in vain,” Gal. ii. 14—21. This seems to be the drift of the Apostle’s argument in this most perplexed and involved chapter, as summed up afterwards, chap. v. 1—6.

Peter himself appears to have been convinced of his error, for he then meekly made no reply; and nobly retrieved his character afterward, by publicly supporting *Paul’s* doctrine.

PAUL’S THIRD VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

At length the Church of *Antioch*, (probably by revelation,) sent a deputation, consisting of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and some others of their body, to *Jerusalem*, in order to have the decision of the *Apostles* and *Presbyters*, or heads of the Mother Church, on this important controversy. And in a General Council held thereon, after much debate, *Peter* stood up, and spoke decidedly against the *Judaizers*; recounting the first establishment of the *Gentile Church*, in the case of *Cornelius*, by the HOLY SPIRIT, by the baptism of the Spirit, conferred on them *without circumcision*; and concluding with this warning: “And now why tempt ye GOD, or resist the decree of the HOLY SPIRIT, by endeavouring to impose a *yoke* upon the necks of the disciples of the *uncircumcision*, which neither *we* nor *our fathers* were able to bear, Ezek. xx. 25, Gal. iii. 19, instead of the comparatively *light yoke* and *easy burden* of the *Christian* covenant, Matt. xi. 30. For we, [*Jewish* converts,] believe that we shall be saved, after the same manner as they, [*the Gentile*,] *only* through

the *grace* of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, (Ephes. ii. 5,) Gal. ii. 1, Acts xv. 2, xv. 6—11.

This was precisely *Paul's* doctrine, in its full extent, rejecting *circumcision* and the law of *Moses*, as unnecessary even for the *Jews* themselves. But the *council* did not go so far; following the prudent advice of *James*, their president. They endeavoured to *moderate* between both parties; and passed a decree, that the *Gentile Churches* should no more be *disturbed*, nor their *minds unsettled*, about the question of *circumcision*; only requiring of them to abstain from gross violations of the *Mosaical law*; such as, 1. partaking of meats sacrificed to *idols*; 2. *fornication*, the usual handmaid of idolatry, Exod. xxxii. 6, Numb. xxv. 1, 2; 3. eating *blood*, or *strangled* animals with the blood in them, which was also a primitive precept, Gen. ix. 4.

And while they censured these *proselyting, Pharisaical* teachers, as acting without any commission from the *Apostles* and the Mother Church, they commended their “beloved *Barnabas* and *Paul*, as men who had *hazarded their lives* for the name of OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,” and sent this decree by them, jointly, with two of their own leaders, *Judas* and *Silas*, to the *Gentile Churches* of *Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia*, Acts xv. 13—29, which was received with great joy, ver. 30, 31.

This temperate decree, dictated, indeed, by the HOLY SPIRIT, afforded a perfect model to all future *general councils*, how to maintain the *harmony* and *communion* of the *Catholic, or universal Church*; thus rejecting and censuring a mischievous *heresy*, erring in *fundamentals*, and subversive of CHRISTIAN FAITH; and yet mildly respecting the prejudices of weak and scrupulous brethren, still attached to the *Mosaical* institutions. The *Gentile Churches* being only required to avoid such gross violations of *the law of Moses*, as would necessarily offend their *Jewish* brethren, so as to break off all communion between them, and produce an irreconcilable *schism*; while the latter were bound to insist no more upon the necessity of *circumcision* to salvation, and of abstaining from *other unclean* meats, forbidden by the *Levitical law*. And by this sage decree, *Paul* appears to have governed the Churches which he planted; shewing the most considerate attention to their prejudices in matters indifferent; holding that *all things lawful* were not at all times *expedient* to be required, 1 Cor. vi. 12, as not tending to *edification*, 1 Cor. x. 23.

This will, we trust, be found a plain and consistent account of this most intricate, perplexed, and embarrassed period of the *Apostolical history* from A.D. 44 to A.D. 49, and also a just and necessary vindication of the first of the Apostles, *Peter*, from a charge of the most revolting inconsistency of *conduct* with his own *doctrine*; if, according to common opinion, we date his tergiversation at *Antioch*, after the magnanimous speech he made in the council of *Jerusalem* against the *Judaizers*; supposing (with the *commentators*;) that *Peter* went down to *Antioch*, Gal. ii. 11, about the same time with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Acts xv. 30—35. Whereas, by dating it *before* the council, (with *Basnage**,) and so early as the time of *Herod's* persecution, when *Peter* first went to *Antioch*, A.D. 44, Acts xii. 17, and was then followed by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, Acts xii. 25, we may consider his speech as a *public recantation* of his former *hypocrisy*, and a proof of the most exemplary *candour* and *humility*, submitting patiently at the time, without reply, to the public correction administered to him, by the superior *wisdom* and *spirit* of the illustrious Apostle and advocate of the *Gentiles*; and afterwards manfully supporting him at the council, by the great weight of his authority, which silenced the *Judaizers*, and disposed the whole council to listen to *Paul's* statement. And how honourably did he speak of him afterwards?—"Our beloved brother *Paul*, according to the *wisdom* given to him," 2 Pet. iii. 15, thus tacitly acknowledging his superior knowledge of the *mystery* of the Gospel, whom he loved without dissimulation, and gave him cordially *the right hand of fellowship*, to the end of their lives; and in death they were not divided. Both finishing their glorious career at *Rome*, A.D. 65. Great, indeed, was the *regenerating* and *renovating* influence of the HOLY SPIRIT upon the hearts and minds of those naturally *high-minded* and *impetuous* Apostles.

PAUL'S SECOND MISSION.

After the council of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 49, *Paul* and *Barnabas* returned to *Antioch*, and made *some stay* there, probably during the remainder of that year, teaching and preaching the word of THE LORD, with many other assistants also, Acts xv. 30—35.

* *Basnage* judiciously remarks, that it must have happened *before* the council, for that *Peter* otherwise might have opposed the authority of their decree, as a *shield* against all the attacks of the *Judaizers*. See *Lardner*, VI. p. 538.

About the beginning of A.D. 50, *Paul*, who now decidedly took the lead, proposed to *Barnabas* another circuit through the Churches they had planted in *Asia Minor*. But *Barnabas*, wanting to take with them his nephew *Mark*, as an assistant, *Paul* objected thereto, upon the score of his deserting them on the former circuit, in *Pamphylia*, (Acts xiii. 13.) *Barnabas*, however, jealous perhaps of *Paul's* ascendancy, persisted. This occasioned a quarrel, so that they parted company; *Barnabas*, taking with him *Mark*, proceeded to sail to *Cyprus*, his native country, and we hear of him no more: while *Paul* took to assist him *Silas*, the deputy from *Jerusalem*, who chose to remain at *Antioch*, and had been zealous in exhorting and confirming the Church there; and setting out with the approbation of the Church, commending him to the grace of GOD*; he passed through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming the near Churches, and delivering to them the Apostolic decree. And the Churches were confirmed in the faith, and encreased in number daily, ver. 36—41, xvi. 4, 5.

At *Lystra* he also took another assistant, *Timothy*, his favourite pupil, whom he *circumcised*, (with his own consent,) because his mother was a *Jewess*; through a spirit of accommodation to the prejudices of the *Jews* in those quarters. Though he would not suffer *Titus* before to be circumcised, because both his parents were Gentiles, in order to assert the liberty of the *Gentiles* from the yoke of *circumcision*. Compare Acts xvi. 1—3, and Gal. ii. 3.

From *Cilicia* they passed through *Phrygia* and the regions of *Galatia*, where *Paul* had planted one of his earliest Churches. But he was mortified to find that the *Galatians* had been perverted from the simplicity of the faith which he preached, by the *Judaizing* teachers. This produced his expostulatory epistle to them soon after, as explained before.

On this circuit, as well as the former, their motions were guided by the HOLY SPIRIT. They intended next to preach the word in the adjacent district of *Asia*, (the ancient *Lydia*, or proconsular *Asia*, the capital of which was *Ephesus*,) but they were prevented by THE SPIRIT, and likewise from proceeding to *Bithynia*. So, passing to *Mysia*, they came to *Troas*, on the

* This circumstance, omitted in the case of *Barnabas*, tacitly marks the Church's disapprobation of his *schism*, or separation from *Paul*.

sea coast, near the *Hellespont*, the HOLY SPIRIT not suffering them to waste time in *Asia Minor*, but intending that they should pass over to *Europe*, in order to sow a more abundant spiritual harvest. And this was signified to *Paul* by an allegorical vision at this sea port, by night. A *Macedonian* appeared to *Paul*, and besought him, saying, *pass over into Macedonia*, and *help us**, ver. 6—9.

This was interpreted by *Paul* and his company, (whom *Luke* the Evangelist now joined at *Troas*, and henceforth continues the narrative in his joint person,) as an invitation from THE LORD. “Immediately,” says *Luke*, “we sought to go from thence to *Macedonia*, collecting from the circumstances, that THE LORD had called us to preach the Gospel to them,” ver. 10.

Setting sail, therefore, from *Troas*, they went straight across to the Isle of *Samothrace*, and from thence to *Neapolis*, in *Macedonia*; and next to *Philippi*, the chief city of the first district of *Macedonia*, and a *Roman* colony. It was formerly called *Crenides*, from the numerous springs which join and form a *river*, noticed by the Evangelist, (Acts xvi. 13,) though not in the maps; and affording a specimen of his *geographical* accuracy. Here THE LORD opened the heart of *Lydia*, to become the first fruits of the Church of *Philippi*, with her family, who hospitably entertained the company, after a pressing invitation, ver. 11—15.

Here *Paul* performed that signal miracle of dispossessing the damsel that had a *spirit of Python*. See Vol. II. p. 325. This drew on him a persecution from her masters, who had turned her possession to their own gain; for they stirred up the magistrates

* This vision bears a striking analogy to that noticed before, to *Alexander* the Great, at *Dios*, in *Macedonia*, Vol. II. p. 533. As the *Macedonian* was invited over to *Asia* by a person in the dress of the *Jewish high priest*, to conquer the *Persian* empire, so was *Paul* the Apostle of CHRIST invited over from *Asia* to *Macedonia* by a seeming native, to deliver his country from the bondage of *sin* and *Satan*, by a spiritual conquest, more difficult, but more glorious; in which *Daniel's* “stone” was destined to smite in pieces the *temporal* kingdoms, which were *Satan's* seat, and the strength of which then lay in *Europe*, with the *Roman* empire.

And this analogy seems to be supported by the first fruits of the *spiritual* conquest, in the dispossession of the damsel at *Philippi*, who, though she had a *spirit of Python*, or of the *old serpent*, was yet compelled, by a superior controul, to render homage to the ambassadors of CHRIST—*These men are servants of THE MOST HIGH GOD, who announce unto us the way of salvation!*—Thus did the *demons of Europe*, as well as of *Asia*, believe and tremble!

and the multitude to scourge and imprison *Paul* and *Silas*, as disturbers of the peace. But they were miraculously freed from their chains at night, and the *jailor* and his family converted by the signal miracle of the earthquake, and opening of the prison doors also; prefigurative, perhaps, of the *spiritual* deliverance of the people from the bondage of *sin* and *Satan*.

On this occasion *Paul* shewed the spirit of a *Roman citizen*, and intimidated the magistrates for their rash and illegal proceedings, in scourging such without trial; so that they came *themselves* in person to take them out of prison, and entreated them to quit the city, ver. 16—40. Here *Luke* seems to have left them, from the change of person in the narrative.

From *Philippi* they travelled through the country to *Amphipolis* and *Apollonia*, and came to *Thessalonica*, a maritime city, and the metropolis of that district of *Macedonia* where was a considerable *Jewish* settlement. In this city some of the *Jews*, and a great number of the pious *Greeks*, and women of rank believed, and joined *Paul* and *Silas*. But the unbelieving *Jews* stirred up a tumult against them and their friends, so that they were forced to quit the city, and go to *Berea*, (near *Pella*, where *Alexander* the Great was born.) The *Jews* here were more *liberal minded* than at *Thessalonica*, and better disposed to receive the Gospel, for *they searched the Scriptures daily*, whether the *prophecies* respecting THE MESSIAH were fulfilled in JESUS OF NAZARETH, whom *Paul* preached. Therefore *many* of them believed, and not a few of the respectable *Greeks*, both women and men. But the unbelieving *Jews* from *Thessalonica*, following him thither, stirred up opposition to *Paul* among the multitude, so that the brethren sent him away, and escorted him along the sea side to *Athens*, while *Silas* and *Timothy* remained behind with directions to follow him as soon as possible, Acts xvii. 1—15.

PAUL VISITS ATHENS.

While *Paul* waited for them at *Athens*, he was highly provoked in his spirit at the extravagant superstition of the city, which he saw “filled with *temples, altars, and idols*,” (κατείδωλον.)

There he debated in the Synagogue with the *Jews* and *Proselytes*; and in the market place daily, with the people whom he met; and preached JESUS and the *Resurrection*.

But some of the *Epicurean* and *Stoic* philosophers encountered him; and some said, *What meaneth this babbler to say?* but others, *He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange demons.* The former were probably *Epicureans*, who denied a *resurrection*; the latter, *Stoics*, who counted JESUS a *demon*, or *hero**, according to their *Theology*, ver. 16—18.

The Greeks held, that *demons* were a middle class of beings between *Gods* and *Men*, and regarded them as *mediators* or *agents* between both. “*GOD,*” says *Plato*, “doth not associate with *Man*; but all the commerce and conversation between them is carried on by *demons*. These are interpreters and carriers from *men* to *Gods*, and from *Gods* to *men*, of the prayers and sacrifices of the one; and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices from the other.” And *Apuleius* states, that “all things are done by the will, power, and authority of the *celestial Gods*; but by the obedience, service, and ministry of *the demons*.”

Of these *demons*, they held two sorts; *terrestrial* and *celestial*. *Hesiod*, the earliest perverter, perhaps, of their *Theology*, reckoned, that the former were the spirits of the men of the *golden age*, deified after death, by *Jove*, the supreme God. (See Vol. I. p. 243, of this work.) And *Plato* approves his doctrine; “*Hesiod* says well; he, and many other poets, who say, that when a *good man* dies, he hath great honour and dignity, and is made a *demon*.”—“And we ought for ever after, says *Plato*, to serve and adore *their sepulchres* as the sepulchres of *demons*.”

The *celestial demons* were supposed to be a higher order of spirits; who were never subject to the incumbrances of the body; out of whom, rather, according to *Plato*, (correcting *Hesiod's* doctrine) were appointed the respective *guardian Angels* † of *men*, during the course of each man's life; such as the *demon of Socrates*, see p. 36 of this Volume.

This heathen “*doctrine of demons*,” was well understood by *Paul*, so well skilled in the *learning* and *philosophy* of the *Greeks*, and thus combated by him in his *Epistles*.

* Αναξιοφορμιγγες ἕμνοι,
Τίνα Θεον, τίνα Ἡρωα
Τίνα δ' Ἄνδρα κελαδῆσομεν;
Pindar. Olymp. 2.

Quem *Virum* aut *Heroa*, lyrâ, vel acri
Tibiâ, sumis celebrare, *Clio*?
Quem *Deum*?

Horat. Od. I. 12.

† This was also a popular doctrine among the *Jews*, and seemed to be countenanced by some passages of Scripture, Gen. xviii. 1—10, xix. 1—22, Ps. xci. 11, Dan. xi. 22, x. 13, Tobit xii. 15; and our BLESSED LORD finely applied it to promote *universal benevolence* toward the *least*, or meanest of our brethren, Matt. xviii. 10.

“There is no other GOD but ONE [SUPREME] for though there are others, called *Gods*, whether *in heaven*, or *in earth*, [whether *celestial* or *terrestrial demons*] (as there are *Gods many* of the former class, and *lords many* of the latter, held by you, *Greeks*) yet we, *Christians*, hold only ONE GOD, THE FATHER, *from whom* are all things, and *we* dedicated *unto Him*, [or to whom we are to direct *all our services* and *devotions*] and ONE LORD JESUS CHRIST, *by whom* are all things, and *we through him*” [only have access, by one Spirit, to THE FATHER,] 1 Cor. viii. 4—6, Eph. ii. 18. “For there is but ONE GOD; and ONE MEDIATOR between GOD and *man*; the man CHRIST JESUS; who gave himself a *ransom for all*, (the *proof* of it in due season :) to publish which, I was appointed an *Apostle* and a *teacher* of the *Gentiles* in the true faith. I speak truth in CHRIST, I lye not,” 1 Tim. ii. 5—7.

The *Jews*, however, and the later *Greek* philosophers, *Plutarch*, &c. used the word *demons* in a bad sense, as denoting evil or *infernal* spirits. See the foregoing article of *Demoniacs*, p. 104 of this Vol. And it is so understood every where else in the NEW TESTAMENT, except the foregoing passages, according to the observation of Bishop *Newton* in his masterly Dissertation, XXII, on St. *Paul's doctrine of demons*, and *apostacy of the latter times*, foretold, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3, Vol. II. p. 437—445.

The charge of “setting forth *strange demons*,” brought against *Paul* by these *philosophers*, was of a very serious nature, as disturbing the *national religion*. On this charge, *Socrates* was condemned to death; as we learn from *Xenophon*. “*Socrates* is guilty of not holding those to be *Gods*, whom *the city* holds; and of introducing *other new demons*; he is guilty also of *corrupting the youth*,” Mem. I. i. 1.

And that it was meant *judicially*, appears from their *laying hold on him*, (*επιλαβομενοι*, probably, after they were foiled in argument) and bringing him before the supreme court of *Areopagus* for trial; while that inquisitive *people*, and the *strangers* sojourning there for education, *who spent their leisure time in telling, or hearing news*; (as *Demosthenes* often reproached them in his orations; see *Grotius'* learned notes on this chapter) wished to gratify their curiosity in terms of more civility than the insolent and haughty philosophers. “May we know what is this *new doctrine* spoken by thee? for thou introducest *some*

strange notions to our hearing. We wish, therefore, *to know what these mean?*" ver. 19, 20.

Then, *Paul*, in a masterly apology, which cannot be too highly admired by the most learned, denied and retorted the charge of his opponents, while he instructed the people; for having been *stationed* in the midst of the court of *Areopagus*, (*σταθεις*) he said,

"*Athenians*, I observe, in all quarters, that *ye* are *over-religious*, or rather too much addicted to the worship of *demons*, *yourselves*, (*ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστερους, ὑμας*.) For, as I was going through the city, and reviewing the several *objects of your worship* (*σεβασματα*,) among them, I saw an *altar*, on which was inscribed, ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ. TO THE UNKNOWN GOD *.

* *Αγνωστω Θεω*. The whole inscription according to *Theophylact* and *Æcumenius*, is supposed to have been, *Θεοις Ασιας και Ευρωπης, και Λιβυης, Θεω Αγνωστω και νεω*, which *Jerom*, with some variation, translates, *Diis Asiæ et Europæ et Africæ, Diis ignotis et peregrinis*. *Reinesius*, though he gives it the first place in his *Syntagma*, p. 1682, believes it to be a forgery: which is highly probable, from the inversion of the terms in the corresponding part, *Θεω Αγνωστω*; for the genuine inscription is more conformable to the ancient Greek mode, which frequently puts the adjective before the substantive; as *τον εμον πεπλον*, in the *Saite* inscription. And to the genuine simple inscription, and order of the words, *Chrysostom*, *Isidore of Pelusium*, and *Lucian* bear witness. In the *Philopatris*, a speaker is introduced, swearing, *Νη τον Αγνωστον, εν Αθηναις*, "by THE UNKNOWNABLE, at Athens." *Lucian's works*, Vol. III. p. 594, who is mentioned again, p. 617, *Lardner* VIII. p. 112, 113.

Because the inscription is anarthrous, *Wakefield* renders it, "To an unknown God," and *Middleton* accedes to his translation, because, in some inscriptions, like this, where the adjective is put first, he has found the article prefixed; as, *τον λαμπροτατον ανθυπατον*, "the most illustrious proconsul;" *Spon.* Vol. II. p. 270, *οι ζειωτατοι αυτοκρατορες*, "the most divine emperors," Vol. I. p. 320; *τω σωτηρι Θεω*, "to the Saviour God," p. 306, where he considers *σωτηρ* as an adjective. *Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 411—414.

To this, it may be objected,

1. That these inscriptions are comparatively modern; whereas the primitive Greek frequently omits the article, even when it is unquestionably understood, as in the first word of the *Iliad*, *μηνιν*, signifies "the anger" of *Achilles*.

2. "The title of a book, as prefixed to a book, should be anarthrous; but when the book is referred to, the article should be inserted." This is *Middleton's* own judicious rule, founded in the *philosophy of language*, p. 288. Thus, the title of *Hesiod's* poem, is *Ασπις Ἡρακλεους*; but *Longinus* refers to, *την Ασπιδα*, "the shield," expressing the article, evidently understood in the title. And does not this rule equally apply to the inscription upon an altar, which is in fact its title? Precisely in the same way, the swearer in *Lucian* invokes *τον Αγνωστον* "the unknowable," expressing, what was, indeed, understood in the inscription, the article, *τω*.

3. That the article is *actually* understood in the inscription, is evident from the context; for *Αγνωστω Θεω*, is clearly in apposition to, *ὁ Θεος*, whose nature the Apostle proceeds to explain immediately after in the next verse.

Whom, therefore, ye *rightly worship*, though *without knowing* him, (αγνωσυντες, ευσεβειτε) HIM declare I unto you," ver. 22, 23.

This exordium, after a well-turned compliment to their *religious zeal*, (in which favourable sense, δεισιδαιμονια, is frequently used) completely refuted the charge; by shewing, even from their own altar, that he introduced no *strange demon*, but the old established GOD, whose *right worship* they had *ignorantly* debased by the wrong worship of a multitude of *demons*, or *new gods*, whom their fathers knew not*. Whose *hidden*

Αγνωστω should be rendered *unknowable*, or, with the *Syriac* version, "hidden." For the *Egyptians*, whence this title was derived, held the first cause of all things to be σκοτος αγνωστον, "darkness unknowable," which they explained, ὑπερ πασαν νοησιν, "above all comprehension;" this was thrice repeated in their mysteries. See *Cudworth*, p. 354, (incorrectly paged, 414,) which is well expressed by *Josephus*, Θεον, δυναμι μεν ἡμιν γνωριμον* ὁποιοις δε κατ' ουσιαν, αγνωστον, "GOD, indeed, is made known to us by his power: but is unknowable as to his nature," *Contr. Apion*. 2, 16, p. 1377, *Hudson*, which is the substance of the Apostle's argument, *Romans* i. 19, 20. And the meaning of αγνωστον is unequivocally shewn by the following sentiment, which *Lucian* puts in the mouth of *Socrates*: "we seem to be utterly purblind judges (αμβλωποι) both of possibilities and of impossibilities. We judge according to human power, of THAT [POWER] which is unknowable and incredible, and invisible," (αγνωστον ουσαν, και απιστον, και αορατον.) *Halcyon*. Vol. I. p. 179. Still, however, as the term *unknowable* is not in common use, and that *unknown*, by the usual latitude of speech, sometimes implies the same, it may be still retained.

Here the combination of epithets ascertains the meaning of the first.

* The purity and simplicity of the *primitive religion* of *Greece*, and its gradual corruption, by *Egyptian* Polytheism, and afterwards by the *poetic* fictions of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, *Orpheus*, &c. are well explained by that judicious and accurate historian *Herodotus*, in the following curious passages, reporting candidly the information he received from the priests of *Dodona*, by far the most ancient oracle of *Greece*. Its name was evidently derived from *Dodan*, one of the sons of *Javan*, or *Ion*, who originally settled in *Greece*, and was the son of *Japheth*, or *Iapetus*, the eldest son of *Noah*; whence the Greek proverb, "older than *Iapetus*," to express the remotest antiquity. See the primitive record of the settlements of *Japheth's* family, *Gen.* x. 1—5.

These primitive settlers were called from *Javan*, or *Ion*, *Ιαωνες*, or *Ionians*, (see Vol. I. p. 353, 354, of this work,) and the first colonists after them were the *Pelasgi*, a roving tribe, probably *Cushites*, or *Cuthites* of *Ham's* race, *Gen.* x. 6—20, who arrived at *Samothrace* from *Phœnicia*, before the reign of *Cecrops*, which began B.C. 1553, and introduced a barbarous dialect; as we learn from *Herodotus*, B. i. 56, viii. 44.

"Formerly," said the priests, "when the *Pelasgi* prayed to the gods, they sacrificed all things to all in common, but gave none of them either name or surname; for they were hitherto unacquainted with either. They only called them Θεοι, "disposers," because "they disposed and held in order all things and all countries," (ὅτι κοσμφ θεντες τα παντα πρηγματα, και πασας νομας, εχον.)

"It was not until a long time after that they learned the names of the gods, from *Egypt*.—Upon this subject, they consulted the oracle of *Dodona*, (at that time, the only one in *Greece*,) whether they might, with propriety, adopt these names from the *Barbarians*? The oracle answered, that they might. So, from that time they in-

nature, implied in the inscription, required and justified explanation.

Socrates is supposed by *Wellwood* to have erected this famous altar; but he, on the contrary, rather sanctioned the *national idolatry*. He offered sacrifices himself, and recommended the same to others. Even his dying words expressed a *vow*, or religious wish, that his friends would *sacrifice a cock to Æsculapius*, the god of Medicine.

The *antiquity* of the altar seems to be indicated by the simplicity of the inscription. And if we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture concerning its history, it was probably erected by *Erechtheus*, the principal founder of their state and religion, whose reign began B.C. 1399, according to the rectified table of the *Athenian kings*, Vol. I. p. 123.

The city of *Athens* was colonized early, from *Sais* in *Egypt*, where was a celebrated temple dedicated to the Goddess of *Wisdom*, called in the *Egyptian* language, *Νηθ*, or *Νηθας*; which read backward *, gave the name of the Grecian goddess,

voked the gods in their sacrifices under *distinct names*. From the *Pelasgi*, they were communicated to the *Greeks*." Herodot. B. 2, § 51, 52.

After this relation of the priests of *Dodona*, the judicious historian proceeds to deliver his *own sentiments*, (not those of the *priests*, according to *Beloe's* translation)

"But from whence *each* of the *gods* derived his origin, or whether they have been *all* from *eternity*, or under what *forms* they existed, were *matters unknown*, as I may say, *till yesterday*, (or very recently;) for, in *my opinion*, the first persons who framed a *Theogony*, (or *Genealogy* of the gods,) and gave them *surnames* (or *epithets*), distinguishing their *honours*, *functions*, and appropriate *forms*, [male or female,] were *Hesiod* and *Homer*; who lived, I believe, *four hundred years*, and *not more*, before myself," [about B.C. 884,] § 53.

The priests of *Dodona* and *Herodotus*, being then *Polytheists* themselves, speak of the *primitive gods* of *Greece* in the plural number. But how could *Polytheism* subsist without *proper names* of those gods? and yet, by their own account, there were none in use. Unquestionably, therefore, the first *settlers*, and even the first *colonists* for a long time after, worshipped only THE PATRIARCHAL GOD, (τῷ πατρῷ Θεῷ, Acts xxiv. 14,) as the sole CREATOR and DISPOSER of the universe; according to the learned poet *Sophocles*, born B.C. 497; thus recording the true *Patriarchal Cosmogony*, as distinguished from the false of later times.

Εἷς, ταις ἀληθειαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν Θεός,
'Ὅς οὐρανὸν τ' ἐτενξε, καὶ γαίαν μακρὰν,
Πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶμα, κ' ἀνεμῶν βίας.

"There is ONE, in truth, but ONE GOD,
Who made *the Heaven*, and spacious *Earth*,
And azure waves of *sea*, and blasts of *winds*."

* This is the ingenious conjecture of the profoundly learned *Cudworth*, p. 309—341.

Αθηνη, *Minerva*; and of the city itself, Αθηναί, *Athens*, dedicated to Αθηνη πολιας, “*Minerva*, protectress of the city,” by *Erechtheus*. He built a temple to the goddess in the *Acropolis*, or citadel of *Athens*; and was himself deified for his public services, and honoured with a temple by his subjects; as we learn from *Homer*, Il. 2, 548, and *Herodotus*, B. 5, § 82, B. 8, 55. And *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that he instituted the festivals, and taught the *Egyptian* rites and mysteries of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*, B. 1. His temple was subsisting in *Cicero’s* time, who saw it.—*Erechtheus*, cujus *Athenis* et delubrum vidimus, et sacerdotem. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 39.

On the *Saite* temple of *Neith*, was this inscription, Εγω ειμι ΠΑΝ το γεγονος, και ον*, και εσομενον* και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν. “*I am ALL that hath been, and is*, and shall be: and my vail no mortal yet uncovered.*”

Pan was the most ancient of the *Egyptian gods*, according to *Herodotus*, B. 2, § 145, symbolical of the *universe*. And in the grand festival of the *Panathenæa*, celebrated every five years at *Athens*, the noble virgins, carried in solemn procession, the sacred πεπλος, or “*vail*,” of a white colour, embroidered with gold, on which were portrayed the achievements of the *goddess* against the *Giants* of old; and then placed it on her statue in the *Acropolis*. See *Potter’s* description of the *Panathenæa*, Vol. I. p. 421, of his *Antiquities of Greece*.

This symbolical *Egyptian* inscription, and the *Athenian* ceremony, evidently founded thereon, furnish the best comment on the *Athenian* inscription, as denoting the *hidden* or *incomprehensible* nature of *DIVINE WISDOM* in the formation and government of the *universe*. And the ceremony was retained long after its original *hieroglyphical* signification was lost. Mistaking the meaning of *Pan*, *Plutarch* supposed that the *Panathenæa* were not instituted till the reign of *Theseus*, which began B.C. 1236, to commemorate the union of “*all*” the people of *Attica*, in the one state of “*Athens*.” See his life of *Theseus*.

I. After the exordium, the Apostle proceeds in the first part of his argument to explain the *true nature* and *worship* of **THE DEITY**.

* See some observations on the universally primitive name of **THE SUPREME BEING, ON**, in my *Dissertations*, p. 218—223.

1. "THE GOD who made the *world* and *all things* therein, He being LORD of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in *temples* made with hands, neither is served [with *sacrifices*, &c.] by *men's* hands, as if he wanted any thing [from them :] who HIMSELF gave to *all*, *life*, and *breath*, and *all things*, [at the *creation*, Gen. i. :] and [again, after the *deluge*] made of *one blood*, [or *family*, *Noah's*,] every *nation* of men to inhabit the whole face of the earth ; having *preordained* the appointed *times* and *boundaries* of their respective settlements, [in regular and orderly succession, Gen. x. 1—32, Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.] ver. 24—26.

2. The grand design of *man's* creation, he informs them, was to be a *religious Being*—"to seek THE LORD," so far as he is discoverable ; "if haply, they could *grope out* * and *find HIM*"

* Ψηλαφησειαν, (Aor. I. *Æolice*, pro, ψηλαφησαιεν.) This passage is well rendered by the *Syriac* version, "To seek GOD, and search Him out, and know Him from his creatures," or his works of *creation*. Compare Rom. i. 19—22.

The Apostle seems to have borrowed this remarkable verb, ψηλαφᾶω, "to *grope out*," or *feel*, as if in the dark, from *Socrates*, who so uses it in a parallel passage of *Plato's Phædo*, wherein he censures the blindness and stupidity of the philosophers of his age for ascribing to *second causes*, the works of THE FIRST CAUSE ; and of course forgetting GOD, and "worshipping the *creature* instead of the CREATOR," Rom. i. 23—25.

"They are unable to distinguish, that it is one thing to be the [*secondary*, or immediate] *cause* of the existence of something, but another to be THAT [PRIMARY] CAUSE, without which, the other could not be a cause at all. In this respect, indeed, *the many*, seem to me *groping*, as it were, in *darkness*, (ψηλαφῶντες, ὡσπερ ἐν σκοτει) using other's eyes instead of their own ; so as to denominate [the *secondary*] THE CAUSE ITSELF," [OR THE PRIMARY.]

How appositely does this abstruse passage of the *Phædo*, (here attempted to be more closely rendered and explained) censure the absurd *Cosmogonies* of the Greeks ; some supposing with *Aristotle*, that the *world* was *uncreated*, or *eternal* ; others with *Epicurus*, that it was made by *chance*, or by a fortuitous concourse of atoms ! while the *popular* belief was, that they themselves were *αυτοχθονες*, originally "sprung from their own soil," hatched like *mushrooms* or *reptiles*, by the *sun's* heat ; forgetting their true CREATOR, according to *primæval tradition*, Gen. ii. 7.

The following extracts from *Plato* furnish an advantageous specimen of the *wisdom* of *Socrates*, born B.C. 470, who was called "the *wisest* of men" by the *oracle* ; because, as he explained it, he professed to know nothing but his *ignorance* of divine things.

1. The first, from the *Phædo*, thus states the insufficiency of *human reason* for the discovery of DIVINE TRUTH, and the necessity of some DIVINE REASON, or ORACLE.

"SOCRATES. Concerning such, to know clearly (σαφες εἶδεναι) in the present life, is either *impossible*, or *extremely difficult*.—One of these two things then we should endeavour to effect : either to learn from *others*, or to find out *ourselves* THE TRUTH. Or, if this be *impossible*, to take the best and most unexceptionable of *human oracles* (*ανθρωπινων λογων*) as our guide ; and borne on this, as on a *raft*, sail through the

by the glimmering light of *reason*, even aided by *revelation*: the latter assuring us, “although” it is incomprehensible by the

hazardous [*ocean*] of life: unless we might be enabled to pass through more securely and safely on some firmer *vessel*, or DIVINE ORACLE,” (Λογον Θειου.)

2. And that this ORACLE was conceived to be a *person*, and even a *man*; we learn from the following curious passage of the *Alcibiades*, in which *Socrates* is thus introduced, instructing that favourite pupil.

SOCRATES. We must needs wait then, *Alcibiades*, until we can learn *how* we ought to behave toward GOD and toward *men*.

ALCIBIADES. When shall this time come, *Socrates*? and who shall be the instructor? for I long to see *this man* (τουτου τον ανθρωπον) whosoever he is.

SOCRATES. He it is who careth for thee: (ὃ μελει περι σου) and I think, that as *Minerva* [the goddess of *Wisdom*] in *Homer* (*Iliad*. 5, 127) removed the *mist* from the eyes of *Diomedes*, that he might well know both *gods* and *men*; so is it necessary in the first place, that He should remove the *mist* from your soul that is now attached thereto; and next, that He should apply the means by which you shall know both *good* and *evil* in future: for now, indeed, you seem not to be able.

ALCIBIADES. Let Him remove the *mist*, or whatever else it is, since I am prepared to decline none of his directions, whosoever this man is, (ὅστις ποτ' εστιν ὁ ανθρωπος) provided I may be enabled to become better.

SOCRAT. Truly that same person (κακεινος) hath a wonderful regard for thee.

ALCIBIAD. I think then, the best way will be to postpone sacrificing until that time.

SOCRAT. You think right, for it is safer, than to run so great a risk [of sacrificing improperly.]

ALCIBIAD. Then, indeed, shall we give to THE GODS crowns, and other legitimate offerings, when I see that day coming. And it will come, in no long time, THE GODS willing.

3. And further, we learn from *Eupolis*, about B.C. 440, the pupil also of *Socrates*, that this ORACLE or DIVINE TEACHER was to be associated with the DEITY, in the providential care and instruction of mankind, in the following extracts from his admirable HYMN TO THE CREATOR, translated by Mr. Samuel Wesley, (father of the founder of *Methodism*,) not having access myself to the original *Greek*. The translation, generally esteemed excellent, is given entire in Doctor *Coke's* life of Mr. *John Wesley*, p. 20, and well deserves attention.

“ AUTHOR OF BEING, Source of Light,

With unfading beauties bright,
Fulness, Goodness, rolling round
Thy own fair orb without a bound;
Whether Thee, thy suppliants call,
TRUTH, or GOOD, or ONE, or ALL,
EI, or ΙΑΩ: Thee we hail,
ESSENCE THAT CAN NEVER FAIL.

Grecian or *Barbaric* name,

Thy stedfast BEING still THE SAME:—————

Thee will I sing, O FATHER, JOVE,

And teach the world to praise and love.—————

And yet, a greater HERO far,

(Unless great *Socrates* could err)

Shall rise to bless some future day,

And teach to live, and teach to pray.

former, yet, that “ He is subsisting not far from *every one* of us,” as THE UNIVERSAL SPIRIT, and THE FATHER OF SPIRITS : “ for in HIM we *live, and move ourselves, and are ;*” as even some of their own poets had said, “ For *we* also are HIS OFFSPRING*,” ver. 27, 28.

COME UNKNOWN INSTRUCTOR COME !
Our leaping hearts shall make thee room ;
THOU, with JOVE *our vows shalt share,*
Of JÖVE and THEE *we are the care.*

O FATHER, KING, whose Heavenly face
Shines serene on *all thy race,* [in heaven and earth]
We thy magnificence adore,
And thy well known aid implore,
Nor vainly for thy help we call,
Nor can we want, for THOU ART ALL !”

Here “ the Grecian name,” EI, “ THOU ART,” inscribed on the temple of *Apollo*, (the god of *Wisdom*) at *Delphi* ; seems to be taken from the *Saite* inscription, “ I AM,” which corresponds to the sacred name of the *God of the Hebrews*, “ I AM, WHO AM,” Exod. iii. 14 ; intimating his *sameness* or *unchangeableness*. And “ the Barbaric name,” IAΩ, was the *Hebrew*, IAHOH, intimating his *unity* ; whence was derived the *Phœnician*, IEYΩ, and from thence, the *Grecian*, ZEYΣ. See my *Dissertations*.

* Του γαρ και γενος εσμεν. This is an express citation from a *Cilician* poet, and countryman of the Apostle’s, *Aratus*, in his *Astronomical* poem, about B.C. 278. Which begins thus.

“ From JOVE let us begin ; of whom, we *men*
Ought not to be silent : for *all*, are full of JOVE,
The ways and haunts of *men*, the *sea* and *lakes*,
JOVE’s bounties every where, we all enjoy.
For *we* also, are HIS *offspring.*”

The particule “ also,” intimates, as well as *gods* ; even according to the usual epithet of THE DEITY in *Hesiod* and *Homer’s* poems, those grand corrupters of the *Patriarchal Theology*, Θεων πατηρ ηδε και ανδρων,—πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε. “ *Father* both of *gods* and *men.*”

But the Apostle did not mean to confine himself singly to *Aratus*, from his citing plurally, “ some of their own poets.” The same sentiment was implied in the foregoing HYMN of *Eupolis* ; and more expressly in another devout HYMN TO THE DEITY, by *Cleanthes*, an *Athenian*, and most celebrated *Stoic* philosopher, the successor of *Zeno*, their founder ; who, after leading a life of extreme poverty, as a *drawer of water*, at length voluntarily starved himself, B.C. 240 ; but for his great merit, was honoured by the *Athenians*, after his death, with a statue ! to their own disgrace. Virtutem incolu- mem odimus, &c. He begins in the same strain.

“ *Most glorious* of *immortals*, THOU *many named*,
Always *Almighty*, *prime ruler* of *Nature*,
Governing all by *Law*, JOVE, hail !
For *mortals* all, THEE to address is meet ;
For *we* are THY *offspring*. But the lot
Of [puny] *mortals*, who, upon this earth,
Do *live* and *creep*, is only like

3. Hence, the Apostle concludes, that *all mankind* are bound to worship GOD as “OUR FATHER;” and not with false and idolatrous, but with true and spiritual worship, as subsisting “*in the heavens;*” which seems to be the drift of the sequel: “Being then GOD’S *offspring* ourselves, we ought not [even from our own *spiritual* nature] to think that THE DEITY * (το Θειον) is [*material*, in his nature; or] like *gold* or *silver*, or *stone* [*images*] wrought and engraved by *human* art and device, [as *idols*, or objects of worship] ver. 29.

II. In the second part of his argument, he proceeds to explain the subjects of his preaching, “JESUS and *the resurrection.*”

1. To promote their *love* of GOD, he informs them, that during the past *times* of their *ignorance* of his true nature and worship, “GOD was pleased to *overlook,*” or regard with pity and compassion, their gross corruptions in *religion* and *morals*; and *now*, at length, to send his Son JESUS, (that *divine teacher*; so earnestly longed for by the *best* and *wisest* of their *own philosophers*, and the *desire* of all nations) to teach the world the *right worship* of GOD, (ευσεβεια) and to *save* them, upon the condition of *repentance* and reformation in future; for, that by

The *image* of a *voice*, [an *echo*, or faint resemblance]
Thee will I hymn, and ever praise *thy power*.

THEE obeys the [*starry*] world, revolving round
The *earth*; and following, where Thou ledest :
For Thou with hand invincible, dost wield
A *thunderbolt*, *two-edged*, *flaming*, and *everliving* ;
The stroke of which, all nature dreads, &c.

The originals of *Aratus* and *Cleanthes* may be seen in *Cudworth*, p. 475—482. A good poetic translation of the latter is given by *West* in his *Translations from Pindar*, p. 276.

The foregoing citation, “For in HIM we *live*, and *move*,” &c.; both *Paul* and *Cleanthes* may have taken from an old *Iambic*.

Ζωμεν δ' εν αυτω, θνητα, και κινουμεθα,
Και εσμεν.—

Here, the middle verb, *κινουμεθα*, “*we move ourselves,*” agreeably to the *Stoical* doctrine, attributes *motivity*, or the active power of moving, to *men*, as distinguished from mere *machines*, or instruments moved by others. *Cleanthes* has finely expressed its *slowness*, however, if compared with the FIRST MOVER, by *ερπομεν*, “*we creep;*” and our faint resemblance of THE DEITY, like the *echo* of a *voice*.

* Το Θειον. It is remarkable, that this is the only passage in the NEW TESTAMENT, in which the word is used in the *philosophical* sense of “THE DEITY.” It elsewhere denotes, *sulphur*, or *sulphureous* fire, *lightning*, Luke xvii 29, Rev. ix. 17, 18, xiv. 10, &c.

HIM, "GOD announced to *all men, every where, to repent,*" ver. 30.

2. At the same time, to excite also a well grounded *fear of GOD*, (*δεισιδαιμονια*) he informs them, that if they did not listen to JESUS, or his GOSPEL, they would incur condign punishment at the general *resurrection* and subsequent *judgment* to be administered by Him; "for, that GOD hath appointed a *day*, in which he is to *judge* the world *uprightly*, by *that man JESUS*, for whom he *ordained* the judgments."

3. He rests the proof of the *general resurrection* upon the resurrection of JESUS himself, as the *first fruits*, the sample and pledge of our own.—"Whereof HE gave *assurance* to *all*, by *raising Him* from the dead," ver. 31.

This admirable but most abstruse discourse, (which we have here humbly and imperfectly attempted to analyse, fill up, and expound,) exhibits a finished model of close reasoning, both in the *Socratic* and *Aristotelic* methods; the former in the exordium, or introduction; the latter in the sequel.

The effect produced thereby upon the *audience*, and upon the *court*, is thus described.

"And when they heard of the *resurrection of the dead*, some *mocked*; but others said, *We will hear thee again concerning this matter*. And so *Paul* [being acquitted of the charge] *went out from the midst of them**." Some persons, however, [amidst the *general disbelief*] joined him, and believed. Among who was *Dionysius the Areopagite*, a woman named *Damaris*, and others with them, or, of their household, ver. 32—34.

Among the "*mockers*" we may conclude were the philosophers, both *Epicureans* and *Stoics*; whose tenets, though opposite, were equally adverse to the reception of *the Gospel*, (as we have shewn, in the preceding article, on *the spirit of the Gospel*.) Of the *audience*, some were better disposed, and expressed a wish of further information; and *one* among the *judges* was converted, and a *woman* of rank, with some others of inferior note. Thus was the Apostle's remark realized in this famous seat of *philosophy* and *human learning*, that "not many *wise*, according to *flesh*, (or human estimation,) not many *great*, not many *noble*, were called," 1 Cor. i. 26.

* This expression strongly resembles those in the Gospels, in which OUR LORD is said to have extricated himself, and escaped from his enemies, *passing through the midst of them*.

Dionysius the Areopagite was that illustrious convert, A.D. 51, whose remarks on the preternatural *darkness* that accompanied OUR LORD'S *crucifixion*, A.D. 31, were noticed before from *Suidas*, p. 230 of this Volume. It has been the fashion, indeed, with *Lardner*, and some *sceptical* hypercritics, to undervalue this evidence as *spurious*; because it is favourable to the cause of *Christianity*! Upon the same principle, we have seen the *authenticity* of *Josephus' character of CHRIST*, and even of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* disputed. But until they can produce better proofs of the *negative* than bare *assertion*, we are surely warranted to abide by the testimony of *Suidas*, and *the ancients*, wherever they do not *contradict* acknowledged facts, or established opinions. It is remarkable, that *Paul* did not repeat his visit to *Athens*; the pride of *philosophy* disdaining the lowliness and humility of the GOSPEL, as "*foolishness.*"

PAUL'S FIRST VISIT TO CORINTH.

From *Athens*, he proceeded to *Corinth*, the capital of *Achaia*. We may date this visit in the course of the year A.D. 51, Acts xviii. 1, rather than A.D. 54, with the *Bible Chronology*, for reasons stated in adjusting the chronology of the Epistle to *Titus*.

Here, he made a considerable stay of a *year and six months*; THE LORD having appeared to him in vision, and promised to prosper his preaching, and to protect himself from harm: for that HE *had much people in that city*, ver. 9—11.

His principal associates in the ministry, beside *Silas* and *Timothy*, were *Aquila*, a *Jew of Pontus*, with his wife, *Priscilla*, who had lately come thither from *Rome*, after the expulsion of the *Jews* by *Claudius*, the emperor, on account of their turbulence. With them, he worked at their common trade of *tent-makers*, for his livelihood. Indeed, the *disinterestedness* of the Apostle was a prominent feature in his character, as observed before. "*I seek not yours, but you,*" said he to the *Corinthians*, (2 Cor. xii. 14.) ver. 2—5.

The only occurrences noticed in the history during *Paul's* long stay at *Corinth*, are, the conversion of *Crispus*, the chief ruler of the *Jewish Synagogue* there, with all his household, whom *Paul* himself baptized, 1 Cor. i. 14; the conversion of many of the *Corinthians* there, and at *Cenchrea*, in the neighbourhood; and a tumult raised by the unbelieving *Jews*, who

rushed upon *Paul* with one accord, and brought him before *Gallio*, then proconsul of *Achaia*, and brother to *Seneca*, (*Nero's* tutor) accusing him of “*persuading the world to worship GOD contrary to the law [of Moses]*” ver. 6—13.

But when *Paul* was going to enter upon his defence, *Gallio* said to the *Jews*, “If it were a matter of *wrong*, or of *sinister fraud*, in reason, I should bear with you, [and hear your complaint:] but if it be a question about a *word*, particular opinion, or tenet, and about *names*, and your *own law*, look to it yourselves; for I will not meddle with such matters.” And he dismissed them from the tribunal. Then all the *Jews**, laying hold of *Sosthenes*, the chief ruler of their Synagogue, beat him before the tribunal for countenancing *Paul*. But *Gallio* took no notice of it, ver. 14—17.

Though *Gallio* was blameable for not noticing an outrageous breach of the peace; yet he was commendable for not interfering in *religious* disputes, that were not detrimental to the state, or community, such as the tenet, whether *JESUS* was the *Messiah* or not; whether his disciples should be denominated *Christians* in opposition to the *Jews*; and whether they should reject *circumcision*, prescribed by the law of *Moses*. Happy would it have been for themselves and for the world at large, if his successors, the *Roman emperors* and *magistrates*, had adhered to the same principles of *toleration*!

PAUL'S FOURTH VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

Some time after this disturbance, *Paul* left the port of *Cenchrea*, and returned to *Syria* by sea, and touched at *Ephesus*; where he left his friends, *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, and then continued his voyage to *Cesarea*, in order to “*go up*” and attend the passover at *Jerusalem*, and to salute *the Church*. And having done so, he returned to his head quarters at *Antioch*, ver. 18—22. We may date this fourth visit to *Jerusalem* in the spring of A.D. 54, rather than A.D. 55; with the Bible Chronology; because the fifth visit to *Jerusalem* was in A.D. 59, which is dated A.D. 60, by the Bible Chronology, a year too late.

* The received reading, οἱ Ἕλληνες, ver. 17, is evidently incorrect; for “*the Greeks*” were well disposed to the Apostle and his doctrine; and never attacked him, unless set on by the *Jews*. It is judiciously omitted in the *Vulgate*, *Copt. Arab. Erpen.* the *Alexand. MS.* and *Bede*.

PAUL'S THIRD MISSION.

After some stay at *Antioch*, *Paul* set out on his third circuit toward the end of that year, A.D. 54, or beginning of A.D. 55. with the Bible Chronology, and went through the country of *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, in order; confirming all the disciples in the upper, or northern regions of *Asia Minor*, ver. 23, xix. 1.

He then came to *Ephesus*, where he had left *Aquila* and *Priscilla**, and returned to them by a circuitous route as he intended, (*ανακαμψω*, Acts xviii. 21.) Here, he found twelve disciples of the *Baptist's*, and asked them, *Have ye received [the gift of] the HOLY SPIRIT, since ye believed?* But they said, *We have not heard whether the HOLY SPIRIT is [given yet,* John vii. 39.] Then *Paul* explaining to them the nature of *John's* baptism, as preparatory to the *Christian*, they were baptized in the name of THE LORD JESUS; and then received the gifts of the Spirit by the imposition of his hands; for they spake with tongues, and prophesied, or preached by inspiration, like the original converts at *Pentecost*, ver. 2—7.

According to his usual custom of first proposing the Gospel to his own brethren, the *Jews*, he preached freely, and debated

* During their stay at *Ephesus*, waiting for *Paul*, *Aquila* and his wife converted a *Jew* of *Alexandria*, named *Apollos*, a disciple of *John the Baptist*, that came to *Ephesus*: an eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures, and fervent in spirit, who spoke and taught in the Synagogue, the Scripture doctrine concerning THE LORD'S coming, but [not] accurately, and when they had taken him up, and instructed him more accurately in the Christian Religion, he left them and went to *Achaia*, with letters of recommendation to the disciples there to receive him. After he came to *Corinth*, he contributed much through divine grace to assist the brethren, for he strenuously confuted the *Jews* in public, shewing by the Scriptures, that JESUS was THE CHRIST, Acts xviii. 24—28.

This history of the conversion of *Apollos*, and the success of his preaching at *Corinth*, is here introduced by way of digression into the narrative of *Paul's* ministry, on account of the notice taken of *Apollos* in the Epistles, especially as a distinguished preacher of the Gospel among the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 3—6. This decides the question, that *Luke* did actually consult *Paul's* Epistles; and thence supplied such information in the *Acts*, as was necessary to render those Epistles intelligible to strangers; who were ignorant of the minuter historical facts well known to the Churches to which they were written.

We learn also from the Epistles, that *Apollos* declined going again to *Corinth*, when *Paul* solicited him; probably to avoid the remotest appearance of countenancing any party that might have been formed in that factious Church, even in his own favour; determined to await a more favourable season, or more settled state of its discipline, 1 Cor. xvi. 12. This is an honourable testimony in his favour, and tends to support the foregoing interpretations of 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4, iv. 6. That *Paul* did not mean to represent *Apollos* as the head of a party, but rather to adumbrate some *Judaizing* teachers under his name, not to give unnecessary offence.

for *three months* in the Synagogue at *Ephesus* ; after that, when they were obstinate in their unbelief, and spoke ill of *the way*, or Christian religion, he separated from them, and withdrew the disciples, debating daily in the private school of one *Tyrannus*. This he did for *two years* longer, so that all the inhabitants of that district of *Asia*, both *Jews* and *Greeks*, heard the word of the LORD, and witnessed *no ordinary miracles* wrought by *Paul*, in performing cures by handkerchiefs, or napkins, which he had touched ; and expelling evil spirits in this city, *Satan's* chief seat, ver. 8—12.

The great superiority of *Paul* above the *Jewish exorcists* appeared in the remarkable case of a *Demoniac*, whom they attempted to dispossess like him in the name of JESUS ; but the wicked spirit rebuked them for their presumption, “JESUS I know, and *Paul* I am acquainted with, but *who are ye* ?” and the person possessed fell upon them, (though *seven* in number, sons of a Jewish *chief priest*,) and mastered them all, and overpowered them, so that they fled out of that house, naked and wounded. When this was *made known* (*γνωστον*) to all the *Jews* and *Greeks* or Gentiles inhabiting *Ephesus*, great fear fell on them all, and the name of the LORD JESUS was magnified, ver. 13—17. Many also of them that practised *magic* and *sorcery* burnt their books, though of great value, and were converted to the faith, ver. 18, 19.

But *Demetrius* the silversmith, and others of his profession, who were employed in making *silver shrines* for images of *Diana*, to be inclosed therein, raised a great disturbance and long outcry against *Paul* and his companions for spoiling their craft, and despising their goddess ; whom they extolled for *two hours* together*, in which *Paul* and his companions were in danger of being thrown to the wild beasts in the *theatre*, had not the riot been stopped by the authority and remonstrances of the *town clerk*, or *recorder* of the games ; representing their proceedings as *illegal* and *seditious*, and likely to draw down punishment upon them from the *Romans*, ver. 23—40.

Before this disturbance *Paul* had intended to continue his

* “They all cried out with *one voice* about *two hours*, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians!*” Acts xx. 34. Perhaps, in this, we have an instance of the “*babblings*,” or *vain repetitions* of the Heathens in prayer, censured by OUR LORD, *προσευχόμενοι μη βαττολογησητε*, Matt. vi. 7. So exactly imitated by the *Romanists* in repeating ten *Ave Marias* for one *Paternoster* in their bead roll of prayers to the *Virgin*.

circuit through *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, and return from thence to *Jerusalem*; and afterwards to visit *Rome*, ver. 21. Accordingly, after it he took his final departure from the city, and his last *farewel* of the brethren there, and proceeded to *Macedonia*; and having gone through these parts, and exhorted the brethren, he went into *Greece* or *Achaia*, where he spent *three* months. But finding that the *Jews* had formed a conspiracy against him, (probably his inveterate foes of *Thessalonica*, Acts xvii. 13,) he changed his intention of going by sea to *Syria*, and resolved to return by land through *Macedonia*, and thence embark at *Philippi*, (that faithful Church,) for *Troas*. Which he did with *Luke*, who here joined him again; and they found before them at *Troas* others of his company who waited for him there, Acts xx. 1—5.

This second visit to *Macedonia* and *Greece* appears to have employed the latter part of the year A.D. 58, and the beginning of A.D. 59, when he left *Philippi* after the *passover*, ver. 6.

During his stay of seven days at *Troas*, *Paul* performed that signal miracle of restoring to life, *Eutychus*, ver. 7—12.

From *Troas*, *Paul* and his company proceeded by sea to *Mitylene*, from thence to *Chios*, *Samos*, and *Miletus*, ver. 13—15.

Not having time to call at *Ephesus*, because he was in haste to reach *Jerusalem*, if possible, before *Pentecost*; he sent for the Presbyters of the Church of *Ephesus* to attend him at *Miletus*, where he made them that admirable *apostolic charge* for the regulation of their conduct as overseers of the *Church of GOD**, “which HE had purchased with his own blood,” ver. 16—38.

From *Miletus* they sailed by a direct course to *Cos*, next to *Rhodes*, and from thence to *Patara*; and finding a vessel bound to *Phœnicia*, they embarked, and leaving *Cyprus* on their left, landed at *Tyre*, where they waited a week till the vessel had discharged her cargo, and then embarking again, they came to *Ptolemais*, and from thence to *Cæsarea*, where they lodged with *Philip* the *Evangelist*, one of the seven deacons, who had four daughters, *prophetesses*, or inspired preachers. During their stay there for several days, the prophet *Agabus*, who had fore-

* Instead of *του Θεου*, *Griesbach*, upon strong external evidence of *versions* and *manuscripts*, substitutes *του Κυριου*, as referring to *CHRIST*. But the received reading is admissible; *του Θεου*, being taken, not *absolutely*, but *relatively*. See the foregoing note, p. 67 of this Volume.

told the famine before, Acts xi. 28, again foretold that *Paul* should be bound by the *Jews*, and delivered up into the hands of the *Gentiles*; hearing this, both his own company and his friends at *Cæsarea*, intreated him not to go up to *Jerusalem*. But he refused, "*What mean ye, weeping thus, and breaking my heart? for I hold myself in readiness, not only to be bound, but even to die at Jerusalem, for the name of THE LORD JESUS.*" So, says the historian, when he would not be persuaded, *we* desisted, saying, *The will of THE LORD be done!* Acts xxi. 1—14.

PAUL'S FIFTH VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

When *Paul* and his party, with their *baggage**, reached *Jerusalem* at *Pentecost*, A.D. 59, they were gladly received by the brethren. On this occasion *Paul* brought with him the contributions of the Churches of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, to the poor of the Mother Church, (Acts xxiv. 17; Rom. xv. 25, 26;) ver. 15—17.

The next day *Paul* and his assistants recounted circumstantially to *James*, and *all the Presbyters* assembled, what *GOD* had done among the *Gentiles* by his ministry. Hearing this they glorified the *LORD* for this signal success, ver. 18—20.

It having been reported at *Jerusalem* that *Paul* had taught, in all the countries where he had been, an *apostacy from Moses* to all the *Jews* living among the *Gentiles*, saying, that they ought not to *circumcise* their children, nor walk according to the *Jewish* customs, which had given great offence to many myriads of *Jews* now in the Church of *Jerusalem*, all *zealots* of the law of *Moses*; they advised him, in order to disprove the charge, to join four other persons who were then under a *Nazarite* vow, and to purify himself with them, according to the legal ceremonies, (Numb. vi. 13,) and to be at joint expences with them for sacrifices, (ver. 14—17;) and shave his head, (ver. 18,) and thereby shew the whole Church that he *walked orderly himself, keeping the law*. That this could not in the least affect the *Gentile* believers, who were exempted by the late *apostolical* decree, ver. 20—25.

Paul's compliance with this *prudential* advice of the heads of

* Αποσκευασαμενοι, "having collected their baggage," or got mules for the conveyance of it. *Xenophon* has a similar expression, επει ηριστησαν συσκευασαμενοι επορευοντο. "When they had breakfasted, having collected their baggage, they proceeded," *Anabas*. p. 344, *Oxf. Edit.*

the Church at *Jerusalem*, brought him, however, by an unforeseen circumstance, into trouble*. For, while he was in the temple, near the end of the seven days' purification prescribed by the law, (Numb. vi. 2,) his enemies, the *Asian Jews*, from *Ephesus*, who happened to attend the feast of *Pentecost* also, seeing him in the temple, stirred up the multitude, and laid hands on him, crying out, "*Israelites, help! This is the man that is every where teaching all men, 1. against the people of the Jews; 2. against the law of Moses; and 3. against this holy place, (the temple,) that all shall be destroyed. And hath also, 4. profaned the temple by bringing into it Greeks,*" or Heathens; for seeing *Trophimus the Ephesian* with him in the city, they hastily concluded that he had also brought him into the temple, contrary to law, ver. 26—29.

This threw the whole city into confusion, and occasioned a concourse of people, who laid hold on *Paul*, dragged him out of the temple, beat him, and were going to kill him, had he not been rescued by the *Chiliarch* or *tribune* † of the cohort, or temple guard, from the fury of the multitude, and brought into the castle of *Antonia* for security; who suffered him to make his

* *Gilpin, Paley, &c.* have blamed *James* and the *Presbytery of Jerusalem*, for giving this advice, and *Paul*, for following it, as sacrificing the truth of the GOSPEL to the prejudices of the *Jewish Zealots*; for why, (say they) should *Paul* offer *propitiatory sacrifices*, (as in this case, Numb. vi. 14,) inasmuch as by respecting the *type*, he shewed disrespect to the *antitype*, CHRIST? This, surely, was not an *indifferent* matter; and his submitting thereto, savoured of *unjustifiable* compliance, and a *temporising* spirit.

But the censure seems to be unfounded, for

1. The *Apostles* had no scruple of conscience in *conforming* to the *Jewish rite*. *Paul* celebrated the feast of *Pentecost* now, and the *passover* at his fourth visit to *Jerusalem*, (Acts xviii. 21.) And yet this highest *Jewish rite* was *virtually* superseded, when "*CHRIST, our passover,*" was sacrificed on the cross; according to *Paul's* own doctrine, (1 Cor. v. 7, 8.) And the *Apostolic* decree did not *prohibit* the *Jewish ritual* to the *Zealots*; it only *exempted* the *Gentile Christians* from it, (except in the reserved cases,) as *unnecessary* to salvation.

2. The *doctrine of Paul* was perfectly conformable to the *Apostolic* decree, and to the GOSPEL. He maintained the insufficiency of *all rites*, whether of the "*circumcision,*" or of the "*uncircumcision,*" whether of *Jews* or *Christians*, without a "*new creation,*" or *regeneration* of the inward man; without an operative "*faith*" in CHRIST, "*productive of love*" to man, Gal. v. 6, vi. 15, without "*circumcision of the heart in spirit,*" not in *letter*; whose praise is not of *men*, but of GOD," Rom. ii. 28, 29.

3. Were not the *Apostles* and *Paul*, on this occasion, under the guidance of THE HOLY SPIRIT?

† *Χιλιάρχος*, a Roman *military tribune*, or commander of a *cohort*; of which there were six to a legion, John xviii. 12. *Josephus* and *Plutarch* use the word in this technical sense.

apology to the people in the *Hebrew dialect*, or vernacular *Syro-chaldaic* tongue, to gain the more favourable attention, ver. 30—40.

In this speech, addressed to the multitude, *Paul* openly and fully declared the miraculous circumstances of his conversion, after he had been a furious persecutor of the *Church of CHRIST*; and concluded with his *Apostolic* mission to the *remote Gentiles*, by *CHRIST*, in vision, Acts xxii. 1—21. This last circumstance strongly excited their indignation, so that they exclaimed, *Away with such [a wretch] from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live!* and to mark the extremity of their indignation and contempt, *they rent their garments, and threw dust into the air**, Acts xxii. 1—23.

The *Roman* tribune, seeing the tumult renewed, and not being able to collect, from a *Hebrew* speech, what *Paul* had said or done to excite such outrageous violence, ordered him to be brought into the castle, and to be examined, with scourging. But as the executioner was binding *his arms extended*, to a post, (*προετεινεν*), to receive the lashes, *Paul* enquired of the *centurion* attending, *whether it were lawful to scourge a Roman citizen, yet uncondemned?*—This put a stop to the summary way of examining *Paul*, after some enquiries on the part of the *tribune*, how he obtained his freedom; and he resolved to refer the prisoner for examination, to the *high priest* and *council*, in the temple next day, that he might know, with certainty, the ground of the accusations brought against him, ver. 24—30.

Paul, thus produced before the council, under the *Roman* protection, having attentively surveyed the members, and observed many *Pharisees* among them, who were now favourable to the *Christian* cause, and ill affected to the *Sadducees*, or the party of the high priest, *Ananias*, he began his speech by a denial of the leading charge urged against him, of exciting *sedition* or *tumult*. “Brethren, *I have lived as a citizen*, (*πεπολιτευμαι*), *in all good conscience*, before *GOD*, *until this day*,” Acts xxiii. 1.

Incensed at this undaunted assertion of his *peaceable* demeanour, the high priest ordered the bystanders to smite him on the *mouth*, as uttering an untruth. On which, *Paul*, with warmth, said to him, *GOD shall smite thee, thou whited wall †*,

* This is an expression of contempt among the *Arabians* at present, particularly to criminals, intimating that such were fit only to be covered with earth.

† This expression corresponds to “*whited sepulchres*,” applied by our Lord to the

[or hypocrite:] For sittest thou to judge me, according to law, and commandest me to be smitten, contrary to law? (Levit. xix. 15.) ver. 2, 3.

But the bystanders, offended, said, Revilest thou GOD'S *high priest*? Then said *Paul*, apologizing for his warmth, *I considered** *not, brethren, that he was the high priest*: for it is written, *Thou shalt not speak evil to a ruler of thy people*, (Exod. xxii. 28,) ver. 4, 5.

Though *Paul* apologized, as was fit, yet his sudden transport of passion seems to have been excited by a *prophetic* impulse, realized by the event. GOD did indeed, remarkably *smite* this wicked and *hypocritical* high priest, who, by an unjust judgment, slew the Apostle *James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem* about three years after; and sacrilegiously defrauded the inferior priests of their dues, so that some of them even perished for want. For when the *Jewish war* broke out, in the administration of *Florus*, six years after this, A.D. 65, during a violent insurrection in the city, excited by his son *Eleazar*, the seditious burned the house of *Ananias*, besieged him in the royal palace, to which he fled, and when they had taken it, dragged him out of an old aqueduct, in which he had endeavoured to hide himself, and slew him; as we learn from *Josephus*, Bell. Jud. II. 17, 9.

To protect himself from the fury of *Ananias* and his party, *Paul* professed himself adroitly of the opposite party of the *Pharisees*, and as holding their principles of the *hope* and *resurrection of the dead*. This immediately produced a division in the assembly, and a violent altercation between both parties, the *Pharisees* espousing his cause, so that the tribune, fearing *Paul* would have been pulled to pieces between them, ordered the guards to take him from them by force, and bring him back to the castle, ver. 6—10.

On this occasion *Paul* availed himself of "*the wisdom of the serpent*," to extricate himself from his enemies. Thus shewing that he was no rash *enthusiast*, who courted persecution. And THE LORD himself approved of his conduct, which has been censured by some hypercritics, for He appeared to him the following night, and said, "*Take courage, Paul, for as thou hast*

hypocritical Pharisees, fair without, and foul within. It was peculiarly apposite to the *high priest*, who on the great day of *atonement* for the sins of the people, wore a *large white robe*, or *surplice*.

* "*Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider*," Isa. i. 3.

testified of me at Jerusalem, so thou must needs testify of me at Rome," ver. 11.

Finding their measures frustrated by the *Roman* interference, above forty of the *Zealots* formed a conspiracy against *Paul*, binding themselves privily by oath, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him in his way from the castle to the temple; to which they desired the *chief priests* to request that the tribune would bring him down again next day, for further examination. But their plot being discovered by a kinsman of *Paul's*, was, by the Apostle's direction, communicated to the tribune, who, to defeat it, sent off *Paul* the next night, under a strong guard to *Cæsarea*, the residence of *Felix* the governor; and wrote an excellent letter to him, stating the whole transaction, and making a favourable report of the prisoner, as having been accused merely for his *religious opinions*, but not guilty of any thing worthy of *death* or of *imprisonment*. *Felix* having read the letter, ordered *Paul* to be confined, till his accusers should arrive, ver. 12—35.

Five days after, the high priest, *Ananias*, with the *Presbyters*, or chief priests, and one *Tertullus*, an orator, came down from *Jerusalem* to *Cæsarea*, and preferred their accusation against *Paul*.

After a compliment to the governor, *Felix*, for the public peace and tranquillity they had enjoyed during his administration, for the seven last years, *Tertullus* brought his charges; 1. for *sedition*, 2. for *heresy*, as a ringleader of the *Nazarenes*; and 3. for *profanation* of the temple; complaining that *Lysias*, the tribune at *Jerusalem*, had violently interposed to prevent them from judging him according to their law. And the charges were assented to by the *Jews*, Acts xxiv. 1—9.

Then *Paul*, with the governor's permission, made his defence, in the order of the charges; after professing his satisfaction to plead his cause before so *experienced* a judge.

1. He denied the charge of *sedition*; because it was only *twelve days* since he came to *Jerusalem*, to keep the feast of *Pentecost*; during which he had neither debated with any one in the *temple*, nor excited *sedition* among the people, either in the *Synagogues* or in the *city*; and that they were unable to support their charge, ver. 10—13.

2. He confessed himself a *Christian*, but he denied that *Christianity* was a *heresy*; on the contrary, he maintained that it was

the *patriarchal religion*, and in all points conformable to the *Law* and the *Prophets*; and that he held the orthodox *hope*, as well as they, of a *general resurrection* of the dead, both of the just and the unjust; and that his practice was conformable to his profession: for that he endeavoured to maintain an *unoffending conscience* always, toward GOD and toward men, (as he had stated before,) ver. 14—16.

The phrase $\tau\omega$ πατρῶν Θεῶν, "THE PATRIARCHAL GOD," occurs only in this passage of the NEW TESTAMENT; but it is classical, and occurs frequently in *Thucydides*, and the best *Greek* authors, in the plural, $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omega\iota$ θεοι, and in the *Latin* likewise.

DII PATRII, quorum semper sub numine Troja est.

"Ye PATRIARCHAL GODS, under whose constant protection is *Troy*."

Virg. Æn. IX. 757.

This was an argument equally addressed to the *Romans*, (the descendants of the *Trojans*,) as to the *Jews*. For the *Roman* law against *innovations*, in the established *religion*, was remarkably severe; punishing persons of a higher rank with banishment, and of a lower, capitally*. He therefore claimed protection under the *Roman* law, as he had formerly claimed protection under the *Athenian* law, before the court of *Areopagus*, for the worship of the same GOD, under a different title; now intimating, that *toleration* was to be equally extended by the *Roman* government to the *Christians*, as well as to the *Jews* themselves, as being only different *sects* of the same *primitive religion*. See *Lardner*, I. p. 190.

3. He also denied the charge of *profaning* the temple; stating that he came, after a long absence, on a charitable mission, and was purifying himself peaceably in the temple, when he was assaulted by the *Asian* Jews, who ought to have appeared as witnesses on this trial, if they had any charge against him. Their absence he considered as a tacit acknowledgment of his innocence, ver. 17—19.

4. He challenged the *chief priests* themselves to bring forward any misdemeanor he had committed before the *Sanhedrim*, save his declaration, "concerning the resurrection of the dead, am I

* Qui novas, et usu et ratione incognitas religiones inducunt, ex quibus animi hominum moveantur, honestiores deportentur, humiliores capite puniantur. Jul. Paulus Sentent. Recept. de Vaticinatoribus et Mathematicis, Lib. V. tit. 21.

called in question by you this day," (Acts xxiii. 5,) which might indeed have offended the *Sadducees*, his enemies, but surely his *Roman* judge would not term it a crime, ver. 20, 21.

This masterly defence satisfied *Felix* of his innocence; but being unwilling to displease the *Jews*, and looking for a bribe from *Paul* himself, out of the contributions he brought, he would not dismiss him; but postponed the decision of the trial, under the pretext that he must wait for the testimony of *Lysias*, the tribune, in order to gain full information respecting the case.

He therefore ordered *the centurion** to keep *Paul* in easy confinement, to let him have relaxation, and not prevent any of his friends from assisting and visiting him. And shortly after, probably to gratify the curiosity of his wife *Drusilla*, a *Jewess*, (whom he had seduced from her husband, on account of her extraordinary beauty,) he sent for *Paul*, to hear him concerning the *Christian faith*, ver. 22—24.

Upon this occasion *Paul* further inculcated the *practical* duties of "*righteousness*," or justice, "*temperance*," or continence, and "*a judgment to come*." The powerful effect of such awakening topics upon a guilty conscience, was shewn at least in *Felix*, if not in *Drusilla*. *Felix* could not conceal his terror, he "*trembled*." But they made no lasting impression on his corrupt and deceitful heart. He put off, and dismissed the Apostle. *Go thy way at present, when I have a convenient season, I will send for thee*. He sent, indeed, for him frequently, and conversed with him, in expectation of receiving a bribe from the Apostle for his enlargement; and two years after, when he was superseded by *Porcius Festus*, wishing to gratify the *Jews*, he still left *Paul* in confinement. But to no purpose, for he was disgraced for mal-administration, as observed before, A.D. 61. And soon after, *Drusilla*, and a daughter she had by *Felix*, perished in a volcanic eruption of Mount *Vesuvius*, ver. 25—27. Ant. XX. 6, 2.

Festus, immediately after his accession to the government, went up to *Jerusalem* from *Cæsarea*; there the high priest and chief of the *Jews* renewed their complaints against *Paul*, praying that *Festus* would send for him to *Jerusalem*, but plotting

* Τῶ ἐκατονταρχῷ. The propriety of the article in this case, as intimating, of the two centurions of infantry and cavalry, who escorted *Paul* from *Jerusalem*, Acts xxiii. 23; the latter, who went the whole way with him, xxiii. 32, and to whose custody *Paul* was consigned by *Felix*, xxiii. 35, is ingeniously remarked by *Middleton*, p. 432.

to kill him by the way. The governor however, refused them, and said that he would hear their charges against *Paul* on his return to *Cæsarea*, which he did; the groundless accusation being nearly the same as before, as we may infer from *Paul's* apology, that "he had not in any respect offended against the law of the *Jews*, nor against the temple, nor against *Cæsar*," Acts xxv. 1—8.

Festus, however, by this time, coming to a better understanding with the *Jews*, and willing to gratify them, proposed a fresh trial at *Jerusalem*; which, as *Paul* was a *Roman* citizen, could not be done without his own consent. But *Paul* refused, alledging that he had done nothing to deserve to be delivered up to the *Jewish* Sanhedrim; that he was entitled to be tried by a *Roman* tribunal; and since he could not get justice at the provincial tribunal of *Cæsarea*, he appealed to *Cæsar*, or the Emperor's tribunal at *Rome*. And *Festus*, having advised with his council, allowed the appeal, ver. 9—12.

Soon after, *Agrippa*, king of *Chalcis*, and son of that *Herod Agrippa*, who had been the author of the second persecution, and perished so miserably, Acts xii. 1—23, came to *Cæsarea*, with his beautiful sister, and paramour, *Berenice**, to compliment *Festus*. To gratify their curiosity, and also to collect a state of his case for the Emperor's information, the governor brought forth *Paul* to plead his cause before so experienced a judge of *Jewish* affairs, as *Agrippa*, ver. 13—27.

Paul having expressed his satisfaction in making his apology before a prince so well acquainted with the *Jewish* customs and doctrines, proceeded to state, as formerly, his way of life from his youth, and the miraculous circumstances that led to his conversion, and the persecution he underwent from the *Jews*, although his preaching was conformable to *Moses* and the *Prophets*: they foretelling that CHRIST should be liable to sufferings, (παθήτος,) that he should be the first fruits of the resurrection of the dead, and announce light, or salvation, to both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, Acts xxvi. 1—23.

Here *Festus*, offended probably at *Paul's* classing the *Gentiles* with the *Jews*, whom he despised; and representing them

* *Juvenal* is supposed to have alluded to this incestuous pair, speaking of a rich diamond in her possession.

————— Hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc *Agrippa* sorori.—Sat. vi.

alike in the darkness of error, unable to accomplish their salvation without a *crucified Saviour*, interrupting him, exclaimed, *Thou ravest, Paul, much learning is turning thy brain to madness!* He might, indeed, know that the Apostle, during his confinement, had spent much time in reading; this was the most discreet turn that could be given to such a charge, without offence to him or the audience. But *Paul* calmly replied, “*I do not rave, most excellent Festus, but utter the dictates of truth and soberness,*” not the reveries of a visionary or enthusiast. Then he freely appealed to *Agrippa*, as a voucher of the notoriety of the *facts* he had stated, as *not done in a corner*; and also of the truth of the *doctrines*, as founded in prophecy. “*King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets?*” then, with much address and urbanity, he answered for the King, “*I know that thou believest,*” ver. 24—27.

This ingenuous frankness made a sensible impression upon *Agrippa*, who thus liberally acknowledged it to *Paul*, “*Thou almost persuadest me to become a Christian;*” ingenuously intimating the validity of his apology. With great readiness *Paul* returned the compliment, with a fervent wish that the King, and all the audience, were entitled to all his own privileges as a *Christian*, but without his *sufferings*: “*I would to GOD, that not only thou, but all who hear me this day also, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds!*” pointing to his chain.

The assembly then broke up, and the King and *Festus* conferring apart, agreed as to his innocence. “*This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds.*” And *Agrippa* then said to *Festus*, probably in the hearing of the audience, “*This man might have been dismissed, if he had not appealed to Caesar.*” Ver. 28—32.

This public attestation of the *Apostle's* innocence, from so learned and noble a judge as *Agrippa*, was highly advantageous. It contributed to soften the prejudices of the *Jews* in general against *Paul*, as an apostate and subverter of the law of *Moses*; and to countervail the accusations of the *chief priests*, as false and malicious, which might follow him to *Rome*; while it tended to gain him greater indulgence from *Festus*, and a more favourable representation of his case to the Emperor, when sanctioned by so high and respectable a *Jewish* authority.

PAUL'S FIRST VISIT TO ROME.

The circumstances of *Paul's* voyage to *Rome*, are minutely detailed in the Acts, chap. xxvii. xxviii. 1—14, and have been noticed already, in the foregoing parts of this work. He arrived at *Rome* in the spring of the year, A.D. 62, where he was received with great respect and cordiality by the *Christians*, and kept in easy confinement until his trial, which did not take place for two years; when, on a hearing before *Cesar's* tribunal, he was acquitted and discharged, either for want of prosecution on the part of the *chief priests*, or because they failed to substantiate their charges. The former is the more probable supposition; for after *Agrippa's* public declaration in *Paul's* favour, (whose influence and authority in *Jerusalem* was considerable, because he was entrusted with the nomination of the *high priest*, and the charge of the *sacred treasury*;) they had no encouragement to proceed in the prosecution; and were also liable to be punished at *Rome*, for bringing a false accusation against a *Roman* citizen; as *Syllæus* formerly was, with death, for bringing such against *Herod*. See p. 48 of this Volume.

During his stay in that capital of the world, and most advantageous station for preaching the Gospel; *Paul*, according to his uniform custom, first proposed it to his countrymen, the *Jews*, residing at *Rome*; who had not received any accounts to his prejudice, either by letter or otherwise, from *Jerusalem*; confirming the foregoing supposition, that no prosecution was intended to be carried on against him from thence; they only observed, that the *sect* of the *Christians* was "*every where spoken against*," Acts xxviii. 17—22.

Justin Martyr has accounted for the *popular odium* under which the *Christians* universally laboured, (foretold by OUR LORD, Matt. xxiv. 9,) as chiefly owing to the calumnies of the *Jews*, "who not only *cursed* them in their Synagogues, but sent out *chosen men* from *Jerusalem*, to acquaint the world, and more especially the *Jews*, every where, that the *new sect*, which sprung up from *Jesus of Galilee*, was *atheistical* and *wicked*, to be detested and avoided by all mankind." Dial. cum *Trypho*. p. 170, edit. Thirlby.

Paul held a long conference with their heads, on a day appointed, at his own lodging, from morning till evening, persuad-

ing them to believe in JESUS as the MESSIAH, from the fulfilment of the *types* and *prophecies* of the *Law* and the *Prophets*. A few of them were persuaded by what he said, but the majority disbelieved. Whereupon he applied to the latter *Isaiah's* famous prophecy of the obduracy of the *Jewish* nation, Isa. vi. 9, 10; which he had before applied to them in his Epistle, Rom. xi. 8; and to excite them to jealousy, assured them the *Gentiles* would hear the Gospel, ver. 23—29.

Paul had better success with the *Gentiles*, and made a considerable number of converts; some of high rank, among *Cæsar's* household, and it is probable, even the Empress *Poppea* herself, from the testimony of *Josephus*, noticed before.

After a residence of two *full years* at *Rome*, in his own hired house, with permission to receive all visitants, and to preach the *Gospel*, and teach the doctrines of *Christianity* with all freedom, and without restraint, ver. 30, 31, he left *Rome* about the spring of A.D. 64, and went by sea to *Syria*, and perhaps *Judea*, and returned through *Asia Minor*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, and *Corinth*, to *Rome*, as intimated in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, chap. iv.

PAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO ROME.

We may date this about the end of that year, or the beginning of A.D. 65, as observed before. When *Paul* wrote his Epistle to the *Romans*, announcing his intention of visiting them, previous to his last journey to *Jerusalem*, he designed to have proceeded from *Italy*, to preach the Gospel in *Spain*, Rom. xv. 23—28. *Clemens Romanus* also expressly asserts, that he preached in the *west*, and that to *its utmost bounds*, which must at least include *Spain*. Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. 5. And *Theodoret* adds, that he went to the *islands of the sea*, and numbers *Gaul* and *Britain* among the disciples of the *tent-maker*. But there is great reason to doubt these reports: for 1. his long imprisonments of four years at *Cæsarea* and at *Rome*, must have broken his measures, and circumscribed his travels. 2. The interval between his first and second visit to *Rome*, seems to have been too short to afford time for a visit to *Syria* eastwards, and afterwards, in an opposite direction, to *Spain* and *Britain*, the extremities of *Europe* westwards. 3. There is no notice taken of these western travels in *Paul's* last Epistle to *Timothy*, but only of his eastern. 4. An ancient Greek writer of the travels of

Peter and *Paul*, brought over by *Petty*, the skilful collector of the *Arundel* Marbles, observes, that “*Peter* spent some days in *Britain*, and enlightened many by the word of grace; and having established *Churches*, [in the west,] and elected *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, came again to *Rome*, in the twelfth year of *Nero*, (A.D. 65,) when, having found *Linus* dead, he elected *Clemens* Bishop in his room; who, with great reluctance, accepted the station, and was afterwards spared in the ensuing persecution, because he was a kinsman of *Nero*.” See *Cotelerius’ Patres Apostolici*, Vol. I. p. 148, not. 39.

This ancient account is highly probable: it fills up a chasm in *Peter’s* history, shewing how he was employed during *Paul’s* imprisonments at *Cæsarea* and *Rome*; in fulfilling his “beloved brother’s” intentions, when he was unable to execute them himself. *Peter* probably founded the Church of *Rome**, first while *Paul* was confined at *Cæsarea*, and then proceeded to *Gaul*, *Britain*, and *Spain*. His return to *Rome* might be about, or soon after *Paul’s* martyrdom.

Shortly after *Paul’s* second visit to *Rome*, he was imprisoned again; probably on a charge of exciting sedition at *Ephesus*, in the matter of *Diana’s* silver shrines, maliciously urged against him by his inveterate foes, the *Asian Jews*, after they had been foiled in their former attack at *Jerusalem*; in which all his *Ephesian* friends forsook him, and *Alexander* the coppersmith did him much harm, by his testimony at his first apology, or trial before *Cæsar’s* tribunal, as he complained to *Timothy*, 2 Tim. iv. 14—17. But what chiefly provoked *Nero*, perhaps, was *Paul’s* success in proselyting his own household, as remarked before. He therefore slew him with the sword, as a *Roman* citizen; and afterwards crucified *Peter*, as a *Jew*. According to primitive tradition, *Paul* was beheaded at *Aquæ Salvæ*, three miles from *Rome*, and interred in the *Via Ostiensis*, at a place two miles from the city, where *Constantine* the Great built a Church to his memory, which was afterwards repaired and beautified by *Theodosius* the Great, and the Empress *Placida*. But

* This will naturally account for the Church which *Paul* evidently found established at *Rome*. That *Peter*, in his way to *Rome*, had visited *Achaia* and *Corinth*, may also be inferred from the false apostles and teachers there, adumbrated under the fictitious names of *Paul*, *Apollos*, and *Cephas*, or *Peter*; which last certainly would not have been used if *Peter* had not visited *Corinth* as well as *Paul* and *Apollos*, and probably after them.

his noblest *monument* subsists in his *immortal writings*; which, the more they are studied, and the better they are understood, the more will they be admired to the latest posterity, for the most sublime and beautiful, the most pathetic and impressive, the most learned and profound specimens of *Christian piety, oratory, and philosophy* *.

* The following masterly observations on *Paul's moral* character, drawn from his letters, (and what better evidence than a man's own letters can be desired?) are furnished by the acute Dr. *Paley*, p. 410—424.

“ St. *Paul's* letters furnish evidence of the *soundness* and *sobriety* of his judgment. His *caution* in distinguishing between the *occasional* suggestions of *inspiration*, and the *ordinary* exertions of his natural understanding, is without example in the history of human *enthusiasm*. His *morality* is every where calm, pure, and rational; adapted to the condition, the activity, and the business of social life, and of its various relations; free from the overscrupulousness and austerities of *superstition* and from (what was more perhaps to be apprehended,) the abstractions of *quietism*, and the soarings or extravagancies of *fanaticism*. His judgment concerning a *hesitating conscience*, his opinion of the moral *indifferency* of many actions, yet of the prudence, and even the duty of compliance, where non-compliance would produce evil effects upon the minds of the persons who observed it, is as correct and just, as the most liberal and enlightened *moralist* could form at this day. The accuracy of *modern ethics* has found nothing to amend in these determinations.

“ What Lord *Lyttleton* has remarked of the preference ascribed by St. *Paul* to inward *rectitude of principle* above every other *religious accomplishment*, is very material to our present purpose,—‘ Though I speak with *the tongues of men and angels*, and have not *charity*, I am become as *sounding brass*, or a *tinkling cymbal*,’ &c. 1 Cor. xiii. 1—3 — Did ever *enthusiast* prefer that *universal benevolence*, meant by *charity* here, (which, we may add, is attainable by *every man*,) to *faith* and to *miracles*? to those *religious opinions* which he had embraced? and to those *supernatural graces and gifts* which he imagined he had acquired? nay, even to the merit of *martyrdom*? Is it not the genius of *enthusiasm* to set *moral virtues* infinitely below the merit of *faith*? and, of all moral virtues, to value that least, which is most particularly enforced by St. *Paul*,—a spirit of *candour, moderation, and peace*? Certainly, neither the temper nor the opinions of a man subject to *fanatic delusions*, are to be found in this passage.————

“ His letters, indeed, every where discover great *zeal* and *earnestness* in the cause in which he was engaged: that is to say, he was convinced of the *truth* of what he taught, he was deeply impressed (but not more so than the occasion merited,) with a sense of its *importance*. This produces a corresponding *animation and solicitude* in the exercise of his ministry. But would not these considerations, supposing them to have been well founded, have holden the same place, and produced the same effect, in a mind the *strongest* and the most *sedate*?

“ Here then we have a man of liberal *attainments*, and in other respects of *sound judgment*, who had addicted his life to the service of THE GOSPEL. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger; assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment, and the same dangers; yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next; spending his whole life in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to *old age*, unaltered by the

Clemens Romanus, the intimate friend of these illustrious Apostles and fellow labourers in the Lord, thus pronounced the panegyric of both.

“Omitting ancient examples of noble *wrestlers* for the *faith*, let us proceed to modern, in our own age; to those faithful and most upright *pillars of the Church*, who through [false] zeal and envy, underwent persecution, even to a cruel death: let us place before our eyes the *prime Apostles*. *Peter*, through unjust zeal, endured not one nor two, but *many labours*, and is gone to his merited *place of glory*. *Paul*, likewise, through [unjust] zeal, gained the prize of patience, after he had borne chains seven times, been scourged, stoned, and had proclaimed the Gospel, both in the *east* and in the *west*, he obtained the glorious reward of his faith; for after he had taught the whole world righteousness, even to the extremity of the west, and *testified before kings*, he was released from the world, and went to the *holy place*; becoming the greatest pattern of *patience*.” Epist. I. ad *Corinth*. § 5. Coteler. I. p. 148.

Clemens here speaks rather rhetorically of *Paul's* travels to the western extremity of *Europe*. He might, however, have preached by proxy in those countries, by the *Gallic, British, and Spanish* converts he made at *Rome*, during his first visit: and as they preached *his doctrine*, their success might fairly be attributed to *him* ultimately. That the Gospel was *early* planted in those countries, we learn from ecclesiastical history. And of the purity of the primitive *British Church*, in particular, an advantageous specimen was given at the time the *Romish* missionary, *Austin* the Abbot, was sent thither, about A.D. 601, in the foregoing analysis of *Daniel's* visions, Vol. II. p. 502, 503.

FIRST ROMAN PERSECUTION.

This took place soon after the martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter**,

experience of *perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion*; unsubdued by *anxiety, want, labour, persecutions*; unwearied by *long confinement*, undismayed by the *prospect of death!*—Such was St. *Paul*.

See also Lord *Barrington's* critical comparison of *Paul*, with the first and greatest of the Apostles of the circumcision, *Peter* and *John*, to whom he was not a *whit inferior* in *miracles, revelation, and prophecies*.

* The foregoing account of *Peter's* apostolical labours in the *west*, furnishes a satisfactory solution of the cause of his martyrdom at *Rome*; like those of *Paul* in the *east*, and in the *capital* of the *Roman* empire. The same accusations might have followed him from the *Roman* magistrates in *Spain*, as did follow *Paul* from those of proconsular *Asia*.

who became the first fruits; and it raged at *Rome* during the Consulate of *C. Læcanius* and *M. Licinius*, A.D. 64 and A.D. 65, according to *Tacitus*. *Nero* falsely accusing the *Christians*, and transferring to them the *public odium*, for having set fire himself to *Rome*. "At first they were apprehended who confessed themselves *Christians*; and then, by their information, a vast multitude; who were convicted, not so much for being *incendiaries*, as for their *hatred of the human race**. Cruel mockeries were annexed to their executions: insomuch, that they were clad in the *skins of wild beasts*, and torn to pieces by dogs, or they were *crucified*, or they were covered with combustibles, and set fire to, when day-light failed, to serve as *torches* † by night, in *Nero's* gardens; which he had offered for the spectacle during the *Circensian* games, dressed himself as a coachman, and mixed with the populace. So that "notwithstanding the *wickedness* of the sufferers, deserving the severest punishments, (says *Tacitus*,) *public commiseration* was excited, as if they were destroyed, not so much for the *common weal*, as to glut the cruelty of an *individual*." *Annal. XV. 44.*

The *Roman* historians, indeed, were greatly prejudiced against *Christianity*. *Tacitus* calls it in this place, "a *pernicious superstition*;" and *Suetonius*, "a *new, pernicious, or magical superstition*." This persecution was not confined to *Rome*, but raged also in the provinces, as we learn from the following inscription to the Emperor *Nero*, found in the ruins of the village

And the inscription found in the province of *Lusitania*, (noticed in the text,) might have originated from *Peter's* martyrdom, and the subsequent persecution of the *Christians* there.

* *Brotier* ingeniously conjectures, that the *Christians* might have been killed by the *Pagans*, as *misanthropes*, or "haters of mankind," 1. From OUR LORD's figurative declaration, understood literally, "Whosoever cometh to ME, and hateth not his *father* and *mother*, and *wife* and *children*, and *brothers* and *sisters*, yea, and his *own life* also, cannot be *my disciple*," Luke xiv. 26. And 2. from the unaccommodating genius, and exclusive deportment of *Christianity* towards the *idolatry* and *polytheism* of the heathens; devoting the wilful worshippers of *false gods*, every where, who should not *repent* and *forsake* them, and turn to THE TRUE GOD and JESUS CHRIST, to *future judgment*, and *eternal damnation*, in the flames of *hell*. A doctrine inculcated in *Paul's* Epistles to the *Romans* and *Corinthians*. See *Brotier's* Dissertation. *Tacit. Vol. II. p. 494.*

† *Juvenal* mentions this horrid spectacle as the punishment of offending *Tigellinus*, the favourite freedman of *Nero*:

Pone *Tigellinum*, tedâ lucebis in illâ,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant. SAT. I. 155.

of *Marcosia*, in *Lusitania* or *Portugal*. Apud *Gruter*. p. 238, n. 9, or *Lardner*, VII. p. 248.

NERONI. CL. CAIS. AUG. PONT. MAX. OB PROVINC. LATRONIB. ET HIS. QUI. NOVAM GENERI HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB. PURGATAM.

“ *To Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus, chief Pontiff,
For purging the province of robbers,
And of [Christians,] who inculcated
A new superstition to the human race*.*”

This persecution was followed, in the autumn of A.D. 65, according to *Tacitus*, by supernatural *tempests* and *pestilence*.

“ *A year polluted by so many crimes, was marked by tempests and diseases, inflicted by the gods. The Campania was laid waste by a hurricane, which demolished villas, plantations, and fruits every where, and extended its ravages to the vicinity of the city (Rome), where all descriptions of people were wasted by the violence of pestilence, without any perceptible inclemency of the weather. The houses were emptied of inhabitants, the highways filled with carcasses. No sex or age escaped the danger. Slaves and free alike, were rapidly extinguished, amid the lamentations of their wives and children; who, during their attendance, while weeping over them, were often burned upon the same funeral pile themselves. The destruction of Roman knights and senators, however promiscuous, was less lamented; as if, in the common mortality, they only anticipated the cruelty of the prince.*” *Annal*. XV. 13.

These are curious and valuable records of professed enemies to *Christianity*, undesignedly vouching the *DIVINE vengeance* upon the atrocious *murderers* of his chosen *saints*.

^ *Nero* himself, that fantastic monster of cruelty †, was, not

* *Mosheim*, and others, doubt the genuineness of this inscription, as not sufficiently established on the authority of *Cyriacus Anconitanus*, the first publisher; especially as the stone itself is not now to be found, and is not noticed by *Spanish* writers of eminence. But the style, as justly remarked by *Lardner*, is perfectly agreeable to *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, and the earliest *heathen* writers who have mentioned the *Christians*. *Lardner*, VII. p. 249.

† *Plutarch* has a fine reflection on the mischievous effects of *adulation* to *princes*. “ *What made Nero erect his tragic theatre, and wear the mask and buskins, as an actor, but the plaudits of adulators? Were not Kings in general styled, while they sang, Apollon? while drunk, Bacchuses? while wrestling at the games, Hercules? and delighting in these titles, led on by flattery to the lowest depravity.*” *Plutarch*. Vol. II. p. 56.

long after, himself pursued by Divine justice, and perished miserably in a tumultuous conspiracy, June 9, A.D. 68. And the *Romans* were harassed with intestine wars by his successors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, who all were slain likewise, or destroyed themselves, to make way for *Vespasian*. So true is our Lord's observation, that "*they who use the sword of religious persecution, shall perish by the sword!*"

JEWISH WAR.

This broke out in the same ominous year, A.D. 65, in *Judea*, occasioned by the mal-administration of *Florus*. *Josephus*, Ant. xx. 11, 1. Vita. § 6*.

The first commencement of the war was the refusal of *Eleazar*, the son of the high priest *Ananias*, ("that *whited wall*,") to offer sacrifices in the temple, for the prosperity of the *Roman* empire; in spite of the remonstrances of many of the chief priests and nobles, not to omit this customary mark of *allegiance*. Bell. Jud. II. 17, 2.

The public animosity against *Florus* being very great, for plundering the sacred treasury, and for other cruelties, and the insurrection increasing at *Jerusalem*, *Cestius Gallus*, president of *Syria*, marched with a powerful army into *Judea*, and committed great ravages on his way to the city. He encamped before it for three days; and set fire, on the fourth day, to *Bezetha*, or the northern suburb; but withdrew, dissuaded by the emissaries of *Florus*; when, if he had attacked the city itself, during the consternation of the seditious, he might have easily taken it, and put an end to the war at once. But GOD, says the *Jewish* historian, "for the *wickedness* of the people, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time. For the seditious, taking courage again, pursued *Cestius* in his retreat, harassed, and at length routed his army with great slaughter, on the eighth day of *November*, in the twelfth year of *Nero*," (A.D. 65.) "After the disaster of *Cestius*, many of the distinguished *Jews* quitted the city, like a *sinking ship*," says *Josephus*. Bell. Jud. II. 20, 1. These were principally the *Christians*, obeying our Lord's warning, Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, Luke xxi. 20, 21. We may learn from this passage, among many others, that *Josephus* was neither hostile to the *Christians*, nor unacquainted with the *evangelical*

* Duravit tamen patientia *Judæis*, usque ad *Gessium Florum*, procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum. Tacit. Hist. v. 10.

Scriptures, which he has so frequently, though tacitly, contributed to illustrate and explain.

Cestius having sent to *Nero*, then in *Achaia*, an account of the disturbances in *Judea*, laying the whole blame of them upon *Florus*; died soon after, either through disease or chagrin. And the Emperor appointed *Vespasian*, (who was then with him,) an experienced officer, of high reputation, president of *Syria*, and gave him the conduct of the *Jewish war**.

About spring, A.D. 67, *Vespasian* marched a great army of Roman and auxiliary troops, from *Syria* into *Galilee*; took their principal fortresses, *Gadara* and *Jotapata*, and in the latter, *Josephus* the historian, who commanded there; and ravaged and destroyed their cities, towns, and villages; shewing no mercy, at first, to any age or sex, in revenge for the defeat of *Cestius*. He next chastised the *Samaritans*. Then he invaded *Judea*, and took the fortresses of *Joppa*, *Taricheas*, and *Gamala*, the last, after a most obstinate resistance, 23d of October. Enraged at which, the *Roman* army massacred the inhabitants, and even *slung the infants from the walls!* Only *two women* survived of all the inhabitants; for those that escaped the *Romans*, destroyed themselves.

Meanwhile *sedition* raged within the walls of *Jerusalem*. The city was oppressed by three turbulent factions; the first, under *John*, held the *lower city*, containing the ancient quarter of *Salem* and Mount *Akra*, westward; the second, under *Eleazar*, occupied the *temple* quarter, and Mount *Moriah*; the third, under *Simon*, the *upper city*, or city of *David*, on Mount *Sion*, southward.

These factions were afterwards reduced to two; for at the last passover, A.D. 70, *John*, under pretext of sacrificing in the Temple, sent a band who destroyed *Eleazar* and his faction, and possessed themselves of the temple quarter. All these miscreants, from the beginning, harassed, plundered, and massacred the nobles and richer inhabitants, and multitudes of the better sort, who were peaceably disposed, and wished to submit to the *Romans*. And to spite each other, they wasted the *stores*, and destroyed the *storehouses*, containing corn, provisions,

* *Cestium Gallum* Syriæ legatum varia prælia, et sæpius adversa, exceperè. Qui, ubi fato aut tædio occidit; missu *Neronis*, *Vespasianus*, fortunâ famâque et egregiis ministris, intra duas ætates, (A.D. 67, 68,) cuncta camporum, omnesque, præter *Hierosolyma*, urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. Tacit. Hist. v. 10.

and necessaries for supporting a siege of many years, and thereby produced themselves a premature *scarcity*, and a wanton *famine*.

When *Vespasian* was advised by his officers to hasten the attack on the city, he wisely refused, and said, "*it is far better to let the Jews destroy each other.*" Bell. Jud. III. 6, 2.

From *Judea*, therefore, passing by *Jerusalem*, *Vespasian* marched into *Perea*, beyond *Jordan*, eastward, and entered its capital, March 4, A.D. 68, and afterwards reduced the whole country, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, in the course of that campaign.

The following year, A.D. 69, produced a cessation of hostilities on the part of the *Romans*; in consequence of the massacre of *Nero*, June 9, A.D. 68, and the ensuing civil war which broke out in *Italy*, between the contending parties of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, which raged until the decisive battle of *Cremona* secured the empire to *Vespasian*, October 18, A.D. 69, who had been first saluted emperor by his army in *Judea*, July 3, upon which he went to *Alexandria*, and from thence sailed to *Rome*, leaving his son *Titus* to carry on the war*.

Next year, A.D. 70, *Titus* advanced with an arm of sixty thousand *Romans* and auxiliaries to besiege *Jerusalem*, at the time of the *Passover*, which began that year April 14; thus unintentionally fulfilling the sign of the Prophet *Jonah*, given by Christ, A.D. 30, forty years before. He probably chose this season, expecting that the concourse of *Jews*, from all parts, would produce a scarcity of provisions, and enable him to reduce, more speedily, by *famine*, this impregnable city, which now was most strongly fortified with a triple wall. For though *Pompey* had dismantled the walls when he took the city, B.C. 63, (see Vol. II. p. 583,) *Herod Agrippa*, during his reign, repaired the foundations, but then stopped short, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the *Roman* government; however, after his death, the *Jews*, during the venal reign of *Claudius*, purchased the privilege of fortifying the city †, and completed the

* Proximus annus, (A.D. 69,) *civili bello* intentus, quantum ad *Judæos*, per otium transiit. Pace per *Italiam* partâ, et externæ curæ rediere. Augebat iras, quod soli *Judæi* non cessissent. Simul, manere apud exercitus *Titum*, ad omnes principatus novi (*Vespasiani*) eventus casusve, utilis videbatur. Tacit. *ibid.*

† Per avaritiam *Claudianorum* temporum *Judæi*, *empto jure muniendi*, struxere muros in pace, tanquam ad bellum. Tacit. Hist. v. 12.

wall and battlements, to the height of twenty-five cubits, and breadth of ten cubits, built with great stones, twenty cubits long, and ten broad; so as that they could not be easily undermined, nor shaken by military engines. Bell. Jud. v. 4, 2.

SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

Titus approached with his army close to the city, and made an *ostentatious* display of his legions in battle array *, in three divisions; the first and principal encamped on the eminence, *Scopus*, northward, about seven stadia from the city; the second, about three stadia behind; and the third, on Mount *Olivet*, eastward, six stadia from the city. Bell. Jud. v. 2, 3.

Warned by the disaster of *Cestius*, who had attacked the city on a *Sabbath* day, and was defeated by the *Jews*, Bell. Jud. II. 19, 1, 2, (for they were allowed, from the time of the *Maccabees*, to resist an assailing enemy, on that day, in self defence, but not to attack them, if otherwise employed;) Ant. XIV. 4, 2; (See Vol. II. p. 551,) and adopting *Pompey's* policy, who employed the *Sabbath* days in constructing military machines, raising mounts, undermining the walls, without molestation, previous to his attacks on *Sundays*; in the last of which he took the city, Ant. XIV. 4, 3. *Titus* employed the *Paschal week* in making preparations, and made his first assault the day after it ended, *Sunday*, April 22. He made a breach in the first wall, and got possession of a part of the *lower* city, on *Sunday*, May 6, and took the rest the following week, May 16. In order to confine the multitude, and prevent their escaping, he found it necessary to build a *wall of circumvallation*, all round the city, fortified with towers, at proper intervals, which stupendous works he finished in three days, without obstruction from the besieged; taking advantage of the *Sabbath*, and two following days of the *feast of weeks*, or *Pentecost*, June 2, 3, and 4. The *temple* was burnt, *Sunday*, Aug. 5; and *Titus*, having prepared his machines for the attack of the upper city, on *Saturday*, Sept. 1, took and burnt it on the following day, *Sunday*, Sept. 2 †.

It is truly remarkable, that at the commencement of the insur-

* Igitur *Titus* castris ante mœnia *Hierosolymorum* positis, instructas legiones ostentavit. Tacit. ibid.

† This curious and valuable adjustment of the chronology of *Josephus*, during the siege of *Jerusalem*, we owe to the learned *Brotier*, in his excellent quarto edition of *Tacitus*. Note, Vol. III. p. 588.

rection, King *Agrippa*, “the *almost Christian*,” forewarned the *Jewish* embassy, who came to complain to him of the oppressions of *Florus*, of this very circumstance, in his admirable dissuasive to them against provoking a most unequal contest with the *Romans*, without hope of assistance from GOD. “If ye rigidly observe the rites of the *Sabbath* day, and abstain from any manner of work thereon, ye will be easily taken, as your ancestors were by *Pompey*; who was most actively employed in preparing for the siege on those days, during which the besieged were inactive; but if, in the course of the war, ye transgress the *law of your country*, the war is *absurd*, for what else is left worth fighting for? And if ye wilfully violate your duty to GOD, it is *impious*, and how then can ye call upon HIM for assistance?” Bell. Jud. II. 16, 4, p. 1089. Hudson.

Thus, by the righteous judgments of GOD, were their *Sabbaths*, which they really profaned, made the instruments of their fall; and the *Lord's days*, which they despised and rejected, the instruments of their punishment!

The frightful calamities of this war were foretold by *Moses* above sixteen hundred years before; and the horrors of this siege in particular, detailed with all the minuteness of *Josephus* himself, the eye witness. See the foregoing pages, Vol. II. 209, &c. Some of a very peculiar kind remain to be noticed in this place.

1. Multitudes of *fugitive Jews* were crucified during the siege within sight of the walls, either to strike terror into the besieged, or to glut the rage and hatred of the besiegers; so that *room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses were wanting for the bodies* *. Bell. Jud. V. 11, 1. Thus resembling themselves that CRUCIFIED SAVIOUR, whose “*blood* they had imprecated upon themselves and upon their children,” in his cruel and ignominious punishment!

2. Some of the *deserters* had swallowed *gold*, and were detected searching for it afterwards in their excrements. Hence the avarice of the soldiers, *Romans* as well as auxiliary, was excited; concluding that *all* the deserters were full of gold. This led them to rip up the bellies, and search the entrails of *two*

* After the siege *Josephus* observed, among several *Jews* crucified at *Tekoa*, a neighbouring village, three of his former acquaintances still alive; and besought *Titus*, with tears, that they might be taken down; who immediately granted his request, and gave orders that care should be taken of their recovery. Two of them died, the third survived. *Josephi Vita*, § 75.

thousand of them in *one night*! *Titus*, when he heard of this horrible deed, was greatly displeased, and gave orders to put to death all, in future, who should repeat it. But the love of money overpowered the dread of punishment, and it was still practised, until put an end to by repeated disappointments. Bell. Jud. V. 13, 4, 5. Such was the dreadful but appropriate punishment of the lovers of *Mammon*, and haters of *GOD*!

3. The practice of burying their *money* and other *precious* things in troublesome times, among the *Jews*, made the avaricious conquerors, after the capture of the city, *raze it to the foundations*, and even to *plow up* the ground, in order to discover the hidden treasures, quite contrary to *Roman* usage. *Titus* himself was most anxious to save the *Temple*, but in vain; and lamented the destruction of *the city* afterwards, when he saw it on his way from *Antioch to Egypt*; execrating the authors of the rebellion. Bell. Jud. VII. 5, 2. Thus signally was accomplished the prophecy of *Micah*, iii. 12.

“ Therefore shall *Sion*, for your sakes, *be ploughed as a field*, and *Jerusalem* become *heaps* [of stones,] and the *Temple-mountain* as the *heights of the forest*,” [which are usually waste and barren.]

These calamities were confined to the unbelieving *Jews*; for the *Christians*, listening to the *prophetic* warnings of their divine Master, quitted the city devoted to destruction, on the first appearances of the hostile armies of *Cestius* and *Titus* approaching to the city.

PROPHETIC HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

SUCCESSION OF KINGDOMS.

	B. C.
I. <i>Golden, or Babylonian</i>	606
<i>First Jewish captivity, for 70 years</i>	605
II. <i>Silver, or Medo-Persian. Captivity ended</i>	536
<i>JEWISH CHURCH reformed, to continue for 70 weeks of years; to be regenerated after 2300 days, or years</i>	420
III. <i>Brazen, or Macedo-Grecian.</i>	331
<i>Egyptian persecutions began</i>	322
<i>Syrian persecutions.</i>	168
IV. <i>Iron, or Roman</i>	168
	A.D.
V. <i>STONE, OR CHRISTIAN CHURCH, founded in the midst of the one week</i>	31

CHURCH MILITANT.

I. <i>Seven seals began</i>	31
<i>First Jewish persecution</i>	35
<i>First Roman persecution</i>	65
<i>Second Jewish captivity, for 1810 years.</i>	70
<i>CHURCH established in the Roman Empire</i>	323
II. <i>Six trumpets began.</i>	395
<i>Gothic persecutions</i>	}
<i>End of the Western Empire</i>	476
<i>Papal and Mahometan persecutions, to continue for 1260 years.</i>	620

CHURCH REFORMED.

1. <i>By Wickliffe, after 1290 days.</i>	1360
2. <i>By Huss, after 1335 days</i>	1405
3. <i>By Luther</i>	1517
<i>End of the Eastern Empire</i>	1672
III. <i>Seventh trumpet, including seven vials, or last plagues.</i>	
<i>Infidel persecutions</i>	1793
<i>End of the 2300 and 1260 years</i>	1880

CHURCH TRIUMPHANT.

IV. FIRST RESURRECTION at the REGENERATION.

THE MOUNTAIN, OF KINGDOM OF CHRIST and *his saints* upon earth, to continue for 1000 years, and until the end of the world, OF GENERAL RESURRECTION 1000 *Generations*.

V. THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN *Eternity*.

This concise *chronological* scheme is designed to furnish a general outline of the fortunes of the JEWISH and CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, from the first *Jewish captivity* to the end of the world, collected from the *historical prophecies* of Daniel, CHRIST, and John, all linked together in one connected series, and mutually illustrative of each other, as parts of one grand *mysterious* plan of DIVINE GOVERNMENT, harmonizing throughout, though delivered at *sundry times*, and in *divers manners*, beginning with *time* and ending with *eternity*.

The dates of the establishment of the four great *temporal* empires that composed *Daniel's* compound image, destined to precede the foundation of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH, may be seen in the foregoing scheme of his visions, Vol. II. p. 492—496; and the dates of the intermediate occurrences may be found, Vol. II. pp. 440, 486, 518, 537, 548; the remaining dates are to be explained in the sequel.

In this scheme the vision of the *seven seals*, in the *Apocalypse*, is supposed to take up the *prophetic history* from the *foundation of the Church*, exactly where the dream of the *golden image*, which formed the basis of *Daniel's* ensuing visions, ended; and to be succeeded by the visions of the *seven trumpets* and *seven vials*, to the end of *Daniel's* grand prophetic period of 2300 days, ending along with his and *John's* persecuting period of 1260 days, A.D. 1880.

Next follows the auspicious period of the REGENERATION, beginning with THE FIRST RESURRECTION, foretold by our LORD; during which, *the kingdom of THE SON OF MAN*, and of his *saints*, foretold by *Daniel*, is to prevail throughout the earth for 1000 prophetic *years*, which are here supposed to denote *generations*, of three to a century; pursuing the *analogy* of Prophecy, in which *days* symbolically denote *years*, as we have seen; and consequently, years, the next higher measure of time, and the most ancient, *generations*.

Hence it appears, that CHRIST'S *prophecies* in the *Gospels*,

form an intermediate explanatory link to connect together the mysterious *revelations* vouchsafed to his favourite Prophets, *Daniel* and *John*. They require, therefore, next to be considered, after the former.

CHRIST'S PROPHECIES.

“JESUS OF NAZARETH,” himself, THE PROPHET OF GOD, of the highest order, most “mighty in *deed* and in *word* before GOD and *all the people*” of the *Jews*, Luke xxiv. 19, in his public discourses to them, briefly and enigmatically stated the awful and mysterious doctrines of his second appearance in glory, (as at first, in humiliation,) to raise *the righteous dead*, at the *resurrection of the just*, or *first resurrection*, in the *regeneration*, or *restitution* of all things; and afterwards, to raise and judge *all mankind*, at the *general resurrection* and *judgment*, to take place at the conclusion of the world, John v. 20—29, Luke xiv. 14, xx. 35, 36, Matt. xix. 28, xiii. 37—43, xvi. 27. He also denounced *woes* to that *wicked* and *adulterous* generation, and threatened to come in *judgment* thereon, and on their rebellious city, in the life time of some of the *bystanders*, verifying “the sign of the Prophet *Jonah*,” which he repeatedly gave the unbelieving Scribes and Pharisees; and *weeping* over the ungrateful city, most pathetically did he lament the utter *destruction* that was coming upon it; and the *long continued desolation* of their *temple*, until their final conversion, fulfilling ancient prophecy, Matt. xii. 39—41, xvi. 4—28, xxiii. 33—39, Luke xix. 41—44, &c.

After these awful denunciations, delivered in public, on several occasions, when he left the Temple, for the last time, on *Wednesday* evening, in Passion week, and was ascending Mount *Olivet*, in the way to *Bethany*, his disciples pointed out to him the stately and magnificent buildings of the Temple, full in their view: whereupon he remarked, before them all, “See ye not *all these*? Verily I say unto you, *There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down!*” as recorded by the three first Evangelists; with the additional observation by *Luke*, that “*the days* of its destruction *were coming*,” Matt. xxiv. 1, 2, Mark xiii. 1, 2, Luke xxi. 5, 6, evidently referring to his former observation, two days before, when he wept over the city from the same spot, Luke xix. 41.

This solemn declaration naturally excited the anxious curio-

sity of his confidential disciples, *Peter, James, John, and Andrew*; and when he *sat down* on the mount opposite to the temple, they enquired of him, *apart, the time, and the signs*, or prognostics of all these mysterious events, 1. the destruction of *Jerusalem*; 2. his second *appearance* in glory at the *regeneration*; and 3. the *general judgment* at the *conclusion* of the *world**.

* Great has been the embarrassment and perplexity of *commentators* and *sacred critics*, respecting the meaning of this enquiry, as stated by the three Evangelists; and four hypotheses are still afloat, on the mysterious, but most important subject.

The first hypothesis confines the whole enquiry to the approaching destruction of *Jerusalem*. This has been adopted by *Hammond, Le Clerc, Whitby, Dodd, &c.* Bishops, *Newton, Pearce, Newcome, &c.* *Wakefield, Campbell, Gerard, Elsley, Nesbit, &c.*

The second hypothesis extends the enquiry to two questions, and includes the *second* advent of CHRIST in the *regeneration*, according to the *Jewish* expectation. This is supported by *Tertullian, Beza, Lightfoot, &c.*

The third hypothesis, instead of the second advent, substitutes the *last* advent of CHRIST, at the *end of the world* and the *general judgment*. This has been adopted by the framers of our *Liturgy*, (See the *Collects* of the first and third Sundays of *Advent, &c.*) *Heinsius, Clarke, Gilpin, Bishops Porteus, Horsley, &c.*

The fourth hypothesis unites all the preceding into three questions, and is supported by *Grotius*, in his excellent commentary thereon; the sagacious *Mede, Henry Taylor*, in his *Thoughts on the grand Apostasy*, *Mr. King*, in his *Morsels of Criticism*; and in this work, as appearing to be the least objectionable, and the most consonant to the context, and to the whole tenor of *prophecy*.

The original terms of the enquiry, may be thus harmonized.

MATTHEW xxiv. 3.	LUKE xxi. 7.	MARK xiii. 4.
1. Ποτε ταυτα εσται;	Ποτε ταυτα εσται; και τι το σημειον οταν μελλη ταυτα γινεσθαι;	Ποτε ταυτα εσται;
2. Και, τι, το σημειον της σης παρουσιας;		Και, τι, το σημειον οταν μελλη παντα ταυτα συντελεισθαι;
3. Και,—της συντελειας του αιωνος;		

In every hypothesis the first question in *Matthew*, repeated by the rest also, is, without hesitation, allowed to relate to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Luke* adds the *sign*, or prognostic, omitted by *Matthew*.

The second question, proposed fully by *Matthew*, is omitted by the rest. The third question, proposed elliptically by *Matthew*, is filled up and explained by *Mark*.

In the first hypothesis the term *παρουσια* is incorrectly rendered "*coming*," or "*advent*," and supposed to denote CHRIST'S coming in *judgment* on *Jerusalem*, in the course of that generation, and *συντελεια του αιωνος* is incorrectly rendered "*the end of the age*," or conclusion of the *Mosaical* dispensation; confounding *συντελεια*, "*conclusion*," with *τελος*, "*end*," *Matt. xxiv. 6—14*, which unquestionably relates to the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

In the second hypothesis the term *παρουσια* is correctly rendered "*presence*," or personal appearance, as opposed to *απουσια*, "*absence*," *Phil. ii. 11*, denoting *παρουσια του σωματος*, "*bodily presence*," *2 Cor. x. 10*. It was first technically used, on this occasion, by *Matthew*; and was thence adopted to denote our *Lord's* second ap-

I. "When shall these be?"

And what, *the sign*, when these shall happen?

II. And what, *the sign of thy presence*?

pearance in glory, as *Daniel's SON OF MAN*, Dan. vii. 13, by the succeeding writers of the *New Testament*; *Paul*, 1 Cor. xv. 23, &c. compare Heb. ix. 28; *Peter*, 2 Pet. iii. 4; *James*, v. 7, 8; 1 *John*, ii. 28; synonymous with *επιφανεια*, "appearance," 1 Tim. vi. 14, &c. *αποκαλυψις*, "revelation," 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Pet. i. 7, iv. 13.

But in this hypothesis, *συντελεια του αιωνος*, is incorrectly confounded with the foregoing technical term, *παρουσια*; for the phrase is unequivocally used by *Matthew*, on two other occasions, to denote "the conclusion of the world," or "consummation of all things," as here explained by *Mark*, first in the parable of the tares, where "the harvest," or general judgment is to take place at the conclusion of the world," Matt. xiii. 39, 40; and again, where our Lord promised to support his Church until the conclusion of the world, Matt. xxviii. And the term *συντελεια*, in the Septuagint version, which is the usual rendering of the Hebrew כָּלָה, (*Chalah*), is translated in our English Bible, "a full end," Jer. iv. 27, v. 10—18, xxx. 31, xlvi. 28, Ezek. xi. 13, "an utter end," Nehem. i. 8; "the consummation," Dan. ix. 27; and "utter consumption," Neh. ix. 31. And in the *Jewish* apocryphal book of *Enoch*, the general judgment is expressed by a similar phrase, *εως συντελεσθη κριμα του αιωνος των αιωνων*, "until the judgment of the world for evermore shall be concluded."

In the third hypothesis this phrase is rightly understood; but the term *παρουσια*, is incorrectly used, as in the first hypothesis, chiefly upon the following grounds. 1. It is supposed to denote the sign of THE SON OF MAN, coming in the clouds of Heaven, to punish the Jews, in the course of that generation; coming in the execution of judgment, as meant Dan. ix. 26.

But "the sign of THE SON OF MAN," Dan. vii. 13, Matt. xxiv. 30, is a distinct prophecy, intimating a visible appearance in the clouds, to found the kingdom of CHRIST, and of the saints, as proved before.

2. OUR LORD declared, that "some of the bystanders should by no means taste of death, until they see the SON OF MAN coming in his kingdom," Matt. xvi. 28, according to Dan. ix. 26.

But the verb *ιδητε*, "see," here does not denote personal appearance, but only the event, or effect of his coming, in the punishment of the Jews; it is therefore equivalent to "observe;" in which sense it is evidently understood by the other Evangelists, in the parallel passages: *Luke* says simply, "until they see the kingdom of God," ix. 27; and *Mark*, "until they see the kingdom of God, actually come in power," (*εληλυθυιαν εν δυναμει*), ix. 1; and *Paul* uses the phrase, "the kingdom of God in power," to denote the miraculous power, or rod of chastisement for offenders, 1 Cor. iv. 20, 21. Whereas, the verbs expressive of our Lord's personal appearance, are *οψεσθε*, *οψονται*, or *οφθησεται*, signifying to "view" or "be viewed," Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64, Rev. i. 7, Heb. ix. 28, *αποκαλυπεται* "to be revealed," Luke xvii. 30, 1 Pet. i. 5, v. 1.

3. And this is confirmed by the omission of the verb "see," in the other texts, intimating the approach of the kingdom of heaven, Matt. iv. 17; or the coming of THE SON OF MAN, Matt. x. 23, in the course of that generation, Matt. xxiii. 36, xxiv. 34.

4. The omission of the second question entirely by *Luke* and *Mark*, and of the third question by *Luke*, is perfectly consistent with their confined plans, for the reasons stated in the text.

There remains, therefore, only the fourth hypothesis, which combines all that is good, and rejects all that is objectionable in the preceding; and sufficiently accords with the revelations to *Daniel* and to *John*.

III. And what, *the sign when all these shall be concluded, or, of the conclusion of the world ?*"

For so may the three branches of the enquiry be completed from the joint accounts of the three evangelists; *Luke* supplying the *sign* of the first; and *Mark* the *sign* of the last; both omitted by *Matthew*. See the foregoing note.

That this is a correct interpretation of the whole *enquiry*, involving three distinct questions, may be inferred from our Lord's *oracular response*, containing three distinct answers to each; as given most fully and collectively, by *Matthew*, in the xxiv. and xxv. chapters, which ought not to have been separated: *Luke* and *Mark* chiefly noticing and explaining his answer to the first question, as of most importance to that generation; more slightly mentioning his answer to the second; and omitting his answer to the last; which they only notice incidentally elsewhere.

We shall, therefore, proceed to state the substance of these *answers* in order.

1. SIGNS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

1 *Sign*. Many *pretenders to be Christ*, impostors, *false Christs*, or *Antichrists*, saying, that the season of *redemption* is at hand; who shall *deceive many*, Matt. xxiv. 5, Mark xiii. 6, Luke xxi. 8.

2. *Wars, rumours of wars, and unsettlements*, but the *end of Jerusalem not yet*, Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, Mark xiii. 7, 8, Luke xxi. 9, 10.

3. Great *famines, pestilences and earthquakes* in divers places; *fearful and great signs* from heaven, first to happen. *All these the beginning of woes*, Matt. xxiv. 7, 8, Mark xiii. 8, 9, Luke xxi. 11, 12.

4. *Tribulation and persecution* of the disciples, by *Synagogues, Governors and Kings*; *trials, scourgings and executions*, for CHRIST'S sake. Promise of divine support, of *utterance and wisdom* to confute their adversaries.

5. *Apostacy of many disciples*; parents, children, relations and friends, hating, betraying, and informing against each other to death, Matt. xxiv. 10, Mark xiii. 12, Luke xxi. 16.

6. The *disciples*, hated by *all* for CHRIST'S sake. (But a hair of their heads should not perish,) Matt. xxiv. 9, Mark xiii. 13, Luke xxi. 17, 18.

7. Many *false prophets* who should *deceive many*, Matt. xxiv. 11.

8. *Prevalence of iniquity* and *lukewarmness of the many* in the Christian Religion, Matt. xxiv. 12. (But the *patient endurer* to the end should be saved,) Matt. xxiv. 13, Mark xiii. 13, Luke xxi. 19, Heb. x. 36.

9. THE GOSPEL to be preached to *all the Gentiles* throughout the world; and then, the end of *Jerusalem*, Matt. xxiv. 14; compare x. 23, Mark xiii. 10; comp. Rom. x. 18, Col. i. 22, 23.

10. The sign of *Daniel* the prophet to be fulfilled, in the *abomination of desolation*, seen standing in the *Holy place*; or the *desolation* of *Jerusalem* nigh, when they should see the city surrounded by *Roman* encampments, Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14, Luke xxi. 20. (Their speedy flight from *Jerusalem* and *Judea* to the mountains, recommended to the disciples; and not to enter into the city from the country, during these *days of vengeance*,) Matt. xxiv. 16—20, Mark xiii. 15—18, Luke xxi. 21, 22.

11. Great and unprecedented *tribulation* in the land of *Judea*, and *wrath* upon the people of the *Jews*, who should be *slain* with the sword, and led *captive* to all nations. And *Jerusalem* to be *trampled* by the *Gentiles*, till the *times of the Gentiles* be fulfilled [in turn,] (Dan. viii. 13,) Matt. xxiv. 21, Mark xiii. 19, Luke xxi. 23, 24. (But these days [of war] to be shortened by THE LORD, for the *Elect's* sake,) Matt. xxiv. 22, Mark xiii. 20.

12. *False Christs* and *false prophets*, proposing signs and wonders; saying, that CHRIST *is come* [to restore again the kingdom to *Israel*, Luke xvii. 20, xix. 11, Acts i. 6,] and is here, or is there; [hiding] in the *desert*, or in the *secret chambers*. (The disciples *forewarned* not to believe nor follow them, neither to seek Him at that *premature season*,) Matt. xxiv. 23—26, Mark xiii. 21—23, Luke xxi. 23.

Most remarkably and exactly were all these *signs* or prognostics fulfilled, before, and during the *Jewish* war, till the desolation of *Judea* by *Adrian*.

1, 7, 12. These three signs began, proceeded, and ended with *false Christs* and *false Prophets*; of which there were *many*, during that disastrous period, (1 John iv. 1,) as we learn from *Josephus*.

Theudas, an impostor, persuaded a great multitude to follow him to the river *Jordan*, promising to divide the river, and give them an easy passage across it; but *Fadus*, the Roman governor, sent a troop of horse against them, who slew many, dispersed the rest, and beheaded *Theudas*, about A.D. 48, *Joseph. Ant.* xx. 4, 1.

Several *impostors* and *deceivers* persuaded the people to follow them into the *desert*, where they proposed to shew them manifest signs and wonders, but *Felix*, the Roman governor, punished, and brought them back, about A.D. 57, *Ant.* xx. 7, 6.

Soon after, about A.D. 58, an *Egyptian false Prophet*, led 4000 of the *Sicarii*, or "*Assassins*" into the *desert*, and from thence to Mount *Olivet*, promising, that they should see the walls of *Jerusalem* fall down at his command, and that they should then destroy the *Roman* garrison, and recover their liberty. But the citizens joined *Felix*, who slew 400 of them, and took 200 prisoners; the *Egyptian* himself escaped, and was seen no more, *Acts* xxi. 38, *Antiq.* xx. 7, 6, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13, 5. For these public services, *Felix* was complimented by the orator *Tertullus*, *Acts* xxiv. 3.

Festus, his successor, sent, soon after, an armed force against a *deceiver*, who had led several persons into the *desert*, promising them deliverance; and destroyed the deceiver and his adherents, *Ant.* xx. 7, 10.

During the burning of the *temple* itself, A.D. 70, a *false Prophet* seduced about 6000 persons to go up on the portico of the outer temple, promising, that God would send them *signs* of deliverance; but the *Roman* soldiers, in their fury, set fire to the portico, and destroyed them all. And *Josephus* further remarks, that *many false Prophets*, during the siege, were suborned by the seditious tyrants, to promise the people assistance from God, in order to prevent them from deserting; in which they were but too successful; for as he judiciously remarks, "When the *deceiver* promises relief from pressing calamities, then the *sufferer* becomes full of *hope*," *Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, 2.

The last and most mischievous of these *false Christs* or impostors, was the noted *Barchochab*, "*Son of the Star*," a title which he assumed, as fulfilling *Balaam's* famous prophecy, *Numb.* xxiv. 17; and was patronized by the celebrated Rabbi *Akiba*. His bloody rebellion, in which he and his abettors were

destroyed by *Adrian*, brought about the desolation of *Judea*, and total expulsion of the *Jews*, A.D. 135.

2. The second sign was, *wars* and *rumours of wars*, and *unsettlements*. Accordingly, a *war* broke out about A.D. 36, between *Herod*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, and *Aretas*, king of *Arabia Petrea*, in which *Herod's* army was destroyed, Ant. xviii. 6, 1. This was in their neighbourhood. The great *Roman* and *Parthian* empires and their dependencies, were engaged in constant *wars* with each other during this turbulent period. See *Usher's Annals*, A. D. 51. In *Nero's* reign there was a *rumour* that the *Parthians* intended to invade *Syria* and *Palestine*, and the presidents and tetrarchs of both were ordered to obey the *Roman* general *Corbulo*, *Sueton. Nero*, 39. And most remarkable were the *unsettlements* of those two great empires; no less than four *Roman* emperors, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* being slain in the course of eighteen months.

3. The third sign was no less exactly fulfilled. A remarkable *famine*, foretold by the prophet *Agabus*, prevailed throughout *Judea*, in the reign of *Claudius Cæsar*, A.D. 44, Acts xi. 28; and it lasted till the administration of *Tiberius Alexander*, the successor of *Fadus*, about A.D. 50, *Joseph. Ant.* xx. 4, 2.

A remarkable *pestilence* was noticed by *Tacitus* at *Rome*, in the autumn of A.D. 65, after the martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter*, which swept away 30,000 persons, according to *Suetonius*, *Nero*, 39.

There were also great *earthquakes* in divers places. *Tacitus* speaks of an earthquake at *Rome*, and another at *Apamea* in *Syria*, A.D. 51; another, which threw down *Laodicea*, and shook *Colosse* and *Hierapolis*, in *Asia Minor*, A.D. 60; another, which overthrew *Pompeii* and *Herculaneum*, in *Campania*, accompanied with a tremendous eruption of lava and ashes from Mount *Vesuvius*, A.D. 62, *Annal.* xii. 43, 58, xiv. 27, xv. 22.

Some extraordinary *signs* in the heavens, and other *portents* are noticed by *Josephus* and *Tacitus**, as immediately preceding the war: 1. A *star* resembling a sword, or a *comet*, ap-

* *Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Vi:æ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Eapassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, "excedere Deos:" simul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant, &c. Hist. v. 13.*

peared over the city for a year together. 2. At the feast of the *passover*, April 8, A.D. 65, at the ninth hour of the night, or three hours after midnight, so great a *light* shone round the *altar* and the *temple*, that it seemed to be clear day; and this continued for half an hour. 3. A few days after that festival, on May 21, *before sunset*, *chariots* and *troops in armour* were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding cities; which, says he, almost exceeds belief, and might seem fabulous, had it not been related by the eye-witnesses. This could not have been an *aurora borealis*, as some have imagined, because it was seen in the day time. 4. At the ensuing feast of *Pentecost*, as the priests, during their watch, were going by night into the inner court of the temple, they first felt, as they said, a *shaking*, accompanied with a *noise*, and after that, a *voice* of a *multitude*, saying, *Let us pass over from hence*, (μεταβαινωμεν εντευθεν.) "Some of these prodigies," says *Josephus*, "the people interpreted as they liked, others they set at nought, until they were convicted of *infatuation*, both by the capture of their country, and by the destruction of themselves," Bell. Jud. VI. 5, 3, 4. What a critical commentary does *Josephus* furnish upon OUR LORD'S *prophecies*, though he does not name them! iv. 5, vi. 8. These several signs were also fulfilled with equal exactness, as shewn in the foregoing history.

9. The ninth sign, the preaching of the Gospel throughout the known world, before the catastrophe of *Jerusalem*, is noticed by *Paul*, Col. i. 23, Romans x. 18, and shewn in the foregoing history.

II. SIGNS OF CHRIST'S PRESENCE AT THE REGENERATION.

These naturally follow the *false signs* proposed by the *false prophets*, saying, that CHRIST was actually come, and *hiding* in the *desert*, or in the *secret chambers*.

1. The true *presence* of CHRIST in glory, as *Daniel's SON OF MAN*, in his day of revelation, is to be *sudden*, and *universally conspicuous*; like *lightning* shining from the east to the west, from one end of heaven to the other, Matt. xxiv. 27, Luke xvii. 24.

2. *Before* he is to be revealed, there is to be an *immense* and

general slaughter of all *apostate* and *wicked nations*, by the ministers of divine vengeance; resembling “*the eagles in swiftness and voracity, gathered together wheresoever the carcase is,*” or the mass of the people become corrupt, to devour, to destroy, and to make an end, Matt. xxiv. 28, Luke xvii. 37.

3. This is foretold to take place *immediately*, or suddenly, “*after the tribulation of those days,*” or near the close of the second *Jewish* captivity, among all the nations, during the desolation of *Jerusalem*: and is to be accompanied with *signs* in the *sun, moon, and stars*; and upon *earth distress of nations in perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, men shuddering with fear, and expectation of the woes coming upon the world*; for the *powers of the heavens shall be shaken*,” all intimating dreadful *natural* and *political* convulsions throughout the world, Matt. xxiv. 29, Luke xxi. 24—26.

4. And then shall appear the *sign of THE SON OF MAN*; for they shall *see* the Son of man coming *in the clouds* with great power and great glory. And then shall *all the tribes of the land*, [when they *look on* him whom *they pierced,*] *mourn*, (Zech. xii. 10,) Matt. xxiv. 30, Luke xxi. 27.

5. And HE shall send forth his *angels* with a *trumpet of great sound*, and gather his *elect* from *one end of the heaven to the other, from the four winds, or four quarters of the earth*, [at the *first resurrection.*]

6. Our BLESSED LORD graciously proposed these signs, destined to precede his *second appearance* at the *regeneration*, for the *comfort* and *support* of his *faithful* disciples in those *latter times*. “When these *signs* begin to happen, then look up, and lift up your heads with joyful assurance, for *your redemption* draweth nigh,” Luke xxi. 28. And he happily illustrated this by a similitude, “When the *fig-trees* and all the trees put forth leaves, it is a sign that the summer is nigh; so when all these are seen to happen, it shall be a sign that the *kingdom of GOD* is now nigh,” Matt. xxiv. 32, 33; Mark xiii. 28—30; Luke xxi. 29—31.

7. He next critically distinguishes the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, from the time of his *second appearance*: 1. The former; “*This generation* shall not pass away till *all these happen*: (heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words

shall not pass away.") 2. The latter, "But of *that day* * and *hour* knoweth *no one*, neither the *angels of heaven*, nor THE SON, but THE FATHER; *no one*, but MY FATHER only," Matt. xxiv. 34—36; Mark xiii. 30—32; Luke xxi. 32, 33. Compare Acts i. 7.

8. From the *uncertainty* of the time, and the *suddenness* of his coming to execute vengeance upon *all the ungodly* of the earth, resembling the universal *deluge* in *Noah's* days, and the destruction of *Sodom*, in *Lot's* days, OUR LORD warns the faithful to take heed to themselves, lest their hearts be overcharged with *surfeiting* and *drunkenness*, and *worldly cares*, and so *that day* † [of *vengeance*] come upon them unawares. For as a *net* or *snare* shall it come upon all the dwellers upon the face of the earth; of whom some, the *good*, shall be *taken*,

* There is a chasm in *Luke's* account of an entire verse, though hitherto unnoticed by commentators and critics, which has chiefly contributed to embarrass the harmony of the Evangelists. It may be thus supplied from *Matthew* and *Mark* :

Matt. xxiv.

Luke xxi.

Mark xiii.

34. Ἀμην λεγω ὑμιν, ου μη παρελθῃ ἡ γενεα αὕτη, ἕως αν παντα ταυτα γενηται.

32. Ἀμην λεγω ὑμιν, ὅτι ου μη παρελθῃ ἡ γενεα αὕτη, ἕως αν παντα [ταυτα] γενηται.

30. Ἀμην λεγω ὑμιν, ὅτι ου μη παρελθῃ ἡ γενεα αὕτη, μεχρις οὐ παντα ταυτα γενηται.

35. (Ὁ ουρανος και ἡ γη παρελευσονται· οἱ δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελθωσι.)

33. (Ὁ ουρανος και ἡ γη παρελευσονται· οἱ δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελθωσι.)

31. (Ὁ ουρανος και ἡ γη παρελευσονται, οἱ δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελθωσι.)

36. Περι δε της ἡμερας εκεινης και της ὥρας, ουδεις οιδεν, ουδε οἱ αγγελοι των ουρανων, ει μη ὁ πατηρ μου μονος.

[Περι δε της ἡμερας εκεινης* και της ὥρας ουδεις οιδεν, ουδε οἱ αγγελοι των ουρανων, ει μη ὁ πατηρ μου μονος.]

32. Περι δε της ἡμερας εκεινης και της ὥρας, ουδεις οιδεν, ουδε οἱ αγγελοι οἱ εν ουρανω, ουδε ὁ υιος, ει μη ὁ πατηρ.

2 Peter xi. 9.

Ουδε κυριος ευσεβεις εκ πειρασμου ρυεσθαι, αδικους δε εις ἡμεραν κρισεως κολαζομενους τηρειν.

34. Προσεχετε δε ἑαντοις μηποτε βαρυνθωσι ὑμων αἱ καρδια εν κραιπαλη και μεθη, και μεριμναις βιωτικαις, και αἰφνιδιος εφ' ὑμας επεστη ἡ ἡμερα εκεινη*.

1 Thessal. v. 2, 3.

Αυτοι γαρ ακριβως οιδατε, ὅτι ἡ ἡμερα κυριου, ὡς κλεπτης εν νυκτι, οὕτως ερχεται—αἰφνιδιος αυτοις εφισταται ολεθρος.

In the 32d verse of *Luke*, the omission of *ταυτα*, is supplied by the *Syriac*, *Arab*, *Persic*, *Armen*, and *Slavon*. versions, and by several MSS. it is absolutely required by the context, on account of the limitation of *παντα*, to the *passing generation*.

† The 36th verse of *Matthew* is absolutely required by the context to be inserted between the 33d and the 34th of *Luke*, in order to furnish an antecedent to *ἡ ἡμερα εκεινη*, "that day," in the latter verse, which, in the present text, has none; and is to be "a day of judgment on the wicked," according to *Peter*; in which "sudden destruction shall come upon them," according to *Paul*.

or wonderfully saved from destruction ; but others, the *bad*, left to perish. Therefore, *observe*, [the *signs* of the times,] *watch* and *pray*, for ye know not when *the season* is to be, nor in what *hour* the SON OF MAN is to come [in judgment upon the world,] Matt. xxiv. 37—42 ; Mark xiii. 33 ; Luke xxi. 35 ; xvii. 26—36 ; 1 Thess. v. 1—3 ; 2 Pet. ii. 9.

And He illustrates this also by a series of

PARABLES.

9. In the first, CHRIST coming suddenly and unexpectedly upon the world, is compared to a *thief*, ready to break into the house of any householder who is not constantly on his guard. Be ye, therefore, *ready*, or prepared, for *in an hour that ye expect not*, the SON OF MAN *is to come* in judgment, Matt. xxiv. 43, 44. This comparison is frequent, Luke xii. 39 ; 2 Pet. iii. 10 ; Rev. iii. 3 ; xvi. 15.

10. In the second, the *good* and *bad steward* are described, and the reward and punishment of each ; the former, for *feeding the household in due season*, is to be promoted over all his master's substance in the *regeneration*, (compare Matt. xix. 28, Luke xxii. 28—30, &c. ;) the latter, for *beating his fellow servants*, and *eating and drinking with the drunken*, to be *cut asunder* with the sword * unexpectedly, and to have his portion with the *hypocrites* in the next world, Matt. xxiv. 45—51, Luke xii. 42—46.

11. In the third the *provident* and *improvident stewards* are compared to the *wise* and *foolish virgins*, attendant as bride-maids on a marriage. During the bridegroom's delay *all slumbered* and *slept*, more or less ; but on the bridegroom's sudden coming at *midnight*, the *wise*, who had provided a supply of oil, repaired their fault, "*trimmed their lamps*," and attended the bridal procession, and were admitted to the marriage feast ; but the *foolish*, who "*went to buy oil*," trusting to a *late repentance*, found the door shut against them, and were left in darkness and despair. "*Watch*, therefore, with your *loins* girded, and your *lamps* burning, for *ye know neither the day*, nor *the hour* in which THE SON OF MAN is to come," Matt. xxv. 1—13 ; Luke xii. 35—37.

This parable, by anticipation, admirably refutes the *Romish*

* Multos honesti ordinis medios serrá dissecut Caligula. Sueton.

doctrine of works of *supererogation*. When the foolish virgins wanted to borrow oil from the wise, the latter refused to lend; alledging that they had *none to spare* from their own lamps, or no works *more than sufficient* for their own salvation.

12. In the fourth, the *different orders in the ministry*, according to the different *talents* or *work* allotted to each, *suitcd to their ability*, and their appropriate rewards, according to the uses made of them; to be dispensed on their Lord's return from *a far journey*, after *a long absence*, to reckon with them in the *regeneration*. When the *idle* servant of the lowest order, to whom a single talent was entrusted, not for *abusing* that talent, (for he brought it safe and sound *wrapt up* in a *napkin*,) but for not *using* it, (or putting it to *interest*,) was called a *wicked* servant, deprived of his talent altogether, which was bestowed upon the highest order that laboured most, and cast out of *the kingdom of heaven* into outer darkness and despair, Matt. xxv. 14—30; Mark xiii. 34.

13. These awakening parables, though primarily addressed to the *Apostles* and their successors, the *ministers* and *stewards* of the GOSPEL, and of the *divine mysteries*, are not confined to them exclusively, but include *all Christians*. “*Watch*, therefore, for ye know not *when* THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE is to come; (*late*, or at *midnight*, or at *cock crow*, or *early*,) lest *coming suddenly* He find you *sleeping*. And what I say unto you, [*Apostles*,] I say unto *all*, WATCH,” Mark xiii. 35—37; Luke xii. 41.

This second branch of our Lord's *response* seems chiefly designed to guard against two opposite errors; 1. of those *enthusiasts* who expected that the *kingdom of CHRIST*, and reign of the *Saints*, foretold by *Daniel* and the prophets, would *immediately* appear in the course of *that generation*, as promised by the *false Christs* and *false prophets*; 2. of those *scoffers* who were disappointed at the *delay* of CHRIST'S glorious appearance, and either *denied* it entirely, or *postponed* it to the *end of the world*, and *general judgment*.

To remove the former error, which was prevalent among the *Apostles* themselves, (Acts i. 7,) and the early *Christians*, (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2,) he states, that it was not to be till “*after the tribulation of those days*,” or toward the conclusion of the *long continued* period of the second *Jewish* captivity, when *ven-*

geance should have been first inflicted upon all their *oppressors*, and upon all *apostate* and *corrupt nations*, as foretold by the *prophets*, Dan. ix. 27; Isa. li. 22, 23; Numb. xxiv. 24, in a dreadful *slaughter*, described by that terrible proverb, "*Wheresoever the carcase is,*" &c. * in the language of ancient prophecy, Isa. xxxiv. 6, xlvi. 11, lxi. 1, lxvi. 24; Ezek. xxxix. 17—22; Habak. i. 8; Deut. xxxii. 35; and adopted afterwards in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xix. 17, 18.

In the ensuing parables CHRIST intimated his *departure* to *a far country*, Heaven, after his resurrection, whence he was not to return until after a considerable "*delay*," Matt. xxiv. 48, xxv. 5; "*a long time after*," Matt. xxv. 19.

2. The finest commentary on the awful *signs* destined to precede his *second appearance* at the end of the desolation; (the precise time of which, however, was not *then* revealed by THE FATHER to *any one*, not even to THE SON † himself, Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7,) is delivered in the same *figurative* language by *Peter*, to the *scoffers*, objecting, "Where is the promise of *His presence*? For ever since the *Fathers*, [*Abraham, David, &c.* to whom the promise was made] fell asleep, all things *continue* [as they were] from the *beginning of the creation*," 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

In answer to this common-place objection, the Apostle observes, that the CREATOR of the world, and also the destroyer of the wicked, does not count *time* like mortals; for that "with HIM *one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day*," (as formerly remarked by *Moses*, Psalm xc. 4,) and he assigns a merciful reason for the apparent delay. "THE LORD delayeth not His promise, as *some* count delay: but He is *long suffering* to us-ward, not willing that *any* should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance," ver. 5—9.

He next states its suddenness and unexpectedness, like OUR LORD. "For *the day of THE LORD* shall come as *a thief* in the night; in which the *heavens* shall pass away with an explo-

* Commentators in general misapply this proverb, by confining it to the slaughter of the *Jews* in the *Jewish* war, contrary to the general term "*wheresoever*;" and to the context, the reference to that war ending Matt. xxiv. 26. This mistake also has materially contributed to embarrass the harmony of the Evangelists.

† We may humbly presume it was fully revealed to THE SON after his *ascension*, in his *prophetic* character of "the LAMB with *seven eyes*," who revealed the *Book of fate* in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. v. 1—10.

sion, and the *elements* shall be dissolved with heat, and *the earth* and *the works* therein shall be burnt up," ver. 10.

The explosion of the *heavens* and dissolution of *the earth* and its *works*, (or earthly workers) in the highly figurative language of prophecy denotes great *political* convulsions, (Isa. li. 6, Joel ii. 30—32,) destined to precede "*the new heavens* and *the new earth*," or new order of things in the *regeneration*, springing up from the *old*, like the *Phœnix* from her ashes. This appears from the Apostle's inference, "Since then *all these* are to be dissolved, what sort of persons ought *ye* to be in holy conversations and religious exercises? *expecting* and *hastening* the appearance of *the day* of GOD, (during which the *heavens* shall be dissolved with fire, and the *elements* consumed with heat :) for according to *His promise* we do expect a *new heaven* and a *new earth*, wherein *righteousness* shall reside.

"Wherefore, beloved, *expecting these*, strive to be found by Him in *peace*, [not *quarrelling* and *fighting*, like the *bad stewards*, Matt. xxiv. 49,] *unspotted* and *unblameable*; and count OUR LORD'S *delay* your *salvation*," ver. 11—15.

Thence he concludes.

"*Ye* then, beloved, *foreknowing* [the *promise* of THE LORD] be on your guard, that ye be not perverted by the error of *lawless* [*scoffers*,] and fall off from your proper *steadfastness* [of expectation;] but [rather] *grow* in *grace*, and in *knowledge* of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. To Him be glory, both now and for ever, Amen *," ver. 17—19.

The *new heavens* and *new earth*, or new order of things to take place at the *regeneration* is also the symbolical language of *ancient prophecy*, Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; in which the Church of CHRIST is represented as a *bride* adorned with her jewels, Isa. lxi. 10. Whence the same imagery is also adopted in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. iii. 18, xxvii. 1, 2.

Such a harmony of *language* and *sentiment* between our BLESSED LORD and his *Prophets* and *Apostles* seems to esta-

* We have here endeavoured, at full length, to restore the genuine interpretation of this highly figurative and most important prophecy of the *regeneration*, or *restitution* of all things, conformable to *Peter's* doctrine in the *Acts*, iii. 19—21; and as expounded by the *first reformers* in Edward VIth's reign, (as shewn before,) because it has been mistaken by later commentators and critics, even *Macknight*, Bishop *Porteus*, &c. for the *final dissolution* of the world.

blish the validity of the interpretation here humbly offered of this most momentous branch of His ORACULAR PROPHECIES, coming home to the *present times!* May it contribute under GOD to encrease the *faith*, the *hope*, and the *patience* of pious and rational *believers*, and to reclaim *scoffers* and *infidels*; in this boasted *age of reason*, but declining *age of faith*, fulfilling prophecy. “Nevertheless, when THE SON OF MAN cometh shall He find *faith* [established] upon *the earth?*” Luke xviii. 8.

III. SIGNS OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORLD, AND OF THE GENERAL JUDGMENT.

These signs OUR LORD omitted in the present discourse, perhaps, as not being so *immediately* necessary to be known. He graciously communicated them afterwards to the beloved disciple in the *Apocalypse*.

After the establishment of CHRIST’S millenary kingdom in the regenerated world, *piety* and *virtue* shall flourish, and *peace* and *happiness* prevail till the end of that blessed period. Then we are told, that *Satan*, who was to be bound at its beginning, is to be let loose, for the last time, to *deceive* the nations, and instigate them to a grand *apostacy* and *rebellion* against GOD, in which they shall march into the *Holy Land*, and besiege the *Holy City*; but shall be miraculously destroyed, and *Satan*, his *angels* and *abettors*, be finally cast into Hell, Rev. xx. 1—10.

On this occasion, however, OUR LORD directly proceeded to the *general judgment*, of which he gave a most lively *scenical* representation, Matt. xxv. 31—46.

1. THE SON OF MAN is then to *appear* as KING in *all His glory*, and *all the Holy Angels* with Him, and is to *sit* in judgment upon the *throne* of His glory, ver. 31—34.

2. Before Him are to be assembled *all nations*, after the general resurrection, who are to be separated into two classes, the *sheep* and the *goats*, or the *good* and the *bad*, ver. 32, 33.

3. The *good*, on account of their *charitable works* done for CHRIST’S sake *, to the least of *His brethren*, *imputed* as done

* These are beautifully recommended by *Jerom*. “Clothe CHRIST in the *poor*; visit Him in the *sick*; feed Him in the *hungry*; lodge Him in those that lack *lodging*; and especially such as are of the *household of faith*.” *Homily* against the peril of idolatry, Part III. p. 153.

to Himself; are to be rewarded with admission into the *kingdom of heaven, prepared* for them by THE FATHER from the foundation of the world, ver. 34—40.

4. The *bad*, on account of their *omission of charitable works, &c.* to be cast into *Hell fire*, prepared for *the Devil* and his *Angels*.

5. The reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, to be both *eternal*, ver. 46.

In this, the most interesting, awful, and tremendous description that can *enter into the heart of man to conceive*, the duration of the *happiness* of the one, and of the *misery* of the other, is expressed by the same common term, *αιωνιος*, which ought not, therefore, in our English Bible, to have been variously rendered, "*everlasting*" and "*eternal*," but uniformly, either one or the other. Those *philosophizing divines* who deny the strict *eternity* of *punishment* on the ground of the BENEVOLENCE of THE DEITY, if they wish to be consistent, and argue upon *rational* principles, must equally deny the *eternity* of *reward*, as infinitely beyond all *human* pretensions to *merit*; since "we are *all but unprofitable servants*," Luke xvii. 10; of which the voice of *conscience* also must clearly inform every one of us.

The following profound reflections on such *short-sighted, presumptuous* reasonings, we owe to Bishop *Butler*.

"Perhaps, DIVINE GOODNESS (with which, if I mistake not, we make *very free* in our *speculations*,) may not be a bare single disposition to *produce happiness*; but a disposition to make *the good, the faithful, the honest man* happy. Perhaps, an infinitely PERFECT MIND may be pleased with seeing His creatures behave *suitably* to the *nature* which he has given them, to the *relation* which He has placed them in to *each other*, and to that which they stand in to HIMSELF. (That relation to Himself, which, during their existence, is ever necessary, and which is the most important one of all.) Perhaps, I say, an infinitely perfect mind may be pleased with this *moral piety* of moral agents, *in, and for itself*; as well as upon account of its being essentially conducive to the *happiness of His creation*: or, [rather] *the whole end* for which God made and thus governs the world, may be *utterly beyond* the reach of *our* faculties. There may be somewhat in it as *impossible* for *us* to have any conception of, as for *a blind man to have a conception of colours*." Analogy, p. 49.

The latter and wiser supposition is warranted by SCRIPTURE. "O the *depth* of the riches, both of *the wisdom and knowledge* of GOD! How *unsearchable* his judgments, and *untraceable* His ways! For *who* hath known the *mind* of THE LORD? or *who* hath been His *counsellor*?" Romans xi. 33—35.

THE APOCALYPSE.

"As a MAJESTIC RIVER expands itself more and more, the farther it removes from its source; so PROPHECY, issuing from the first promise in PARADISE, as its fountain head, acquired additional strength and fulness as it rolled down through successive ages; was enlarged in its course by a number of tributary streams; and will go on increasing in extent and grandeur, until it finally lose itself in the OCEAN OF ETERNITY."

Van Mildert.

The *Apocalypse*, as it is the last, so is it the noblest and grandest of the *prophetic* records. It winds up, completes, illustrates, and enlarges the PROVIDENTIAL scheme of REDEMPTION from the beginning to the end of *time*; from the grand charter of mercy, (Gen. iii. 15, Rev. xii. 1—5,) to the final destruction of the *old serpent*, deceiving the *whole world*, (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 10.)

The *obscurity* of the *Apocalypse*, so long complained of*, and

* Scaliger was pleased to say, "Calvin was wise because he did not write upon the *Apocalypse*." And Whitby declined to comment thereon, confessing, that "he had neither sufficient reading, nor judgment to discern the intendment of the *prophecies* contained in that book."

The *prophetic* parts of the *Revelation*, says John Wesley, "I did not study at all for many years, as utterly despairing of understanding them, after the fruitless attempts of so many wise and good men: and, perhaps, I should have lived and died in this sentiment, had I not seen the works of the great Bengelius. But these revived my hopes of understanding even the *prophecies* of this book; at least, many of them, in some good degree; for, perhaps, some will not be open but in eternity. Let us, however, bless GOD for the measure of light we may enjoy, and improve it to His glory."——

"Yet, I," says he, "by no means pretend to understand or explain all that is contained in this mysterious book. I only offer what help I can to the serious enquirer; and shall be rejoiced if any be moved thereby, more carefully to read, and more deeply to consider the words of this prophecy. Blessed is he that does this with a single eye. His labour shall not be in vain, [in THE LORD,]" Notes on the NEW TEST. Vol. III. p. 189, 190.

To this modest and humble conclusion of the founder of Methodism, (however we may differ from him in other respects,) we most cordially subscribe, as explanatory of the spirit in which the present *Apocalyptic key* is written, and designed to be understood.

Bengelius, Wesley's preceptor, in this most valuable part, perhaps, of his Notes on the

not without reason, originated partly from the *mysterious* nature of the subject, (Rev. x. 7,) and partly from its *enigmatical* and *symbolical* structure, (Rev. xiii. 18, xvii. 9.)

“In the *Gospel of St. John*,” says the learned *Bossuet*, “we read the *Life of CHRIST on earth*; a man conversing with men, humble, poor, meek, suffering: we behold a *sacrifice* ready to be offered, and a man appointed unto *sorrows* and *death*. But in the *Revelation of St. John*, we have THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST, now raised from the dead. He speaks and acts, as having *conquered the grave*, and *triumphed over death* and *Hades*, as *entered into the place of His glory*; *Angels* and *principalities* and *powers* being made subject unto Him, and exercising the *supreme dominion* He has received from THE FATHER, over *all beings* in *heaven* and *earth*, as OUR SAVIOUR, for the *protection of His Church*, and for the sure *happiness* of His *faithful servants* in the end.” The enraptured writer, therefore, unfolding a scheme of such grandeur and vast dimensions, “things invisible to *mortal sight*,” must often be necessarily obscure and profound.

Wise reasons may also be assigned for an intentional *ambiguity* in the composition, originating in kindness. It was by no means fit or prudent to disclose the several *woes* and *plagues* to be inflicted on the grand persecuting powers of the Church, *Popery* and *Islamism*, and their offspring and *image*, *Infidelity*, so plainly and explicitly, as that *he who runs may read*. This would naturally have provoked the indignation of the *ruling powers* every where against the *Christians* and against the SACRED ORACLES themselves. They punished the former as *superstitious*, and enemies to the established worship; but they would have punished them as *rebels*, and decried their scriptures as *treasonable libels* against the state, forged by *fanatical im-*

NEW TESTAMENT, (which are commendable for their conciseness, and acutely pointed to the hearts and consciences of his readers,) was a most voluminous writer on the *Revelations*, in his *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* and *Eklarte Offenbarung* (which is a full and regular comment on the *Revelations*,) and his *Apparatus*, and *Crisis in Apocalypsin*. But he is rather *fanciful* and *over-mystical*; and his abridger, of course, is sometimes tinged with these imperfections. Still, to *John Wesley* we are indebted (more than to any writer, perhaps, from the days of *Joseph Mede*, the great restorer) for the *popular* revival of the *scriptural* doctrine of the *Millennium*; though carried rather to excess by some of his *enthusiastic* followers, who wanted his information. But “the whole scheme of this prophecy is so far from being an encouragement to *enthusiasm*, that it is a *wise preservative* against it: for the general doctrine of the whole book is this; that *the patience of the Saints* is their way to *victory*,” LOWMAN, *Pref.* p. xlii.

postors, had they understood their contents, which it was given to the *wise* only to *know* and *understand*, (Mark iv. 11, Matt. xxiv. 15, Dan. ix. 25, xii. 10.) And, indeed, what unmerited obloquy was thrown on the *Apocalypse* even by *Christian powers*, at the time of the *Reformation*, from the extravagances of the *Anabaptists*, which it was falsely supposed to countenance? On the contrary, when there was no such danger, the *letters to the seven Churches* are remarkably plain and intelligible.

Nor is the *Apocalypse* a whit more obscure, in the sequel, than the symbolical visions of *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Zechariah*. It is much more methodical in its arrangement. And its *lucid order* cannot fail to be admired when the true *key* shall be found out, in the distinction between *primary* and *secondary prophecies*, which has not been sufficiently minded hitherto.

The *Apocalypse* will then be found a most luminous *commentary* and *supplement*, not only of *their* prophecies, but also of our LORD'S; who, for the encouragement of his faithful servants to study the *Apocalypse*, has graciously promised "a *blessing* to him that *readeth* and *expoundeth*, and to them that *hear* and obey *the words of this prophecy*," Rev. i. 3, in continuation of the blessing promised in *Daniel*, xii. 3; and repeated by OUR LORD, Matt. xiii. 43.

DESIGN.

The leading design of this book, with which it begins and with which it ends, is to inculcate the *approaching* appearance of CHRIST in *glory*, at the *regeneration*, to reward his *faithful servants* at the *first resurrection*; to punish his foes, and to establish his *Church triumphant* throughout the earth, after its long *militant*, or suffering state.

"The revelation of JESUS CHRIST to his servant *John*, which GOD gave HIM to shew his servants *approaching events*,—For the season is *nigh*.—Lo, HE is coming with the *clouds*; and *every eye* shall *behold* Him, even *they* who *pierced* him: and all the tribes of the land shall *mourn* on account of Him, *Yea, Amen*, Rev. i. 1—7.—"Lo, *I am coming quickly*. *Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book*, xxii. 7; *Yea, I am coming quickly, Amen*," xxii. 20.

This passage combines two famous prophecies; *the sign of THE SON OF MAN*, in *Daniel*, vii. 13; applied by OUR LORD,

Matt. xxiv. 30; and the *compunction* of the *Jewish tribes*, when they shall *behold* him again in glory, foretold, Zech. xii. 10; and applied, John xix. 37, and by OUR LORD, Matt. xxiii. 39.

The following is the masterly argument of *Mede* thereon, p. 604.

“ Now I cannot understand how these two prophetic passages should not have the *same meaning*, when OUR SAVIOUR and his *Apostles* allege them *joined*, which they have in their own authors *apart*; or being *expressed together* at once, should not be *fulfilled together* at once.

“ By such a *miraculous apparition* of CHRIST from heaven, was St. *Paul* converted. And I hope it is no *heresie* to think, that the whole nation of the *Jews* (those *Zealots* against CHRIST) may be converted by as strange a means, as was that *one Zealot* of their nation*.” The *mourning* only of “ *the tribes of the land*,” or the *Jews*, for their past rebellion, is expressed by the prophet, *Zechariah*; but the prophecy is here made universal; for “ *every eye shall see Him*,” as “ *the lightning shining from the east to the west*,” Matt. xxiv. 27. “ When He shall be *viewed a second time*, by those that *expect Him unto salvation*,” Heb. ix. 28, at “ the coming of *seasons of refreshment* from the face of THE LORD,” Acts iii. 19.

This book, indeed, furnishes the finest commentary throughout, on the doctrine of the *two resurrections*, which was briefly taught by OUR LORD, John v. 25—29, as explained in a foregoing article; especially the former, which required most illustration, from its comparative nearness and importance to the whole world.

INTRODUCTORY VISION.

This opens with a sublime and magnificent description of OUR LORD’S last most distinct and most glorious appearance on earth, to the beloved *John*, during his afflicting exile in the Isle of *Patmos*, for the *word of GOD*, and for the *testimony* of JESUS CHRIST, Rev. i. 9.

“ I was in the Spirit on *the Lord’s day*. And I heard behind me, a voice, great as a trumpet’s, saying, I AM ALPHA and OMEGA, THE FIRST and THE LAST. What thou *beholdest*,

* See also *Mede’s* remarks on the mystery of St. *Paul’s conversion*, as the type of the calling of the *Jews*, p. 891 of his Works.

write in a book, and send to the seven Churches, to *Ephesus*, and to *Smyrna*, and to *Pergamus*, and to *Thyatira*, and to *Sardis*, and to *Philadelphia*, and to *Laodicea*, ver. 10.

“ And I turned to observe the voice that spake with me, and when I turned, I saw seven golden lamps, and amidst the seven lamps, one like THE SON OF MAN*, *enrobed down to the feet, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head of hair*†

* Ομοιον υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου. This phrase is rendered indefinitely by several commentators, “ like a son of Man,” or in human form. Following them, *Middleton*, in his *doctrine of the Greek Article*, supposes, that here, “ CHRIST is not directly and primarily meant,” because the phrase is anarthrous, p. 660. And yet, there is room to question a decision of such respectable authority, even from his own principles compared and unfolded.

Middleton, immediately after, observes, “ This passage, as the commentators have remarked, is taken from Dan. vii. 13,” p. 660. And if so, surely, it should be rendered definitely, “ THE SON OF MAN,” κατ’ ἐξοχήν. And he has elsewhere judiciously accounted for its being anarthrous; “ In the Hebrew [כְּבָר אֱנוֹשׁ, *Che Bar Anosh*] before בָּר *bar*, the article [ה, *he*] could not be admitted, [because of the prefix, כָּ *Caph*.] The *Septuagint*, therefore, adhering closely to the original, have rendered, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου,” p. 580. Hence, the Apostle, more distinctly rendered, ὁμοιον υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but preserving the quotation.

It is remarkable, as *Middleton* also judiciously observes, that “ CHRIST asserted his claim to the [established] title, the first time, [in the anarthrous phrase] υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, John v. 27; in all other places he has assumed it: and the very assumption forbid him to use the phrase otherwise than as [definitely] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. He was to be designated as ὁ υἱὸς, for otherwise he would not have been distinguished from any other individual of the human race: and if ὁ υἱὸς, then τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, for ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου would offend against regimen,” p. 353.

Are we not hereby warranted to conclude, that CHRIST, in this passage, and also Rev. xiv. 14, is directly and primarily meant as *Daniel’s* “ SON OF MAN;” and thereby distinguished from any other individual of the human race?

How much are we indebted to this excellent critic for laying down the doctrine of the *Greek Article*, (that most difficult and delicate branch of sacred criticism unquestionably) with so much logical precision and science in the philosophy of language, that we are enabled thereby to detect the mistakes he has occasionally committed himself, through inadvertence, or by deferring more to authority than to his own principles. Holding him to be φιλαλληθεστερος, as well as κριτικωτερος, I shall not affront him with an apology for the freedom of this note on a subject of such importance.

† Ἡ κεφαλή αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες. “ His head and locks of hair.” That is, “ The hair of his head (not his whole head) were white, as white wool; like THE ANCIENT OF DAYS in *Daniel’s* vision, vii. 9,” as judiciously remarked by *Wesley* in his note. Long before *Daniel*, *Homer* had given a similar description; derived, probably, from *Patriarchal Revelation*, Acts vii. 2, (adulterated in its progress, by him especially)

Ἀμβροσιαὶ δ’ ἀρα χαιταὶ ἐπερρωσαντο Ἀνακτος
Κρατος ἀπ’ ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ’ ἐλελιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

“ The ambrosial locks of the IMMORTAL SOVEREIGN’s head
Were shaken: and He made great heaven itself quake!”

Iliad i. 529.

was *white*, like *wool*, white as *snow*; and his *eyes*, as a *flame of fire*; and his *feet* like *refined brass*, glowing as in a *furnace*; and his *voice*, as a voice of *many waters*. And he was holding in his right hand *seven stars*; and out of his mouth was issuing a *sharp two-edged sword*; and his *countenance* was like the *sun*, shining in his strength, ver. 12—16.

“And when I saw Him, I fell at his feet as *dead*. But He laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, *Be not afraid*: I AM THE FIRST and THE LAST, and THE LIVING, and became *dead*: and lo, I AM LIVING FOR EVERMORE, Amen. And I hold the keys* of *Hades*, and of *death*,” ver, 17, 18.

The minute accuracy, simplicity, and sublimity of this circumstantial and stupendous representation must have been drawn from the life, no human fancy could furnish such. Here CHRIST appeared as the great HIGH PRIEST of His Church, to *John*, for the last time, as in His last appearance likewise to *Daniel*, in the dress of the *Jewish* high priest, “*cloathed in linen*,” as on the great day of *atonement*, but in still greater glory and magnificence. The vision equally overpowered both, they sunk under it, *Daniel*, as in a *deep sleep*, *John*, as *dead*; both were *touched* by a divine hand to *strengthen* them, and to assure them of the *reality* of the visions. See Vol. II. pp. 388, 533.

The apparatus also of this vision was more splendid and awful. The *seven lamps*, behind which he appeared, as if embodied with them, denoted *seven Churches*, the representatives of the *Christian Church* in general, corresponding to the *golden branch* with *seven lamps*, burning before the sanctuary, which denoted the *Jewish Church*. The *seven stars* in His right hand, *seven angels*, or bishops of those Churches, who were to give light, as “*burning and shining luminaries*,” to their respective Churches; but that light solely *derived* from Him in whose hand they were, Himself “*the bright and morning star*.” While

This is beautifully sublime, and scriptural imagery. Compare Isai. xiii. 13, Rev. vi. 14, xvi. 20, &c.

* CHRIST reserves to himself the *keys of Hades*. They were not committed to *Peter*, or his successors. *Peter* had only the *keys of Heaven* granted to him, to admit *faithful penitents*, by the door of the GOSPEL into Heaven. The *keys of purgatory* assumed by the *Popes*, were an *impious fiction* for the merchandize of souls. See *Erasmus'* inimitable Dialogue of Pope *Julius II.* with *Peter*, wanting admittance at the gate of heaven, *Jortin's Erasmus*, Vol. II. p. 660, entitled *Julius Exclusus*.

the *sharp two-edged sword* of THE SPIRIT *, issuing from His mouth, was symbolical of the severe judgments to be inflicted on *apostate* or *corrupt* Churches, “*sharp*,” and “*two edged*,” to hew down quickly with double havoc ; as THE ORACLE was described in the punishment of the *Egyptians*, Wisd. xviii. 16. (See p. 180 of Volume II.) and of *apostates* and *infidels*, Rev. xix. 15 ; and as he threatens the Church of *Pergamus*, “to make *war* against them with *the sword of his mouth*,” Rev. ii. 16.

When *John* was sufficiently strengthened and composed, His LORD repeated the instructions with which He began. To write the *vision* he *saw*, and also *the state* of the Church, both *present* and *future*, to the *angels* of the seven Churches, ver. 19, 20.

THE EPISTLES TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

The seven Churches of the *Lydian*, or proconsular *Asia*, the head of which was *Ephesus*, were originally founded by the Apostle *Paul* and his assistants, during their ministry. After his death they came under the jurisdiction of the Apostle *John*, whose principal residence was at *Ephesus*. The Presbyters of that Church are generally supposed to have authenticated *John's Gospel* in the observation “*We know that his testimony is true*” at the conclusion, xxi. 24.

These Churches lie nearly in an amphitheatre, and are addressed according to their *geographical* positions : 1. *Ephesus*, the Mother Church ; 2. *Smyrna*, forty-six miles northwards ; 3. *Pergamus*, sixty-four miles ; 4. *Thyatira*, forty-eight miles eastwards ; 5. *Sardis*, thirty-three miles ; 6. *Philadelphia*, twenty-seven miles ; 7. *Laodicea*, forty-two miles southwards : according to Mr. *Thomas Smith's* computation, who visited all these cities in 1671.

The epistles dictated by OUR LORD to the several Churches are remarkably plain and intelligible. The state of the *seven Churches*, and the warnings and consolations addressed to them, equally extend to the *Catholic* or *Universal Church*, at all times. Some Churches, like those of *Sardis*, *Thyatira*, and

* *The sword of THE SPIRIT* is finely described by *Paul* as “*lively and energetic*, and sharper than any *two edged sword*, and *piercing through* even to the separation of the *soul* and the *spirit*, and of the *joints* and *marrow* [of the *body*,] and a *critical discerner* of the *thoughts* and *intentions of the heart*,” Heb. iv. 12 ; Ephes. vi. 17. Such was that which smote *Ananias* and *Sapphira*.

Laodicea, are lukewarm and greatly corrupted; others, in a mixed state, as those of *Ephesus* and *Pergamus*; and some still rich, or rather flourishing, and had not *denied the name of CHRIST*, as *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia*. And the admonitions addressed to them, 1. to *repent and reform* their ways; 2. to reject *false Apostles* and *corrupt doctrines*; 3. to retain their *patience* and *stedfastness* in the faith; 4. under the penalty of having “their *lamps* removed,” or their established Churches extinguished, are equally addressed to all. “*He that hath an ear, let him hear what THE SPIRIT saith to the Churches*” in general, Rev. ii. 29, iii. 22.

Most exactly, indeed, have OUR LORD’S prophecies respecting *these Churches* been fulfilled, for a *warning to all*. Take the following account of their present state from a modern historian, *Gibbon*, not prejudiced, certainly, in favour of the *Apocalypse*. *Decline and Fall*, &c. Vol. XI. p. 314.

“In the year 1312 began the *captivity*, or ruin of the *seven Churches*, by the *Ottoman* power.—In the loss of *Ephesus*, the Christians deplored the loss of the first *angel*, the extinction of the first *candlestick* [or *lamp*] of the Revelations. The desolation is complete, and the temple of *Diana*, or the Church of *Mary*, will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. *Sardis* is reduced to a miserable village. The God of *Mahomet*, without a *rival*, or *Son*, is invoked in the Mosques of *Thyatira* and *Pergamus*. The circus and three stately theatres of *Laodicea* are now peopled with *wolves* and *foxes* [or *jackals*]!”

Such, we may remark, is the utter desolation of that Church, which, for her “*lukewarmness*, CHRIST threatened to *spue out of his mouth*” in disgust, Rev. iii. 16.

“Among the [inland] *Greek* colonies and Churches of *Asia*,” proceeds *Gibbon*, “*Philadelphia* is still erect; a *column* in a scene of ruins! At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the *emperors*, encompassed on all sides by the *Turks*, her valiant citizens defended their *religion* and their *freedom* above four-score years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the *Ottomans*,” [*Bajazet*, in 1390.]

Thus has *Philadelphia* been saved by *prophecy*.—“*Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of trial destined to come upon the whole world, to try the dwellers upon the earth. Lo, I am coming quickly;*

hold fast what thou hast, that no one take away thy crown. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of MY GOD," Rev. iii. 7—12.

The *sceptical* historian moots the point, "whether *Philadelphia* was saved by *prophecy* or by *courage*?" The *Christian* reader cannot hesitate a moment, and *Gibbon* himself allows, that the *Philadelphians* "defended their *religion* as well as their *freedom*." But where "*the Spirit of THE LORD* is, there," and there only, "*is liberty*," 2 Cor. iii. 17.

O! may the *Church of England*, that noblest *pillar* of THE REFORMATION, "*still stand erect*" amidst the ruins of the *continental Churches*, in this dread hour of trial, or *last woe*, now actually come, (we apprehend) on *all the world*.

Injurioso ne pede proruas, DOMINE, (Rev. xi. 7.)

Stantem columnam!—————

ESTO PERPETUA!

Smyrna, that maritime city, is still populous. It is chiefly supported by its trade with the *Franks*, or western Christians, and the *Armenians*, or eastern, though under *Turkish* dominion. The *Greek* inhabitants, who, in *Wheeler's* time, were, at least, ten thousand, had but two Churches; the *Armenians*, amounting to several hundreds, but one; the *English*, who ranked next in number and consequence, had only a single chapel in the *consul's* house. "*Which is a shame*," says *Wheeler*, "*considering the great wealth they keep up here beyond all the rest!*" An archbishop of the *Greek* Church resided there, and a *Latin* bishop, who then received a stipend from *Rome*. "But," says *Wheeler*, "I esteem a good *English* priest, (the chaplain of the factory at that time,) an *Evangelist*, if compared with any of the rest," and he represents the *Christians* in *Smyrna* as more numerous and flourishing than in any other of the seven Churches. This also was the result of prophecy, because of their patient endurance of *persecution* and *poverty*, rich in good works, Rev. ii. 9. "*Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer:—Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life*," ver. 10. An encouragement peculiarly adapted to their *Angel*, or Bishop, the venerable *Polycarp**, who suffered martyrdom rather than apostatize, A.D. 167.—"*Fourscore and six years*

* See the admirable Letter of the Church of *Smyrna*, describing *Polycarp's* martyrdom, *Lardner*, Vol. VII. p. 413—417.

have I served CHRIST, and he never injured me: how then can I blaspheme MY KING and MY SAVIOUR!" And OUR LORD forewarned them of the last and bloodiest persecution of *ten years*, by *Diocletian*, A.D. 303, "Behold *the Devil* is about to cast some of you into *prison*, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have affliction, *ten days*," ver. 10.

At *Pergamus* our Lord noticed the recent martyrdom of "*Antipas, his faithful witness*" during *Domitian's* persecution, A.D. 94, Rev. ii. 13.

At *Thyatira*, the wicked prophetess, *Jezebel*, who seduced the people to idolatry and fornication, is threatened, she and her children, with death; "and *all the Churches* shall know that I am HE who search the reins and breasts," Rev. ii. 20—23.

These awful, yet encouraging prophecies, were not confined to the *seven Churches*: they were written for our example, that "*we* also through *patience* and *comfort* of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES might have *hope*," (1811.)

After this *first terrestrial* vision, others, still more amazing, were vouchsafed to the enraptured Apostle, by successive *openings* in heaven; (on the ensuing *Lord's* day, we may presume,) affording *new* and more *extended* prospects of futurity. 1. A *door* was opened in heaven, which gave him a view of the *Spiritual Church* and *worship*, Rev. iv. 1. 2. The *spiritual sanctuary* was opened, Rev. xi. 19. 3. Again, Rev. xv. 5. And 4. *Heaven* itself was fully opened, xix. 11*. Hence, the remainder of the book naturally resolves itself into *four celestial visions*. The first and grand vision beginning chap. iv. and ending chap. xi. 18. The second beginning chap. xi. 19, and ending chap. xiv. 20. The third beginning chap. xv. and ending chap. xix. 10. And the fourth beginning chap. xix. 11, and ending chap. xxii. 5.

GRAND CELESTIAL VISION.

The Apostle was next invited by the same voice as of a trumpet, which he heard before in the first vision; "*Ascend*

* These remarks are to be found in *Wesley's* excellent note on Rev. iv. 1, p. 210, furnishing a simple and most satisfactory *master-key* to the whole plan of the *Apocalypse*, by resolving it into *four celestial visions*, as above. It is remarkable, that *Wesley* himself did not apply this key, which he so happily suggested; for he extends "the *main vision*, straight forward from the *fourth* to the *twenty-second* chapter," p. 246.

hither into heaven, and *I will shew thee what must needs come to pass hereafter*, and immediately *I* was in the spirit," &c. Rev. iv. 1, &c.

Here THE LORD did not personally appear at first to *John*, and when He did appear afterwards, it was under a different form. In the first vision, He was arrayed in terrors as THE ORACLE OF GOD, predestined to inflict vengeance on all His foes with *the sword of* THE SPIRIT, Rev. ii. 12—16, xix. 11—16. In the course of this, He appeared under the milder form of THE LAMB, sacrificed for the *redemption* of mankind; afterwards *associated* with THE FATHER in the *throne* of His glory, and sharing *joint worship* with Him from all the *rational* beings of the universe.

FIRST SCENE.

I. This most sublime and stupendous vision opens with a magnificent and circumstantial description of the *Spiritual Church*, compounded of the apparatus of the former visions of *Isaiah*, vi. 1, &c. and *Ezekiel*, i. 26—28, but more distinct and splendid.

1. THE FATHER is represented in all the pomp of majesty, and surrounded with a *rainbow*, that gracious emblem of divine *mercy* to mankind, (Gen. ix. 13, Ps. lxxxix. 37,) sitting upon His precious throne, *alone*, at first, to mark His supreme dominion. Out of the throne were issuing lightnings and thunders; and there were seven *burning lamps of fire*, (which are the *seven spirits* of GOD,) Zech. iv. 10, and an *azure sea*, like crystal before the throne. Both therefore may, perhaps, be emblematical of the *baptism* of THE HOLY SPIRIT, (Matt. iii. 11, Acts i. 5, ii. 3, 4, xi. 16,) ver. 2—6.

2. Four *living creatures*, compounded of *Isaiah's seraphim*, vi. 2, and *Ezekiel's cherubim*, i. 10, 11, x. 14, 15, are represented like those that supported the *mercy seat* in the inner sanctuary of the *Jewish* tabernacle and temple. They were stationed "in the *midst* of the throne," or elevated midway as to its height, Isa. vi. 1, and "round about the throne," at the four corners, corresponding to the four quarters of the world, "*full of eyes before*," to view the wonders of *time to come*, and "*behind*," the wonders of *time past* *.

* By a similar imagery, the most ancient of the *Roman* gods, JANUS, the god of *time*, was represented with two faces, looking forwards and backwards. That he

These cease not day nor night, praising GOD and saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT, Who WAS, and who IS, and who IS TO COME* *, by a sublime enlargement of *Isaiah's* doxology, vi. 3.

3. Four and twenty *presbyters* surrounded the throne clad in white *vestments*, sitting on four and twenty *thrones*, and wearing *golden crowns*, who, on the thanksgiving of the four living creatures, fall down before GOD, and *cast their crowns before the throne*, in token of homage, saying, "Worthy art Thou, O LORD, to receive *the glory and the honour, and the power*, [pre-eminently,] because THOU hast *created* all things, and for thy will, or pleasure, they *are, and were created*," ver. 6—11.

The four *living creatures* (ζωα) as they are properly rendered, Ezek. i. 5; (and improperly "*beasts*," here, since they all had *wings*, and two of them, the faces of a *man* and an *eagle*,) are supposed, by the *Hutchinsonian* mystics, to denote the GOD-HEAD; (see *Parkhurst*, Heb. Lex. כרר, p. 379—399;) by other commentators, *Archangels*, or the *principal powers of heaven*; both incorrectly; for why should THE DEITY praise himself? And they are distinguished from *Angels* afterward, v. 11; and further, are said to be *redeemed* themselves by the blood of THE LAMB, v. 9. They rather, indeed, represent the

was of oriental origin, and originally denoted THE ANCIENT OF DAYS, appears from his name, evidently derived from the Hebrew IAH. See *my Dissertations*, p. 180—188.

* Ὁ ην, και Ὁ ων, και Ὁ ερχομενος, here, and Rev. i. 4; *Middleton* has noted a peculiarity in the style of this doxology; "the verb ην, used as a *participle of past time*," p. 660. From the analogy of the following participles, ων and ερχομενος, it is evidently put for, γεγονως, "*having been*," but understood verbally for ην; as they are also for εστι and μελλει ερχεσθαι.

This title of THE ANCIENT OF DAYS is an expansion of his Hebrew title, אהיה אשר אהיה, "I AM WHO AM," Exod. iii. 14; which is rendered by the *Septuagint*, Εγω ειμι Ὁ ων. It bears a striking analogy to the *Egyptian* title of *Neith*.

Εγω ειμι Παν το γεγονος, και ον, και εσομενον.

With this remarkable difference, that the attributes here are in the *neuter* gender, whereas in HOLY WRIT they are in the *masculine*, as befitting the EVERLASTING GOD, whom the foolishness of *Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman* philosophy degraded to a *material substance* in the *neuter* gender, "Παν, the *universe*," like their secondary *elementary* gods, *Osiris, Isis, Sirius, &c. the Sun, earth, dog-star, and Nile, &c. Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, &c.*

און, "*Aon*," or אן, "*On*," Gen. xli. 45—50, originally denoted THE SUPREME BEING, though afterwards the *Sun*; and was evidently the ancestor of the *Greek* participle, ων *masculine*, and ον *neuter*. See the *antiquity and universality* of this title proved in *my Dissertations*, p. 214—223.

whole congregation of the faithful in the four quarters of the world, or the Catholic Church, who daily offer up praise and thanksgiving to GOD.

The four and twenty *Presbyters*, conformably thereto, represented the *priesthood*; corresponding to the *chief priests*, or heads of the four and twenty *courses* in the *Jewish Church*, as observed before.

SECOND SCENE.

II. The scene now changed, and represented **THE FATHER** as holding in his right hand *the book of fate*, or of the *times and seasons* of the destinies of mankind in the course of his *providential government*. This was a *volume*, or roll, written from the abundance of the matter, *inside and outside**, and sealed with *seven seals*; intimating that its mysterious contents were *hidden or concealed* from the past *generations*, from the *Angels*, and even from **THE SON** himself, Matt. xxiv. 36, Acts i. 7.

Proclamation was next made by a *mighty Angel*, inviting the *worthiest* of the *whole creation*, from the highest to the lowest, to open the book and loose its seals. But *none was found worthy*, neither *Angels*, nor *men*, nor *demons*, to *open* the book; or even to *read* it, if opened, (Isa. xxix. 11, 12, Dan. v. 8,) Rev. v. 1—3.

This sad disappointment deeply affected the Apostle, and *he wept much* †. To comfort him, one of the *Presbyters*, (perhaps,

* So the prophetic *roll* or *volume*, shewn to *Ezekiel*, was written *inside and outside*, ii. 10.

—————Summi plenâ jam margine libri,
Scriptus et in tergo, nec dum finitus—. Juv. Sat. i. 5.

† “The *Revelation* was not written *without tears*, neither without tears will it be understood.”——“But *who now* is concerned, or grieved, that *he cannot understand those prophecies!*”

These were the pious and rather desponding reflections of two learned and respectable commentators, *John Wesley* and *Bishop Newton*. Since their time, however, a *blessed change* has gradually taken place in the *public mind*, (which, to their due praise, they contributed not a little to promote) and the labours of former illustrious expositors, besides *Mede*, *Vitringa*, *Daubuz*, *Whiston*, *Sir Isaac Newton*, *Lowman*, &c. have been successfully followed up in the present age by *Wood*, *Whitaker*, *Kett*, *Sharpe*, *Bicheno*, *Faber*, *Woodhouse*, &c. who, by a closer and more critical attention to the *symbolical language* of these mysterious prophecies, have explained many events fulfilled and fulfilling, and thrown much *additional light* upon their obscurities. The subject, however, is yet by no means exhausted. Enough has been done to shew the possibility and the

the Evangelical prophet *Isaiah*, Rev. xix. 10,) kindly said to him, *Weep not, Lo the Lion of the tribe of Judah*, Isa. xxix. 1, the *root of David*, Isa. xi. 1, hath *conquered*, Isa. lxiii. 1, and is preparing to open the book and loose its seven seals, (Isa. xxix. 11, 12,) ver. 5.

Then he looked, and lo, in *the midst* of the throne and four *living creatures*, and in *the midst* of the *Presbyters*, or between both, there stood (as the great MEDIATOR between GOD and Man,) a LAMB, (Isa. liii. 7,) as if just *sacrificed*, (CHRIST, after his *crucifixion* and *ascension* into heaven) having *seven horns* and *seven eyes*, emblems of perfect *power* and *wisdom* (which are *the seven spirits of GOD*, sent forth into *all the earth*; and now committed to CHRIST, Zech. iv. 10, Rev. iii. 1.) And he came to *the throne*, and took the book out of THE FATHER'S right hand, in token of inauguration, or formal investiture into his *universal* and *everlasting dominion*, to whom *all authority* was given in *heaven* and *earth*, as THE SON OF MAN, (Dan. viii. 13, 14, Matt. xxviii. 18,) and also as the great *Seer*, or PROPHEET OF GOD, to whom the *times* and the *seasons* were now *fully revealed*, (Dan. ii. 20—22, Rom. xvi. 25,) ver. 6, 7.

And when, with THE FATHER'S full approbation, he *received* the book, immediately his *sovereignty* and *omniscience* were recognized by the whole *Spiritual Church*; for the four *living creatures* and the four and twenty *elders*, (each of the latter having *harps* and *golden vials* full of *incense*, containing *the prayers of the Saints*,) fell down in worship before THE LAMB, and sang a *new Hymn*, saying, "*Worthy art Thou to receive the book, and to open its seals; because Thou wast sacrificed, and didst redeem us unto GOD, (from spiritual bondage to sin and Satan) by thy blood, out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation; (in the four quarters of the world,) and didst make us (Presbyters) kings and priests to OUR GOD; and we*

probability of doing much more, when the visions shall be more fully disclosed by the lapse of *time*, that surest interpreter of prophecy. "*Many shall run to and fro, with anxious and restless curiosity, to decypher these mysteries, until the time of the end; and knowledge shall be increased,*" Dan. xii. 4. "*Among the interpreters of the last age,*" (says Sir Isaac Newton, p. 251,) "*there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; and thence, I seem to gather, that God is about opening these mysteries. The success of others put me upon considering it; and if I have done any thing which may be useful to following writers, I have my design.*"—Such is the *design* also of the present attempt.

shall *reign* upon the earth, (at the *regeneration*, Dan. vii. 27,) ver. 8—10.

This homage of the *Spiritual Church* was followed by that of an innumerable company of *Angels* surrounding the *throne* and the *Church*, and saying with a loud voice, “*Worthy* is THE LAMB that was *sacrificed*, to receive *power* and *wealth*, and *wisdom* and *strength*, and *honour* and *glory* and *blessing*.” This sevenfold praise, corresponding to his sevenfold gifts, ver. 11, 12.

The last act of this sublime service was the universal adoration of *all the creation* throughout the four quarters of the universe, to GOD and THE LAMB conjointly, saying to both, the “*blessing*, and the *honour* and the *glory* and the *dominion* for evermore.”

And the four *living creatures* said Amen. And the four and twenty *Presbyters* fell down and worshipped, ver. 13, 14.

Thus was THE LAMB invested with his NEW NAME, KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS throughout the universe, to GOD THE FATHER’S *glory*. See *Paul’s* admirable commentary, Phil. ii. 5—11.

THIRD SCENE.

III. THE LAMB now, as “THE FAITHFUL WITNESS,” and TRUE PROPHET OF GOD, proceeded to open the *seals* of the book of fate in succession, and disclosed to view an orderly series of *symbolical prophecies*, unfolding the *history of the Church* from its rise to the end of the world.

These symbolical prophecies may be divided into two classes in general, *primary* and *secondary*. The primary represent the succession of the great leading *historical* events in *chronological* order. The secondary form a *synchronizing* or *collateral* series of explanatory prophecies, designed to enlarge and illustrate the primary, when either too *concise*, or too *obscure*. To these is added, a *supplemental* series, designed to explain important *parallel* prophecies within the range of the prophetic history, delivered by *Moses*, *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, *Joel*, *Ezekiel*, &c. in the OLD TESTAMENT.

The mysterious book of fate consists of three divisions. 1. The *inside* of the *roll*, or volume; 2. the *little book*, or *codicil* attached thereto; and 3. the *outside* of the *roll*; containing, all together, the whole collection of these symbolical prophecies.

Before we enter upon the prophecies, it will be requisite as a *ground work* for the superstructure to fix as nearly as may be ; 1. the limits of these three divisions, or where each begins and ends ; and 2. the subject matter of each ; which constitute the most difficult points of the whole enquiry, and the most disputed among critics and commentators.

1. The opening of the *first seal* attached to the first sheet of the roll begins with the *sixth* chapter. In this, all are agreed, as also in the opening of the succeeding seals to the *seventh* ; beginning with the *eighth* chapter.

2. The *four war trumpets* plainly began to sound, with Rev. viii. 7.

3. The *three woes* attached to the *three last trumpets*, (viii. 13,) plainly begin with the *ninth* chapter.

4. In the course of the *second woe*, during the sounding of the *sixth* trumpet, (ix. 13—21,) is introduced the remarkable digression of the *codicil* with the *tenth* chapter ; and the *codicil* itself plainly begins with the *eleventh* chapter.

The end of the *codicil* is much disputed. *Mede, Lowman, Faber, &c.* and most commentators, extend it through four or five chapters, ending with the thirteenth or fourteenth. But this, says bishop *Newton*, is to make the *little book* as large or larger than the *sealed book* ; of which it is only an *appendix*, Dissert. Vol. III. p. 201.

5. He proposes, therefore, to shorten the *little book*, as ending with the fourteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, Vol. III. p. 132. But it rather more correctly ends with the preceding verse ; for this 14th verse, “ the *second woe* is past ; lo, the *third* is coming quickly,” evidently belongs to the *sealed book* ; resuming the subject from the conclusion of the ninth chapter, after the *codicil* is ended.

6. The *third woe* commences with the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet, xi. 15, and ends in a general thanksgiving of the *spiritual Church* to GOD for *avenging* his saints, and *rewarding* them at the *first resurrection*, xi. 18.

The account of the *second* and *third woes*, indeed, are extremely concise ; the *second* being dispatched in the eight last verses of the *ninth* chapter ; and the third, in the four last verses of the *eleventh* chapter, which properly ends with the 18th verse, the 19th verse beginning a *new subject*, in the twelfth chapter, to which it ought to be prefixed, according to

the judicious distribution of Bishop *Newton*, Vol. III. p. 202 ; one of the best expositors of the *Apocalypse* ; treading in the steps of *Joseph Mede*, but not implicitly or servilely. Of whose scheme the present is chiefly designed to be an improvement.

4. The *codicil* contains a brief explanation of the leading events of the *three last woes*, during the *persecuting* period of a *time, times, and half a time*, originally noticed by *Daniel* in his *appendix* ; and here explained to denote forty-two months, or 1260 prophetic days, or years, xi. 2, 3, see Vol. II. p. 529. 5. The *supplemental* visions, *explanatory* or *illustrative* of the *book*, and of the *codicil*, begin from the *origin* of the persecution of the *Church of God*, in the enmity of the *old serpent*, or *fiery dragon*, in the twelfth chapter ; after this, an account of his prime instruments, the *western* and *eastern wild beasts*, is given in the thirteenth chapter, &c.

We shall next endeavour to unfold this simple arrangement, by a methodical outline of the whole.



SCHEME OF THE PRIMARY SYMBOLICAL PROPHECIES.

I. PERIOD. SEVEN SEALS, 306 YEARS.

	A. D.
1. <i>Seal</i> . A white horse. The rider, CHRIST, as an archer conquering and to conquer, vi. 1, 2.....	31
<i>Foundation of the Church.</i>	
2. <i>Seal</i> . A red horse. The rider with a great sword, to inflict great slaughter, ver. 3, 4	65
<i>Mutual wars and massacres of Jewish and Roman persecutors of the Church*, ending with the desolation of Judea</i>	135

* The following were the principal *persecutions* of the Church by the *Jews* and the *Romans*.

JEWISH PERSECUTIONS.

	A. D.
1. By the <i>Sanhedrim</i> , after <i>Stephen's</i> martyrdom, Acts viii. 1, ix. 31.....	34
2. By King <i>Herod Agrippa</i> . Martyrdom of <i>James</i> , Acts xii. 1—19.....	44

ROMAN PERSECUTIONS.

1. By <i>Nero</i> . Martyrdom of <i>Paul</i> and <i>Peter</i> , 2 Tim. iv. 6, 2 Pet. i. 14.....	65
2. By <i>Domitian</i> . Exile of <i>John</i> to <i>Patmos</i> , Rev. i. 9.....	95

A. D.

3. <i>Seal.</i> A <i>black horse</i> . The rider holding a <i>balance</i> , to weigh the <i>wheat and barley</i> , v. 5, 6	136
<i>Scarcity and famine</i>	193
4. <i>Seal.</i> A <i>pale horse</i> . The rider <i>Death</i> , attended by <i>Hades</i> , v. 7, 8.	194
<i>Disease and pestilence</i>	270
5. <i>Seal.</i> Cry of the <i>Martyrs to God</i> , for vengeance against their persecutors, v. 9, 10.	

3. By <i>Trajan</i> . Martyrdom of <i>Ignatius</i> , Bishop of <i>Antioch</i>	107
4. By <i>Marcus Antoninus</i> . Martyrdom of <i>Polycarp</i> , Bishop of <i>Smyrna</i>	167
Martyrdom at <i>Lyons</i> *	174
5. By <i>Severus</i> . Violent and general	203
6. By <i>Maximin</i> . Of the <i>Christian Clergy</i>	236
7. By <i>Decius</i> . Very severe and general. Torture of <i>Origen</i> . Many Christians recant through fear	250
8. By <i>Gallus</i> . At <i>Rome</i> chiefly	252
9. By <i>Valerian</i> . Martyrdom of <i>Cyprian</i> , Bishop of <i>Carthage</i>	258
10. By <i>Diocletian</i> and <i>Maximian</i> . The last, the severest and longest.	{ 303
	{ 313

Diocletian and his associates' persecution for ten years, was the most terrible of all. This was designed, if possible, to extirpate the *Christian name*, as well as religion, and restore *Paganism*, as boasted in columnal inscriptions, found at *Clunia*, a Roman colony in *Spain*.

1. DIOCLETIANUS JOVIUS ET MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS. CÆS. AUGG.
AMPLIFICATO PER ORIENTEM ET OCCIDENTEM IMP. ROM.
ET NOMINE CHRISTIANORUM DELETO,
QUI REMP. EVERTEBANT.
2. DIOCLETIAN. CÆS. AUG. GALERIO IN ORIENTE ADOPT.
SUPERSTITIONE CHRIST. UBIQUE DELETA.
ET CULTU DEOR. PROPAGATO. *Lardner*, Vol. VIII. p. 325.

The reasons here assigned for persecuting the *Christians*, were, that they were "overturning the state," and "subverting the established worship of the gods."

The following profound reflection we owe to *Montesquieu*. "We know that the *Romans* received into their city the *gods of other nations*. But they did so as *conquerors*; they carried them in procession in their *triumphs*. Whenever *strangers* attempted of themselves to establish their own gods, they were instantly repressed. We know further, that the *Romans* were accustomed to give to the *strange gods* whom they adopted, the names of their own gods most nearly resembling them: but when the *priests of other countries* wanted to introduce their gods, under their proper names, they were not permitted. And this was one of the greatest obstacles which the *Christian religion* found." *Rise and Declension*, &c. cap. 16.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, therefore, paid *CHRIST* a particular compliment, when he proposed to the senate to enrol him, by name, among the number of their gods. See p. 280, &c. of this Volume.

* See the circumstantial and affecting narrative of the persecution at *Vienne* and *Lyons*, under this admired emperor and philosopher, given by *Eusebius*, and translated at length by *Lardner*, Vol. VII. p. 417—437.

	A. D.
<i>Roman persecutions</i> , the last ending	313
The <i>Martyrs</i> exhorted to <i>patience</i> for a short while, v. 11.	
6. <i>Seal</i> . A great <i>earthquake</i> , eclipses of the <i>sun</i> and <i>moon</i> , falling of <i>stars</i> from heaven, v. 12—17.	313
Great <i>convulsions</i> in the <i>Roman Empire</i> , downfall of <i>Paganism</i> , and establishment of <i>Christianity</i>	323
7. <i>Seal</i> . Half an hour's silence in Heaven, viii. 1.	323
Calm, and tranquillity of the <i>Church</i> and empire, during the beginning of <i>Constantine's</i> reign.	337
During this calm, a great conversion of <i>Jews</i> , <i>Pagans</i> , and <i>Heretics</i> to the <i>Church</i> ; and suspension of <i>Divine judgments</i> during the sealing, with the cross in their foreheads, or baptism, of 144,000 <i>true Israelites</i> , vii. 1—8.	
Thanksgiving of the <i>spiritual Church</i> and <i>angelic host</i> to <i>GOD</i> and <i>THE LAMB</i> , v. 9—12.	
II. PERIOD. <i>Four war trumpets</i> , 225 years.	
1. <i>Trumpet</i> . Mingled storm of <i>hail</i> , <i>fire</i> , and <i>blood</i> , viii. 7.	395
Invasion of the <i>northern Goths</i> , &c.	
2. <i>Trumpet</i> . A <i>volcanic</i> mountain cast into the <i>sea</i> , ver. 8, 9.	455
Invasion of the <i>southern Vandals</i>	
3. <i>Trumpet</i> . A <i>comet</i> falls from Heaven, called <i>Wormwood</i> , v. 10, 11.	476
Extinction of the <i>western Roman empire</i> by the <i>Goths</i> . <i>Bitter contests</i> between the <i>invaders</i> .	
4. <i>Trumpet</i> . Dimness of the <i>sun</i> , <i>moon</i> , and <i>stars</i> of Heaven, v. 12.	533
Great faintness and calamity of the whole <i>Roman empire</i> .	
III. PERIOD. <i>Three woe trumpets</i> , 1260 years.	
5. <i>Trumpet</i> . <i>First woe</i> . A <i>fallen star</i> opens the pit of the <i>Abyss</i> , lets out a swarm of <i>locusts</i> with stings, and their infernal <i>King Abaddon</i> , or <i>Satan</i> , to torment for <i>five months</i> , the <i>unsealed</i> , ix. 1—11.	620
<i>Mahomet</i> , the <i>false prophet</i> , who promulgated his <i>heresy</i> , and lets loose the <i>Saracens</i> to harass the <i>corrupt Christians</i> for 150 years.	
End of the <i>first woe</i> , ver. 12.	
6. <i>Trumpet</i> . <i>Second woe</i> . <i>Four angels</i> loosed from the river <i>Euphrates</i> , for an <i>hour</i> , a <i>day</i> , a <i>month</i> , and a <i>year</i> , v. 13—19.	770
1281	
Four <i>Turkish</i> sultanies let loose to slay the <i>eastern corrupt Church</i> , and to propagate their <i>heresy</i> for 391 years and fifteen days.	
Extinction of the <i>eastern empire</i> by the <i>Turks</i> , and end of the <i>second woe</i> , xi. 14	
7. <i>Trumpet</i> . <i>Third woe</i> , including <i>seven vials</i> , or <i>last plagues</i>	1672

A.D.

This trumpet probably began to sound with the French revolution, completed 1793

First blast. *First vial* poured on the earth. A grievous ulcer upon the worshippers of the *Beast* and his image, xvi. 1, 2.

Second blast. *Second vial* poured on the sea, which became putrid blood. Great mortality, v. 3.

Third blast. *Third vial* on the rivers, which became blood. In retaliation for the blood of the saints and martyrs, v. 4—7.

Fourth blast. *Fourth vial*, scorching heat. The sufferers blaspheme, and repent not, v. 8, 9.

Fifth blast. *Fifth vial*, on the throne of the *beast*, his kingdom full of darkness, v. 10, 11.

The sufferers blaspheme still more, for their pains and ulcers, and repent not.

Sixth blast. *Sixth vial*, on the river *Euphrates*. Its waters dried up to afford a passage for the apostate kings of the east, instigated by three demoniacal spirits, like frogs, to the battle of *Armageddon*, v. 12—16.

Seventh blast. *Seventh vial*, on the air. Prodigious thunderings, lightnings, and shakings. Downfall of the mystical *Babylon*, and of the cities of the *Gentiles*. A prodigious hail storm. The sufferers blaspheme God, v. 17—21.

End of the last woe, xi. 15, xvi. 17 1880

IV. PERIOD. THE REGENERATION, 1000 years, or generations.

THE MOUNTAIN, OR CHRIST'S KINGDOM established upon earth.

Thanksgiving of the spiritual Church xi. 15—18.

Satan bound xx. 1—3.

First resurrection and reign of the saints — 4—6.

Satan loosed near the end, to deceive the nations, Gog and Magog; they march to besiege the New Jerusalem, and are miraculously destroyed. — 7—10.

Satan cast into the lake of fire.

V. PERIOD. THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. Eternity.

General resurrection and judgment — 11—13.

The righteous translated to Heaven with CHRIST — 13.

The wicked, with Death and Hades, cast into the lake of fire, at the second death. — 14—15.

SECONDARY SYMBOLICAL PROPHECIES.

I. THE LITTLE BOOK, OR CODICIL, exhibiting the persecutions of the two faithful witnesses of the LAW x. 8—11.

and of the GOSPEL, during the <i>three woes</i> , for 1260 years, (Dan. vii. 35, xii. 7.)	xi. 1—6.
2. Their <i>death</i> , and miraculous <i>resurrection</i> , after <i>three days</i> and <i>half</i> , and visible <i>ascension</i> into heaven . . .	xi. 7—12.
3. <i>Destruction</i> of their foes, and <i>conversion</i> of the remnant that are saved	— 13.
II. The <i>mystical woman</i> persecuted by the <i>old Dragon</i> . Or the <i>true Church</i> , by the <i>Devil</i> , from the beginning to the end of the world, (Gen. iii. 15.)	xii. 1—6.
2. Warfare of <i>Michael</i> and his angels with the <i>Dragon</i> and his angels, (Dan. xii. 1.)	— 7—9. — 13—17.
3. Thanksgiving of the <i>spiritual Church</i> for the victory of <i>Michael</i> , or <i>CHRIST</i>	— 10—12.
III. The <i>Dragon</i> 's persecuting instruments.	— 18.
1. The western <i>wild beast</i> ;	xiii.
2. The eastern ; and the <i>image</i> of the former framed by	
3. the latter ; or the <i>Roman</i> , <i>Mahomedan</i> , and <i>Infidel</i> powers.	
IV. 1. The <i>LAMB</i> and his 144,000 elect, on <i>Mount Sion</i> , or the <i>Church</i> established at the <i>regeneration</i> , and their <i>worship</i> , (Isa. ii. 2, 3 ; Micah iv. 1, 2 ; Dan. xii. 1.)	xiv. 1—5.
2. The three angels of the <i>Reformation</i> , <i>Wickliffe</i> , <i>Huss</i> , and <i>Luther</i> , (Dan. xii. 11, 12.)	— 6—12.
3. The promised reward of their <i>patience</i> , (Dan. xii. 13.)	— 13.
V. 1. The symbolical <i>harvest</i> of wrath, (Joel iii. 14—16.)	— 14—16.
2. The symbolical <i>vintage</i> of wrath, (Joel iii. 17—20.)	— 18—20.
VI. 1. The <i>mystical harlot</i> , or <i>corrupt Church</i> , (Hos. i. 3.)	xvii. 1—18.
2. Her <i>pride</i> , <i>luxury</i> , and <i>fall</i> , (Ezek. xxvii ; Isa. xxi. 9.)	xviii. 1—24.
3. Thanksgiving of the <i>Heavenly Host</i>	xix. 1—10.
VII. The <i>white horse</i> , and rider, <i>CHRIST</i> , with the <i>sword</i> of THE SPIRIT, and his armies, proceeding to the <i>conquest</i> and the <i>slaughter</i> of his foes, (Psalm xlv. 1—7 ; Ezek. xxxix.)	— 11—21.
VIII. The <i>New Jerusalem</i> described, (Isa. lx. Ezek. xl—xliii. Ezek. xlvi. xlvi.)	xxi. 1—27. xxii. 1—15.
The <i>conclusion</i>	— 6—21.

In addition to the *canons of prophetic criticism*, before employed in constructing the scheme of *Daniel's visions*, (Vol. II. p. 494, note,) the following *cautions*, deduced as *corollaries* from the last, or fourth, were carefully attended to in constructing this more difficult, circumstantial, and comprehensive scheme.

I. " *Not to overlook what is already fulfilled.*

II. “ *Not to describe as fulfilled what is still to come* *.”

These are necessary to supply the *omissions* of expositors in the former branches of the prophecy, occasioned by *contracted* views; and also to retrench *guesses* respecting the latter, still unfulfilled, occasioned by unnecessarily *imperfect* views. These cautions, with the Divine blessing, will tend, we trust, to correct *errors* both of defect and excess, which have hitherto contributed to cloud the *Apocalypse*.

SEVEN SEALS.

When THE LAMB opened the *first seal*, one of the four living creatures, with a voice as of *thunder*, invited the prophet “ *to come and see*” the spectacle. *Mede* ingeniously supposes, p. 442, that this was the first, like a *lion*, stationed eastward;

* These most useful *cautions* are given by *Wesley*, Notes, Vol. III. p. 218.

“ The folly of *interpreters*,” says Sir *Isaac Newton*, (on the *Apocalypse*, p. 249,) “ has been to *foretel* things by this prophecy, as if GOD designed to make them *Prophets*. By this rashness, they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of GOD was much otherwise. He gave *this*, and the prophecies of the *Old Testament*, not to gratify men’s *curiosities*, by enabling them to *fore-know* things, but that *after they were fulfilled*, they might be interpreted by the event, and His own *Providence*, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world. For the events of things predicted *many ages before*, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by PROVIDENCE.

“ For, as the *few* and *obscure* prophecies concerning CHRIST’S *first coming* were for setting up the *Christian Religion*, (which *all nations* have since *corrupted*,) so the *many* and *clear* prophecies concerning the things to be done at CHRIST’S *second coming*, are not only for predicting, but also for *effecting* a *recovery* and *re-establishment* of the *long lost TRUTH*, and setting up a *kingdom wherein dwells righteousness*, (2 Pet. iv. 13.) The event will prove the *Apocalypse*; and this prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the *old prophets*; and all together will make known the TRUE RELIGION, and establish it.”

This profound *philosopher* points out here the rational and scientific mode of improving our knowledge of *prophetic Scripture*, by proceeding in the *analytic* method.

“ For he that will understand the *old Prophets* must *begin* with *this*. But the time is *not yet* come for understanding them perfectly, because the *main revolution* predicted in them is *not yet* come to pass: ‘ In the days of the voice of the *seventh angel*—the *mystery of GOD* shall be finished; as He declared to His servants the *Prophets*: and then the *kingdoms of this world* shall become the *kingdoms* of OUR LORD and of HIS CHRIST; and He shall *reign for ever*,’ (Rev. x. 7, xi. 15, xix. 6. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 24—28.)

“ There is already *so much* of the prophecy fulfilled, that as many as will take pains in this study may see sufficient instances of GOD’S providence: but then, the *signal revolutions* predicted by *all the holy Prophets*, will at once both turn men’s eyes upon *considering* the prediction, and plainly *interpret* them. Till then we must content ourselves with *interpreting* what hath been *already fulfilled*.”

which was the ensign of the tribe of *Judah*, in the eastern quarter of the camp of *Israel*, (Numb. ii. 3; Ezek. i. 10, xi. 14,) Rev. vi. 1.

1. The opening of the *first seal* exhibited a *white horse*, and his rider an *archer*, with a *crown*; emblematical of *CHRIST*, his *victory*, *triumph*, and *royalty*; at first “*conquering*” by suffering, and finally “*to conquer*” all his foes, according to ancient prophecy, (Gen. iii. 15; Deut. xxxii. 23; Psalm xlv. 1—7, &c.) ver. 2.

We date this, with *Mede*, *Grotius*, *Hammond*, *Whiston*, *Lowman*, *Walmsley*, &c. at *CHRIST’S resurrection and ascension*, A.D. 31, “when he led *captivity captive*, received and gave *gifts* to men” at the foundation of his Church, on the day of *Pentecost*, (Psalm lxxviii. 18; Ephes. iv. 8; Acts i. 8, ii. 4.)

Bishop *Newton*, *Wood*, &c. suppose the horseman to be *Vespasian*; *Bengelius*, *Wesley*, &c. suppose that *Trajan* was meant. But surely no *earthly* conqueror corresponds to the *future* conquest, *ἰνα νικῆσῃ*, to the end of time.

Lowman, though he applies it to *Christ’s kingdom*, dates it too late, A.D. 95, the time of the vision. For this leaves an unaccountable chasm between the *chronological* prophecies of *Daniel* and *John*, which is completely filled up in the present scheme. The commencement of the *seals* immediately follows the first appearance of *THE LAMB* on the stage, after he had been newly *sacrificed*, 5, 6. The vision, therefore, plainly had a retrospect to *time past*, as well as a view of the *present*, and a prospect of the *future*.

2. The opening of the *second seal* exhibited a *red horse*, whose rider wore a *great sword*, and was commissioned to take *peace from the earth*, that they might kill each other. He was invited to see this, by the second *living* creature, like an *ox*, *westward* of the throne, ver. 3, and, according to our Lord’s predictions, (Matt. x. 34, 35, xxiv. 6—9.) *Persecutions*, *wars*, and *massacres*, raged especially through the western, or *Roman* empire, from the first *Jewish persecution* of *Stephen*, A.D. 34, during the ensuing *wars* and *massacres* of the persecutors, by each other, till the desolation of *Judea* by *Adrian*, A.D. 135.

Commentators generally limit this season to the reigns of *Vespasian*, a *Spaniard*, and *Adrian*; and thereby leave an unaccountable chasm between the first and second seals.

3. The opening of the *third seal* exhibited a *black horse*,

(Lam. v. 10,) whose rider had a *balance*, or scales in his hand, to weigh *wheat* and *barley*, in a season of scarcity, (Ezek. iv. 16.) The price of a *chænix*, or about a pint of wheat, for a *denarius*, or seven pence halfpenny, the daily wages of a labourer, was excessively dear. The *oil* and *wine* were spared, by direction of a voice from the midst of the *four creatures*, probably of the *third*, at the *southern* corner, ver. 5, 6. And accordingly, in the reign of *Septimius Severus*, an *African*, and afterwards, *Tertullian* notices a general *scarcity*, occasioned by violent *rains* and *bad harvests*, which he considered as the judgments of GOD on the *Roman* empire, for persecuting the *Christians*.

The opening of the *fourth seal*, which he was invited to see by the fourth creature, like an *eagle*, at the *northern* corner of the throne, exhibited a *pale horse*, whose rider, *Death*, and associate *Hades*, had power to kill the *fourth* part of the earth with the *sword*, *famine*, *death*, or *pestilence*, and *wild beasts*, (God's four sore judgments, Ezek. xiv. 21,) ver. 7, 8. And accordingly, these all raged in the reign of the emperor *Maximus*, a *Thracian*, and afterwards, chiefly in *Europe*; as we learn from the historians of those times, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Zonaras*, *Zosimus*, *Cyprian*, &c.

Five hundred *wolves*, we are told, entered a depopulated city, in which the younger *Maximin* happened to be. The *Heathens* malignantly ascribed all these public calamities to the *Christians*, according to *Arnobius*.

The four *war seals*, as we may term them, from the *horsemen*, were succeeded by

5. The opening of the *fifth seal*, which represented the cry of the *martyrs*, *sacrificed* at the foot of the *altar*, (whose blood was offered up as a *libation* to God, 2 Tim. iv. 6, Phil. ii. 17,) supplicating for redress*. They were furnished with *white vestments*, and exhorted to wait patiently for a *little while*, till the persecutions of their *fellow servants* and *brethren*, who were to be *killed*, as they were, should be fulfilled also, ver. 9—11. This probably took place in the last and bloodiest persecution of *Diocletian*. The *martyrs* are to wait for their reward, along with the *two faithful witnesses*, to be slain in the

* This representation "seems much to favour the *consciousness* of *departed saints*; and hardly to consist with that uncomfortable opinion of their *insensible state*, till after the resurrection." *Lowman*, p. 51.

last woe, Rev. xi. 7—12, at the *resurrection of the just*, or *first resurrection*, Rev. xx. 4—6.

6. The opening of the *sixth seal*, disclosed a still more awful and fearful spectacle than any of the preceding; great *shaking* of heaven and earth, *eclipses* of the *sun* and *moon*, falling of *stars* in great abundance, the *heavens* parched up as a scroll, the *mountains* and *islands* removed from their places; *the kings* and *nobles*, all the people, from the highest to the lowest, hiding themselves in caves and rocks of the mountains from the face of GOD and the wrath of THE LAMB, in the day of his great wrath, ver. 12—17.

This aptly represents the tremendous *convulsions* and *unsettlements* of the *Roman* empire, during the civil wars and struggles of the two contending parties, the *Pagan* and the *Christian*, for dominion. The *kings* and *nobles* of the former, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Maximin*, *Licinius*, overthrown, with all their adherents, by *Constantine* the Great, and his *Christian* armies; and *Galerius*, *Maximin*, and *Licinius*, before they were cut off by the *sword*, confessing the just punishments of GOD and his CHRIST, in their destruction! See the excellent observations of *Mede*, p. 447, &c. and *Bishop Newton*, Vol. III. p. 69.

7. The opening of the *seventh seal* stopped these dreadful judgments, and produced *half an hour's silence in heaven*, a silence more expressive than any words, to describe the ensuing tranquillity that followed *Constantine's* sole sovereignty, after the defeat of *Licinius*, A.D. 323.

The first act of his reign was to suppress the *heathen sacrifices*, and their attendant abominations; and to establish the *Christian religion* in their room. For which *Heliogabalus* had prepared the way*.

* *Montesquieu* has sagely noticed a singular paradox; that by a secret dispensation of Providence, one of the worst and vilest of the *Heathen* Emperors, (who preceded *Constantine*, about a century,) *Heliogabalus*, "greatly contributed to the establishment of *Christianity*."

Varius Bassianus, before his election to the empire, A.D. 218, by the soldiery, in opposition to *Macrinus*, was priest of the *Sun*, then worshipped in *Syria*, in a stately temple at *Emesa*, under the name of *Eleagabalus*. This title, therefore, the Emperor assumed, and formed the mad project to destroy all the other objects of religious veneration at *Rome*, and suffer no God to be worshipped there but *Eleagabalus*. He erected a magnificent temple to him, profaned all the other temples, stripped them of their orna-

The next was to endeavour to compose the religious controversies of *Christians*, in the famous council of *Nice*, A.D. 325, establishing the *Nicene Creed*, as a standard of *Christian doctrine*; and to suppress the various conventicles of *Schismatics* and *Heretics*, and invite “all that had a *sincere love of THE TRUTH*, to come into, or return unto the bosom of the *Catholic Church*.” The zeal and authority of the Emperor, brought a prodigious influx of *hypocritical* and *false brethren* into the pale, from the great mass of *idolaters*, *Jews*, and *Heretics*. Not less than 12,000 *Pagans* and *Jews*, beside women and children, were baptized, when *Constantine* took possession of *Rome*, after the death of *Maxentius*, in A.D. 312, as we learn from *Abulfaragi*.

The *sunshine*, or *gleam* of prosperity, which now succeeded the civil establishment of the Church, proved more detrimental to its spiritual welfare, than the *storms* and *tempests* of adversity, by which it had been hitherto buffeted. The grand *apostacy* of the *worship of Demons*, or departed *saints*, and the introduction of a multitude of *mediators*, borrowed from *Pagan* superstition, and foretold by THE SPIRIT, 1 Tim. iv. 1, and *metaphysical* subtleties in *Theology*, had infected many of the *heads* of the Church, especially the *Monkish Fathers*, (as we have seen in the foregoing articles of the *duration of miracles* and *doctrine of Demons*, in *Paul's* visit to *Athens*.) These defended their *heathenish superstitions*, and *philosophizing* tenets, with all their might and artifice, and dealt out *excommunications* and *anathemas*, and *lying wonders*, without mercy and without shame, upon their opponents, whom they termed *heretics*; and they *persecuted* each other with as much fury as they had been persecuted by the *Pagans* before*.

ments, and attempted to convey thither the perpetual fire of *Vesta*, the *palladium* from *Troy*, the statue of *Cybele*, the buckler of *Mars*, and whatever else was looked upon by the *Romans* as most sacred. From *Carthage* he ordered the goddess *Urania*, or *Cœlestis*, with all the rich ornaments belonging to her temple, to be transported to *Rome*, married her to *Eleagabalus*, and celebrated the nuptials of the two divinities, with great pomp and solemnity. See the Universal History, Vol. VI. p. 136, folio.

“Nothing, therefore,” says *Montesquieu*, “was now thought *strange* in the empire; and the people were *prepared* to receive every foreign custom, (or *religious innovation*), which any of the *emperors* wished to introduce.” *Montesquieu's Rise and Declension*, chap. xvi.

* *Constantine* at first endeavoured to appease this madness, in his excellent letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, during their unhappy controversy respecting the nature of the SON; whether he was *ὁμοουσιος*, “of the same substance,” or *ὁμοιουσιος*, “of like

FOURTH SCENE.

During the *half hour's silence*, or first calm of *Constantine's* reign, a *mighty angel* from the *sun rising*, (or *CHRIST* himself, "the day spring from on high," Luke i. 78,) with the *seal* of *THE LIVING GOD*, appeared, to separate the true worshippers from the *idolaters*, and commanded the four destroying angels, who presided over the *winds* or *tempests* that ravage the *earth* and *sea*, the eastern and western world, to suspend the ensuing judgments on both, till *the servants of GOD*, or the *true Israelites*, should be sealed, or preserved by *baptism**, from the destruction that awaited the *hypocrites*.

This bears a remarkable analogy to *Ezekiel's* allegorical

substance' with *THE FATHER*, that split the Church into two violent factions. He told them this was "not a *fundamental article of faith*," (ου περι του κορυφαιου των εν τη νομφ παραγγελματων,) but "the very least of all," (υπερ λιαν ελαχιστων,) "vain, and by no means necessary" to salvation, (ματαιων και μηδαμως αναγκαιων,) and which, therefore, ought to be no obstacle to their holding *one and the same faith*, and returning to *mutual friendship* and *charity*; and thereby restoring *peace* and *tranquillity* to the whole body of the empire; and enabling himself to pass *the residue of his life without great disquietude*." See the whole, in *Eusebius De vita Constantini*, II. 68—71, or *Socrates*, B. I. ch. 7; translated at length in *Ben Mordecai's* Letters, edit. 2, p. 1173—1178.

But *Constantine's* pacific endeavours proved fruitless; he was drawn into the *vortex* of controversy himself, and became a decided persecutor of the *Arians*; against whom, the *Nicene Creed* was hastily framed. His son *Constantius*, was furious against the *Athanasians*; so that both sects were persecuted in turns. One *council* was called to annul the acts of another; and having lost sight of *SCRIPTURE*, in their *metaphysical* subtleties and distinctions, they converted the Church into a great *slaughter house*!

"Since the *Nicene council*," says *Hilary*, A. D. 354, "we do nothing but write *creeds*; and while we quarrel about *words*, while we raise questions about *novelties*, while we fight about *ambiguities*, and strive about *parties*, while we *anathematize* each other, scarce any one is *CHRIST's*!—And while we bite one another, we are *consumed* one of another!"——"CHRISTIANITY," says *Episcopius*, "became a mysterious, dark, incomprehensible, unintelligible religion, loaded with *human inventions*." And during the following period of the *four war trumpets*, *superstition* and *idolatry*, *hatred* and *persecution*, raged among *Zealots* and *Fanatics*, calling themselves *Athanasians*, *Arians*, *Eutychians*, *Novatians*, *Nestorians*, &c. any thing but *fellow Christians*!

Alas! how applicable to the present *most woeful* period is this!

————— *Mutato nomine, de TE*
Fabula narratur! —————

* This mystical *sealing*, or *baptism* of the elect *Christians*, bears a remarkable analogy to the symbolical *baptism* of the true *Israelites*, prefigured by their miraculous passage through the *Red Sea*; and again, through *Jordan*, before they entered into the *promised land*, as the *Church of Christ* in the *wilderness*, 1 Cor. x. 2—4, Heb. xi. 24—29.

vision, in which *the glory of the God of Israel* quitted the *sanctuary*, when devoted to destruction, and retired eastward, to *Mount Olivet*, where the *Roman army* was encamped *, *Ezek. xi. 23*, and in which *THE LORD* commissioned the man *clothed in linen*, or *the spiritual High-Priest*, with an inkhorn, to go through the midst of *Jerusalem*, and set a "*mark*," (*Thau*, whose primitive form in the sacred alphabet was \times ,) on the *foreheads* of the faithful, who "*sigh and lament* for the *idolatrous* abominations of the city." And then to send two parties, of *six men* each, with *slaughter weapons*, to slay all the rest, who had not the mark, beginning at the *sanctuary*, and the *Presbyters* of the *house of THE LORD*, without mercy; and to slay utterly *old and young, women, virgins, and infants*, *Ezek. ix. 1—7*.

The first six men remarkably correspond to the first *six trumpet angels*; the other six to the first *six vial angels*; acting under the *seventh trumpet angel*, previous to the catastrophe under the *seventh vial*; as observed by *Sir Isaac Newton*, which misled him to imagine that the trumpets and vials synchronized, p. 293.

The mysterious number of the *sealed*, 144,000, is formed of the *thousands of Israel*, multiplied by 144, the square number of the twelve *Patriarchs* and twelve *Apostles*. And to mark the *true Israelites* without guile, the two *idolatrous* tribes of *Dan* and *Ephraim* were excluded, and their quotas supplied from the tribes of *Levi* and of *Joseph*, in general, 4—8. The tribe of *Dan* had been excluded before from the book of *Chronicles*, and *Ephraim* now, in the *Apocalypse*. The legitimate successors of these faithful representatives of the *Patriarchal* and *Christian Church*, *before* and *after CHRIST*, compose the *two witnesses* of *THE LAW*, and of *THE TESTIMONY* or *GOSPEL*, *Isa. viii. 20*, who, after the establishment of the corrupt *heresies* of *Popery* and *Islamism* in the *west* and *east*, about the same year, A.D. 620, were destined to undergo persecution till the time of the end, or expiration of the whole period of 1260 days.

This was followed by a grand chorus of the whole faithful Church on *earth*, in *heaven*, and the *angelic host*, worshipping *GOD* with seven fold praise, in the *regeneration*, ver. 9—12.

* Might not the portentous words uttered in the sanctuary at *Jerusalem*, on the eve of the *Jewish war*, recorded by *Josephus*, as we have seen, "*Let us pass over from hence!*" be considered as the accomplishment of this mysterious vision of *Ezekiel*?

FIFTH SCENE.

When the seven angels were prepared with the trumpets, another angel, the *spiritual High-Priest*, offered up, on a golden censer, the incense of the prayers of the *saints*, ascending from the golden altar before the throne of God. He then filled his censer with *fire*, taken from the altar, and cast it upon the earth, (as in *Ezekiel's* vision, x. 2, in which *coals of fire* were taken from between the *cherubim*, and scattered over *Jerusalem*, ready to be destroyed.)

This was immediately succeeded by *shoutings*, *thunderings*, and *lightnings*, and *shaking* of the heaven and earth, the usual *prophetic* symbols of approaching calamities, viii. 3—5.

Before we proceed to specify the plagues of the *trumpets*, it will be necessary to verify the foregoing *chronological* arrangement of the *seven vials* under the *last trumpet*, as synchronizing with its repeated soundings. This, indeed, is the most obscure and intricate period of the whole Apocalypse, and of course the most disputed; but surely the most important and interesting to the present and succeeding generations, if the prevailing opinion of the best modern expositors, *Faber*, &c. be well founded, that the *third woe* has already commenced, and the *vials* are now actually discharging their tremendous contents upon an irreligious and corrupt world!

1. This arrangement is supported by the remarkable *analogy* which it bears to the mysterious circumstances of the downfall of *Jericho*, corresponding to the downfall of the mystical *Babylon*.

After the miraculous passage of *Jordan*, that devoted city, *Jericho*, was encompassed by the host of *Israel*, the ark of GOD, and *seven priests*, with *seven trumpets* of rams' horns, in solemn procession, for *seven days*. During six days, they encompassed it only once each day, blowing the trumpets but once; on the seventh day, they encompassed it seven times, blowing the trumpets seven times; after the last blast, the people *shouted*, by the Divine command, and immediately the walls fell flat, and all the inhabitants, except *Rahab's* family, who were saved, utterly perished by the edge of the sword, Josh. vi. 3—20, Heb. xi. 30. Hence, we may collect, that the six angels sounded each their trumpets but once, during the continuance of their respective plagues; but that the seventh angel sounded

seven times, and that at each blast, a vial was poured out; after the last, a *mighty voice* from the celestial *throne*, proclaimed the catastrophe, γεγρονε, "*It is done*," and immediately followed *shoutings*, and *thunderings*, and *lightnings*, and the greatest *shaking* ever known upon earth, and then the downfall of *Babylon*, and of the cities of the *Gentiles*; when the people, still *blaspheming God*, were destroyed by a prodigious *hail*; like the devoted *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, (Josh. x. 11, 1 Sam. vii. 10,) Rev. xvi. 17—21.

2. The synchronism of the *seventh trumpet* with the *seven vials*, may also be proved from the context.

The *three woes* corresponded to the *three last trumpets*; and consequently, the *third woe* to the *seventh trumpet*, Rev. viii. 13, (as remarked by Bishop *Newton*, III. p. 401.) But the *third*, or last *woe*, necessarily included the *seven vials*, which are called the *seven last plagues*, because "in them the *wrath of God was fulfilled*," (ετελεσθη,) Rev. xv. 1. See *Faber*, Vol. II. p. 351, edit. 2. And no one could enter into the spiritual *Sanctuary*, filled with smoke, from the *glory of THE LORD*, "until the *seven plagues* of the *seven vial-bearing angels* should be fulfilled," (τελεσθωσι,) Rev. xv. 1.

3. During the *second woe*, or sounding of the *sixth trumpet*, *seven thunders* uttered their *voices*, or prophecies; and the Apostle was going to write them down, when the *mighty angel*, who had opened the *codicil*, ordered him to *seal* the prophecies of the seven thunders, and not to write them; for he lift up his hand to heaven, and swore by the EVER-LIVING CREATOR, "*The time* * [of their fulfilment] *shall not be yet*, but in the *days of the voice of the seventh angel*: when *He is to sound*, the *mystery of God shall be fulfilled*, (και ετελεσθη,) as He declared by his servants, the *prophets*," to the world, Rev. x. 3—7.

In this last most difficult and mysterious passage (more correctly rendered †,) there is a marked allusion to the prophecies

* *Bengelius*, and his obsequious abridger, *Wesley*, have assigned most whimsical, extravagant, and *mystical* meanings to χρονος, "*time*," a period of 1111 years; a *non chronos*, 836 years; the *time, times, and half a time*, not 1260, but 777 years, the *little time* 888 years, &c. See Notes, pp. 239, 247, 250, 251. *Bengelius* and *Wesley* were any thing but *chronologers*.

† Much unnecessary and adventitious confusion and embarrassment has involved these parallel passages, Rev. xv. 1, xv. 8, x. 6, 7, from the *variable* and the *inaccurate* ren-

of *Daniel* in particular, especially in his *appendix*, corresponding to the *codicil*. For there also, the *spiritual high priest* in the attitude of standing upon *the river*; (as here upon both *sea* and *land*) lift up his hands to heaven, and swore by THE EVER-LIVING GOD, that “until *the end of these mysteries*, should be *a time, times and half a time*; (or 1260 prophetic days) and that on the conclusion of the *dispersion* of the power of the *Holy people*, (or *Saints*) all these *should be fulfilled*,” Dan. xii. 6, 7; here the Hebrew verb, כלה that closes the sentence, is usually rendered in Greek, συντελεω, or simply, τελεω; which is the verb thrice used in the foregoing passages, to identify them (we may presume) with *Daniel's* prophecies, viii. 13, 14, ix. 27, xii. 6, 7.

3. That the *codicil* was, indeed, delivered to *John* during the

derings of our English Bible. 1. The same verb τελεω, in the first, is rendered, “to fill up;” in the second, “to fulfil;” and in the third, “to finish.” 2. The phrase χρονος ουκ εσται ετι, is rendered, “time shall be no longer,” as if it denoted the end of the world; which is refuted by the very next verse. The phrase, ουκ ετι, is elsewhere correctly rendered, “not as yet,” 2 Cor. i. 23, corresponding to, ουπω εστι το τελος, “the end is not yet,” Matt. xxiv. 6. 3. The phrase, όταν μελλη σαλπιζειν, is rendered, “when he shall begin to sound,” which rather denotes, “in the days,” or the whole period of the sounding of the seventh trumpet; for the verb, μελλω, is not *inceptive*, it only denotes *futurity*; see Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 12, Luke xxii. 23; and that, either *near**, Acts v. 35, or *remote*, Acts xxiv. 15. The translators, in this case, mistakenly supposing, that this seventh trumpet was only to sound *once*, like the other trumpets. 4. Και τελεσθη το μυστηριον του Θεου. This is rendered, “the mystery of GOD should be finished;” inaccurately, as not corresponding to the preceding clause, which is *future*.

The redundant particle, και, greatly perplexes the sense, and has created infinite embarrassment to editors and translators. Instead of και τελεσθη, or rather, και ετελεσθη, (*Griesbach*,) several of the ancient versions, attending more to the sense than the idiom, render, as if it were τελεσθησεται, in the future tense: which is substituted by *Arethas*, and three last editions of *Beza*. The *Geneva* omits και as redundant.

But the received reading, which is that of the *Complutensian* Edition, is most ingeniously supported by *Middleton*, p. 664. He justly considers, και ετελεσθη, as a Hebrew idiom, in which the και changes the tense: corresponding to the *vau conversivum præteriti*, and illustrates it by example, Judges iv. 8, in *Barak's* answer to *Deborah's* invitation.

“If thou wilt go (תלכי) with me, I will go:” (והלכתי) literally, “and I went”) but if thou wilt not go (לא תלכי) with me, I will not go, (לא אלך.) Here, the *Septuagint* renders the idiom, πορευσομαι; and the corresponding future, ου πορευσομαι, determining the meaning. This is, indeed, a most happy and convincing illustration; which alone might stamp the merit of the TREATISE ON THE GREEK ARTICLE.

* ——— μινυνθαδιος γαρ εμελλεν
Εσσεσθ'. ηδη γαρ οι επωρνευε μορσιμον ημαρ
Παλλας Αθηναη υπο Πηλειδαο βιγηφ.

Iliad xv. 612.

second woe, and before the disclosure of the third, is evident from the *symbolical* sequel. He was directed by the voice of his friend the *Presbyter*, (v. 4,) to take the *codicil* out of the mighty Angel's hand; who gave it, desiring him to eat it (like *Ezekiel*, the roll, ii. 7,) that he should find it *sweet as honey* in his mouth, but *bitter* in his belly; intimating, that the information would be pleasant, at first, as satisfying his curiosity; but its woeful contents, when digested, would be grievous, as intimating "*lamentations and mourning, and woe*," like *Ezekiel's* roll, (ii. 10.) However, that he should *prophesy again* concerning many *peoples and nations*, and *languages and kings*; when he should come to understand the *sealed* prophecies of the *seven thunders*, which were to take place during the sounding of the *seventh* Angel, and the effusion of the *seven vials*, or *last plagues*, Rev. x. 8—11.

4. Hence it appears, that the *seven vials*, all belong to the *last woe* and *seventh trumpet*; for if the first *six*, (according to the perplexed hypothesis of *Mede**, and his followers) or *any one* of them were included under the *second woe* and *sixth trumpet*, and separated from the rest, they could not, with propriety, be jointly called, "*the seven last plagues*," as they are expressly, xv. 1. (See *Faber*, Vol. II. p. 356.)

This grand error, which has hitherto chiefly embarrassed the *chronology* of the Apocalypse, from the days of *Mede* to the present, seems to have originated from the forementioned incorrect division of the *codicil*, as if including the fourteenth verse of the eleventh chapter; which, in fact, belongs to the *book*, and critically connects the end of the *second woe*, Rev. ix. 12—21, with the beginning of the *third* in the following verse, "*And the seventh Angel sounded*;" which is thus briefly noticed, and no more; "*the enraptured Apostle being hurried away*, as it were, to a view of the *happy millennium*; without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it;" as judiciously observed by Bishop *Newton*, Vol. III. p. 198.

* See *Mede's Clavis Apocalyptica*, *Synchronismus* III. p. 427, and his scheme of the plan of the *Apocalypse*, p. 430.

FOUR WAR TRUMPETS.

“ ——— I cannot be silent,
 Because thou hast heard, O my soul,
The sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war.—————
How long, shall I see the standard ;
 And hear the sound of *the trumpet ?*”——*Jeremiah.*

The more tremendous judgments of this second period, are ushered in with extraordinary solemnity.

The *seven angels* who “*stand*” always in readiness “*before the throne of GOD,*” to receive and execute his high commands, first *received the seven trumpets* at the beginning of the *half hour’s silence*, viii. 1, 2. And then, after the solemn offering up of the incense of the prayers of *all the saints* from earth, (especially of the 144,000, who were now sealed) by the *spiritual high priest*, they *prepared themselves to sound* *, ver. 6.

1. The *first trumpet* “gave no *uncertain sound* ;” it produced a dreadful storm of *hail and fire* mingled with *blood*, upon “the *third part*” of the earth, or of the known world, *Europe*, the principal seat of the *Roman empire*, ver. 7. It “*prepared for battle,*” the fierce barbarians of the *North*, (the region of *hail* ;) the *Goths, Huns, Vandals, &c.* to ravage and destroy *the trees and green grass*, or slay the *old and young* indiscriminately.

In 395, *Alaric*, king of the *Goths*, ravaged *Greece and Italy*, and besieged *Rome*, and levied contributions there—he afterwards took it in 408, and again in 410, when he plundered the city, and massacred many of the inhabitants. He also ravaged *Gaul and Spain*.

The next *hail storm* from this quarter, fell upon the *eastern empire*, *Attila*, king of the *Huns*, or *Hungarians*, desolated a tract of 500 miles in breadth, from the *Euxine sea* to the *Adriatic*. He arrogantly styled himself *the scourge of God*, and most justly. *Buonaparte* has imitated him.

2. The *second trumpet* sounded a *burning blast* and *volcanic eruption* of a *great mountain*, which was heaved from its base, and cast into *the sea*, the third part of which became *blood* ; and the third part of the *fishes and ships* were destroyed, ver. 8, 9.

* “They *prepared themselves,*” that each might sound in his turn, *without delay*. And every Angel *continued to sound*, till the design of his trumpet was fulfilled. *Wesley.*

This followed the fierce barbarians from the *South*, or *Africa*, the region of heat, *Genseric* and his *Vandals*, to invade *Italy* by sea, marked by Mount *Vesuvius**, who took *Rome* in 455, and sacked it for a fortnight together; and carried off an innumerable multitude of captives: among the rest, the empress *Eudoxia*, and her two daughters; who had invited them over to avenge the murder of her husband, the emperor *Valentinian*. When the mighty-daring *Genseric* hoisted sail at any time to ravage the islands and coasts of the *Roman* empire, and was asked by his pilot, *what course he chose to steer?* with hypocritical arrogance, he usually replied, *Leave to the winds the determination; they will waft us to the devoted coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice!* He literally turned the *Roman* seas into blood, when he cast therein the mangled bodies of 500 noble *Zacynthians*; and in 468, he destroyed most of the *fleet* sent to attack him by the emperor of the east, *Leo*. *Attila* and *Genseric* acted in concert.

3. The *third trumpet* sounded, and occasioned a *comet* to fall upon the third part of the *rivers* and *springs*; which made them as bitter as *wormwood*: so that many died, ver. 10, 11.

“The shooting of this star,” says *Mede*, “denoted the downfall of the western *Cæsars*.” *Odoacer*, king of the *Heruli*, deposed *Momyllus*, (called in contempt, *Augustulus*, the diminutive of *Augustus*,) and put an end to the western *Roman* empire in 476.

This was followed by *bitter feuds* among the conquerors themselves. *Odoacer*, after he was crowned king of *Italy*, was slain by *Theodoric* in 488; and he, in turn, was deposed by the lieutenants of *Justinian*. Thus was *Italy*, and its fertile *rivers* and *springs*, alternately a prey to the barbarous tribes who destroyed each other in their contests for empire.

4. The sounding of the *fourth trumpet* introduced an *eclipse* of the third part of the *sun*, *moon*, and *stars*, ver. 12. And the historian *Cedrenus* thus describes the aspect of the heavens in the reign of *Justinian*, A.D. 533. “The *sun* appeared like the *moon*, shorn of his beams, as if *eclipsed*; and cast a *gloom* on

* According to *Zonaras*, in the year A.D. 472, there was a dreadful eruption of Mount *Vesuvius*, which threw out such an immense quantity of *ashes*, as turned day into night even at *Constantinople*, and covered all the streets and houses three inches deep. This happened according to *Marcellinus*, on the 6th of November; according to the *Chron. Alexand.* on the 11th.

all things during this year. At this time, the world had no respite from *war* and *death**." And *Gibbon* remarks, that "the majesty of the *Roman* empire was but faintly represented by the princes of *Constantinople*," after the downfall of *Rome*.

Such *undesigned* coincidences of *historical* expression, furnish satisfactory illustrations of the *prophecy*.

The divine judgments were still to be inflicted on the *Roman* empire; though *Christian* in name, still *pagan* in *religion* and *morals*. The barbarous conquerors, "associating *Belial* with *CHRIST*," blended their pagan idolatries and corruptions with the pure doctrines and precepts of Christianity.

* The following apology for *true religion*, and its acquittal from the charge of *persecution*, we owe to that liberal minded and enlightened philosopher, *Montesquieu*.

"I acknowledge that history is full of *religious wars*. But we must take care to observe, that these were in reality produced by the *intolerant spirit* of that religion which thought she had the *power of governing*.

"It was the *spirit of Proselytism* which the *Jews* contracted from the *Egyptians*; and which passed from them like an epidemic disease, to *Mahometans* and *Christians*. It is in short, the *spirit of enthusiasm*; the progress of which can only be considered as a total *eclipse* of human reason." *Persian Letters*, 85.

"The *ancient Romans* strengthened their empire by *tolerating* all sorts of religious worship: but their *posterity* destroyed it, by cutting off, in succession, the several *sects* that were not predominant. These sects were composed of *entire nations*: some of them, as the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, had retained their ancient religion after they were conquered by the *Romans*; others were dispersed throughout the country; as the followers of *Montanus*, in *Phrygia*; the *Manicheans*, the *Sabbatarians*, the *Arians*, in the other provinces; besides these, the generality of the people in the country continued in *idolatry*, and *infatuated* with a religion as *gross* as themselves.

"*Justinian*, emulating the indiscreet zeal of his predecessors, destroyed these *sects* by the *sword*, or by his *laws*; and, by compelling them to *revolt*, was compelled himself to *exterminate* them; and thereby laid waste several provinces. He thought he had augmented the number of the *faithful*, but he only diminished the race of mankind. *Procopius* informs us, that by the destruction of the *Samaritans*, *Palestine* was reduced to a desert.

"It was strange, that while the emperor carried his *intolerance* so far, he could not agree with the empress *Theodora*, (an actress and prostitute, whom he had espoused, and who ruled him with unexampled sway,) respecting the most essential points of religious doctrine! He followed the council of *Chalcedon*, (A.D. 451,) and she supported the opposite faction." *Rise and Declension*, chap. xx.

The *superstition* of this weak prince, indeed, was equal to his *intolerance*. His principal *protectors*, or patrons, were the *Virgin Mary* and *Michael* the Archangel; and he attributed his recovery from a dangerous fit of sickness, to the miraculous interposition of the holy martyrs, *Cosmas* and *Damianus*. His favourite and victorious general, *Narses*, paid his devotions to the *Virgin* as his protectress; and the Christians of the seventh century had relapsed into *demonology* of *paganism*: their vows, both public and private, were addressed to the *relics* and *images*, and *tombs* of the *saints*. Can we wonder then at the *judgments* inflicted on such *degenerate* Christians, both in the east and in the west, during the sounding of the *war* and *woe trumpets*?

These *superstitions* and *corruptions* led to a new order of things; both in the western and eastern empire. *Pagan bigotry* and *persecution*, was exchanged for *Christian*. They paved the way for two furious fanatical *ecclesiastical* powers, which sprang up out of the ashes of paganism, both in the *western* and *eastern* Church, about the same time and from similar causes; namely, the two *Christian heresies** of *Popery* and *Islamism*: which, however different from each other in some inferior features, yet agreed, "like sisters" in the predominant *trait* of *hatred* and *persecution* of all other *sects* but their own.

————— *Facies non omnibus una,*
Nec *diversa* tamen; qualem decet esse *sorum*.

In the *secondary* symbolical visions, the prophet has critically distinguished and described these *two persecuting powers*. In the *primary*, he has omitted the *papal*, tacitly referring the reader to *Daniel's* visions; which, therefore, we will now introduce in their proper *chronological* place, before we proceed to the rise of the latter, see Vol. II. p. 528.

DANIEL'S FOURTH VISION, PART III.

The prophet takes up the description of the *fourth wild beast*, or *Roman temporal* power, come to maturity on the depression of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the *Syrian* power; (the principal branch of the *Macedo-Grecian*) xi. 21. "And after him [*Epiphanes*] the [*Roman*] *arms* shall stand up. And they shall *profane* the *sanctuary of strength* [at *Jerusalem*] and *take away the daily sacrifice*; and plant the *abomination of desolation* [or *Roman standards* on the *Holy Temple*, Dan. ix. 27, in the *Jewish war*."]]

After the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, the prophet proceeds thus.

32. "And *such as act insincerely* against the [*Christian*] covenant, shall the [*Roman power*] *corrupt with flatteries* [to *apostatize*.] But *the people who know their God, shall be strong, and act [sincerely].*

33. "And *the wise* of the [*Christian*] people *shall instruct many* [of the *Romans*, and convert them to *Christianity*.] Yet

* That *Popery* is a *Christian heresy*, has been abundantly proved in the preceding part of this work; and that *Islamism*, or *Mahometanism* is so too, has been satisfactorily proved by Archdeacon *Woodhouse*. See *Faber*, Vol. II. p. 469, &c. 2d. Edit. *Arianism* was parent of *Islamism*.

they shall fall by the *sword* and by the *flames*, and by *captivity*, and by *spoil*, *many days*, [during the ten *Roman* persecutions.]

He next describes the state of the Church, after the *Roman* government became *Christian*, under *Constantine*.

34. “*But on their fall, they shall be helped with a little help** [with the countenance and protection of the *civil power*; which shall produce a great accession of *dissembling* converts to the Church] *for many shall cleave to them with flatteries, [or hypocrisy.]*

35. “*And of the wise [themselves] several shall fall [by heresies, schisms, and mutual persecutions] in order to purify and make white [the approved among them, 1 Cor. xi. 19, Dan. xii. 10] until the time of the end, [Dan. xii. 9.]* Because [the trial is to continue] further, for the *appointed time* [of a time, times and half a time, or 1260 days, Dan. vii. 27, xii. 7.]

He further predicts the progress of the *little horn*, or *papal* power, after “*subduing three kings,*” Dan. vii. 24.

36. “*And the [papal] king, [thinking to change times and laws in the Church, Dan. xii. 25] shall act according to his will; and shall exalt himself, and shall magnify himself above*

* “*In the reigns of Constantine the Great, and his son Constantius, one half of the Roman empire turned Christian; but the whole was not accomplished till the reign of Gratian, (A.D. 375,) who rejected the dignity and habit of the pontifex maximus, threw down the idols, interdicted the sacrifices, and took away the revenues, with the salaries and authority of the priests. Theodosius the Great, (in A.D. 379) followed his example, and heathenism afterwards recovered no more, but decreased so fast, that Prudentius, about ten years after the death of Theodosius, (or about A.D. 405,) calls them vix pauca ingenia, et pars hominum rarissima. “Scarcely a few souls, and the scantiest part of mankind.” Sir I. Newton, p. 293.*

“*The heathen Roman empire had its trial for about 300 years, during which time Christianity had been preached among them; but instead of listening to THE TRUTH, they abused their power in persecuting its professors. The dominion was then transferred to the Christians themselves. And they, instead of reforming the errors of the apostacy, established them by their councils, and defended them by confiscations, banishment, imprisonment, and death.*”

“*At length, after the Christian empire had been tried for about 450 years, a new power arose, and the dominion over the Church was given into the hand of a Christian Bishop. Rome began to flourish again, after it had been deprived of its power for upwards of 200 years, and began to enjoy dominion in its new form of government under the popedom, or papacy. But when this ecclesiastical power became enlarged, exalted, and established by Charlemagne, its power, presumption, and cruelty grew up together with its temporal dominions, and the propagation of the Romish religion throughout the extensive conquests of that emperor; thus contributing to carry the apostacy in the western Church to the amazing height it afterwards reached, so as to become the wonder of the world.” Henry Taylor, On the Grand Apostacy, Part II. p. 11, &c.*

EVERY GOD ; and shall *speak marvellous [blasphemies] against THE GOD OF GODS, [OR THE MOST HIGH, Dan. vii. 25.] and shall prosper till the [period of] wrath be fulfilled, [2 Thess. ii. 8.]* “For *what is determined, shall be done,*” or performed.

He then specifies the *innovations* of this “*lawless*” power, (ὁ ανομος, 2 Thess. ii. 8.)

37. “*And he shall neither regard THE GOD OF HIS FATHERS, [in his apostacy, 2 Thess. ii. 3,] nor the desire of wives**, [for-

* “*The desire of women,*” or of “*wives,*” (or of “*wiving,*” *Mede,*) for the original, נשים, like γυναικες, frequently signifies both ; as in *David's* beautiful elegy for *Saul* and *Jonathan*, “*the love of women,*” or of *wives* toward their husbands, 2 Sam. i. 27, see Vol. II. p. 328 ; and חמדת, επιθυμια, “*desire,*” is used to express *Solomon's* affection, by his spouse in *Canticles*, vii. 10. “*I am my beloved's ; and his desire is toward me,*” as his wife ; so, she had intimated before, ii. 16. “*My beloved is my [husband ;] and I am his [wife,]*” and so, THE LORD foretold to *Ezekiel* the death of *his wife* ; “*Lo, I will take away from thee the delight of thine eyes,*” xxiv. 16—18.

The correctness of this translation is vouched by the *history*. The wise and politic *Julian* and *Papian* laws for the encouragement of *marriage*, and discouragement of *celibacy*, were early repealed ; even by *Constantine* himself ; who, on the contrary, granted privileges and immunities to the unmarried, and the childless ; he venerated *Monks* and *Nuns* who devoted themselves to GOD, and made vows of *celibacy*. His example was followed by his successors ; marriage was discountenanced among the *secular clergy*. At first, their *second marriages* were prohibited, but afterwards, they were interdicted from marrying at all in the time of *Gregory the Great*. Thus did this *apostate ecclesiastical* power, both in the east and west, *magnify himself above all* ; by rescinding the *primary Law* of GOD and *Nature*, and arrogantly pronouncing that dishonourable which GOD himself instituted in *Paradise* for a law of perpetual obligation, Gen. ii. 24 ; which CHRIST confirmed, Matt. xix. 5 ; and which *Holy Writ* has pronounced “*honourable in all,*” Heb. xiii. 4.

Deviating from this interpretation, (first given by *Mede*, and adopted by Bishop *Newton*, Vol. II. p. 174, 175,) Mr. *Faber* supposes, 1. that the phrase denotes CHRIST, “*the desire of women,*” from the time of the original prediction of the *promised seed*, delivered especially to *Eve* ; as being parallel to “*the desire of all nations,*” in *Haggai* ; 2. that *the strange God* was that *deified liberty*, to whom the *French revolutionists* erected a statue ; and 3. the *Mahuzzim*, the other *tutelary gods*, or the *various allegorical deities* of the *infidel republic of France* ; namely, *reason*, and the *republican virtues* ; whom 4. they honoured with the *gold* and *silver*, &c. or spoils, and ornaments of *Churches*, &c. at home and abroad ; and 5. *divided the land* for a price among the *champions* of the *Mahuzzim*, Vol. I. chap. 6.

But to this hypothesis, there seem to be insuperable objections. 1. *Every part* of it may be disputed as fanciful and unfounded ; and 2. *the whole* is *unchronological* ; for he places it under the *third* or *last woe* ; whereas by his own correct statement of the argument of the preceding part from ver. 31, predicting *the desolation of Jerusalem* by the *Romans* to ver. 35, the *Papal persecutions of the witnesses*, p. 330, Edit. 2. the whole evidently is included under the *first* or the *second woe*, at the utmost ; and has no visible connexion with the third.

bidding to marry, 1 Tim. iv. 3, and encouraging *celibacy*, both in the eastern and western Church.] *He shall not regard ANY GOD*, [not even “THE LORD who *redeemed* him, 2 Pet. ii. 1,] *for he shall magnify himself above all. And he shall magnify, as GOD on his throne, Protectors*, [or *demons*, 1 Tim. iv. 1, namely, *Saints* and *Angels* ;] even [as] *GOD*, [*protectors*] *whom his fathers knew not* : he shall honour [them] with *gold* and *silver*, and *precious stones* and *jewels*.

38. “ *And he shall account for fortresses, the protectors ; together with a strange god, [or goddess, the Virgin Mary ;] succeeding to the heathen “ Queen of Heaven,” Jer. xlv. 17, or “ Diana of the Ephesians,” Acts xix. 27,] whom he shall acknowledge : he shall multiply glory [to them] and shall make them rule over many [nations ;] and he shall divide the land for gain,*” [or the earth, as *Peter’s patrimony* for his own aggrandisement.]

The minute and astonishing conformity of this description throughout, with the events, and its exact harmony with the parallel prophecies of *Daniel* himself, and commentaries of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, (here interwoven in the text,) furnish a highly probable criterion of the correctness of the translation and interpretation here attempted of this very abstruse and mysterious prophecy, upon the principles of Bishop *Newton*, which he has supported with great learning and ability, and at considerable length, in his *Dissertations on Daniel’s Prophecies*, Part II ; on *St. Paul’s Prophecies of the Man of Sin* ; and of *the Apostacy of the latter Times*, Vol. II. p. 152, 359, 426. One chasm in his argument we have ventured to fill up ; “ if,” says he, “ the *Mahuzzim* (or ‘ *protectors, saints and angels,*) be not considered as *the strange god*, (ver. 38,) it is difficult to say *who* the strange god is,” p. 185. The *Mahuzzim*, indeed, as being plural, cannot well represent a single God ; but surely *the Virgin Mary*, by his own account, is fully entitled to be meant.

“ The Church of *Rome*,” says he, “ is guilty of *idolatry* and *apostacy* in the oblation of prayers and praises to the *Virgin Mary*, as *much, or more*, than to *GOD BLESSED FOR EVER*. This is *the grand corruption* of the *Christian Church* ; this is ‘ *the apostacy*,’ as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called ; *the apostacy* that the Apostle had warned the *Thessa-*

lonians of before ; *the apostacy* that had also been foretold by the prophet *Daniel*," p. 395 ; and if so, surely, in this very passage.

Nor is this apostacy confined to the *Romish Church* : " the *Greeks* still, at this day, in their *horary prayers*, thus invoke the blessed *Virgin* : *O thou virgin mother of God*, thou impregnable *wall*, thou *fortress of salvation*, (Psalm xxviii. 8,) *we call upon thee*, that thou wouldest *frustrate* the *devices* of our enemies, and be a *fence* to this city," p. 181.

It was not without reason, therefore, that *Mahomet* objected that the *Trinity* of the Christians consisted of " *the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mother of God.*" For a *hundred*, nay, a *thousand* honours, prayers, and vows are daily addressed to the *Virgin Mary* in heaven, and to her *images* upon earth, for one to THE HOLY GHOST ; who, with THE FATHER and THE SON together, is, and ought to be glorified, now, and for evermore, Amen.

THREE WOE TRUMPETS.

5. The sounding of the *fifth trumpet* produced the *first* of the three emphatic " *woes* ;" a *star fallen from heaven* opened the pit of the *abyss*, with a *key* given to him, and let out a great *smoke*, as of a furnace that darkened the sun and air. And out of the smoke issued, with their " *destroying king*," (the *angel of the abyss, Satan*,) a swarm of *locusts*, having stings in their tails, like *scorpions*. These were commissioned not to hurt the *grass, green herbs, or trees*, but only to *torment*, for *five months*, the men who were not sealed in their foreheads, Rev. ix. 1—5.

As *Peter* the Apostle had the *keys of heaven* committed to him, so had *Mahomet**, the impostor, or *false prophet*, (who blasphemously assumed the title of *the Prophet of God*,) the *key of the abyss*, to let out the *smoke of false doctrine* to darken the world, by the help of a swarm of *Arabian locusts*, or fanatical *Saracens*† ; as they are characteristically described by their *horses*, their *crowns*, or turbans, and their *long hair* like women, but *teeth* like lions, and *breast-plates*.

Abulfaragi describes a remarkable dimness of the sun in the

* Various are the guesses of commentators respecting this *star* ; *Nestorius, Sergius*, and even *Luther*, have been proposed by *Protestant* and *Romish* expositors ; Bishop *Newton's* conjecture, Vol. III. p. 98, is here followed.

† *Saracens*, from *Saric*, in Arabic " a thief," or " robber," Gen. xvi. 12.

seventeenth year of the emperor *Heraclius*, (A.D. 626,) “from *October* to *June*, during which *half its body* was hid, so as to give but little light,” p. 99. This might aptly represent the partial *eclipse* of true religion in the *eastern* world. And *Abubeker*, the next caliph, who succeeded *Mahomet* in A.D. 632, when he invaded *Syria*, gave directions to his general, *Yezed*, “Destroy no *palm trees*, burn no fields of *corn*, cut down no *fruit trees*, nor hurt the *cattle*, except such only as you kill for food;” and they greatly *tormented* or harassed the corrupt *Greek* and *Latin* Churches for *five months* of days, or one hundred and fifty years; and the usual time of their campaigns was during the summer months, from *April* till *September* each year.

We may date the commencement of *Mahomet's* mission about A.D. 620, after he had publicly announced himself the *prophet of God*, with commission to restore the primitive *patriarchal religion**, and broached his famous journey to heaven, under the care of the angel *Gabriel*; which was so ill received by his countrymen of *Mecca*, that he was forced to fly for his life, A.D. 622, the commencement of the era of the *Hegira*, or “flight.” Then he published a new revelation in the *Koran*, licensing him to destroy *idolaters* and establish *Islamism*, (“*dedication*” to the service of GOD) by the *sword*; promising the joys of an earthly and sensual *Paradise* to such of his followers as should lose their lives in his cause, (*Sale's Koran*, p. 149, 178, &c.) a doctrine evidently grounded upon misinterpretation of the *Heavenly Jerusalem* in the *Apocalypse*, Rev. xxi. &c.

If we date the commencement of this *trumpet* with the beginning of the *persecuting period* of 1260 years, beginning A.D. 620, (see Vol. II. p. 521,) the *Saracen* depredations for one hundred and fifty years expired A.D. 770, when the caliph *Almansor* had built *Bagdat*, in 762, made it the seat of his mighty empire, including *Syria*, *Persia*, *India*, *Egypt*, *Spain*, &c. and called it “the *city of peace*.” From this epoch the *Saracens* became a settled nation, and ceased to *torment*, or harass the world with their predatory excursions.

6. The sounding of the *sixth trumpet*, which ushered in the *second woe*, did not immediately follow the cessation of the

* *Mahomet*, going one day into a *Jewish* synagogue, was asked, *What religion he was of?* He answered, *Of the religion of Abraham*. They replied, *Abraham was a Jew*. But *Mahomet*, proposing that the question should be decided by the *Pentateuch*, they declined the challenge. *Sale's Koran*, p. 37, note.

first. And this, perhaps, is implied in the difference of the account of the ending of the *first* woe, which is only said to be followed by “*two more*,” Rev. ix. 12 ; but not “*quickly*,” as the *second* by the *third*, xi. 14.

At the sounding of this trumpet *the four* destroying angels, who had been bound during the cessation, in the great river *Euphrates*, were loosed ; these were *prepared* to slay the third part of mankind for an *hour*, a *day*, a *month*, and a *year*. And they were followed by innumerable troops of *horsemen*, armed with breast-plates, and vomiting out of their mouths *fire* and *smoke*, and *sulphur*, with which they slew the third part of mankind ; for *their power* was in their *mouths*. And they also stung with their *scorpions’* tails, like their predecessors, *the locusts*, ix. 13—19.

These aptly represented the four sultanies of the *Turks*, bordering upon the river *Euphrates*, let loose to overthrow the *Saracen* empire, whose capital was on that river. The first of these was founded by *Togrul Bey*, who took *Bagdat* from the *Saracens*, A.D. 1055. The second at *Damascus*, A.D. 1079 ; the third at *Aleppo*, the same year ; the fourth at *Iconium*, A.D. 1080 ; all in the course of twenty-five years. At this time their progress was checked during the *Crusades*, or fanatical wars of the *western Christian* powers, instigated by the *popes* to recover the *Holy Land* from these *infidels*, as they styled the *Turks*. For these disastrous aggressions, in which they perished by *the sword*, the *Turks* retaliated with a severe vengeance upon the *Christians*. In A.D. 1281, *Ortogrul* took the famous city of *Kutahi* from the *Greek* emperor ; in 1357 *Orchan* crossed over to *Europe* ; in 1453 *Mahomet II.* took *Constantinople*, and thus began the downfall of the eastern empire, the rest of which followed the fate of the capital. Their last conquest was in 1672, when *Mahomet IV.* took *Caminiac* in *Poland*. These dates remarkably correspond to the prophetic term of their conquests, for three hundred and ninety-one years and fifteen days*, from

	Y.	D.
* “ A year.....	360	0
A month.....	30	0
A day.....	1	0
An hour, the 24th of 360 days...	0	15

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A.D. 1281 to A.D. 1672. "And if," says Bishop *Newton*, "we knew the precise day on which *Kutahi* was taken, as of *Caminiec*, the like exactness would probably be found in the additional fifteen days also."

The *Turkish* conquests were chiefly made by their powerful *artillery*, and the invention of *gunpowder*, which were first employed at the siege of *Constantinople*, and are both minutely described in the prophecy. And as they destroyed the *Christians* dreadfully from the *mouaths* of their cannons, so they stung them with their *tails*, propagating the corrupt *Mahometan* doctrines which they had embraced, by persecution * more grievous and destructive than their predecessors, the *Saracens*, who cultivated letters and the liberal arts: but both were despised and trampled on by the barbarous *Turks* *.

These plagues were inflicted by the ministers of divine wrath upon the corrupt *Christian* world. But they did not produce a *reformation*. The *remnant* that were left did not repent of their stupid and senseless *idolatries*, still worshipping *demons*, (or *saints* and *angels*,) and *images* of gold, silver, brass, stone, and wood; nor of their impious *massacres*, *sorceries*, *fornications*, and *thefts*, ver. 20, 21.

A check, indeed, to these *idolatries* and *corruptions* in the *western* Church was produced by the three *angels* of reformation, *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, and *Luther*, (Rev. xiv. 6—12,) and other *faithful witnesses* of THE LAW and of THE TESTIMONY in the northern part of *Europe*, during the *sixth trumpet*, or *second woe*. But it was partial and incomplete: the *Evangelical doctrine* and primitive *discipline* of the Church have been no where revived or retained in full purity and perfection; and the *witnesses* are still persecuted.

The continuance of the *grand apostacy* in religion and *corruption* of morals, more or less, throughout the whole body of the Church, both in the east and west, threatened to bring down the last and most tremendous *woe* of the *seven vials*, containing the *seven last plagues*, during the sounding of the *seventh trumpet*, Rev. xi. 14.

* "Bigotry is so prevalent still, at *Old Fez*, in *Morocco*, that if a *Christian* were inadvertently to exclaim, *Allah kbeer*, 'God is great,' he would be invited immediately to add, 'And *Mahomet* is his prophet,' which, if he ignorantly did before witnesses, he would be irretrievably made a *Mahometan*, and circumcised accordingly." *Jackson's Account of Morocco*.

SEVEN VIALS.

We are now arrived at the last most awful and most interesting period of these judgments of heaven. Before we attempt to determine the time of its commencement, we shall follow as a clue to guide our steps in this arduous investigation, a remarkable analogy subsisting between the *seven vials*, the *seven trumpets*, and the *Egyptian plagues*.

1. The *first vial* was discharged upon *the earth*, and inflicted a malignant and grievous *ulcer*, or *boil* upon *idolaters* and *infidels*, Rev. xvi. 2. The *first trumpet* discharged a destructive storm of *hail*, *fire*, and *blood* upon *the earth*, viii. 7. These correspond to the two first of the second and sorer set of *Egyptian plagues*, the sixth and seventh: in the former the *idolatrous Egyptians* and their *magicians* were punished with the *boil*; in the latter the *land* or earth was destroyed by the *hail storm*. See Vol. II. p. 173, 174.

2. The *second vial* was poured upon *the sea*, turned it into *putrid blood*, and destroyed all the *fish*, Rev. xvi. 3. The *second trumpet* cast a *burning mountain* into *the sea*, turned it into *blood*, and destroyed the *fish* and a third part of the *ships*, viii. 8, 9. These correspond to the first *Egyptian plague* of turning the waters of the *Nile* into *blood*, and killing all the *fish*. See Vol. II. p. 168.

3. The *third vial* was poured upon the *rivers* and *water springs*, and turned them into *blood*, in retaliation for the blood of the *martyrs*, xvi. 4—6. The *third trumpet* made the third part of the *rivers* and *water springs* bitter as *wormwood*, which killed those that drank of them, viii. 10, 11. These correspond to the remainder of the first *Egyptian plague*, of turning all the *canals* and *springs* into *blood*. See Vol. II. p. 169.

4. The *fourth vial* was poured upon *the sun*, which scorched the *impenitent blasphemers* with *heat*, xvi. 8, 9. The *fourth trumpet* brought on a partial darkness of a third part of *the sun*, *moon*, and *stars*, viii. 12. These corresponded to the *Egyptian darkness* of three days, in the ninth plague. See Vol. II. p. 178.

5. The *fifth vial* was poured upon *the throne of the beast*, and *darkened his kingdom*, and punished with *labours* and *boils* the *impenitent blasphemers*, xvi. 10, 11. The *fifth trumpet* darkened *the sun* and *air* with the *smoke* of false doctrine, and *tormented* the world with the symbolical *locusts*, or *Sara-*

cens, ix. 1—5. These corresponded to the ninth and eighth plagues of *Egypt*. See Vol. II. p. 177, 178.

6. The *sixth vial* was poured upon the river *Euphrates*, and dried it up to afford a passage for the *kings of the east* to make a *religious war* against the *Holy Land*; instigated by three *impure spirits*, like *frogs*, issuing out of the mouths of the *dragon*, or *Satan*, of the [*papal*] *beast*, and of the *false prophet*, [or *Mahometan beast*] xvi. 12—16. The *sixth trumpet* let loose the destroying angels bound in the *Euphrates*, and sent innumerable troops of *Turkish* horsemen, with *artillery* and *gunpowder*, to destroy the eastern empire, ix. 13—19. These correspond to the second *Egyptian* plague of *frogs*. See Vol. II. p. 169. And to the drying up of the waters of the *Red Sea*, and of *Jordan*, to afford the *Israelites* a passage for the conquest of the *Holy Land*, and destruction of the idolatrous *Canaanites*.

7. The *seventh vial* was poured upon the *air*, [*Satan's throne*, Ephes. ii. 2,] and produced the most dreadful *thunderings*, *lightnings*, *earthquakes*, and prodigious *hail* of a *talent* weight, and great destruction of the *impenitent blasphemers*, xvi. 17—21.

I. The time of the commencement of these last and most formidable plagues of the *vials*, has long been a subject of most eager and anxious enquiry among the ablest expositors of the *Apocalypse*: and now more than ever, since the deservedly popular *Dissertation* of Mr. *Faber* on the subject, which has run through several editions in a short time, and strongly arrested public attention, by stating the effusion of the first vial along with the commencement of the *French Revolution*, and that we now live under the fifth vial.

His interpretation, now generally adopted by the learned who are able to emancipate themselves from the received hypothesis of *Mede*, &c. assigning *earlier* dates, which *time* has refuted, cannot be better expressed than in his own words.

“The rise of *Mohammedism*, and the conquests of the *Saracens*, form a singular epoch in history. The rise and conquests of the *Ottoman* empire form another singular epoch. After these two, where shall we pitch upon a third epoch equally singular? Can any other answer be given; (an answer, which the passing occurrences of every day render more and more probable;) except the *French Revolution*, and its amazingly extensive consequences? Now, the *Saracens* and *Turks* are *universally*

allowed to be the subject of the *two first woes*: and are *they* more worthy of a place in prophecy, than the *daring impieties*, the *unheard of miseries*, and the *vast change* in the *whole European commonwealth*, which have flowed from the *French Revolution*? Since we are compelled to date a *new order of things* from this tremendous convulsion, is it improbable, that it should have been selected by THE SPIRIT OF GOD as one of the great *Apocalyptic* eras? Is it improbable to suppose that the *third woe* began to sound when the reign of *Antichrist*, of *Anarchy*, and of *Atheism* commenced?" Dissert. Vol. II. p. 108. Edit. 2.

He dates the rise of the Revolution from the limitation of the monarchy, A.D. 1789, the sounding of the *seventh trumpet* from the *anarchical* reign of *liberty* and *equality*, Aug. 12, 1792, after *Louis XVI.* was *deposed* two days before. The effusion of the *first vial* from the public profession of *atheism*, when the *National Convention* formally denied *the existence of a God* in their decree of Aug. 26, 1792; a horrible day, unprecedented in the annals of the world, "a day," "indeed, of *trouble*, of *rebuke*, and of *blasphemy*."

"The *fool*," or *atheist*, "hath said in his *heart*," or secretly, "There is *no GOD*," or *no* superintending PROVIDENCE; but never before did the accredited *government* of any country, ancient or modern, dare to be guilty of such *gigantic impiety* and *open rebellion* against THE MOST HIGHEST*.

* This *impiety* of the *National Convention*, Aug. 26, 1792, was followed up, after their downfall, by the present despot, *Buonaparte*, upon his landing in *Egypt*, to wrest it from the *Turks*, in profound peace, in his *Mahometan Manifesto*, dated July 1, 1799.

" IN THE NAME OF GOD, GRACIOUS AND MERCIFUL.
THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD.
HE HAS NO SON, OR ASSOCIATE IN HIS KINGDOM.

" *Inhabitants of Egypt.*

"When the *Beys* tell you the *French* are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: *It is an absolute falsehood.*

"The *French* adore THE SUPREME BEING, and honour *the prophet* (*Mahomet*) and his holy *Koran*.

"The *French* are *true Mussulmen*: Not long since, they marched to *Rome*, and overthrew the throne of the *Pope*, who excited the *Christians* against the professors of *Islamism*.—Afterwards, they directed their course to *Malta*, and drove out *the believers* (the *Knights Templars*), who imagined they were appointed by GOD to make war upon the *Mussulmen*," &c.

This precious *public document* proves that the reign of the *Atheistical Republic*, which

We here distinguish between the *French government* and the *French people*. God forbid that we should ascribe to the latter, indiscriminately, the *frenzy* of the former. *The sense of the nation* has since appeared in the restoration of *religious worship**, and abolition of *heathenish* institutions. This is but

expired not long after, when *Buonaparte* turned out the *Directory*, and first assumed the rank of *First Consul*, and afterwards the *imperial* dignity, was succeeded by a gigantic *Mahometan*, or *infidel power*. For *Buonaparte*, and his officers, who then assumed the reins of military government, were "*true Mussulmen*," indeed, as evidently appears in their intercepted correspondence from *Egypt*, shewing them to be genuine disciples of *Savary*, so much in vogue from his *Letters on Egypt*, who translated the *Koran* into French; thence they adopted the *Mahometan* principles of *Fatalism*, or *Predestination*, &c. as stated in several extracts from their Letters, in the last article of my *Irish Pursuits of Literature*, 1799, termed the *Monstrous Republic*; in which many curious documents are collected respecting the *French Revolution*, from authentic records; particularly the following.

* The state of the *public mind* in *France*, during the first stages of the Revolution, fluctuating between *religion* and *superstition*, is well expressed by the traitor *Stone*, in his intercepted correspondence with his confidential friend, Dr. *Priestly*, in *America*.

"Some *Atheistical* Tracts have been published here (in *Paris*), but they have been little attended to.—And the mind is floating at present, not knowing on what ground to repose; *unwilling to reject the CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, and yet ignorant how to distinguish the *wheat* from the *chaff*."

The *national* triumph, however, of *religion*, at length, over *Atheism*, most clearly appeared in the speech of the ruthless *Robespierre*, the evening before his downfall, made in the *National Convention*.—"Frenchmen! suffer not your enemies to debase your souls, and to enervate your virtues by their desolating doctrine.—No, *Chaumette*, no, DEATH IS BY NO MEANS AN ETERNAL SLEEP. Citizens! Efface from the tombs this maxim engraven by sacrilegious hands, casting a funeral crape over nature; which discourages oppressed innocence, and which insults death itself. Rather engrave there the following:

DEATH IS THE COMMENCEMENT OF IMMORTALITY."

This is a most curious and valuable testimony from such a monster of cruelty! What an *immortality* had he to expect?—This is admirably told by *M. Naville*, a respectable magistrate of *Geneva*, and an illustrious victim of the massacres perpetrated there by the emissaries of the *Brissotine*, *Gironde*, or *Country Faction*, in 1794; who were not long after overpowered themselves by the *Robespierian*, or *Parisian Faction*.

When seized, and brought before the *Revolutionary Tribunal*;—He thus undauntedly and indignantly interrogated his judges; "*Who are ye*, that pretend to have a right of trying me?—I see none here but *usurpers*."

—"Do not imagine, that I mean to degrade myself so far as to wish to move your compassion. I know my death is decided on before hand; and ye know too, that I entertain too lively a hatred of injustice, not to merit the sad but honourable lot of the magistrates whom ye have already destroyed.—Concentrating in my soul a kind of liberty, which it never was in your power to rob me of, I have supported the slavery ye have imposed upon me, [since the destruction of the government of 1792] constrained to see without murmuring the triumphant impunity of crimes."

And so powerfully did he defend himself, that one of his judges, in pronouncing his

common justice to a "*great nation*," though a most *unhappy*; *scourged* most dreadfully themselves, while made the formidable instruments of *scourging* others*.

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

But surely the *French Revolution* was not fully matured till the murder of *Louis XVI.* Jan. 21, 1793. This was the *overt act* that overthrew the *old government*, and cemented the *new* with the blood of their hapless king, who was better entitled to be *sainted*, than most of their *calendar*: "*whom RELIGION ALONE enabled to support the greatest trials with the greatest dignity*,"—as stated by a candid convert from *philosophical infidelity*, his intrepid *advocate* on his iniquitous trial, *Malesherbes*, who soon followed his master to the scaffold.

This slight alteration of Mr. *Faber's* era, from 1792 to 1793,

sentence, said to him, "*I have two consciences*,—the one of them *acquits you as innocent*, the other, *condemns you to save the Republic*."—He coolly replied:

"*It will then lose in me a great Citizen.*"

After the sanguinary tribunal had pronounced sentence of death; "*And I too*, cried he, *will, in my turn, pronounce that, which awaits you, and all your accomplices.*

"When enriched by plunder, and become absolute *masters of the state*, expect not to *enjoy in peace* the fruit of your crimes. All the *curbs* that ye have broken through to arrive at *despotism*, will also be found broken through for you. *New Factions* will be engendered in the midst of your faction; ye will be engaged in a *constant struggle to wrest the authority from each other*. Like *tygers*, ye united to secure your prey; and like them, *ye will spill each other's blood* in disputing who shall devour it. Thus will ye yourselves avenge the *manes* of your victims. But *they* will have ended their days with the consolation of a *pure conscience*, which lifts the soul to its CREATOR; whereas, on your part, *ye will die with hearts bursting with rage*; your punishment will be preceded by the most *rending thoughts*; ye will be plunged in *despair* for having stained yourselves with the blood of the *innocent*; and ye will be tortured with the *dread* of falling into the *abyss*, which ye have hollowed with your hands; *ye will die, without daring to lift up your eyes to heaven!*"

The whole of this inimitable speech, worthy of the *Maccabees*, is given by Sir *Francis D'Ivernois*, in his interesting account of the *Revolution at Geneva*.

* It was calculated, in *cold blood*, by some of the prime agents of the *French Revolution*, that "*to carry it into execution would diminish the population of France, at least, TWO MILLIONS.*"

The calculation has fallen short considerably. It amounted to near a *million* in the year 1795, (the fourth of the *Monstrous Republic*,) who were massacred in various ways, by *cannonade, fusilade, noyade, or guillotine*. These massacres have been followed up by the relentless *military conscriptions* of *Buonaparte*, which have desolated *France* of her *youth*, and drowned her in tears of *parents*. It is computed that *half a million* of French soldiers have perished during the three last years only of the war in the Peninsula of *Spain*. (1811.)

adopted in the course of this work, appears to be justified by some further considerations.

1. The sagacious *Fleming*, in his *Rise and Fall of Antichrist*, or of the *Papal power*, first published in A.D. 1701, distinctly conjectured, that “whereas the present French king (*Louis XIV.*) takes the *sun* for his emblem, and this for his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*; he may at length, or rather his successors in the monarchy itself, at least, before the year 1794, be forced to acknowledge, that in respect to the neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.—And, perhaps, the *French monarchy may be considerably humbled about that time*,” p. 30, 31, Dublin Edit. 1800.

The clue that led to this *happy conjecture*, though rather fanciful in some respects, is so ingenious, that it deserves to be traced, especially as the author’s account is very concise, and requires explanation.

1. The basis of his conjecture is the *postulate*, that the prophetic period of a *time*, *times*, and *half a time*, or *three years and half*, or 1260 *prophetic days*, corresponds to 1278 *Julian years*, which he thus proves, p. 7—10.

	D.		D.	
“ <i>A time</i> ”	360	365	} Here, the <i>Julian year</i> is reckoned 365 days, in round numbers, neglecting the surplus of 6 hours nearly each year. This gives an excess of 18 years, in 1278 <i>Julian years</i> , above 1260 <i>prophetic years</i> .
	360	.....	365
2 “ <i>times</i> ”	720	.....	730
	360	.....	365
3 “ <i>times</i> ”	1080	.....	1095
“ <i>Half a time</i> ”	180	.....	183
3 <i>years and half</i>	1260	.....	1278

Fleming next assumes, that this prophetic period of 1260 years, including the rise and fall of the *Papal power*, began A.D. 552. “In this year, I find the *Pope* got a *new foundation of exaltation*, when *Justinian*, upon his conquest of *Italy*, left it in a great measure to the *Pope’s* management; being willing to *eclipse* his own authority to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now this year, 552, by the addition of the 1260 years, reaches down to the year 1811. [For A.D. 551 + 1260 = 1811.] Which, according to *prophetic* account, is the year 1794.”—Or rather, 1793; if we subtract 18 years, according to the foregoing *postulate*, from the *Julian* A.D. 1811, to bring it to the *prophetic year*.

He next tacitly *assumes*, that the *French monarchy* synchronized with the *Papacy*, and that as they rose together, they are doomed to fall together.

Fleming's postulate for the reduction of *Julian* to *prophetic* years, is fanciful. *Prophetic* years of 360 days, were, of old, reduced, from time to time, to *solar* years, by occasional *intercalations* of the annual $5\frac{1}{4}$ supernumerary days; in order to regulate the *true seasons* of celebrating the grand Festivals of the *Passover*, *Palilia*, *Neuruz*, &c. among the *Jews*, *Romans*, *Persians*, &c. about the *vernal equinox*, &c. See the foregoing Vol. I. p. 36—43, and p. 49—57.

His tacit *assumption* also is unfounded. For it is foretold, that the *ten horns* of the *Roman* beast, in its last stage of empire, “shall hate *the Harlot*, and make her *desolate and naked*, and shall eat her *flesh*, and burn her with fire *,” Rev. xvii. 16.

* By a sagacious conjecture more congenial with Scripture, Bishop *Newton* surmised, that “*Rome* will be finally destroyed by *some* of the princes who are reformed, or shall be reformed from *Popery*. And as the kings of *France* have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible nor improbable, that *some time or other*, they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. *France* hath already shewn some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to effect such a revolution. Such a revolution may reasonably be expected, because the *infatuation* of *Popish* princes is permitted by Divine Providence only for a certain period, until the oracles of God shall be fulfilled,” Rev. xvii. 17,) Vol. III. p. 308.

Little, however, did, or could the Bishop suspect the *paradoxical* nature of this revolution: not a reformation from the errors of *Popery* to pure religion, but a most deplorable degradation from *superstition* and *idolatry* to downright *atheism* and *infidelity*; and afterwards the restoration of *Popery*, as an instrument of *spiritual* tyranny, by *Buonaparte*. And this more dreadful *infatuation*, is likely to continue till the time of the end. The *three frogs* are still the *Arms of France*, (see Vol. II. p. 169, note;) and as their *croakings* against *religion* and *government*, brought on the *revolution*, so are they likely to bring on her final destruction at *Armageddon*, Rev. xvi. 13, 16.

“ He that is *unrighteous*, let him be *unrighteous* still,
And he that is *filthy*, let him be *filthy* still,” Rev. xxii. 11.

And how signally and minutely has this gigantic infidel power, and his vassals compelled by him, the *nine horns* on the continent, unwittingly fulfilled the prophecy!

This modern *Charlemagne*, was fully invested with the *imperial* dignity of the *Cæsars*, on the compulsory but formal surrendry of the imperial crown and government of the *Germanic* body, by the Emperor of *Austria*, August 6th, 1806; and now wears the *iron* crown, and wields the *iron* sceptre of the *Cæsars*, by unanimous election. He degraded the *Pope* to the rank of simple *Bishop of Rome*; stript the See of all its *temporalities*, and *St. Peter's patrimony*, confiscated its revenues of every kind, threw the late *Pope*, *Pius VI.* into a dungeon, where he languished and died; and has imprisoned the present *Pius VII.* in the fortress of *Savona*, where he will probably continue till his death, or abdication of the papacy in favour of Cardinal *Feschi*, the uncle of *Buonaparte*.

In the true spirit of *Henry VIII.* he has completely abolished the *Pope's supremacy*,

2. If we turn our eyes from the blood-stained *continent of Europe* to these still comparatively *Fortunate Isles*, the *Pro-*

both in *spirituals* and *temporals*, in *France* and *Italy*, and throughout his conquests, and precisely upon the same grounds; as explicitly stated in his remarkable speech to his Legislative Body, December 4, 1809.—“The *spiritual influence* exercised in my states by a *foreign sovereign*, is contrary to the *independence of France*, and to the *safety and dignity of my Throne*.”

After erecting himself the *visible head of the Church* in his dominions, in his *Concordat*, to which he extorted the Pope's assent; he is following up the regeneration of the *Gallican*, by that of the *Italian Church*, as may appear from the recent addresses to him of several *Italian Bishops*, and their Chapters.

“We are inviolably attached,” says the Bishop of *Rimini*, “to the *Ancient Canons* of the Church, as recognized by the Pontiff *St. Leo*, (A.D. 440,) inspired by GOD, preserved in the respect of the whole *Christian Church*, and engraven indelibly upon the hearts of the *faithful*.—It is upon these *Ancient Canons*, that the *Church of France* has built her liberties. These Canons form, in fact, the foundation and spirit of the *rights of all Christian Churches*. No human power, no contrary practice can alter them.”

“I add,” says the Bishop of *Cremona*, “the expression of my most ardent wishes that our most potent emperor, and the *visible head of the Church*, should give us an *ecclesiastical discipline*, such as the *circumstances of the times* require; which might be the same among the people of two nations, governed by the same sovereign: in order that the *unity of the Church* may become more apparent, and more brilliant, and may contribute more to the glory of its DIVINE AUTHOR.”

With their Bishop, the Chapter of *Cremona* concurs, after the maturest deliberation, most heartily declaring, That the address of the Metropolitan Chapter of *Paris* is founded on the *discipline* in use during the first ten ages of the Church; regulated and fixed by the councils of *Nice*, (A.D. 325,) and *Laodicea*, (A.D. 366.) And concluding with expressing the most lively desire, that the *Royal Priesthood of JESUS CHRIST* might be made to assist the most wise views of his *Imperial Majesty*.—“To whom, after GOD,” says the Bishop of *Feltre*, “we owe the *regeneration of Catholic worship in France*, and a *regular and lawful form of ecclesiastical discipline*, founded on the *Ancient Canons*.” *Gazette de France*, Jan. 1811.

By a decree of the *Conservative Senate of France*, the *State of Rome* has been united to the French Empire. The city of *Rome* is appointed the second city of the empire, and to enjoy peculiar privileges. And the *Prince imperial* is to assume the title, and receive the honours of the *King of Rome*, which *Buonaparte* has now conferred on his infant Son.

The most remarkable part of the decree is, that after affirming “all foreign sovereignty to be incompatible with the exercise of any *spiritual authority* within the Empire,” it ordains, that “The *Popes* shall, at their elevation, take an oath never to act contrary to the four propositions of the *Gallican Church*, adopted at an assembly of the Clergy in 1682. And that these four propositions shall be common to all the *Catholic Churches* of the Empire.”

These four propositions, thus re-enacted by the fiat of *Buonaparte*, are:

I. That neither *St. Peter* nor his successors, have received from GOD any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in whatever concerns the *temporal interests of princes and sovereign states*: that *kings and princes* cannot be deposed by *ecclesiastical authority*, nor their subjects freed from the sacred obligations of *fidelity and allegiance*, by the power of the Church, and the bulls of the *Roman Pontiff*.

II. That the decrees of the council of *Constance*, (in 1414,) which maintain the au-

testant establishment in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* received a fatal shock, by the parliamentary grant of the *elective franchise* to the *Irish Roman Catholics*, in the same ominous year, 1793. Whence we may date the effusion of the first vial on *Ireland*, during the two ensuing rebellions of 1798 and 1803. And ever since, Parliament has been harassed with reiterated demands of *total repeal* of the *Popery* laws, or complete prostration of all the barriers of the constitution, reared by the *wisdom* and *virtue* of our ancestors, since the revolution of 1688, and cemented by their blood. The *democratic* and *Jacobin* leaders of the *Roman Catholic* party want not *emancipation*, (in their revolutionary language,) they want *exaltation*, they (and their partizans, even in a *British Parliament*,) want that they should be put, not on an *equal*, but upon a *better* footing of *political power*, than the rest of their fellow subjects; to be totally exempted from all those *sacred tests*, by which every *Protestant* in the empire, admitted to offices of trust or authority in the state, is indisputably bound, and *ought* to be bound.

Should the premature *parliamentary* concessions, hitherto made to them in *Ireland*, without any previous *regeneration of their worship*, without any *formal renunciation*, by their *Hierarchy*, of the *obnoxious tenets* imputed to their *religion*, and most justly imputed; without any satisfactory pledge of their unfeigned *allegiance* to the *King*, and loyal *attachment* to the existing government, such as has been furnished recently by the *French* and *Italian Churches* to their despot; should similar concessions, I say, be extended to the less offending *Roman Catholics* of *Great Britain*, it requires not the spirit of prophecy to predict the disastrous consequences. We shudder to think of the mighty ruin, and swift destruction that may involve the

thority of *general councils*, as superior to that of the *Popes* in *spiritual* matters, are approved and adopted by the *Gallican Church*.

III. That the *rules, customs, institutions, and ordinances* which have been received in the *Gallican Church* shall be preserved inviolable.

IV. That the decisions of the *Popes* in points of *faith*, are not *infallible*, unless they be attended with the consent of the *Church*.

V. To these we may add, among other regulations decreed by the *Concordat*, that the *sole appointment of Bishops* is reserved to the *crown*, and conceded by the *Pope*.

Fas est et ab HOSIE doceri.

These wise *political* regulations, and important documents, are well worthy of the most serious attention and mature deliberation of a *British Legislature*, and that Legislature, *Protestant*.

British empire.—*Fuit Ilium*, &c. It may be “no more” long before the effusion of the *last vial*!—Heaven avert the omen, and turn it on its designing and malignant foes, both foreign and domestic!

II. From the foregoing analogy of the *trumpets* and *vials*, we may hazard a conjecture respecting the particular *vial* under which we now live.

The symbolical phænomenon of the first trumpet, was a prodigious *hail storm*; and most remarkable *hail storms* and *hurricanes* indeed, have marked the progress of the *revolution* in *France*, from its commencement to the present time; as may be seen in the *public registers* since 1789; the last that we have noticed were repeated *hail storms*, on the 18th and 19th of May, 1810, in several districts, in the vicinity of *Mont de Marsan*, *Calignac*, *Villereal*, &c. which destroyed the *harvest* and the *vintage*, killed *birds* and *poultry*, and covered the people in the fields with contusions; several of the *hailstones* being as large as a *goose egg*, and weighing one hectogram, five decagrams.

The symbolical phænomenon of the *second trumpet*, was a *volcanic* mountain cast into *the sea*. And at that time, a signal eruption of Mount *Vesuvius*, (as we have seen,) happened four years before the downfall of the *western* empire of the *Cæsars*. “Then the *lava*, or burning matter, literally ran into *the sea*, as at other *times*, and destroyed vast quantities of fish. The *second vial*, also, poured on *the sea*, turned it into the colour of *putrid blood*, (that of the *lava* *,) and destroyed every *living soul* in *the sea*.” And accordingly, a prodigious eruption of Mount *Vesuvius* took place for three days, September 11, 12, 13, last year, 1810, which was still more remarkable for the *suddenness* of its commencement, “like a *thief in the night*,” than even for the incalculable damage it committed, beyond any foregoing eruption, from its *violence* and *universality*.

“It is considered,” says the intelligent writer, and adventurous eye witness, (who, in his ascent to the *crater*, narrowly escaped the fate of *Pliny*,) “as a *very extraordinary* circum-

* ———— Horrificis juxta tonat *Ætna* ruinis.—

Attollitque *globos flammaram*, et sidera lambit :

Interdum *scopulos*, avulsaque *viscera montis*,

Erigit eructans, *liquefactaque saxa* sub auras,

Cum *gemitug* lomerat, *fundoque exæstuat imo*.—Virgil. *Æneid.* III. 571.

stance, that this eruption was not preceded by the usual indications; every convulsion of *Vesuvius* being previously announced by the *drying up of the wells of Naples*. This phenomenon did not take place on this occasion: and to the *great surprize* of the inhabitants, *Vesuvius* began to emit flames on the *night* of the 10th of September."

After scaling the *crater*, on the 12th, at midnight, a frightful explosion put him and his party to instant flight, which launched fragments of *burning rocks*, vertically, more than 100 toises, or 600 feet. In five minutes they cleared a descent of ground, which they had taken two hours to climb.

"On the 13th the shocks of the volcano were so violent, that at Fort *L'œuf*, where he then was, at the distance of near four leagues, he felt oscillations similar to those produced by an *earthquake*.—About five in the evening the grand eruption commenced, and continued during the greater part of the night. This time the burning matter flowed down *all the sides* of the mountain, with a force hitherto unprecedented. All *Vesuvius* was on fire, and the lava has occasioned the greatest losses. —At ten at night the *hermitage* was no longer accessible; a river of fire had obstructed the road. The districts situated on the south east quarter of the Mountain, had still more to suffer. *Mount Vesuvius* was no longer any thing but *one vast flame*; and the *seaman* at a great distance, might contemplate, at his leisure, this *terrific illumination of nature*," &c.—It is with regret that our limits will not allow us to copy the whole of this interesting narrative.

We may, therefore, not unreasonably conjecture, that the effusion of the *second vial* began in 1810. *Faber* seems rather premature in imagining, that we live under the *fifth vial*. The world has still more to suffer than he thought.

And if we turn our eyes to the *southern* Peninsula of Europe, the year 1810 was marked by the march of a most powerful *French* army, under the most celebrated and experienced generals, *Massena*, &c. to effect the subjugation of *Spain* and *Portugal*, those last remaining countries devoted to the *Papacy*. What woes have been inflicted on those *idolatrous* and *superstitious regions*! where, by a strange and singular paradox of *political expediency*, the *Papal religion* is still maintained by *Protestant arms*!

On our own shores, a *political* phenomenon, no less extraor-

dinary, occurred. At *Dublin*, Feb. 24, 1810, a formal convention of *Roman Catholic Bishops*, came to a resolution, not to concede to the *British Crown*, under which they live and are fostered, a *veto* on the appointment of their *Bishops* by the *Pope* ! Thus, strangely preferring their *allegiance* to this *foreign* and *hostile* power, though *fallen from its high estate*, and enthralled by the ruthless tyrant of France, who is now virtually *Pope* himself, and *the visible head of the Catholic Church*, as acknowledged by the *French and Italian Churches*. (See the foregoing note.)

If the writer of the *Apocalypse* “wondered with great wonder, when he beheld the *mystical woman*,” or *corrupt Church*, in the zenith of her power and grandeur, “*drunk with the blood of the saints*, and of *the witnesses of JESUS*,” immolated by her *crusades*, both home and foreign, Rev. xvii. 6, how would he wonder, with tenfold wonder, astonishment, and amazement, to behold the fell *spirit of Popery*, after she has been apparently *wounded to death*, and well nigh *expiring* on the continent, in the dominions of the *nine horns*, during the last stage of the *Roman empire*, now rearing her head * aloft, and making her last stand in the *tenth*, who had cast her off, and struggling for dominion in the *British isles* !! Of all the strange and portentous events of the present eventful age of wonders, this surely is by far the most extraordinary and unaccountable. May it not justly rank among the most awful and terrific *signs of the times* ?

We presume not to carry our conjectures beyond the *second vial*. The *symbolical* plagues signified by the rest, are sealed, like the *seven thunders*, till the time of the end. From the analogy, however, between the *sixth trumpet* and *sixth vial*, Mr. *Faber* and others have ventured to conjecture, that as the *Turkish empire* began with the former, so it is likely to end with the latter. And unquestionably, that empire is now verging fast to ruin. It is signally remarkable, however this may be, that the two great persecuting powers of *Popery* and *Islamism*, rose together, about A.D. 620, arrived at their meridian grandeur together, about A.D. 1300 † ; and have since gradually declined

* “At the present juncture, when *Popery* once more begins to rear its *hydra* head, a full statement of its abominable principles, is peculiarly seasonable. This has been satisfactorily executed by Mr. *Whitaker*.” *Faber*, preface to the first edit. of his *Dissertations*.

† In this year, 1300, Pope *Boniface VIII.*, instituted his grand imposition of the

together, and will probably set together in that *abyss* from which they rose. “*This is THE LORD’S doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!*”

To this *last woe*, and towards its conclusion, under the sixth and seventh *vials*, seem peculiarly to belong the following prophecies of the *codicil*, and of the latter part of the *sealed book*.

- | | | |
|---|--------------|--------|
| 1. The last <i>persecution of the witnesses</i> | Rev. xi. | 7—11. |
| 2. The <i>destruction of their persecutors, and repentance of the surviving remnant</i> | xi. 13. xvi. | 19. |
| 3. The <i>harvest of wrath</i> * | xiv. | 14—16. |
| 4. The <i>vintage of wrath</i> * | — | 17—20. |

Jubilee, and blasphemous *remission of sins to crusaders*, and wore the *two swords*, the temporal and the spiritual, grounding the claim to both on Luke xxii. 38. In the self-same year, and even on the same day, arose the *Ottoman Porte*.

* The Prophet *Joel* has described the judgment to be inflicted upon all the persecuting *Gentiles*, previous to the final restoration of the *Jews*; which seems to be intimated by *Isaiah*, “*a tenth shall return,*” &c. Isa. vi. 13. (See Vol. II. p. 401,) in the following magnificent strain.

“For lo, in those days and at that time,
When I, (THE LORD,) shall bring back the captives
Of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; I will assemble the *Gentiles*,
And bring them down to the valley of *Jehoshaphat*,
And there will I execute judgment upon them,
For my people, and my heritage *Israel*,
Whom they scattered among the *Gentiles*,
And divided my land.———

“Proclaim this among the *Gentiles*,
Declare war, Awake their *mighty ones*,———
Collect yourselves, and come, all ye surrounding *Gentiles*,
And assemble yourselves together.
Even there will THE LORD bring low thy *mighty ones*.
Let the *Gentiles* be awakened, and come up
To the valley of *Jehoshaphat*; for there will I sit
To judge all the surrounding *Gentiles*.

“Put in the sickle, for the *harvest is ripe!*
Come tread [*the grapes*] for the *wine press is full!*
The vats overflow, for their wickedness is great:
Multitudes! multitudes! in the valley of excision.
For the day of THE LORD, in the valley of excision,
Is nigh.”——— Joel iii. 14.

1. Here the prodigious slaughter of the *Gentiles*, under the two last vials, is expressed by the double imagery of a *harvest* and a *vintage*; by THE SON OF MAN, sitting in judgment on a *cloud*, as a *King*, with a *crown* of gold upon his head, when the *harvest is ripe* for destruction, Rev. xiv. 14—16; and when the *grapes are fully ripe for the wine press* of the great wrath of GOD: when the slaughter of the *multitudes upon multitudes* was so immense, that the *symbolical blood*, issuing from the *wine press*, when trampled without

5. The religious war at *Armageddon* * xvi. 12—21.
 6. CHRIST'S conquest and destruction of his foes * xix. 11—21.

the [Holy] city, reached for 1600 stadia in extent, and up to the horse bridles in depth, Rev. xiv. 14—16.

Walsley, who was a much better mathematician than expositor of the *Apocalypse*, has made a whimsical computation of this symbolical sea of blood, p. 417. Reckoning fifteen pound weight of blood at an average to every man, and the specific gravity of blood a twenty-fifth part greater than that of water; a cubic foot of which weighs 1000 ounces; and estimating the holy land as a circular area of 400 miles in diameter; to cover this four feet up to the horse bridles, would require the massacres of sixty billions of men. But he overrates the holy land, whose length is critically 1600 stadia, or (reckoning almost nine stadia to an English mile, with the accurate Dr. *Falconer*, of Bath, in his *Tables of ancient measures*,) about 189 miles, its mean length, according to *D'Anville* and the best modern geographers; and its breadth does not exceed 150 miles. So that reducing his calculation in proportion, it would bring the result nearly to billions, or millions of millions, supposing millions to correspond to multitudes in the hyperbolic, though consistent imagery of prophecy.

* 2. The scene of this slaughter in *Joel* is the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, (“THE LORD will judge,” or “the valley of excision,” on the east side of *Jerusalem*, 2 Chron. xx. 12, See Vol. II. p. 385,) which exactly accords with the *Apocalypse*, laying it within the precincts of the holy land, as we had seen, and at *Armageddon*, or *Har-Mageddon*, the mount of *Megiddon*, (“glorious judgment,”) which *Zechariah* called, “the valley of *Megiddon*,” (xii. 11,) corresponding in site to the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, at the foot of Mount *Sion*. This, therefore, is “the glorious holy mount” described by *Daniel*, as “lying between the two seas,” between the *Asphaltite* lake, or *Dead Sea*, eastwards, and the *Mediterranean*, or great sea, westwards; which is to be the scene of the final destruction of the wilful king, Dan. xi. 45, who, with his confederates, are to be instigated to undertake a crusade, or religious war against the holy city, *Jerusalem*, by the croaking of the three impure froglike spirits, issuing from the mouths of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet, Rev. xvi. 12—16.

Thus do the prophecies of *Joel* and *Zechariah* admirably connect and explain the parallel prophecies of *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*; and from the harmony of these geographical and etymological remarks with the chronological adjustment of the vials here proposed, tend strongly to confirm the mode of exposition here adopted.

The advantageous situation of the *New Jerusalem* in the holy land, as the center of *Christ's* millenary kingdom, considered in a geographical point of view, is well described by the ingenious Mr. *King*, in a note to his *Hymns to THE SUPREME BEING*, p. 126.

“How capable this country is of a more universal intercourse than any other, with all parts of the earth, is most remarkable, and deserves well to be considered, when we read the numerous prophecies which speak of its future grandeur and greatness, when its people shall at length be gathered from all parts of the earth through which they have been scattered, and be restored to their own land. There is no region in the world, to which an access from all parts is so open. By means of the *Black Sea* and the *Mediterranean*, there is an easy approach from all parts of *Europe*, from a great part of *Africa*, and from *America*. By means of the *Red Sea*, and the *Persian Gulph*, and the well known roads from thence, there is an approach from the rest of *Africa*, from the *East Indies*, and from the *Isles*. And lastly, by means of the *Caspian*, the lake or sea of *Baykall*, (or *Aral*), and the near communication of many great rivers, the approach is facilitated from all the northern parts of *Tartary*. In short, if a skilful geographer were to sit down to devise

THE CODICIL.

This little book is, perhaps, the most *personally* interesting and alarming to *us* of the present generation and *to our children*, of any part of the *Apocalypse*. It briefly relates the *persecutions* of the *remnant of the true Church*, (the successors of the 144,000, who escaped the general corruption that succeeded the establishment of *Christianity* in the Roman empire, and filled the Church with false and dissembling Christians,) during the joint reigns of *Popery* and *Islamism*, those two ruling powers of the *corrupt Church*, for forty-two months, or 1260 days, and of their “*image*” in *blasphemy* and *persecution*, or genuine offspring, *infidelity*; all acting under the grand persecutor of the Church, from the beginning, the *old Serpent*, or *Dragon*, the *Devil*, or *Satan*, “the Angel of the *abyss*,” who rose out of it, with the *fifth trumpet*, after he had been *dethroned* in the Roman empire, by MICHAEL, or CHRIST, and *his angels*, during the *sixth seal*, Rev. vi. 12—17, as more particularly described in the 12th and 13th supplementary chapters*.

the fittest spot on the globe for *universal empire*, or rather a spot where all *the great intercourses of human life should universally centre*, and from whence the extended effects of *universal benevolence and good will* should flow to all parts of the earth, and where *universal and united homage should be paid with one consent* to THE MOST HIGH, he could not find another so well suited, in all circumstances, as that which is with emphasis called *The Holy Land*.———“And the time shall at length come, when *Sion shall be the joy of the whole earth*.”

* These most difficult, and most disputed, because most obscure, and *designedly mysterious* chapters of the whole *Apocalypse*, (which ought not to have been divided, as composing together the *second celestial vision*,) form a proper, and a profound *commentary* on the *codicil*; we shall therefore subjoin, in this note, an humble attempt to analyze their contents.

TWELFTH CHAPTER.

This properly begins with the fuller *opening* of the *spiritual sanctuary*, even to the *ark of the covenant*, in the inner sanctuary; and the *lightnings*, and *shoutings*, and *thunders*, and *shaking*, and great *hail*, which are the *symbolical preludes* of woes, Rev. xi. 19.

The *mystical woman* in heaven, in a glorified form, adorned with the *sun*, *moon*, and *crown of twelve stars*, aptly denotes the *true Church* in her *patriarchal* state, according to *Joseph's vision*, (Gen. xxxvii. 9,) of which he was himself a *faithful witness*, and a type of CHRIST, (Gen. xlv. 7, 8,) Rev. xii. 1.

The sufferings of the *Church* followed in the *wilderness*, under the *law*, and till the birth of CHRIST, that *male child* destined to rule all the *nations* with an *iron sceptre*, (Psalm ii. 8, 9,) and this from the beginning, (Gen. iii. 15.) and the persecutions of the *old Serpent*, or *great fiery Dragon*, in the plenitude of his power, produced a general *apostacy* throughout the earth, until the birth of CHRIST, whom he attempted to destroy from his

These "*faithful witnesses*" of THE LAW and of THE GOSPEL, *prophesy*, or preach to a careless, irreligious, and corrupt

birth, by his agents, *Herod*, the *Jews*, and *Romans*, but who was caught up to GOD and his throne, on his *ascension*, ver. 2—5; but the *Church* was destined to undergo a long and trying period of persecution afterwards, for 1260 days, in the *symbolical wilderness*, ver. 6.

Before the commencement of this period, the *Dragon* and his *angels* were dethroned, and cast down from the plenitude of their power in the *Roman empire*, the *symbolical heaven*, in their *warfare* with MICHAEL, or CHRIST and his *angels*; when the powers of *Paganism* were overthrown by *Constantine* the Great, and *Christianity* introduced as the established religion, under the *sixth seal*, (Rev. vi. 12—17.) And this victory was followed by a general thanksgiving of the *spiritual Church*, ver. 7—12.

"The *Dragon*, after his fall, still renewed his persecutions against the *woman*, who was supported by '*eagle's wings*,' as formerly in her flight to the wilderness, (Exod. xix. 4, Dent. xxxii. 11,) and '*vomited out of his mouth a flood*, like a *river*, to overwhelm her," or brought an *inundation* of barbarous *Pagan* nations, from the north, to destroy *Christianity* along with the *Roman* empire, but his malignant project failed, for '*the earth helped the woman*, and *absorbed the river*.' These fierce conquerors were themselves blended and amalgamated with the conquered country. *Roma capta ferum victorem cepit*. They soon embraced the *religion, laws, customs, and language of Rome*," ver. 13—16.

Disappointed in this hopeful scheme, and still *enraged* against the woman, the *dragon* took another course, and proceeded to make a more successful warfare than before against the *remnant of her seed*, who keep the *commandments of GOD* in THE LAW, and hold the *testimony of JESUS CHRIST* in the GOSPEL, by raising up *new* and more formidable *persecutors* in the bosom of the *established Church* herself, ver. 16, as unfolded in the second scene of the vision, or

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

This second scene of the vision properly begins with the last verse of the preceding, in which the Apostle was *stationed* (*εσταθην*) on the *sea shore*, to view the *wild beasts*, or persecuting powers, as they arose in succession.

I. The first rose from the *sea*, or *westward*, as he looked from the isle of *Patmos* towards *Europe*. It was compounded of Daniel's three first beasts, and denoted the *Roman empire* in full power, after the conquest and incorporation of the *Babylonians*, *Persians*, and *Grecians*; deriving, in its *Pagan* state, its *power, throne, and great authority* from the *dragon*, who was the tutelar god worshipped at *Rome*, first brought from *Epidaurus*, in *Greece*, B.C. 290, Rev. xiii. 1.

He next saw, in its *Christian* state, one of its *heads*, or forms of government, the *imperial, wounded to death* with the *sword*, at the downfall of the *western empire*. But its *deadly wound was healed*, and the head sprouted again, in *Daniel's little horn*, or the *Papacy*, to the astonishment of the world. And this *revived head* led the world to worship the *dragon*, and to extol his power, saying, *Who is able to make war with him?* and also opened its mouth in *blasphemy* against GOD, his name, his *tabernacle*, and *true worshippers*; and it was empowered to *make war against the saints, and to overcome them*, during the allotted period of 1260 days, ver. 2—7.

This *little horn, or revived head*, now rode triumphant on the first beast, (as the *mystical harlot, or corrupt Church*, Rev. xvii. 1—5,) and gained authority over every *tribe, and language, and nation*, of "*the many waters*" of the west, (Rev. xvii. 1—15,) and made them all worship the first beast, except the *true Christians*, whom she caused to be

world, during the three woes, *clothed in sackcloth*; and have but *one mouth*, testifying one simple road to salvation, by the

led away into *captivity*, [in the dungeons of the *inquisition*,] or *slain with the sword*, [in the *home crusades*.]

Here is the *trial* of the *patience* and *faith* of the *saints*, ver. 8—10.

II. The second rose from the *earth*, or *east*, as he looked towards *Asia*. Its body is not described, because it belonged to the first beast, denoting the *Constantinopolitan* empire, according to Sir *Isaac Newton* and *Wood*. It had *two horns*, like a *lamb*, intimating the *imperial* and *pontifical* powers united in the emperor, or the supreme temporal and spiritual authority. When *Pope Gregory II.* wanted to persuade *Leo Isaurus* to tolerate *image* worship in his dominions, the emperor loftily refused, saying, "*Imperator sum et Sacerdos!*"—But it spake like a *dragon*, and persecuted, ver. 11, 12.

False miracles, *lying signs* and *wonders*, were equally prevalent in the *eastern* as in the *western* empire, and equally tended in both to promote the usurped authority of the Church. This gave rise to *Islamism*, a new *ecclesiastical* power in the east, "*the image*" of the *papal*, in *blasphemy* and *persecution*, founded by the "*false prophet*," *Mahomet*, which occasioned the downfall of the *eastern* empire, ver. 13—15.

Islamism, which is *Deism*, or *infidelity*, in its last stage, has also acquired an empire in the west; and *Buonaparte*, who is "*a true Mussulman*" in principle, has revived the *superstitions of popery* in their fullest extent and intolerance, on the ruins of *atheism*, acting himself as the *visible head of the western Church*, and virtually succeeding to the popedom, ver. 16. Perhaps this *conjectural* interpretation of the most difficult and paradoxical description of the *image* of the *first beast*, *fashioned* by the *second*, and *inspired* with the faculty of speaking and persecuting, will be found rather less objectionable than any of the numerous *guesses* still afloat. The truth, indeed, cannot be cleared up till the time of the end.

And "*the enigmatical* number of the name of the *second* beast, in its second stage, after the *image* was made, 666, ver. 17, 18, according to the celebrated *Euthemius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, who died A.D. 920, *Feuardentius*, an early Romish writer, followed by *Walmsley*, p. 320, is the numeral amount of the *false prophet's* name, written *Μοαμετις* or *Μαομετις*, by the Greek historians, *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus*.

M, A, O, M, E, T, I, Σ.
40, 1, 70, 40, 5, 300, 10, 200.=666.

This surely is preferable to the other irrelevant guesses of "*Latinus*," "*Romith*," "*Benediktos*," "*Apostates*," &c. &c. confined to the *first* beast, in some shape or other; thereby confounding the *two* beasts together, who are clearly distinct; and their *temporal* and *ecclesiastical* powers, though acting in conjunction in the business of persecuting the true witnesses, ought not to be confounded.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

III. The *first* beast and its rider, the *mystical harlot*, has here its appropriate *mystery*, explanatory of the *thirteenth*.

"*The* beast which thou sawest, *was*, and is *not*, and is to *ascend* out of the *abyss*, and to *go into perdition*. And the inhabitants of the earth, (whose names are not written in the book of life, from the foundation of the world,) shall wonder, beholding the beast which *was*, and is *not*, though it shall *be*.

"Here is the mind that hath wisdom. The *seven heads* are *seven hills* [of *Rome*,]

alone sacrifice of Christ; and denouncing the *fiery* indignation of GOD upon their enemies and persecutors; and foretelling the *plagues* that will ensue, Rev. xi. 1—6. These are “the remnant of the seed of the *mystical woman*, representing the *true Church*, who keep the *commandments* of GOD, and hold the *testimony* of JESUS CHRIST” in this life, Rev. xii. 17; and “shall sing the *hymn* of Moses and the *hymn* of the LAMB” hereafter, Rev. xv. 3, or, as well described by Bishop Newton, “The few faithful servants of GOD, and followers of the LAMB, in every age of the Church, who protest against the *superstitious corruptions* of their times*,” and who, for so doing, provoke the wrath of “the *dragon* and his *angels*,” or emissaries, to persecute them continually.

1. Their last persecution is thus described.

“And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascended out of the abyss, [or the devil himself, Rev.

whereon the woman sitteth, (Rev. xvii. 18.) They are also *seven kings*, [or forms of government.] Five have fallen, and one is, the other is not yet come, and when it cometh it must needs remain but a short time. And the beast which was, and is not, himself is the eighth, and is one of the seven, and is to go into perdition,” xvii. 7—11.

The beast upon whom the woman now rode in the plenitude of her power, seems to be the great *fiery dragon*, with seven heads crowned with seven diadems, and ten horns, who persecuted the *true Church* from the beginning, (Rev. xii. 3,) and gave the first beast, or Roman empire, with the same number of heads and horns, his own full power and authority, (Rev. xiii. 1, 2,) and which therefore became, in some measure, identified with the *Dragon* himself.

“This beast, (the dragon,) “was” in full power in *pagan Rome*, “he is not” in full power when dethroned by “Michael and his angels” in *Christian Rome*, (Rev. xii. 7—12,) but is to ascend out of the abyss with the rise of *papal Rome* and of *Mahometanism*, with the *fifth trumpet*, (Rev. ix. 1—11,) and after persecuting the two faithful witnesses for the allotted period, (xi. 7,) is to go, along with his two prime agents, the first beast and the second beast, or the false prophet, (Rev. xvi. 13,) into perdition, (Rev. xix. 19, 20.)

His seven crowned heads, are described as “seven kings,” or forms of government; “five of them had fallen,” at Rome, in its Pagan state, 1. Kings, beginning B.C. 753; 2. Consuls, B.C. 509; 3. Dictators, B.C. 497; 4. Decemvirs, B.C. 451; 5. Consular Tribunes, B.C. 444; and were succeeded by the sixth, the Imperial, B.C. 30; the seventh took place in the Christian state. It is ingeniously supposed by Faber, to be the patriciate of Rome, conferred on Charlemagne, A.D. 774; which ceased twenty-six years after, A.D. 800, when he assumed the imperial dignity, and became the eighth head. Faber, II. p. 214—220.

Buonaparte, treading in the steps of Charlemagne, has assumed the imperial dignity; and is therefore the eighth head in continuation. Faber, II. p. 221, note, edit. 2.

* “The two witnesses are not single persons, but a perpetual collective body of men; or a succession of witnesses against the errors and false worship introduced into the Church.” Lowman, p. 152.

xii. 12,] shall make *war against them*, and shall *conquer them*, and shall *kill them*.

“ And *their carcasses* shall lie in *the street of the great city*, which is called *Sodom*, spiritually, [for its *abominations*,] and *Egypt* [for its *persecutions*,] (where even OUR LORD was *crucified*,) and [some] of the peoples, and tribes, and languages, and nations, shall *view* their carcasses, for *three days and half*, and [the persecutors] shall *not suffer* their carcasses to be *buried* [by their friends.]

“ And *the inhabitants of the earth* [or land,] shall *rejoice* over them, and *exult*, and shall *send gifts* [congratulating] each other, because these *two prophets tormented* [by their preaching] the inhabitants of the earth *,” ver. 7—10.

2. Their *miraculous resurrection* is next described.

“ And *three and half days* after, *the Spirit of life from GOD* entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; (and *great fear* fell upon the beholders.)

“ And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying to them, *Ascend hither* †, and they ascended into the heaven in *the cloud*, (Rev. x. 1,) and their enemies viewed them,” ver. 11, 12.

3. The *miraculous punishment* of their foes, and *conversion* of the remainder.

“ And the same hour there was a *great earthquake*, and the *tenth* of the city fell, and there were slain in the earthquake *seven thousand* men of name. And *the remainder* became *af-frighted*, and *gave glory to the GOD OF HEAVEN*,” ver. 13.

This terrible prophecy has been generally understood literally, since the days of *Mede*, as we have seen, to indicate a final suppression of the *reformed Churches*, and massacre of their *pastors*, for a short time, about *three years and half*; during which, *every religious establishment* shall be apparently extinguished, toward the close of the last woe; to the great joy of the *apostate faction*, and *infidel persecutors*; but that they shall be miraculously *restored again* at the *regeneration*, when the whole world shall be converted to the *true faith* of CHRIST.

Wishing to set aside an interpretation so ominous, Mr. *Faber*

* See the remarkable saying of *Ethelfrid*, who massacred 1200 *Bangorian Monks*, under the *fifth trumpet*, Vol. II. p. 503, note.

† At the same time are to be raised the *Martyrs*, under the *fifth seal*, Rev. vi. 9—11, at the *first resurrection*, Rev. xx. 4; John v. 25; Matt. xxiv. 31.

has adopted, from *Vitringa*, another, more favourable. He supposes, that the whole prophecy is past, that it was fulfilled under the *second woe*; during the war of the *association* of Protestant Princes of *Saxony, Hesse, &c.* formed at *Smalcalde* in *Germany*, A.D. 1530; that the *reformed witnesses* were *slain* when these Princes were defeated by *Charles V.* at the battle of *Mulburg*, April 24, 1547; that after *three years and a half*, they *revived*, when they, in turn, defeated, and took prisoner the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, December 1550; that their *resurrection* took place at the peace of *Passau*, 1552; and their *ascension* into the *symbolical heaven*, at the treaty of *Augsburg*, 1555, when they became an *acknowledged Church*, Vol. II. p. 63—72.

Much as we also wish this “received hypothesis” could be established, we cannot regret, that when *weighed in the balance* of sober criticism, *it is found wanting* in weight and solidity.

1. Mr. *Faber*, so justly “*jealous* of breaking down the barrier of the *literal* interpretation of *chronological* prophecy,” Vol. II. p. 54, here introduces the *symbolical* without necessity, and contrary to the *historical* tenor of the *codicil*.

2. The expression, “*when they shall have finished their testimony*,” (as correctly rendered by the English Bible,) evidently precedes their *last persecution*; but this was to take place only *three years and a half* before the end of the whole period; and therefore must necessarily fall within the *last woe*, near its close.

3. The battle of *Mulburgh*, 1547, above 330 years before the end of the period, A.D. 1880*, was not in fact the *last persecu-*

* This year, A.D. 1880, was determined by an *analytical* process, deduced from careful comparison of the three prophetic numbers, 2300 days, 1260 days, and 70 weeks, or 490 days of years, founded upon the fixed or known date of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, A.D. 70, and explained before, Vol. II. p. 517, 518.

This gives it a decided superiority over all the *synthetical schemes*, deduced from assumed *historical resemblances*, which are precarious, uncertain, and disputed. Their *variety*, indeed, is perplexing; and it is much easier to refute than to establish any one of these *ephemeral* hypotheses, superseding each other in rapid succession.

Waving those that *time* has already refuted, as *past*, we shall notice the principal of these that are still *future*.

	A. D.
1. <i>Bengelius</i> and <i>Wesley</i>	1836
2. <i>Anonymous</i>	1843
3. <i>Faber, &c.</i>	1866
4. <i>Wood</i> and <i>Hales</i>	1880

tion and death of the witnesses, even on the continent. The massacre of St. *Bartholomew's* eve in *France*, A.D. 1572; the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, in October 1685; the persecutions of the Protestants of *Piedmont*, in 1686; were later, and more atrocious. But even these were only *partial* among the continental Churches; while the Church of *England*, that fairest branch of the Reformation, by means of the *Revolution of 1688*, flourished with additional lustre.

4. The miraculous *resurrection* of the witnesses, struck *fear* into the beholders; and the final destruction of their persecutors, *converted* the survivors, who gave glory to GOD. Whereas

	A.D.
5. Bishop <i>Newton</i>	1966
	1987
6. <i>Lowman</i>	2016
7. Sir <i>Isaac Newton</i> , or, says he, "some other <i>epoch</i> ,	2132
which TIME will discover," p. 122	2370
	2436

1. The principles of this are altogether mystical and unintelligible, as stated by *Wesley*, Notes, Rev. xii. 14.

2. This is proposed in the *Christian Observer*, November, 1810, p. 668, and is perhaps the most ingenious of its class. 1. Dating the *Hegira*, or era of *Mahomet's* flight, July 15 or 16, A.D. 622; it counts thence 1260 *Mahometan*, or *lunar* years of 354 days, ending August 1843. 2. Dating, with *Prideaux*, the beginning of Daniel's seventy weeks, B.C. 457, they ended A.D. 33; and counting from thence 1810 years, (the remainder of the 2300 years,) it will give the same, ending A.D. 1843. 3. Dating the claim of *infallibility* by pope *Pelagius*, A.D. 583, and counting from thence 1260 years, they will also end in the same year, 1843.—But this concurrence is more specious than solid. For,

(1.) The author has no right to assume 1260 *lunar* years, in the first instance, where he employs *solar* in the last; employing *solar* in the first, it will bring the solution two years beyond *Wood's*, to A.D. 1882.

(2.) *Prideaux's* beginning and ending of the seventy weeks are both incorrect; they did not begin with *Ezra's* commission; and our Lord's crucifixion was A.D. 31, not A.D. 33, as proved, Vol. II. p. 514—520 and Vol. I. p. 70—100.

(3.) This last case does not agree with the first, when corrected.

3. *Faber's* was rejected before, Vol. II. p. 521.

4. Bishop *Newton* dates the 230 days from *Alexander's* invasion of *Asia*, B.C. 334; they end, therefore, A.D. 1966; Vol. II. p. 77. He also dates the 1260 days from A.D. 727, when the pope shook off his allegiance to the *Greek* emperor; they end, therefore, A.D. 1987; Vol. III. p. 211. These two dates, which ought to coincide, differ 21 years.

5. *Lowman* dates the pope's *temporal* dominion A.D. 756; and counting thence the 1260 days, they end 2016, p. 146; but this date is precarious, and may be disputed.

6. Sir *Isaac Newton* dates the 2300 days, either from *Antiochus Epiphanes*, B.C. 168, or from A.D. 70, the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, or from A.D. 135, its desolation by *Adrian*. These are unfounded *guesses*.

the survivors of the *second woe* did not *repent*, but persisted in their *idolatries* and *abominations*, Rev. ix. 23, 21.

Mr. *Faber's* "assumption" evidently originated from his including the account of the expiration of the *second woe*, xi. 14, in the *codicil*; which necessarily belongs to the *sealed book*; as shewn before.

II. The scene of this last persecution has been much disputed. The learned *Bossuet* admits that "*the great city is Rome, and its empire.*" And he adds, "It is literally true, that *JESUS CHRIST* was crucified there, even by the same *Roman power.*" It is also symbolically true, that this great city, both as the seat of *Pagan* and of *Papal* empire, resembles "*Sodom,*" in her *impieties* and *abominations*; and "*Egypt,*" in her cruel *persecutions* of the *true Israelites*. A later Romish writer, indeed, *Walmsley*, applies it to *Jerusalem*, where *CHRIST* was actually crucified. But *Bossuet's* interpretation is greatly preferable, for correctness and candour, "*The great city*" is twelve times applied to *Rome* in the *Apocalypse*, but never to *Jerusalem*, which is styled, by way of contrast, "*the holy city,*" in this very prophecy, which represents her as now actually desolate, "*given up to the Gentiles,*" and *trampled upon*, during this whole persecuting period of 1260 days, xi. 2, corresponding to the latter part of *Daniel's* 2300 days.

There is, therefore, abundant reason to dread, that as the *Jewish* and *Roman* persecutions of the *witnesses* "*began with the house of GOD,*" *Stephen*, *James the elder*, and *James the LORD'S brother*, *Paul*, *Peter*, &c. as *Peter* himself foretold, 1 Pet. iv. 17, so will they end with the *house of GOD*, under the reign of *bigotry* and *infidelity*; this is an obvious and impressive analogy.

Having now determined, that the last persecution of the *witnesses* is to take place within the precincts of "*the great city,*" or territories of the *Roman empire*, it next remains to endeavour to trace the particular scene.

This is called "*the street of the great city;*" the article (*της πλατειας*,) expressing eminence, ver. 8. We are afterwards told, that (*το δεκατον*,) "*the tenth of the city fell,*" in the ensuing judgment and earthquake, ver. 13, whence we may collect, that the persecution will take place in one of the *ten* kingdoms into which *the city*, or *Roman empire* was split. Of these, the most

eminent for pure and spiritual religion, is unquestionably *Great Britain*, where the *remnant* of the *faithful witnesses*, that have survived the dreadful persecutions of that *infidel* power which is now ravaging the continent, may be considered as collected, in the only secure asylum for *religion* and *liberty*, now left, alas ! almost on the whole face of the globe. For where else are we to look for them ?

Apparent RARI nantes in gurgite vasto !

If we look eastwards to *Asia*, whence the light of the Gospel dawned on mankind from THE DAY SPRING *on high* ; how is the *glorious Church* founded by CHRIST and his *Apostles*, fallen ! the skeleton remains in the *Greek Church*, indeed, but we hear of no spiritual witnesses there, no *hidden seed*, no *chosen generation*, to worship in the *spiritual temple*, and serve at the *spiritual altar*, since the establishment of *Islamism* ; they remain plunged in the same *superstitions* as the *Latin Church*, though resolutely denying the *Pope's* supremacy.

If we turn our eyes to *Europe*, we find *some witnesses* in every age almost, who have *prophesied in sackcloth*, and lift up their warning voice against the corruptions of the *Church* ; especially in the *British Isles*, from the days of *Wickliffe*. In the north, the *Russian Church* is the *Greek*, which unfortunately too much resembles its sister in *Asia*. In *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the *reformed Churches* are subsisting, but do not appear to flourish ; and their connexion with *France* at present, is ominous to their religion, as well as their liberty. In the south of *Europe*, the *witnesses* are prostrate, and expiring !

If we look across the *Atlantic*, westward to *America*, in the *southern states*, *Popery* and *Quakerism*, or *mysticism*, prevail ; in the northern, *Presbyterianism* chiefly, overrun by an extravagant *fanaticism*. The *Church of England*, that purest branch of the Reformation, has there but a scanty footing, and the *faithful witnesses* throughout the whole new world, are *few*, and their voices scarcely heard, stifled by the multitude of jarring and discordant *sects* which there abound, promoting *scepticism*, and *infidelity*, and *profligacy*.

If we turn our eyes southward to *Africa*, where *Christianity* once took considerable root, from the streights of *Gibraltar* to the *Nile*, it has been completely *extirpated* by *Islamism* and *Paganism*.

To *England*, therefore, “*the tenth* *,” as the only remaining asylum of *the witnesses*, we are compelled to look for the scene of their last persecution, and principally to her *street*, or most populous region, as contrasted in Scripture with the “*lanes*,” (Luke xiv. 21.)—“*THOU* hast taught in *our streets*, O *LORD* !” (Luke xiii. 26.)—And “*the street* †,” by way of eminence, may chiefly denote the metropolis of the British empire, *LONDON* and her environs, that greatest seminary of *religion* and *virtue*, as of *irreligion* and *vice*. Where, we verily believe, there are to be found more *intelligent* and *enlightened witnesses*, to suffer persecution, than in all the rest of the world; and a multitude of *bigots*, *infidels*, and *fanatics* to inflict it; (even independently of the *desolating fiend* of the continent,) and where, from her boundless commerce, “*spectators*” cannot be wanting “of *peoples*, and *tribes*, and *languages*, and *nations*,” from the four quarters of the globe. The resemblance, indeed, is so striking, in all the parts, that though we shudder thereat, and deprecate the catastrophe, we are forced, most reluctantly, to confess and maintain it.

However gratifying, then, it would be to our own, and the public feelings, to say that “*England is secure*,” that “*Great Britain and Ireland have nothing to fear*” from this *fatal* persecution of the witnesses, we dare not “*prophesy smooth things*,” nor “*prophesy deceits*,” (Isai. xxx. 10.) “*Because THE LORD is against the prophets that smooth their tongues*,” (Jer. xxiii. 31,) and “*woe to the prophetesses that see visions of peace*,” and “*sew cushions under every elbow*,” (Ezek. xiii. 16—18.)—*These countries*, and their *established Churches*, we are strongly and irresistibly *persuaded*, have still much to endure, much to suffer, under the ensuing vials. Though we humbly *trust* ‡ they will pass through their last trial, like *gold*, *purified* and *refined* in the *furnace* of affliction.

* These interpretations of *της πλατειας*, Rev. xi. 7, and *το δεκατον*, xi. 13, as judicious and interesting as they are new and ingenious, we owe to the pious and learned author of *Remarks on Mr. Faber's Dissertation on the Prophecies*, Supplem. p. 20—24, shewing the incorrectness of rendering the former “*the market place*,” which is expressed by a different term, *αγορα*.

† See the above note.

‡ That “*THE GOD whom we still serve*, and in whom, from his *past* deliverances, we *trust*, that He *will yet* deliver us,” has still *blessings* in store for our *most highly favoured Church*, we presume also to infer, from the honourable mention of *England's* morning star, *John Wickliffe*, as the *first angel of the Reformation*, both in *Daniel* and the *Apo-*

III. Sinite hæc, haud *mollia fatu*,
Sublatis aperire dolis. *Virgil.*

The seeds of decay in our *established Churches* especially, have been long since sown, and seem now to be ripening fast to maturity.

Those early *pillars of Protestantism*, the immortal *Jewel*, *Whitgift*, *Hooker*, and *Mede*, foresaw, and deprecated the fatal effects of the *spoliation of ecclesiastical property*, by the *Crown* and the *Laity*, which disgraced the beginnings of the *Reformation* in the days of *Henry VIII.* and first days of *Queen Elizabeth.* (See the foregoing article on the *maintenance of the Church.*)

Since their time, the alienation of that branch of the *ecclesiastical revenues*, appropriated to the building and repairs of *Parish Churches*, has occasioned a great *dearth* of such, to keep pace with the increasing population of the country. “My PEOPLE are destroyed for lack of knowledge,” (Hos. iv. 6.) And for want of Churches, for the *poorer classes* especially, to whom *public worship* is most necessary, to supply the defects of their education, *private chapels*, *meeting houses*, and *conventicles*, have increased to a prodigious degree; and to such, not only the lower classes eagerly flock, but too many of the upper also, fond of *novelties*.

The commendable indulgence of the Government to freedom of *religious opinion* in this *free country*, gave rise to the *Toleration Acts* of 1st of *William and Mary*, and 19th of *George III.* for licensing *dissenting teachers*, merely upon taking the *oaths* of allegiance and supremacy, and signing the *declarations*, before the general or quarter sessions. But this indulgence has been grievously abused of late years, by adhering to the *letter* of these acts; persons of the descriptions of *blacksmiths*, *chimney sweepers*, *taylors*, *carpenters*, *weavers*, *excommunicated clergymen*, &c. without *education*, or *learning*, *religion*, or *morals*, ignorant and profligate men, tired of the laborious professions to which they had been bred, and eager to practise the easier trade of imposing on the *credulity* of the vulgar, and to be exempt from serving in the *Militia*, have obtruded themselves, presumptuously and *self-appointed*, into the sacred functions of the

calypse. We consider it as the *glory of this work* to have brought him from *the shade* to public view, and admiration and imitation.

ministry ; obtaining licences with too much facility, in violation of the spirit of the acts, to teach *any doctrine* they thought fit, provided it was not *treasonable*. By this flagrant and novel abuse, the number of *meeting houses*, which, in the first fourteen years of his Majesty's reign, amounted to only *eight*, in the next fourteen were increased *twenty fold* ; and at present, (1811,) there are no less than 3000 *dissenting places of worship* in the kingdom, besides *barns, private houses, &c.* while of the *established Church* there are only 2310.

To correct such abuses, and explain these acts, a distinguished statesman, and leading peer of Parliament, Lord Viscount *Sidmouth*, (to whom and to Earl *Stanhope*, we owe the foregoing authentic statement) laudably brought in a bill, (May 1811,) to restrain the grant of licences for *dissenting teachers*, to persons either in *holy orders*, or who have already taught a congregation ; and who can also produce *six respectable and religious* witnesses to the correctness of their *religious* opinions, and *moral* conduct. He suggested also, the expediency of increasing the number of the *established places of worship*, for the benefit of the increased population of the country. May such *pious* and *patriotic* endeavours be *ultimately* crowned with success !— Under GOD, they may contribute to retard, if not to prevent, the ruin of the country*.

In IRELAND the prospect is more gloomy. There *the spoliation of ecclesiastical property*, has been carried on upon a larger scale, and upon a more systematic plan, by all ranks and descriptions, ever since the *Reformation*. Not only the *funds* for building and repairing *Churches* have been alienated, but great inroads made on the *glebes* and *tythes* of the *Clergy*. Insomuch, that for peace sake, they have gradually relinquished many tytheable articles, still paid in *England*, and the remnant that is left, is every day depreciated by inadequate *moduses*, or fixed pecuniary compositions, which, though formerly near the value of the tythe in kind, are every day diminishing, with the value of money, under the real value. This has made it neces-

* Since the above was written, we learn, that this seemingly *salutary* bill has been withdrawn, for the present, in consequence of the violent and general opposition of the *Dissenters*, by petitions from all quarters ; resisting, as they say, the beginnings of *innovation*. Until it shall be repropounded in a less questionable form, they are imperiously required to *reform themselves abuses* so disgraceful to them and so detrimental to the community.

sary for their maintenance, to unite, rather than to divide livings; whereby the clergy are rather diminished than increased in their number. And one single diocese in *England*, *Lincoln*, contains a considerably greater number of clergy, than the whole kingdom of *Ireland*; if it be true, that the former amount to 1700, whereas the latter scarcely exceed 1200.

Add to this, the last ungracious act of the expiring *provincial* parliament of *Ireland*, previous to its desirable *union* with the *British*, in 1800, was for abolishing the legal *tythe of agistment* in *Ireland*, for dry and fat cattle, still paid in *England*; in order to preclude the Church of *Ireland* (as actually asserted!) from being raised to an equal footing in point of *revenue*, with the Church of *England*, after the Union; so necessary, for the support of “the *true religion (to be) established* among us.”

Since the grant of the *elective franchise*, by the same parliament, in 1793, and the repeal of the act for prohibiting *inter-marriages* between *Protestants* and *Roman Catholics*, combined with the active *proselyting* spirit of the *Romish* priests, *Popery* is making a rapid progress in most parts of *Ireland*, and mischievous inroads on the *Protestant* part of the community;

“ Whom the grim *wolf* with privy paw,
Daily, devours apace.”——— *Milton's Lycidas.*

And the *thinly scattered Churches* in the interior, are threatened to be left desolate, in no long time, unless it shall please GOD to suggest some remedy to the wisdom and piety of our legislature.

In *SCOTLAND*, where the *episcopal order* was pulled down by that furious reformist, *John Knox*, and his abettors, who usurped their functions, and confiscated the *revenues of the Church*, while “they of the household divided the unhallowed spoils;” the established *Presbyterian Church*, or *Kirk*, is in a drooping state, as we may collect from the remonstrances of some of her most intelligent ministers.

They complain of the inadequacy of the *public stipends* paid them in lieu of their *tythes*, whereby their *rank in society* is lowered, and their *utility* and *influence* impaired; and the *youth* of better families, and more liberal education, deterred from entering into the Church from its poverty, usually apply themselves to more lucrative branches of *trade, commerce*, and

industry; “Let our *vain philosophers*,” says Dr. Smith*, (indirectly addressing the *Humists*, &c.) “allege what they will, there can be no *national prosperity*, of any permanent duration, without *religion*, (Prov. xiv. 34,) and there can be no religion without a *respectable clergy*, nor a respectable clergy without a *decent maintenance* annexed to the office †.—If this be not granted, the men who *should* fill the office, will naturally betake themselves to *other employments*; and their place will be filled by such as *ought to have neither lot nor part in this matter*,” (Acts viii. 21.)—And who, (we may add to this close and convincing reasoning,) will come, and cringe, and crouch to the *Presbytery*, saying, “*Put me, I pray you, into one of the Priest’s offices, that I may, literally, eat a morsel of bread!*”

Alas! who shall live, when GOD doeth this!

Far be from us, however, the ungenerous, the malignant insinuation, or imputation, that we are *croaking alarmists*, of the number of those that “*trouble Israel*,” (1 Kings xviii. 17.) Such, indeed, are justly “*hated*” by the public, for “*prophe- sying not good, but evil*,” and abhorred by all good citizens. On the contrary, we wish, indeed, “to *put down imaginations*, and every high and proud thought,” adverse to Christian *humility*, and the *common weal*; but not to depress the spirits of our well-beloved fellow-citizens in this most awful and tremendous *hour of trial* now come upon the whole world; when *all the foundations of the earth are out of course*. We wish rather to *build up* upon a secure and solid foundation, to *edify* them that are of the *household of faith* especially, to stand stedfast *without swerving*; to strengthen the *weak hands*; to confirm the *feeble knees*; to pour *wine and oil*, and *balm* into the wounds of our bleeding country; rent, torn, and convulsed by *intestine divisions, factions, heresies, and schisms* in *Church and state*, infinitely more ruinous and formidable than all the combined powers of all our foes. We wish to reconcile to the *Church*, to

* See his *View of the Agriculture of Argyle*, 1798.

† When the *Scottish Clergy* were either persuaded, seduced, or intimidated by the rapacious *Reformists*, into a formal surrendry of their *revenues*, for *stipends* to be paid by the state; one old sturdy incumbent, tenacious of his benefice, resolutely maintained it. And we learn from respectable information, that it is now so greatly raised in its value, with the rise of times, as to be proverbially called the *Scottish Bishoprick*. —A useful *memento* to the *English and Irish Clergy*, to resist *innovation and commutations of tythes*.

the *state*, and to *each other*, all *parties* in religion and politics, and persuade them to lay aside their animosities, from a sense of their *common danger*; *forbearing* one another, and *forgiving* one another, and *forgetting*, by a general *amnesty*, all past aggressions and grievances, so as cordially to unite against the common enemy in defence of our most holy *religion*, our most sacred *liberties*, and all the dear and tender and intermingled *charities* of genuine *patriotism*, or *love of our country*; which still, GOD be thanked, render these *fortunate isles*, the wonder and the envy of the world; such inestimable blessings, indeed, are scarcely to be found elsewhere, and in many places, can scarcely be conceived.

The foundation upon which we wish to build *national piety*, *charity*, and *fortitude*, is HOLY SCRIPTURE, more correctly rendered and explained from the originals in its *doctrines* and *precepts*; and especially those most awful *prophecies* which have hitherto perplexed and agitated the public mind*, by *mystical* and *fanciful* interpretations, highly injurious and dishonourable to the inspired WORD OF GOD, and detrimental to the peace and happiness of *society*.

Nor is this design, however vast or adventurous, in an humble, unassisted individual, altogether unprecedented. *Milton*, that prodigy of *genius* and *learning*, that zealous advocate for *religious* and *civil liberty*, and *rational toleration*, formed the noble, the god-like plan of reconciling, if possible, all the jarring and discordant sects of *Protestants* in his days, with the established Church, and with each other; and of uniting them in mutual *communion*, and against the common enemy, *Popery*. Supported by his high authority, we earnestly submit to public consideration at large, the following sketch of his masterly argument in his forementioned *treatise*, reprinted by Baron *Maserses*: presuming, with all due deference to the best-informed judges, that what *Milton* deemed seasonable, in 1673, will not be fastidiously rejected as unseasonable, in 1811; nor held irrelevant and obtrusive in this *Apocalyptic* review of the times, similar, indeed, to his, but much more awful and alarming.

* See the advertisement vindicating *Joanna Southcote*, the prophetess, the vender of *seals*, from the charge of frightening the inhabitants of *Bath*, by a prediction that the city would be destroyed on *Good Friday*; in a foregoing note, p. 372 of this volume.

MILTON ON TOLERATION.

“TRUE RELIGION,” as well defined by *Milton*, “is the true worship and service of GOD, learnt and believed from the WORD OF GOD only. No man or Angel can know how GOD would be worshipped and served, unless GOD reveal it. He hath revealed it to us in the HOLY SCRIPTURES, by inspired [*prophets*] and *ministers*; and in THE GOSPEL, by his own SON and his *Apostles*; with strictest command to reject all other traditions, or additions whatsoever. According to that of *St. Paul*; ‘Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accursed,’ Gal. i. 8; ‘Ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shalt thou diminish ought from it,’ Deut. iv. 2. If any man shall add, &c. if any man shall take away, &c. from the words, &c. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

“With good and religious reason, therefore, all Protestant Churches, with one consent, and particularly the Church of England in her thirty-nine Articles, Art. VI, XIX, XX, XXI, and elsewhere, maintain these two points as the main principles of true religion.

“I. That the rule of true religion is the WORD OF GOD only.

“II. And that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith; that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against, or without express authority of SCRIPTURE.

“And if all Protestants, as universally as they hold these two principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many debates and contentions, schisms, and persecutions which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the common adversary.

“From hence it directly follows, that no true Protestant can persecute, or not tolerate, his fellow-Protestant, though differing from him in some opinions, but he must flatly deny and renounce these two, his own main principles, whereon true Religion is founded.”

I. But *Milton* contended that *Papists* were not proper subjects of toleration, [and we may add from *Baron Maseres*, nor of endowment with gifts of lands or property in mortmain, for their permanent support; much less of establishment, or public maintenance, by funds provided by authority of the government,

Essays, p. 412--415,] upon the following *political* and *religious* considerations.

1. Their *intolerance* and avowed *hostility* to the members of all other *Christian Churches* excepting their own, counting them both *heretics* and *schismatics*, excluding them from *salvation*, and *persecuting* them, when in their power, with the utmost barbarity; and 2. their mischievous *state-activities*, (as he quaintly styles their *political intrigues*) incessantly labouring to undermine and overturn, either covertly or openly, *all protestant governments* that have been so incautious or imprudent as to give them footing. The *Pope*, ever since we have shaken off his *Babylonish yoke*, incessantly endeavouring to destroy the government, and seduce and pervert the people from their allegiance. 3. The *idolatrous* nature of their *worship*, such as cannot be exercised publicly without grievous *scandal* to all *conscientious Christians*; and neither publicly nor privately, without the most heinous offence to a JEALOUS GOD, who abhors all manner of *idolatry* in public (Exod. xx. 5,) and in private, (Isa. lxvi. 17, Ezek. vii. 7—16.) Such *abominations* wherever they are licensed or countenanced by the state, tend, sooner or later, to draw down God's judgments upon that people or nation. [Witness the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, &c.]

II. The following were the methods he proposed for restraining the growth of *Popery*.

1. To remove the *furniture* of their *idolatry*, whether *images*, or *the host*, wherein they *adore their God* under *bread* and *wine*. If they say, that by removing their *idols*, we *violate their consciences*, he answers, We have no warrant to regard a conscience not grounded in *SCRIPTURE*. And they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their *images* necessary to *salvation*, but only as enjoined them by *tradition*.

2. The next means to prevent the seduction of our flocks, by their ever restless spirit of *proselytism*, is to circulate the *HOLY SCRIPTURES* among *Protestants*, as their best defensive armour. For as among *Papists*, it is chiefly their *ignorance* of the *Scriptures* that upholds *Popery*, so among *Protestant* people, the *frequent* and *serious* reading of the *Scripture*, will soonest prevent its growth.

3. The last means to avoid *Popery* is *TO REFORM OUR LIVES*. For when a nation becomes generally *irreligious* and *corrupt*,

and will not take *warning* by the sore judgments of *fire, sword, famine, and pestilence*, designed for their good, for correction in mercy; GOD in his wrath takes up and inflicts his last and severest punishments, *hardness of heart, infatuation and idolatry*, to their final destruction. *Idolatry* brought the *heathens* into heinous transgressions; (Levit. xviii. Rom. i.) and heinous transgressions in turn, often bring *the slight or superficial professors of true Religion* into *gross idolatry*. "For this cause, GOD shall send them *strong delusion*, that they should believe a *lie*; to the end that they might *all be judged* who believe not THE TRUTH, but have pleasure in *unrighteousness*," (2 Thess. ii. 11, 12,) and *Isaiah* thus speaks of *idolaters*: "They have not *known nor understood*; for GOD hath *shut their eyes* that they cannot see, and *their hearts* that they cannot understand," (Isa. xlv. 18.)

"Let us, therefore," concludes *Milton*, "using this last means, (last here spoken of, but first to be done) AMEND OUR LIVES WITH ALL SPEED: lest through *impenitency* we run into that *stupidity*, which we have heretofore sought by all means so *warily* to avoid, the *worst of superstitions*, and the *heaviest of all GOD'S judgments*—POPERY*."

* It may not be amiss to repeat here what was mentioned in a foregoing note, (p. 341 of this volume,) that these strictures on *popery*, "are not dictated by a spirit of *controversy*," nor (we will add) by the slightest tincture of *bigotry*; from *exclusive* attachment to *protestantism*, or from *spleen, ill-will, or hostility* to *Roman Catholics*. Many of his brethren of that description, the author regards and esteems, and lives on terms of familiar and social intercourse with such; and of good will to all descriptions of his flock of every sect. He only fulfils, unwillingly, and with no little reluctance, the ungrateful and thankless task, though necessary and important duty bound upon him at his *clerical ordination*;—"To be ready with all *faithful diligence*, to banish and drive away all *erroneous and strange doctrines*, contrary to GOD'S word,"—but only by GOD'S word, or the *sword of the SPIRIT*.

This he has humbly and conscientiously endeavoured, in some former Reviews of the errors of *Popery*, and Inspections of the irregularities of *Methodism*; considering the one as a most ruinous and destructive *heresy* from the *orthodox faith* of the *primitive Church*; and the other as, at least, an injudicious and lamentable *schism* from her *constitutional discipline*. And "his heart's desire," is "if possible, and as much as in him lieth" to conciliate the attention of *all parties and sects*, so far as to give a cool, dispassionate, and serious perusal to the *mysteries and doctrines* of THE GOSPEL, here attempted to be unfolded in their pure spirit, from the *lively oracles* in the originals; and to the *constitution and discipline* of the Church of CHRIST, as ordered by the *Apostles*, and established by the *primitive Fathers* of the *three first centuries*, before the council of *Nice*.

These are the *leading motives* that *suggested and conducted* this work throughout.—

"THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO IS BLESSED FOR EVERMORE, knoweth that I lie not!"

To this impressive exhortation of *the pious patriot*, let us add the *philanthropic prayers* of our *Evangelical Liturgy*.

“ From all false doctrines, heresy, and schism ;
From hardness of heart, and contempt of Thy word and commandment,
GOOD LORD DELIVER US.”

“ *Have mercy, O MERCIFUL GOD, upon all heretics, schismatics, and infidels at home, and upon all Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans abroad ; and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word ; and so fetch them home, BLESSED LORD, to thy flock ; that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold, under one shepherd, JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD.*” Amen.

Amidst the *ocean of ills* in which *the world* is now immersed, and doomed to continue during the effusion of the remaining vials, Our NATIONAL CHURCH, we trust, will float, will buoy herself upon the surface ; fulfilling the *Sibylline* oracle to the *Athenians* of old,

ἄσκος βαπτίζῃ, δυναί δε τοι οὐ θεμῖς ἐστί.

“ *Bladder-like, thou mayest be dipped ;
But it is not thy fate to be drowned.*”

A “ *little while, indeed, and we shall not see her,*” during a short suppression beneath the waves of this troublesome world ; but “ *a little while, and we shall see her*” again, emerging much purer and fairer than ever, after her last *baptismal regeneration*. Let not then the *ministers* and *stewards* of the *divine mysteries* despond, let not the genuine *household of faith* despair, though “ *fallen on evil days, and evil tongues ;*” but rather let them emulate the *Christian fortitude* of that enlightened and patriotic *Layman*, whom *blindness, poverty, and disgrace* could not depress ; nor check his lofty and adventurous spirit from instructing and delighting the world with his “ *heavenly Muse.*”

————— “ I argue not,
Against Heaven’s hand or will ; not ’bate a jot
Of heart or hope ; but still bear up, and steer
Right onward !”

I have sworn, with an *Apostle*, in simplicity and sincerity ; and may I gain credence from my *Roman Catholic* brethren, in adopting the sentiments of one of the first of their *Saints* ;—the pious, the amiable, and the persecuted *Fenelon*, Archbishop of *Cambray* :—“ I love my family better than myself ; I love my country better than my family ; but I love mankind better than my country.” This is true, practical, Christian CHARITY, when exercised, as by *Fenelon*, for the LOVE OF GOD and for THE SAKE OF CHRIST.

Let them, in humble imitation of the CAPTAIN OF OUR SALVATION, who was *perfected by sufferings* himself, and in dutiful obedience to his precept, as members of *the Church Militant*, “*Pray always, in every season ; (of distress especially) and faint not ;*” Let them be *sober*, be *vigilant*, to fight *the good fight of faith*, in this their arduous *struggle*, not only with *flesh and blood*, but with *all the powers of darkness*, now leagued and confederated against CHRIST and his *Church* ; Let them strive to work out their *own*, and their *country’s salvation* with *fear and trembling*, ever careful,

“ ————— *To intermit no watch*
 Against the *wakeful foe*, and wide abroad,
 Through all the *coasts of dark destruction*, SEEK
 DELIVERANCE FOR US ALL !” —————

May we be permitted, without presumption, to transfer from “*the seven Churches*,” whose *lamps* have been so long totally or well nigh extinguished for their *lukewarmness* and *supineness*, to our *British Isles*, whose *lamps*, blessed be GOD, are still *burning*, though requiring to be *trimmed* ; the Apostle’s sublime and patriotic Benediction in the Introduction of the *Apocalypse*, as the valediction of this attempt to expound it.

“ *Grace be to the British Churches, and Peace*
 From [GOD THE FATHER] *who was and is, and is to come,*
 And from THE SEVEN SPIRITS, *before his throne,*
 And from JESUS CHRIST, *the faithful witness,*
 The first begotten of the dead,
 And the Ruler of the kings of the Earth :
 To HIM, *who loved us, and washed us*
 From our *Sins, in his own blood,*
 And made us *kings and priests,*
 To HIS GOD AND FATHER *,
 Be the *glory and the dominion for evermore, Amen.*”

* For this construction, differing from the received, see the *Grammatical Rule*, p. 192, note, of this volume.

A P P E N D I X.

“ *The Testimony of JESUS is the Spirit of Prophecy.*”——
“ *To HIM give all the prophets witness.*”

FOR the sake of *Biblical Students*, we here bring into one point of view all the great *prophecies* and *allusions* to CHRIST in the OLD TESTAMENT, which are expressly cited, either as *predictions* fulfilled in him; or applied to him by way of *accommodation*, in the NEW TESTAMENT.

The *first series* describes CHRIST in his *human nature*, as the promised SEED OF THE WOMAN, in the *grand charter* of our *Redemption*, Gen. iii. 15; and his *pedigree*, *sufferings*, and *glory* in his successive manifestations of himself until the end of the world.

The *second series* describes his *character* and *offices*, *human* and *divine*.

The combination of these, in all their branches, representing him as THE SON OF GOD, and SON OF MAN, conjointly, were, all together, fulfilled, to the utmost nicety, in JESUS OF NAZARETH, and all together, in no other person that ever appeared; demonstrating, that it was “HE of whom *Moses* and the *Prophets* did write,” and that *we Christians* have not followed *cunningly-devised fables*, but *many infallible proofs* in holding him for

OUR LORD, AND OUR GOD*.

* “ *Hail, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR OF MEN, THY NAME
Shall be the copious matter of my song
Henceforth; and never shall my Harp THY PRAISE
Forget, nor from THY FATHER’S PRAISE disjoin.*”—*Milton.*

I. SERIES.

- I. *The Seed of the Woman*, { Gen. iii. 15; Gal. iv. 4; 1 Tim. ii. 15; Rev. xii. 5.
- II. *Born of the Virgin* { Psal. xxii. 10, xxxv. 14, lxix. 8, lxxxvi. 16, cxvi. 16; Prov. xxx. 19; Isa. vii. 14, xlix. 1; Micah v. 3; Jer. xxxi. 22.—Matt. i. 23; Luke i. 26—35.
- III. *Of the family of Shem*, Gen. ix. 26.
- IV. *Of the race of the Hebrews*, { Exod. iii. 18.—Phil. iii. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 22.
- V. *Of the Seed of Abraham*, { Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18, xxiii. 18.—Matt. i. 1; John viii. 56; Acts iii. 25.
- VI. *Of the line of Isaac*, { Gen. xvii. 19, xxi. 12, xxvi. 4.—Rom. ix. 7; Gal. iv. 23—28; Heb. xi. 18.
- VII. *Of Jacob, or Israel*, { Gen. xxviii. 4—14; Exod. iv. 22; Numb. xxiv. 7—17; Ps. cxxxv. 4, &c. Isa. xli. 8, xlix. 6; Jer. xiv. 18.—Luke i. 68, ii. 30; Acts xxviii. 20.
- VIII. *Of the tribe of Judah*, { Gen. xlix. 10; 1 Chron. v. 2; Micah v. 2.—Matt. ii. 6; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 5.
- IX. *Of the house of David*, { 2 Sam. vii. 12—15; 1 Chron. xvii. 11—14; Ps. lxxxix. 4—36, cxxxii. 10—17; 2 Chron. vi. 42; Isa. ix. 4, xi. 1, lv. 3, 4; Jer. xxiii. 5, 6; Amos ix. 14.—Matt. i. 1; Luke i. 69, ii. 4; John vii. 42; Acts ii. 30, xiii. 23; Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 8; Rev. xxii. 16.
- X. *Born at Bethlehem, the city of David*, { Micah v. 2; Matt. ii. 6; Luke ii. 14; John vii. 42.
- XI. *His passion, or sufferings*, { Gen. iii. 15; Ps. xxii. 1—18, xxxi. 13, lxxxix. 38—45; Isa. liii. 1—12; Dan. ix. 26; Zech. xiii. 6, 7; Matt. xxvi. 31; Luke xxiv. 26; John i. 29; Acts viii. 32—35, xxvi. 23; Wisd. ii. 12—20.
- XII. *His death on the Cross*, { Numb. xxi. 9; Ps. xvi. 10, xxii. 16, xxxi. 22, xlix. 15; Isa. liii. 8, 9; Dan. ix. 26.—John iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 32, 33; Matt. xx. 19, xxvi. 2; 1 Cor. xv. 3; Col. ii. 15; Phil. ii. 8.
- XIII. *His intombment and embalmment*, { Isa. liii. 9.—Matt. xxvi. 12; Mark xiv. 8; John xii. 7, xix. 40; 1 Cor. xv. 4.

- XIV. His *resurrection the third day*, { Ps. xvi. 10, xvii. 15, xlix. 15,
 lxxiii. 24; Jonah i. 17.—Matt. xii.
 40, xvi. 4, xxvii. 63; John ii. 19;
 Acts ii. 27—31, xiii. 35; 1 Cor. xv. 4.
- XV. His *ascension into Heaven*, { Ps. viii. 5, 6, xlvi. 5, lxviii. 18,
 cx. 1.—Acts i. 11, ii. 33; John xx.
 17; Eph. iv. 8—10; Heb. i. 3, ii. 6;
 Rev. xii. 5.
- XVI. His *second appearance at the
 Regeneration* *, { Isa. xl. 10, lxii. 11; Jer. xxiii. 5,
 6; Hos. iii. 5; Micah v. 3; Haggai
 ii. 7; Dan. vii. 13, 14.—Matt. xxiv.
 3—30, xxvi. 64; John v. 25; Heb.
 ix. 25, ix. 28; Rev. xx. 4, xxii. 20.

* This doctrine is by no means confined to the SACRED SCRIPTURES. Remarkable traces of it are to be found in the *heathen* world, long before the coming of CHRIST, derived probably from *primitive tradition*, founded on immediate *revelation* to the *patriarchs*. The heathen diviner, *Balaam*, glances at it in his remarkable prophecies, respecting the future dominion of a man of *Jacob's* lineage, Numb. xxiv. 7—19, which was universally expected by *Jews* and *Gentiles* about the time of CHRIST'S birth, and was the principal incitement to the *Jewish war*, as we learn from the joint testimony of *Josephus*, *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*. To these we may add a fourth, still more curious and circumstantial, the genuine *remains* of the *Sibylline oracles*, preserved by *Virgil* in his fourth *Eclogue* to *Pollio*, and applied by him with his usual adulation, to the child of which, *Scribonia*, the wife of *Augustus Cæsar*, (in whose reign Christ was actually born) was then pregnant; but who, disappointing the poet's prognostics, turned out to be a *daughter*, afterwards the infamous *Julia*.

This *Eclogue* was written the year of *Pollio's* consulship, B.C. 40, and among others, contains the following marked passages.

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis Ætas,
 Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
 Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto
 —Ac toto surget gens aurea mundo.*

————— *Jam regnat APOLLO.* —————

*Te Duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
 IRRITA, perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.—
 Occidet et serpens.*

*Pacatumque reget PATRIIS virtutibus orbem.
 Aggredere, O, magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,
 CHARA DEUM SOBOLES, MAGNUM JOVIS INCREMENTUM,
 Aspice, venturo lætantur ut omnia sæclo! —————
 O mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima vitæ,
 Spiritus et quantum sat erit TUA DICERE FACTA!*

“ The last era of the *Sibylline Oracle* is now coming,
 A grand order of ages is to be born anew.
 A new progeny is now to be sent down from heaven,
 And a golden race shall rise all o'er the world.
 THE SUN [OF RIGHTEOUSNESS] is now to reign.
 “ Under thy guidance, if any traces of our guilt

- XVII. His *last appearance* at the end
of the world,
- Ps. I. 1—6; Job xix. 25—29;
Eccl. xii. 14; Dan. xii. 2, 3; Ezek.
xxxvii. 1—10.—Matt. xxv. 31—46;
John v. 28—30: Acts xvii. 31, xxiv.
25; Rev. xx. 11—15.

II. SERIES.

- I. THE SON OF GOD,
- 2 Sam. vii. 14; 1 Chron. xvii. 13;
Ps. ii. 7, lxxii. 1; Prov. xxx. 40;
Dan. iii. 25.—Mark i. 1; Luke i. 35;
Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5; John i. 34—50,
iii. 16—18, xx. 31; Heb. i. 1—5;
Rom. i. 4; 1 John iv. 14; Rev. i.
5, 6.
- II. THE SON OF MAN,
- Ps. viii. 4, 5; Dan. vii. 13.—John
i. 52, iii. 13, v. 27; Matt. xvi. 13,
xxvi. 64; Heb. ii. 7; Rev. i. 13,
xiv. 14.
- III. THE HOLY ONE, OR SAINT,
- Deut. xxxiii. 8; Ps. xvi. 10, lxxxix.
19; Isa. x. 17, xxix. 23, xlix. 7; Hos.
xi. 9; Hab. i. 12, iii. 3.—Mark i. 24;
Luke i. 35, iv. 34; 1 John ii. 20.
- IV. THE SAINT OF SAINTS,
- Dan. ix. 24.
Zech. ix. 9; Jer. xxiii. 5; Isa. xli.
2; Ps. xxxiv. 19, 21.—Luke i. 17;
Matt. xxvii. 19—24; Luke xxiii. 47;
Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14; 1 John
ii. 1, 29; James v. 6; Wisd. ii.
12—21.
- V. THE JUST ONE *, OR RIGHTEOUS,

Remain, THY ABSOLUTION from perpetual dread
Shall free the [erring] lands: the serpent too
Shall perish—and a KING shall rule
The peaceful world, inheriting HIS FATHER'S virtues.
“ Assume thy glorious honours, for the time
Is now at hand, BELOVED OFFSPRING OF HEAVEN,
JOVE'S MIGHTY SON. See how all nature gladdens
At the prospect of the age to come!——
“ O may I, to the last gasp of lengthened life,
Retain sufficient breath to sound thy praise !”

* It is truly remarkable, that this DIVINE INSTRUCTOR, “ the desire of all nations,” so earnestly and anxiously longed for by the *best* and *wisest* of the heathen poets and philosophers, the *Sibyls*, *Hesiod* *, *Socrates*, *Plato*, &c. †, is described by *Plato* under this same title of the JUST ONE, and his *sufferings* from a heedless and ungrateful world, predicted almost in the language of *Scripture prophecy*.

* See *Hesiod's Account*, Vol. I. p. 247. of this work.

† See the foregoing Notes in the Article of *Paul's visit to Athens*.

- VI. THE WISDOM OF GOD, { Prov. viii. 22—30;—Matt. xi. 19,
Luke xi. 49, 1 Cor. i. 3.
- VII. THE ORACLE OF THE LORD, OR
OF GOD, { Gen. xv. 1—4, 1 Sam. iii. 1—21,
2 Sam. vii. 4, 1 Kings xvii. 9—18,
Ps. xxxiii. 6, Isa. xl. 8, Micah iv. 2,
Jer. xxv. 3;—John i. 1—14, iii. 34,
Luke i. 2, Heb. xi. 3, iv. 12, 1 Pet.
i. 23, 2 Pet. iii. 5, Rev. xix. 13.
- VIII. THE REDEEMER OR SAVIOUR, { Job xix. 25—27, Gen. xlviii. 16,
Ps. xix. 14, Isa. xli. 14, xlv. 6,
xlvii. 4, lix. 20, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1, Jer.
l. 34;—Matt. i. 21, John i. 29, iv.
42, Luke ii. 11, Acts v. 31, Rom. xi.
26, Rev. v. 9.
- IX. THE LAMB OF GOD, { Gen. xxii. 8, Isa. liii. 7; John i.
29, Acts viii. 32—35, 1 Pet. i. 19,
Rev. xiii. 8, xv. 3, xxi. 22, xxii. 1.
- X. THE MEDIATOR, INTERCESSOR,
OF ADVOCATE, { Job xxxiii. 23, Isa. liii. 12, lix.
16;—Luke xxiii. 34, 1 Tim. ii. 5,
Heb. ix. 15, 1 John ii. 1, Rev. v. 9.
- XI. SHILOH, THE APOSTLE, { Gen. xlix. 10;—Exod. iv. 13;—
Matt. xv. 24, Luke iv. 18, John ix.
7, xvii. 3, xx. 21, Heb. iii. 1.
- XII. THE HIGH PRIEST, { Ps. cx. 4, Isa. lix. 16;—Heb. iii. 1,
iv. 14, v. 10, ix. 11.
- XIII. THE PROPHET like MOSES, .. { Deut. xviii. 15—19;—Luke xxiv.
19, Mark vi. 15, John i. 17—21, vi.
14, Acts iii. 23.

“He shall be stripped of every possession, except his *virtue*; stigmatized as *wicked*, at a time when he exhibits the strongest proofs of *goodness*; endowed with *patience* to resist every *temptation*, and *reverse of fortune*, but inflexibly maintaining his *integrity*; not *ostentatious* of his good qualities, but desiring rather to *be good* than to *seem so*. In fine, the recompense which THE JUST One, so disposed, (*οὐτω διακειμενος ὁ δικαίος*,) as I said, shall receive from the *world* is this: he shall be *scourged, tortured, bound, deprived of his eyes*, (*μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδησεται, εκκαυθήσεται τω οφθαλμῷ*,) and at length, having *suffered* all sorts of evils, *he shall be crucified*, (*ανασχινδυλευθήσεται*,) Vol. II. p. 361, 362, Edit. *Serrani*.

Plato, who travelled into *Egypt*, unquestionably collected this singular *character* and *sufferings* of the JUST ONE, from the *Hebrew Scriptures* of the *Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, and Zechariah*; with the last of whom he was nearly contemporary. Can we wonder then that *Pilate* and the *Roman centurion*, should concur in giving CHRIST that title, even supposing they were unacquainted with the *Jewish Scriptures*, as they might have learnt it from *Plato*; whose philosophy was much admired both by the *Jews* and *Romans*.

The *Cumean Sibyl* also, whose prophecies *Virgil* prostituted, originally came from *Babylonia* to *Troy*, and from thence to *Italy*; she was probably, therefore, no stranger to the *prophecies of Balaam* and *Moses*; and the word *Sibylla* itself is oriental, signifying “a gleaner of ears of corn,” by which these vagrant *fortune tellers* usually supported themselves, (the word *Shibolet*, or *Sibolet*, occurs Judg. xii. 6.)—The *Gypsies* came originally from *Chaldea*, to *Egypt* and *Europe*.

- XIV. THE LEADER OR CHIEF CAP-
TAIN,.....
- XV. THE MESSIAH, CHRIST, KING
OF ISRAEL,.....
- XVI. THE GOD OF ISRAEL,
- XVII. THE LORD OF HOSTS, OR THE
LORD,
- XVIII. KING OF KINGS and LORD
OF LORDS,.....
- Josh. v. 14, 1 Chron. v. 2, Isa. lv.
4, Micah v. 2, Dan. ix. 25;—Matt.
ii. 6, Heb. ii. 10.
- 1 Sam. ii. 10, 2 Sam. vii. 12,
1 Chron. xvii. 11, Ps. ii. 2, xlv. 1, 6,
lxxii. 1, lxxxix. 38, Isa. lxi. 1, Dan.
ix. 26;—Matt. ii. 2—4, xvi. 16,
Luke xxiii. 2, John i. 41—50, vi.
69, Acts iv. 26, 27, x. 38.
- Exod. xxiv. 10, 11, Josh. vii. 19,
Judg. xi. 23, 1 Sam. v. 11, 1 Chron.
xvii. 24, Ps. xli. 13, Isa. xlv. 3,
Ezek. viii. 4;—Matt. xv. 31, xxiii.
37, John xx. 28.
- 2 Sam. vii. 26, 1 Chron. xvii. 24,
Ps. xxiv. 10, Isa. vi. 1—5, Mal. i. 14;
—Rom. x. 19, Phil. ii. 9—11.
- Ps. lxxxix. 27, cx. 1, Dan. vii. 13,
14, Matt. xxviii. 18, John iii. 35,
xiii. 3, 1 Cor. xv. 25, Ephes. i. 20—
22, Col. iii. 1, Rev. xix. 16.

Such is the sublime, magnificent, and stupendous scheme of PROPHECY, connected, though scattered like the beauties of nature, through the pages of HOLY WRIT; which GOD revealed to *mankind*, by the *mouth of all his prophets*, in *divers degrees*, and *sundry modes* of inspiration, (Heb. i. 1,) from the grand charter of our REDEMPTION, given in *Paradise*, (Gen. iii. 15,) to the last appearance of HIS SON upon earth, (Rev. xx. 20,) when that Son promised, that *He would come quickly to refresh the world at the regeneration, or restitution of all things*, (Acts iii. 19—21.) And as surely as he *appeared before in humiliation*, as “*a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*,” to *instruct and save mankind by his example*, and by his *death*, as “*THE APOSTLE and HIGH PRIEST of our profession*,” Heb. iii. 1,) so surely will “*he appear, a second time, in glory, for salvation to them who expect him*,” (Heb. ix. 28,) but as a *consuming fire*, for destruction to them who despise and reject his awful message, (Heb. xii. 25—29.)

“*Lo, I am coming quickly; and my recompense is with me, to repay every one according to his work*,” (Rev. xxii. 12.)

May we, “*with hearts fixed, and trusting in THE LORD*,” (Psalm cvii. 12, John xiv. 1,) be enabled to join in the Apostle’s

A
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VINDICATED,
UPON SCRIPTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES;
*TENDING TO REMOVE THE IMPERFECTION AND DISCORDANCE OF
PRECEDING SYSTEMS, AND TO OBTAIN THE CAVILS OF
SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.*

BY THE
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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. *quæ 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 retrenched some new renderings of the original Scriptures, to which they objected. Such as Θεος, "*A God*," for *God*; Αγνωστῷ Θεῷ, "*the unknowable God*," for *the unknown God*; "*Legitimate Son*," for *only Son*; "*only genuine*," for *only begotten*; "*became inspired*," for *was in the spirit*; εἰ, "*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 Λογος, “*the Oracle of the Lord*,” and “*the Oracle*,” instead of *the Word of the Lord*, and *the Word*; האדון, *Ha Adon*, and אדני, *Adoni*, “*the Regent*,” and “*Regent*,” instead of *the Lord*, and *Lord*; אדני יהוה, *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 harmony between the discordant and jarring sects of PROTESTANTS, 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, “*Neither confounding THE PERSONS, nor dividing THE SUBSTANCE*”—of the *ever-blessed* and *adorable*, but most “*incomprehensible TRINITY IN UNITY*.” A golden Canon indeed, sanctioned by the usage, and cautious distinctions 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 substance (ὁμοουσιος) with THE FATHER*.”

But while the Author, availing himself of “*THE GLORIOUS 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 *Christian*, 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 φροντιδες, 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-*

mentary work. Accordingly, none, perhaps, has had a more general sale, and extensive circulation, both in the original and classical French, and in the English translation, of thirteen volumes, duodecimo. But it is frequently tedious and verbose, is not sufficiently critical in cases of difficulty and nicety, and is erroneous in its Chronology; and by a glaring defect, it takes no specific notice of *Sacred History*.

Millot's Elements of General History, 4 vols. 8vo. are shorter, and in some respects, preferable to *Rollin's*. But it takes no notice of *Sacred History*, is principally confined to *facts*, and enters but little into the *philosophy of history*, and, like the rest, is silent respecting the principal difficulties that are apt to embarrass young students, and even the most learned.

To remedy such defects and imperfections, the present *Elements of Sacred and Profane History* were designed. Here, *Sacred History* bears its due proportion to *Profane*, occupying more than double the space, and supplying a material chasm in the liberal education of our youth, who, though commonly versed in the Histories of *Greece* and *Rome*, which are rather calculated, singly, to make them *Polytheists* in Religion, and *Republicans* in Politics, are, too often, total strangers to *Sacred History*, which would correct those mischievous errors; and this, perhaps, for want of a sufficient elementary *compendium*; as noticed before, in the preface to the second volume of this work. And for the use of *Historical Students*, in general, I will here subjoin a list, (similar to the former, for *Biblical Students*) of select *standard books* of *Profane History*, with their best, or most useful editions, and translations, and some observations and strictures, suggested by long experience.

I. ANCIENT HISTORIANS. GREEK.

1. *Herodotus*. Of this "father of history," the best edition is the learned *Wesseling's*, with a Latin Translation, and Notes, folio, 1763. A smaller edition of his Text only, has been published at Oxford, 2 vols. 8vo. 1809, and since that, I hear, a second and correeter edition. *Littlebury* has published an English Translation, 2 vols. 8vo. 1737, and *Beloe* another, with Notes, 4 vols. 8vo. 1806, second edition. *Larcher*, a French Translation, with learned and copious Notes, 7 vols. 8vo. 1786; and a second improved and castigated edition, in 1802, in which, he has retracted several *sceptical* notes and remarks in the former. But none of these translations render full justice to the engaging simplicity and spirit of the original. *Rennel's Geography of Herodotus*, 4to. 1800, is by far the best comment on that branch of the history; as this volume, I trust, will be found, on its *Chronology*, and its general scope.

2. *Xenophon's Cyropædia, Anabasis, and History of Greece*. The best editions of the *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis* are *Hutchinson's*, 4to. in 1727 and 1735, which contain some valuable Dissertations, omitted in the octavo editions for the use of schools. The best complete edition that I know, is *Well's*, 5 vols. 8vo. 1703.

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*.

4. *Arrian*. The best edition of his *History of Alexander*, and *Indian Expedition*, is by *Gronovius*, folio, 1704. His *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, by *Blancard*, 8vo. 1683. *Hanno's Periplus of the Libyan coast*, in *Hudson's Geographi Minores*, Vol. I. of which the Rev. *T. Falconer* has given an English Translation, accompanying the Greek text, with explanations, 1797. Dean *Vincent* and *Major Rennel* have thrown great lights upon the *Indian Expedition*, or *Voyage of Nearchus*, and *Hanno's Periplus*, in their publications.

5. *Diodorus Siculus*. The best edition of his valuable *Historical Library* is *Wesseling's*, 2 vols. folio, 1743. *Booth* has given an English translation, in folio, 1700.

6. *Plutarch*. His whole works were published by *Xylander*, 2 vols. large folio, Paris, 1624. Professor *Wytttenbach* has lately published an improved edition in Germany. Of the Lives, *Bryan's* is the best Greek edition, 5 vols. 4to. 1724. The *Langhornes*, father and son, have given an excellent English Translation of the Lives, with critical Notes, 6 vols. 8vo. 1770.

7. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. The best edition of his *Roman Antiquities* is *Hudson's*, 2 vols. folio, 1704.

8. *Polybius*. The best edition of his continuation of *Dionysius* is by *Gronovius*, 3 vols. 8vo. 1670. *Hampton* has given a good English Translation, 4 vols. 8vo. 1761.

9. *Appian*. The best edition of his History is by *Stephens*, 2 vols. 8vo. 1670.

10. *Dion Cassius*. The best edition is *Reimar's*, 2 vols. folio, 1750.

11. *Strabo*. The last edition of his *Geography* is *Falconer's*, Oxford, 2 vols. large folio, 1807; the preceding, 2 vols. small folio, Amsterdam, 1707.

12. *Lucian*. His works contain a good deal of *Antiquarian* information. The best edition is by *Hemsterhusius*, 4 vols. quarto, 1743.

13. *Josephus*, contra *Apion*. contains much curious *Antiquarian* information.

II. LATIN.

14. *Justin*. His Abridgment of General History, from *Trogus Pompeius*, is useful and well known.

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

16. *Tacitus*. Incomparably the best edition of his works is *Brotier's*, 4 vols. quarto, Paris, 1771. The smaller *London* edition omits several valuable Dissertations in the larger.

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

17. *Suetonius*. The best edition of his History of the twelve Cæsars is *Oudendorp's*, 8vo. 1751. *Patin's* edition, 4to. 1675, gives the Coins and Medals.

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

19. *Lucius 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. *Cæsar'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 Cæsar*, 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.

26. *Gillies' History of Greece*, 4 vols. 8vo. and its continuation, the *History of the World*, from *Alexander* to *Augustus*, 2 vols. 4to. 1807, contain much curious and valuable information.

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 3 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 tinged 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 *Euty chius' 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.

40. *Hesiod*. The best edition of his works is *Robinson's Variorum*, Oxford, 4to. 1737.

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.

48. *Ray's* Collection of early Travels. Second Edit. 1705.

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. *Maunderel'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.

53. *Pocock's Travels in the East*. 2 vols. folio. 1743—1758.

54. *Shaw's Travels*. Second Edit. 4to. 1757. Both are excellent.

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.

62. *Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia*. Second Edit. 8vo. 1811.

63. *Carwithen's Bampton Sermons*, on the *Brahminical Religion*, and its influence on the *Moral Character*, 8vo. 1810.

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 :

Θησαυρον γλωσσης Ασκραιος ειπεν αριστον,
Πασων δ' Ἑλλαδικη γλωσσα αριστη εφν.

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

Ἀλλ' ὁ με Θησαυροῦς Θησαυροῦς ἀπηρῆεν, ἀριστος
Πασιν ἔων ἕτεροις, ἐστὶ κακιστος ἐμοί.

“ *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, alii ditantque beantque,
Et faciunt CRÆSUM 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 jactura juventæ,
Judicio haud levis est si labor iste tuo.*

“ Other treasures, in a moment, the finder enrich,
They convert even an *Irus* into a *Cræsus* :
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, Brandenburg*, and the University of *Frankfort*, he freely and frankly claims their patronage, for enlightening the minds of their subjects, and their students : concluding,

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, 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 illis thesauro ARABUM pretiosior omni,
PACTOLI auriferis fuerit mage charus arenis,
Gratior EOO venientibus æquore gemmis,
GERMANOS ergo, hic GALLOSQUE beabit, et ANGLOS ;*

At

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, apes !*

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.

67. *Suidas' Lexicon*. Best edition by *Kuster*, 3 vols. folio, 1705, Cambridge. This contains much curious and valuable historical and antiquarian information. *Toup's Critical Emendationes in Suidam*, 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1760—1775, form a useful Appendix thereto.

68, 69. *Du Cange's Glossary of the modern Greek Language*, with *Moreri's Supplement*. Particularly useful for the *Byzantine* historians.

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.

71. *Spelman's Glossary*. Very useful for explaining the modern Latin of the barbarous ages.

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 consumpsit opimas,
Vestrum est, sic VOBIS sint regna beata, beare !*

" 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*.

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 *Castell**. "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 expence 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*.

† Μεγα Βιβλιον, μεγα κακον. "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 literaturæ, tam Orientalis quam Occidentalis, peritissimus*, 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 *Heraclidæ*, 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 *Vespasian'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 ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΑ, 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 disguised under different names, fables, and fictions. Thus, *Κρονος*, *Saturn*, in the primitive Egyptian and Grecian Theogony, denoted *Adam*, from whom "Time" began to be computed; and afterwards *Noah*, from whom it was recomputed after the deluge. *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, the sons of *Saturn*, represented *Japheth*, *Shem* and *Ham*, the sons of *Noah*. Again, *Jupiter*, denoted a mortal the ancient king of *Crete*, and father of *Minos*, whose tomb was said by the *Cretans* to be in their island; and also THE SUPREME GOD, the *father of Gods* and *men*; whence *Epimenides*, one of their own poets, called "the *Cretans liars**, or blasphemers, as cited by the Apostle *Paul*, Titus i. 12.

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

Hence the attempt to reconcile and harmonize the *Chaldean*, *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, *Indian*, *Grecian* and *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 difficulties, however, may be cleared away and removed by

* The Greek Scholiast on *Callimachus*, Hymn 8, ingeniously accounts for the *Cretans'* tradition, by supposing that the entire inscription on the tomb was *Μινωος του Διου ταφος*, "the tomb of *Minos*, the Son of *Jove*," but in process of time, the first part being obliterated, there only remained *Διου ταφος*, "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's* 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 *Abulfarag'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 *Bibliothèque 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 *Kai 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 *Zer-dusht*, 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

Scepticism, 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 *Mosaical* 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 *summum 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,

ΚΟΨΕ, ΟΜ, ΠΑΞ : CANSHA, OM, PACSHA * :

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 <i>Sanchoniatho</i> .	MOSES.	B. C.
1. <i>Protogonus</i> and <i>Æon</i>	<i>Adam</i> and <i>Eve</i>	5411
2. <i>Genos</i> and <i>Genea</i>	<i>Cain</i> and his <i>wife</i>	5281
3. <i>Phos</i> , <i>Pur</i> , <i>Phlox</i>	<i>Enoch</i>	5091
4. <i>Cassios</i> , <i>Libanos</i>	<i>Irak</i>	4901
5. <i>Memrumos</i> , <i>Usous</i>	<i>Mehujael</i>	4731
6. <i>Agrieus</i> , <i>Halieus</i>	<i>Methusael</i>	4566
7. <i>Chryisor</i> , <i>Hephaistos</i>	<i>Lamech</i>	4404
8. <i>Technites</i> , <i>Geinos</i>	<i>Jabal</i> , <i>Jubal</i> , <i>Tubal Cain</i>	4239
* *	* *	

II. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTY, p. 8.

CHALDEAN KINGS.

	S.	Y.	B. C.
1. <i>Alorus</i> , a Babylonian	10	.. 100	.... 4355
2. <i>Alasparus</i> , or <i>Alaparus</i>	3	.. 30	.... 4255
3. <i>Amelon</i> , of Pantibibla	13	.. 130	.... 4225
4. <i>Ammenon</i> , of Chaldea	12	.. 120	.... 4095
5. <i>Megalarus</i> , of Pantibibla	18	.. 180	.... 3975
5. <i>Daonus</i> , a Shepherd of Pantibibla	10	.. 100	.... 3795
7. <i>Euedoreschus</i> , of Pantibibla	18	.. 180	.... 3695
8. <i>Amempsimus</i> , a Chaldean of Larancha....	10	.. 100	.... 3515
9. <i>Otiartes</i> , the same	8	.. 80	.... 3415
10. <i>Xisuthrus</i> , his son	18	.. 180	.... 3335
The Deluge	120	1200	.... 3155

POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

I. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 317 YEARS, p. 20.

From *Syncellus*.

	Y. M.		B.C.
1. <i>Nimrod, Ninus I. or Belus I.</i>	98, 9	....	2554
2. <i>Evechous, or Chosma Belus</i>	7, 6	....	2455
3. <i>Porus</i>	35	....	2448
4. <i>Nechubus</i>	43	....	2413
5. <i>Abius</i>	48	....	2370
6. <i>Oniballus</i>	40	....	2322
7. <i>Zinzirus</i>	45	....	2282
End of the Dynasty	317	....	2237

II. ELAMITE, or PERSIAN DYNASTY, 529 YEARS, p. 27.

PISHDADIAN KINGS.

From *Mirkhond, &c.*

	Y.	A.D.		B.C.
1. <i>Kairumarath, or Keyomarras</i>	(560)	40	....	2190
<i>Siamek.</i>				
<i>Kiaumarath</i> again.....		30	....	2150
Interregnum	(200)			
2. <i>Hushang, called Pischdad, or Chedorlaomer</i> ...		50	....	2130
3. <i>Tahmuras</i>	(700)	30	....	2070
4. <i>Giamschid, or Giemschid</i>		30	....	2040
5. <i>Dahac, Zohak, or Zoak</i>	(1000)	30	....	2010
6. <i>Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun</i>		120	....	1980
7. <i>Manugiah, called Phirouz</i>	(500)	120	....	1860
8. <i>Nodar</i>		7	....	1740
9. <i>Apheresiab, or Afrasiab</i>		12	....	1733
10. <i>Zoab, Zoub, or Zab</i>		30	....	1721
11. <i>Gershah, or Gershasp</i>		30	....	1691
End of the Dynasty.....	529	....		1661

III. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 431 YEARS, p. 49.

From *Ctesias*.

	Y.		B.C.
25. <i>Mithræus, or Ninus II.</i>	37	....	1252
26. <i>Tautanes, or Teutamus</i>	32	....	1215

	Y.	B.C.
27. <i>Teutæus</i>	44	1183
28. <i>Thinæus</i>	30	1139
29. <i>Dercylus</i>	40	1109
30. <i>Eupalis</i> , or <i>Eupachmes</i>	38	1069
31. <i>Laosthenes</i>	45	1031
32. <i>Pertiades</i>	30	986
33. <i>Ophrataeus</i>	21	956
34. <i>Epecheres</i> , or <i>Ofratanes</i>	52	935
35. <i>Acroganes</i> , or <i>Acrazapes</i>	42	883
36. <i>Thonus Concolerus</i>	20	841
End of the Dynasty.....	431	821

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

FROM SCRIPTURE and *Ptolomy*.

	B C.		Y.	B.C.
1. King of <i>Nineveh</i>	821			
<i>Jonah's</i> prophecy.....	800	BABYLONIAN KINGS.		
2. <i>Pul</i> , or <i>Belus</i> II	790			
I. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	770			
3. <i>Tiglathpilesar</i>	747	<i>Nabonassar</i>	14	747
II. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	740	<i>Nadius</i>	2	733
4. <i>Shalmanassar</i>	726	<i>Chinzirus</i>	5	731
III. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	722	<i>Jugæus</i>	5	726
<i>Samaria</i> taken.. ..	719	<i>Mardok, Empad, or Me-</i>	12	721
5. <i>Sennacherib</i>	714	<i>rodach Baladan</i> }		
I. Invasion of <i>Judah</i>	711	— revolts from <i>Assyria</i> }		710
6. <i>Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or</i> }	710	— writes to <i>Hezekiah</i> .. }		
<i>Sardanapalus</i> I..... }			<i>Arcianus</i>	5	709
Revolt of <i>Medes</i> and <i>Ba-</i> }	710	I. Interregnum.....	2	704
<i>bylonians</i>			<i>Belibus</i>	3	702
<i>Babylon</i> regained	680	<i>Apronadius</i>	6	699
II. Invasion of <i>Judea</i> , and }	674	<i>Regibelus</i>	1	693
Captivity of <i>Manasseh</i> }			<i>Misessimordak</i>	4	692
7. <i>Ninus</i> III.	667	II. Interregnum	8	688
8. <i>Nabuchadonosor</i>	658	<i>Asaradin, or Esarhaddon</i>	13	680
Defeat of <i>Arphaxad</i> , or }	641	<i>Saosduchin</i>	20	667
<i>Phraortes</i> the <i>Mede</i> ... }			<i>Chyniladon</i>	22	647

	B.C.		B.C.
III. Invasion of <i>Judea</i> } by <i>Holofernes</i> }	640	<i>Nabopolassar, or Laby-</i> <i>netus I.</i> }	21 625
9. <i>Sarac, or Sardanapalus II.</i>	636	<i>Nineveh taken</i>	606
<i>Nineveh taken</i>	606		

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

From SCRIPTURE, *Berosus*, and *Ptolomy*.

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Nineveh taken</i>	2	606
1. <i>Nabokolassar, Boktanser, or Nebuchadnezzar</i>	43	604
———— subdues <i>Elam, or Persia</i>		596
2. <i>Ilverodam, or Evilmerodach</i>	3	561
3. <i>Niricassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar</i>	5	558
4. <i>Nabonadius, or Labynetus II.</i> appointed by <i>Cyax-</i> <i>ares, or Darius the Mede</i> }	17	553
<i>Babylon taken</i>	70	536

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

KAIANIAN KINGS. PART I.

From *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Mirkhond*, &c.

<i>Median Revolt and Interregnum</i>	7	710
1. <i>Dejoces, or Artæus</i>	40	703
2. <i>Phraortes, or Artyines, or Arphaxad</i>	22	663
3. <i>Cyaxares I, or Astibaras, or Kaikobad,</i> <i>or Ahasuerus.</i> 1	} 40	641
— first siege of <i>Nineveh</i> , and <i>Scythian Invasion</i> 28		640
— <i>Scythian expulsion</i> 4		612
— <i>Lydian war.</i> 5		608
— <i>Eclipse of Thales.</i> 2		603
4. <i>Astyages, Astyigas, or Aspadas, or Kaikaus</i>	35	601
5. <i>Cyaxares II. or Fraiborz, or Darius the Mede</i> 13	} 15	566
— succeeds <i>Belshazzar</i> at <i>Babylon</i> , and ap- points <i>Nabonadius</i> prefect there }		553
<i>Accession of Kai Chosru, or Cyrus the Persian</i>	159	551

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

KAJIANIAN KINGS. PART II.

From *Herodotus*, *Mirkhond*, &c.

		Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Cyrus</i> , or <i>Kai Chosru</i> in Persia	8	} 30	559
	Media 15		551
	Babylon 7		536
2. <i>Cambyses</i> , or <i>Lohorasp</i>	7, 5m.	} 8	529
<i>Smerdis Magus</i>	7m.		
3. <i>Darius</i> , son of <i>Hystaspes</i> , or <i>Gushtasp</i>		36	521
4. <i>Xerxes</i>		21	485
5. <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> , or <i>Ardshir Dirazdest</i> , or } <i>Bahaman</i>		} 41	464
6. <i>Darius Nothus</i>			
7. <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i>		46	404
8. <i>Ochus</i> , or <i>Darab I</i>	21	} 23	358
<i>Arogus</i> , or <i>Arses</i>	2		
9. <i>Darius Codomannus</i> , or <i>Darab II</i>		4	335
Conquered by <i>Alexander</i> , or <i>Ascander</i>		228	331

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

From *Arrian*, &c. *Mirkhond*, &c.

1. <i>Alexander the Great</i>	8 (332)	331	
2. <i>Philip Aridæus</i>	6 (324)	323	
First division of the Provinces		323	
3. <i>Alexander Ægus</i>	5	317	
4. <i>Seleucus Nicator</i> . <i>Era of Seleucidæ</i>	32	312	
Second division of the Provinces		310	
Final partition of the Empire		301	
5. <i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	280	
6. <i>Antiochus Theos</i>	15	261	
7. <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i>	17	246	
Parthian Dynasty		102	229

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

ASCHKANIAN KINGS.

From *Agathias, &c. Mirkhond, &c.*

	Y.		B.C.
1. <i>Arsaces, or Arshak, or Aschek</i>	7	....	229
2. <i>Arsaces II. or Aschek II.</i>	27	....	222
3. <i>Priapatius, or Schabour, or Padeshahi Buzurk</i>	15	....	195
4. <i>Phraates, or Baharam, or Firouz</i>	12	....	180
5. <i>Mithridates.</i>	37	....	168
6. <i>Phraates II. or Firouz II.</i>	9	....	131
7. <i>Artabanus, or Ardevan</i>	1	....	122
8. <i>Pacorus.</i>	53	....	121
9. <i>Phraates III. or Khosrou</i>	12	....	68
10. <i>Orodes</i>			
<i>Mithridates</i> }	20	....	56
<i>Orodes again</i>			
11. <i>Phraates IV. or Khosrou II.</i>	40	....	36
			A.D.
12. <i>Orodes II.</i>	11	....	4
13. <i>Vonones, or Narses.</i>	3	....	15
14. <i>Artabanus II. or Ardevan II.</i>			
<i>Tiridates.</i>	30	....	18
<i>Artabanus again</i>			
15. <i>Gotarzes</i>			
<i>Meherdates</i> }	2	....	48
<i>Vonones II.</i>			
16. <i>Vologeses.</i>	19	..	50
17. <i>Artabanus III.</i>	8	....	69
18. <i>Pacorus II.</i>	30	....	77
19. <i>Chosroes.</i>	59	....	107
20. <i>Vologeses II.</i>	28	....	166
21. <i>Vologeses III.</i>	22	....	194
22. <i>Artabanus IV. or Ardevan III.</i>	9	....	216
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
<i>Persian Dynasty</i>	454	....	225

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

SASSANIAN KINGS.

From *Agathias*, &c. *Mirkhond*, &c.

	Y.	M.	A.D.
1. <i>Artaxares</i> , or <i>Ardschir ben Babek</i>	14	10	.... 225
2. <i>Sapor</i> , or <i>Schabour</i>	31		.... 240
3. <i>Hormizdas</i> , or <i>Hormouz</i>	1		.... 271
4. <i>Vararanes</i> , <i>Varanes</i> , or <i>Baharam</i>	3		.... 272
5. <i>Vararanes</i> II. or <i>Baharam</i> II.	17		.... 275
6. <i>Narses</i> , or <i>Narsi</i>. ....(7)	8		.... 292
7. <i>Misdates</i> , or <i>Hormouz</i>	7	5	.... 300
8. <i>Sapor</i> II. or <i>Schabour Doulaktaf</i>	70		.... 307
9. <i>Artaxerxes</i> , or <i>Ardeschir</i>	4		.... 377
10. <i>Sapor</i> III. or <i>Schabour ben Schabour</i>	5		.... 381
11. <i>Vararanes</i> IV. or <i>Kerman Schah</i>	11		... 386
12. <i>Isdigertes</i> , or <i>Jezdegerd Al Athim</i>	21		.... 397
13. <i>Vararanes</i> V. or <i>Baharam Gour</i>	23		.... 418
14. <i>Vararanes</i> VI. or <i>Jezdegerd ben Baharam</i> (17)	18		.... 441
15. <i>Peroz</i> , or <i>Firouz</i>	20		.... 459
16. <i>Valens</i> , or <i>Balasch ben Firouz</i> ..	4		.... 479
17. <i>Cavad</i> , or <i>Cobad</i>)	11		.... 483
<i>Zambad</i>)	8		.... 494
<i>Cavad</i> again)	30		.... 502
18. <i>Chosroes</i> , or <i>Nouschirvan</i>	48		.... 532
19. <i>Hormisdas</i> II. or <i>Hormouz ben Nouschirvan</i>	8		.... 580
20. <i>Chosroes</i> II. or <i>Khosru Perviz</i>	39		.... 588
21. <i>Siroes</i> , or <i>Schirouieh</i>	1		.... 627
22. <i>Ardesir</i> , or <i>Ardeschir ben Schirouieh</i> (2 m.)	1	6	.... 628
23. <i>Sarbaras</i> , or <i>Scheheriar</i> (1, 1 m.)	2		.... 630
24. <i>Hormisdas</i> , or <i>Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar</i>	4		.... 632
<hr/>			
<i>Saracen</i> Dynasty.....	411		.... 636

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

From *Abulfaragi*, *Abulfeda*, &c.

	Y.	A.D.	HEG.
1. <i>Mahomet's Hegira</i> , or flight	10	.... 622	.... 1

CALIPHS.

		Y.		A.D.		HEG.	
Companions.	2.	<i>Abubekr</i>	2	....	632	....	11
	3.	<i>Omar</i>	9	....	634	....	13
	4.	<i>Othman</i>	12	....	643	....	23
	5.	<i>Ali</i>	5	....	655	....	35
	6.	<i>Al Hasan</i>	5 m.				
	Omniadae.	7.	<i>Moawiyah, or Moavias</i>	19	660	....	40
8.		<i>Yazid, or Jesid</i>	4	....	679	....	60
9.		<i>Moawiyah II</i>	20 d.				
10.		<i>Merwan</i>	7 m.		683	....	64
11.		<i>Abdalmelek</i>	21	....	684	....	65
12.		<i>Al Walid, or Valid</i>	9	....	705	....	86
13.		<i>Soliman</i>	3	....	714	....	96
14.		<i>Omar II</i>	2	....	717	....	99
15.		<i>Yazid, or Jesid II</i>	4	....	719	....	101
16.		<i>Hesham</i>	19	....	723	....	105
17.		<i>Al Walid, or Valid II</i>	1	....	742	....	125
18.		<i>Yazid, or Jesid III</i>	1	....	743	....	126
19.		<i>Ibrahim</i>	70 d.				
Abbaside.		20.	<i>Merwan II</i>	6	743	....	126
	21.	<i>Abul Abbas, or Al Saffah</i>	5	....	749	....	132
	22.	<i>Abu Jaafar, or Al Mansur</i>	20	....	754	....	137
	23.	<i>Al Mohdi</i>	11	....	774	....	158
	24.	<i>Al Hadi</i>	1	....	785	....	169
	25.	<i>Harun, or Aaron Al Raschid</i>	22	....	786	....	170
	26.	<i>Al Amin</i>	5	....	808	....	193
	27.	<i>Al Mamun</i>	20	....	813	....	198
	28.	<i>Al Motasem</i>	8	....	833	....	218
	29.	<i>Al Wathek, or Vathek</i>	5	....	841	....	227
	30.	<i>Al Mokawakkel</i>	15	....	846	....	232
	31.	<i>Al Montaser</i>	6 m.		861	....	247
	32.	<i>Al Mostain</i>	4	....	862	....	248
	33.	<i>Al Motaz</i>	3	....	866	....	252
	34.	<i>Al Mohtadi</i>	11 m.		869	....	255
	35.	<i>Al Motamed</i>	22	....	870	....	256
36.	<i>Al Motaded</i>	9	....	892	....	279	
37.	<i>Al Mochtaphi</i>	6	....	901	....	289	
38.	<i>Al Muktader</i>	25	....	907	....	295	
39.	<i>Al Kaher</i>	1	....	932	....	320	
40.	<i>Al Radi</i>	7	....	933	....	321	

	Y.	A.D.	HEG.	
Abbasidæ.	41. <i>Al Mottaki</i>	4	940	329
	42. <i>Al Mostakphi</i>	1	944	333
	43. <i>Al Moti</i>	28	945	334
	44. <i>Al Tai</i>	18	973	363
	45. <i>Al Kader</i>	40	991	381
	46. <i>Al Kayen</i>	43	1031	422
	47. <i>Al Mottadi</i>	20	1074	467
	48. <i>Al Mostader</i>	24	1094	487
	49. <i>Al Mostarshed</i>	16	1118	512
	50. <i>Al Rashied</i>	1	1134	529
	51. <i>Al Moktafi</i>	25	1135	530
	52. <i>Al Mostanjed</i>	10	1160	555
	53. <i>Al Mostadi</i>	9	1170	556
	54. <i>Al Naser</i>	46	1179	575
	55. <i>Al Daher</i>	1	1225	622
	56. <i>Al Mostanser</i>	16	1226	623
	57. <i>Al Mostasem</i>	16	1242	640
<hr/>				
End of the Dynasty	636	1258	656	

XII. TURKISH DYNASTY, p. 366.

From *Herbelot, Knolles, Playfair, &c.*

OTTOMAN SULTANS.

	Y.	A.D.
1. <i>Othoman, or Othman</i>	28	1300
2. <i>Orchan</i>	32	1328
3. <i>Amurath</i>	28	1360
4. <i>Bajazet</i>	13	1388
Interregnum.....	14	1401
5. <i>Mahomet</i>	7	1415
6. <i>Amurath II</i>	28	1422
7. <i>Mahomet II. the Great</i>	31	1450
8. <i>Bajazet II</i>	31	1481
9. <i>Selim</i>	8	1512
10. <i>Solyman the Magnificent</i>	46	1520
11. <i>Selim II</i>	8	1566
12. <i>Amurath III</i>	21	1574
13. <i>Mahomet III</i>	8	1595

	Y.	A.D.
14. <i>Achmet</i>	14	1603
15. { <i>Mustapha</i>	1	1617
{ <i>Othman</i> II.	4	1618
16. { <i>Mustapha</i> again.	1	1622
17. <i>Amurath</i> IV. or <i>Murat</i>	26	1623
18. <i>Mahomet</i> IV.	36	1649
19. <i>Achmet</i> II.	8	1687
20. <i>Mustapha</i> II.	8	1695
21. <i>Achmet</i> III.	27	1703
22. <i>Mahomet</i> V.	24	1730
23. <i>Othman</i> III.	3	1754
24. <i>Mustapha</i> III.		1757
&c.		

II. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY, p. 400.

I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 416.

PRIMARY GODS, 2256 YEARS.

<i>Saturn</i> , or <i>Adam</i>	} 2256	....	5411
12 Generations, to the deluge .....		....	3155

II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 417.

DEMIGODS AND HEROES, 743 YEARS.

1. <i>Noah</i> and his sons	524	...	3155
2. <i>Misraim</i> and his successors	201	....	2613
	<hr/>		
End of the <i>Heroic</i> age	743	....	2412

III. EGYPTIANS, p. 418.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS, p. 418.

<i>Menes</i> and his successors, &c. ending with <i>Timaus</i> , } 253	....	2412
or <i>Concharis</i> .....	....	2159

SECOND DYNASTY, *Shepherd Kings*, 260 YEARS, p. 418.

	Y.	A. D.
1. <i>Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada</i>	19	2159
2. <i>Bayon, Byon, or Bahya</i>	44	2140
3. <i>Apachnes, Pachnan, or Rucma</i>	37 7m.	2096
First pyramid begun, about		2095
<i>Abraham visits Egypt</i>		2077
4. <i>Apophes</i>	61	2059
5. <i>Janias, or Sethos</i>	50 1 m.	1998
6. <i>Assis, or Aseth</i>	49 2 m.	1948
<hr/>		
Expulsion of the <i>Shepherds</i>	260 10 m.	1899

THIRD DYNASTY, *Natives*, 251 YEARS, p. 418.

1. <i>Alisphragmuthosis, &c.</i>	36	1899
<i>Joseph Governor of Egypt</i>		1872
<i>Jacob's family settle in Goshen</i>	215	1863
<i>Joseph's death</i>		1792
2. Queen <i>Nitocris</i>		1742
<hr/>		
Exode of the <i>Israelites</i>	251	1648

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS, p. 418.

1. <i>Amosis, Tethmosis, or Thummosis</i>	25, 4 m.	1648
2. <i>Chebron</i>	13	1623
3. <i>Amenophis I.</i>	20, 7 m.	1610
4. <i>Amesses</i>	21, 9 m.	1589
5. <i>Mephres</i>	12, 9 m.	1567
6. <i>Misphragmuthosis</i>	25, 10 m.	1554
7. <i>Thmosis, or Tethmosis</i>	9, 8 m.	1528
8. <i>Amenophis II.</i>	30, 5 m.	1518
9. <i>Orus, or Horus</i>	36, 5 m.	1488
10. <i>Acencheres</i>	12, 1 m.	1452
11. <i>Rathosis</i>	9	1440
12. <i>Acencheres I.</i>	12, 5 m.	1431
13. <i>Acencheres II.</i>	20, 3 m.	1418
14. <i>Armais, or Harmais</i>	4, 1 m.	1398
15. <i>Ramesses</i>	1, 4 m.	1394

	Y.	B.C.
16. <i>Harmesses</i>	66, 2 m.	1393
17. <i>Amenophis III.</i> or <i>Mæris</i>	19, 6 m.	1327
Death of <i>Mæris</i>	340, 7 m.	1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS, p. 419.

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

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS, p. 419.

A chasm	151	....	966
1. <i>Bocchoris, or Asychis</i>	44	....	815
2. <i>Anysis.</i>	2	....	771
3. <i>Sabacon, Soa, or So</i> }	50	....	769
<i>Anysis</i> again	6	....	719
4. <i>Sebecon, or Sethon.</i>	40	....	713
<i>Sennacherib</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> .....		....	711
Death of <i>Sethon</i>	293	....	673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS, p. 419.

12 Contemporary kings	15	....	673
2. <i>Psammeticus</i>	39	....	658
3. <i>Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho</i>	16	....	619

	Y.	A.D.
<i>Nekus</i> kills <i>Josiah</i> , and takes <i>Cadytis</i> or <i>Jerusalem</i>	608
4. <i>Psammis</i>	6	603
5. <i>Apries</i> , or <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i>	28	597
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1. <i>Cambyzes</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	38	525
I. <i>Persian Administration</i> }		
2. <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> . II. Revolt	3	487
3. <i>Xeræes</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	24	484
II. <i>Persian Administration</i> }		
4. <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> . III. Revolt	4	460
— reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	43	456
III. <i>Persian Administration</i> }		
<i>Herodotus</i> visits <i>Egypt</i> . . . . .	....	448
5. <i>Darius Nothus</i> . IV. Revolt	112	413

NINTH DYNASTY, *Natives*, 81 YEARS, p. 420.

1. <i>Amyrtæus</i>	6	413
2. <i>Pausiris</i>	6	407
3. <i>Psammeticus</i> II	6	401
4. <i>Nephereus</i>	6	395
5. <i>Acoris</i>	14	389
6. <i>Nectanebis</i>	12	375
7. <i>Tachus</i> , or <i>Teos</i>	2	363
8. <i>Nectanebus</i>	11	361
<i>Ochus</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	18	350
IV. <i>Persian Administration</i> }		
<i>Alexander</i> conquers <i>Egypt</i>	81	332

TENTH DYNASTY, *Macedo-Grecians*, 302 YEARS.

This dynasty is given in *Ptolomy's Canon*, ending with the death of *Cleopatra*, B.C. 30, and conquest of *Egypt* by the *Romans*.

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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 fumum ex fulgore, sed EX FUMO DARE LUCEM,
Cogitat ; ut SPECIOSA dehinc MIRACULA promat.—HORAT.*

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ANALYSIS
OF
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION I.

ANTEDILUVIAN 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 gulph 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 *Porphry*, flourished about a century before the *Trojan* war; and among other historical materials consulted the records of *Jerombaal*, priest of the god Iεσω †; 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 *Ambubaiaæ*, *Sambuca*,

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 *ανηρ πολυμαθης και πολυπραγμων*, “*a very learned and inquisitive person.*” *Eusebius*. *Præparat. Evangel.* I. § 9.

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

SANCHONIATHO.	MOSES.	
1. <i>Protogonos</i> and <i>Æon</i>	<i>Adam</i> and <i>Eve</i>	5411
2. <i>Genos</i> and <i>Genea</i>	<i>Cain</i> and his <i>Wife</i>	5281
3. <i>Phos</i> , <i>Pur</i> , <i>Phlox</i>	<i>Enoch</i>	5091
4. <i>Cassios</i> , <i>Libanos</i> , &c.	<i>Irak</i>	4901
5. <i>Memrumus</i> , <i>Usous</i>	<i>Mehujael</i>	4731
6. <i>Agreus</i> , <i>Halieus</i>	<i>Methusael</i>	4566
7. <i>Chrysor</i> , <i>Hephaistos</i>	<i>Lamech</i>	4404
8. <i>Technites</i> , <i>Geinos</i>	<i>Jabal</i> , <i>Jubal</i> and <i>Tubal Cain</i>	4239
9. * * *	* * *	
10. <i>Agros</i> , <i>Agrotos</i>	<i>Noah</i>	3755
11. <i>Amounos</i> , <i>Magos</i>	<i>Ham</i>	3151
12. <i>Misor</i> , <i>Sydik</i>	<i>Misraim</i>	3018
13. <i>Taaut</i> , or <i>Thoth</i>	<i>Caphtor</i>	2888

&c. And *Gideon* was self-appointed priest of the God *Ιεω*, (the Phœnician pronunciation of the Hebrew *Iaw*, יהוה, or *Iahoh*, 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*, *Stillingfleet's* *Origines 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 *αιων*, "*living*." They are supposed to have been both mortals, begotten of the Wind *Κολπια*, and his wife *Baau*, signifying night. According to *Aristotle*, *Εγκολπιας* 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 *בהו*, *Bhu*, or *Bhau*, 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.

Æon, 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 *קין*, *Kain*, and its feminine *קנה*, *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 *Βεελσαμεν*, a Phœnician variation of the Hebrew *בעל שמים*, *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, Φωϑ, *light*, Πυρ, *fire*, and Φλοξ, *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, *Cassius*, *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 *Hypsouranius*, 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. *Chryisor*, 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 *די מיה*, *Dimichi*, “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 *Τεχνιτης*, “artist,” the other *Γηνος αυτοχθων*, “*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 *Phœnicians* 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 *Phœnicians*, 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 *Agrotos*, signifying “*husbandman*,” who is plainly the representative of *Noah*. Gen. ix. 20.

Sanchoniatho continues his idolatrous system, in the person of *Agrotos*, 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 Ελιουν ὑψιστος, “*the most high God*,” and Βηρουθ, *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 Αμουν, denoting “*the race of Ham*,” and Μαγος, “*Magician*,” famous in *Egypt*. Exod. vii. 11. These are represented as the immediate offspring of the Αληται, “*Wanderers*,” and Τιτανες, “*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 *Taaut*, 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

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 *Phœnician* 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

Apollodorus, B.C. 144, *Polyhistor*, B.C. 88, *Abydenus*, B.C. 60, and *Africanus*, A.D. 220, in *SynceUus Chronographia*, p. 36 ; given from thence by *Jackson*, in his *Chronology*, Vol. I. p. 198, 199, &c.

CHALDEAN DYNASTY.

	S.	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Alorus</i> , a Babylonian	10 ..	100 ..	4355
2. <i>Alasparus</i> , or <i>Alaparus</i>	3 ..	30 ..	4255
3. <i>Amilon</i> , of Pantibibla	13 ..	130 ..	4225
4. <i>Ammenon</i> , of Chaldea.....	12 ..	120 ..	4095
5. <i>Megalarus</i> , of Pantibibla.....	18 ..	180 ..	3975
6. <i>Daonus</i> , a shepherd of Pantibibla....	10 ..	100 ..	3795
7. <i>Euedoreschus</i> , of Pantibibla	18 ..	180 ..	3695
8. <i>Amempsinus</i> , a Chaldean of Larancha .	10 ..	100 ..	3515
9. <i>Otiartes</i> , the same	8 ..	80 ..	3415
10. <i>Xisuthrus</i> , his Son, in whose reign } The great <i>Deluge</i> happened. }	18 ..	180 ..	3335
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	120 ..	1200 ..	3155

Berosus computed the reigns of these kings by *Sari*, or decads of years. For the term *Saros*, or *Sar*, stript of its Greek termination, is evidently derived from the Hebrew עשר, *Asar*, or Chaldee, אסרא, *Asara*, “ten,” by elision. And in Syriac, חר סר, *Hhad sar*, signifies *un-decem*, or “eleven,” by a similar elision of the Hebrew, אחר, *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 *SynceUus*, 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 *Chryсор*, or *Hephaistos*, *Vulcan*, according to the foregoing adjustment of *Sanchoniatho's* Chronology. Whence we are warranted to suppose that the *Chryсор* 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. *Chryсор* was probably חרש אור, *Hhoresh Aur*, or *Or*, "Artificer of light, or of fire." And *Alorus*, stript of its Greek termination, אל אור, *Æl Aur*, or *Or*, "God of light, or of fire;" which are plainly synonymous titles. אור, *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.

“ 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 day time without eating any thing; 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 shewed 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-

* Instead of *αφρενον*, “ *irrational*,” in the present text of *Syncellus*, by an ingenious emendation, *Jackson* substitutes *εμφρον*, “ *intelligent*,” more conformably to the *animal’s* character. Chronol. i. p. 208.

† 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 *scoffers*, 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 *דג*, *Dag*, “a fish,”) with a human head, and hands; 1 Sam. v. 2—4, among the *Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, Phœnicians* 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, fratrum quoque gratia rara est;
Victa jacet pietas, et virgo, cæde madentes,
Ultima Cœlestum, terras *Astræa* reliquit.

——— Sed et illa propago

Contemptrix Superum, sævæque avidissima cædis,

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 *Syn-cellus*. 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 *Sepharvaim* of Scripture, where the Sun was worshipped, 2 Kings xvii. 24—31. Others were of *Laranja*, 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, ספריא, *Siphra*, or *Sipparæ*, 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 *Sipparæ*, 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 *Sipparæ*, 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, *Desius*; 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 *Agrotus*, 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 Κρονος, THE GOD OF TIME, OR THE ANCIENT OF DAYS, who was afterwards degraded by the *Grecian* 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.

Ω ποποι, η ρ', αγαθος περ εων, ὑπεροπλον ειπεν,
 Ει μ' ὁμοτιμον εοντα βιη αεκοντα καθεξει·
 Τρεις γαρ τ' εκ Κρονου ειμεν αδελφειοι, οὐς τεκε Ρειη,
 Ζευς και Εγω, τριτατος δ' Αιδης ενεροισιν ανασσων·
 Τριχθα δε παντα δεδασται, ἕκαστος δ' εμμορε τιμης·
 Ητοι Εγων ελαχον πολιην ἄλα ναιεμεν αιει,
 Παλλομενων, Αιδης δ' ελαχε ζοφον ηεροεντα·
 Ζευς δ' ελαχ' ουρανον ευρυν εν αιθερι και νεφελησι·
 Γαια δ' ετι ξυνη παντων, και μακρος Ολυμπος.

“ *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 *ουρανος*, “the sky,” or upper region of the atmosphere, and *Ολυμπος*, *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.

‘Ως γὰρ θεσφατον ἐστι· σεθεν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγιζῶ
 Χωομένης, οὐδ’ εἰ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ’ ἴκηαι
 Γαίης καὶ ποντοῖο, ἰν’ Ἰαπέτος τε Κρόνος τε
 Ἡμενοί, οὐτ’ ἀγῆς ὑπεριωνος ἡελιοῖο
 Τερποντ’, οὐτ’ ἀνεμοῖσι· βαθυς δὲ τε τάρταρος ἀμφίς.

“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.

Οἱ περ νερτεροὶ εἰσι θεοὶ, Κρόνον ἀμφίς εὐντες.
 “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.

Hic ubi *Deucalion*, nam cætera texerat æquor,
 Cum consorte tori, parvâ rate, vectus adhæsit,
 Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorat,
 Fatidicamque *Themim*, quæ tunc oracla tenebat.
 Non illo, melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui,
 Vir fuit; aut illâ reverentior ulla Deorum.
 JUPITER, ut liquidis stagnare paludibus orbem,
 Et superesse virum de tot modo millibus unum,
 Et superesse videt de tot modo millibus unam,
 Innocuos ambos, cultores Numinis ambos,
 Nubila disjecit, nimisque Aquilone remotis,
 Et cælo terras ostendit, et æthera terris.—METAM. I,

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

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

“ 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* so strangers, nor *showed mercy* to suppliants. In return for which the great calamity befel 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*. *Asiat. 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, *Abulfaragi*, 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 *Periegesis* 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. ἡ Νίβοϛ, "the city of *Ninus*," or of *Nin*, "a son," which seems to have been his original name, until parodied into *æth Nimrod*, "the rebel." See Vol. II. p. 48. *Tacitus* calls it *vetustissima sedes Assyriæ*. 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

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 scolloped, 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 *Ninereh* * ?

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.

	Y.	M.	B. C.
1. <i>Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus</i> †, or <i>Maha Bala</i>	98	8	2554
2. <i>Evechous, or Chosma Belus</i>	7	6	2455

* *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. *Tiglath Pilezar*; "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*;

3. Porus	35	2448
4. Nechubus	43	2413
5. Abius	48	2370
6. Oniballus	40	2322
7. Zinzirus	45	2282
Interregnum	985	2237
End of the Interregnum		1252

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, palatals*. 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 serviles, 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. **בעל**, (*Baal*) “*Master or Ruler.*” Whence *Baal, Bal, Beel, Bel, Βηλ-ος*, and *Bel-us*. And by change of consonants, *Pal, Pil, Pol, and Pul*.

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

3. **אשור**, (*Assur*) “*Assyria;*” whence *Assar, Asar, Ezar, Osor, and Ser**.

4. **נביא**, (*Nabi*) “*Prophet;*” whence *Nabo, Nebo, or Nebu*.

5. **שר**, or *Phoenician*, **סר**, (*Sar*) “*a chief, Lord, or great,*” **סרנים**, (*Sarnim*) “*chiefs or Lords.*” Whence *Czar*, and **השר** (*Hasar*) “*the chief,*” or *Asar, Esar*, in composition.

6. **אב**, (*Ab*) “*Father;*” **אבבא** (*Abba*) “*the father,*” in *Persic* and *Syriac*.

7. **כור**, (*Chur*) “*a furnace;*” *Khur*, “*the sun,*” in *Persic*. Whence **כורש** (*Churos*, not *Choresch*) or *Chosru*, the name of *Cyrus* the Great, in *Scripture* and the *Persian* historians, and *Chosroes*, the title of the *Persian* and *Parthian* kings.

8. **מלך**, (*Melech*) “*king;*” whence *Malek*, and *Malka*, in *Persic*

The following seem to be pure *Persic* :

9. *Kai, Schah, Sultan*, all signifying “*king,*” and *Dara*, “*the king,*” by way of eminence.

10. *Mithr*, and *Mithras*, “*the sun.*”

From these elements or radicals, are formed the compound *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* titles, *Bal-adan*; *Regi-belus*, *Asar-adin*, or *Esar-haddon*, or *Sar-chedon*, or *Sar-danapal-us*; *Shalman-assar*, *Nabon-assar*, *Nabo-pol-assar*, *Nebu-chadn-ezzar*, or *Nebu-chadr-ezzar*, or *Nabu-chadon-osor*, or *Bo-chtan-sor*.

And the compound *Persian* and *Parthian* titles, *Kai-sar*, *Kai-umarath*, or *Kai-amurath*, *Kai-chobad*, *Kai-kaus*, *Kai-chosru*, *Kai-achsueros*; whence the *Κυ-αξαρης*, *Cy-*

* *Hyde*, in his explanation of these titles, derives them from *Adar*, in *Syriac*, or *Azor*, in *Persic*, “*fire,*” or the planet *Mars*, p. 63—65. But the ancient kings of *Assyria* were not *fire worshippers*.

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

axares, דָּרְיוֹשׁ, *Darius* (not *Dariavesh*) and *Darab**, *Schah Abbas*, *Mithræus*, or *Mithridates*, &c.

Sometimes we find decomposed 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.

* The book of *Job* furnishes an advantageous specimen of the purity of Patriarchal Religion in *Arabia*, during this first *Assyrian* dynasty; corresponding to its state in *Persia*, under the succeeding *Pishdadian* dynasty, by a remarkable conformity of sacred and profane history in those early periods.

* *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 *Cœle 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.

Moses Choronensis, in his *Armenian History*, gives an account of the *Berosian Sibyll*, or ancient *Chaldean* prophetess, who noticed “the *Titanian* war, in the *tenth generation* after the deluge,” as “the *first war waged among men*.” See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 241.

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, *Typhœus*, *Mimas*, *Porphyrion*, *Rhœcus*, 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, æquo.
 Magnum, illa, terrorem intulerat JOVI,
 Fidens, *Juventus horrida*, brachiis ;
 Fratresque, tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse *Olympo* :
 Sed quid *Typhœus*, et validus *Mimas*,
 Aut quid minaci *Porphyrion* statu,
 Quid *Rhœcus*, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus, jaculator audax,
 Contra sonantem *Palladis* ægida
 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-

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, *Τυφῶεις*, from *τυφος*, 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.

————— Δι ὡς τερπικεραυνῶ
 Χωομενῶ· ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφῶει γαίαν ἱμασσε
 Εἰν Ἀριμοῖς· ὅθι φασι Τυφῶεος ἐμμεναι εὐνήν.

“ Like *Jove*, thundering in his wrath,
 When the *Typhæan* land he scourged
 Among the *Arameans*: where is *Typhæus's* bed,
 According to tradition.”

ILIAD, II. 783.

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*,” (*γηγενεις*) or produced from the slime, and hatched by the *Sun's* heat; like the *επιγειος αυτοχθων*, or “*native son of earth*,” of *Sanchoniatho*. With these, he joins in *Tartarus*, their relations, the two *Aloïdæ*, (*αλωιδαι*) 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.

Hic genus antiquum *Terræ*, *Titania* pubes,
 Fulmine dejecti, fundo voluntur in imo [*Tartari*.]
 Hic et *Aloïdas* geminos, immania vidi
 Corpora; qui manibus magnum rescindere cælum
 Aggressi, superisque *Jovem* detrudere regnis. ÆNEID. VI. 580.

Virgil, however, has altered *Homer's* geography; for *εἰν Ἀριμοῖς*, substituting *Inarime*, a volcanic isle near the coast of *Italy*.

————— durumque cubile
 Inarime, *Jovis* imperiis impōsta *Typhæo*. ÆNEID. IX. 713.

In thus shifting the bed of *Typhæus* from the *Dead Sea*, to the *Italian Sea*, *Virgil* followed the license of *Pindar*: for *Pindar*, though he confirms the accuracy of *Homer's* geography, as to the *Cilician* or *Syrian* origin of *Typhæus*, yet boldly transfers his bed to the volcanic isles, near *Cuma*, in *Italy*, and the grand volcano of *Ætna*, in *Sicily*. He was led to this probably by an eruption of *Ætna*, in the beginning of the 77th Olympiad, B.C. 472, noticed by *Thucydides*, b. 3, about four or five years before *Pindar* composed the first and finest of his *Isthmian Odes*, in praise of *Hiero*, king of *Syracuse*. *Thucydides* calls this the second eruption, and notices the first, but without a date. The first, we may be assured, was later than *Homer's* time, who unquestionably would not have passed over so striking a phænomenon unnoticed, any more than *Pindar* and *Virgil*. The latter converts the crater of *Ætna* into *Vulcan's* forge. Æneid. viii. 419.

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,

Ὅσσα δε μη πεφιληκε
 Ζευς, ατυζονται βοαν
 Πιεριδων αιοντα,
 Γαν τε, και ποντον κατ' αμαιμακετον·
 Ὅς τ' εν αινω Ταρταρω κει-
 ται, Θεων πολεμιος,
 Τυφως εκατοντακαρανος· τον ποτε
 Κιλικιον θρεψεν πολυω-
 νυμον αντρον· νυν γε μαν
 Ται θ' ὑπερ Κυμας ἀλιερκεες οχθαι
 Σικελια τ' αυτου πιεζει
 Στερνα λαχναεντα· Κιων
 Δ' ουρανια συνεχει
 Νιφοεσσ' Αιτνα, 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.”

ΠΥΘΗ. Ι. 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 *Typhæus*, 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,
 Bella canit *Superum*; falsoque in honore *Gigantes*
 Ponit, et extenuat *Magnorum* facta *Deorum*.
 Emissumque [canit] imâ de sede, *Typhoëa*, terræ,
Cœlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
 Terga fugæ, donec fessos *Ægyptia* tellus
 Ceperit, et septem discretus in ostia *Nilus*.
 “ Huc quoque terrigenam venisse *Typhoëa* †, narrat,

* “ Even the *demons* believe and tremble,” (δαμονια—φρισσουσι) James ii. 19. This parallel passage supplies the substantive, δαμονια, understood in *Pindar*, agreeing with ὄσσα. 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 πεφιληκε Ζευς. See Vol. III. p. 104, note, and Vol. III. p. 520.

† *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, ii. 461, identifies *Typhæus*, 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 developpe 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 mentitis superos celasse figuris :
 Duxque gregis, dixit, fit *Jupiter* ; (unde recurvis
 Nunc quoque formatus, *Libys* est cum cornibus *Ammon*)
Delius, in corvo ; *proles Semeleia*, capro ;
 Fele, *soror Phœbi* ; niveâ *Saturnia*, vaccâ ;
 Pisce *Venus* latuit ; *Cyllenius* Ibidis alis." 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.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Kaiumarath</i> , or <i>Keiomarras</i> , (560).....	40	2190
<i>Siamek</i>		
<i>Kaiumarath</i> again.	30	2150
2. <i>Hushang</i> , or <i>Houschenk</i> , called <i>Pischdad</i> , or <i>Che-</i>		
<i>dorlaomer</i>	50	2120
3. <i>Tahmuras</i> (700).....	30	2070
4. <i>Giamschid</i> , or <i>Giemschid</i>	30	2040
5. <i>Dahak</i> , <i>Zahak</i> , or <i>Zoak</i> (1000)..	30	2010
6. <i>Aphridun</i> , <i>Phridun</i> , or <i>Pheridun</i> ..	120	1980
7. <i>Manugiah</i> , called <i>Phirouz</i> ..(500).....	120	1860
8. <i>Nodar</i>	7	1740
9. <i>Apherasiab</i> , or <i>Afrasiab</i>	12	1733
10. <i>Zoab</i> , <i>Zab</i> , or <i>Zoub</i>	30	1721
11. <i>Gershab</i> , or <i>Gershasp</i>	30	1691
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
End of the dynasty	529	1661

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-dorlaomer*, 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 controul 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 Namè*, 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 millenary 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 *Shaskekam* 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 juzè* 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 *Jiunis Tan*, or "the country of *Jiu*," 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 *Præadamite* 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 *Shadukan*, "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 namè* 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.

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, *Hara* 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 ἰσχυρός) armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when the stronger (ὁ ἰσχυροτερός) 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 *Bradamantè*, in the *Orlando Furioso* of *Ariosto*; the various enchantments of *Armida* and *Ismeno*, in the *Gierusalemme liberata* of *Tasso*; the many-headed monster of *Duessa*, 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*, *Rakshe*, or *Ouranobad*, &c. For the terms it substitutes, *Angels*, *Devils*, *Genies*, *Giants*, *Afrites*, *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 *Pishdadian* dynasty; which was renewed under the *Kaianian*. 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, “Divel, or Devil;” PERI, “Fairy;” PADER, “πατηρ, pater,” or PHADER, “Father;” MADER, “μητηρ, maier,” or MODER, “Mother;” BRODER, “Brother;” DOCHTER, “Daughter;” HOKOPAZ, a “conjurer;” 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.

TAHMURAS.

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.

GIEMSCIID.

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*, *Mirk-hond*, 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 *Thamuras*, the third *Pischdadian* 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 *Pischdadian* 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 κρυφίος 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's* mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that PRIMÆVAL LIGHT,
Which to yon 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*, *Præpar. Evangel. Lib. I. cap. ult. p. 42*.

Ὁ Θεός ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἐχὼν ἱερακός· οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ πρῶτος, ἀφθαρτός, αἰδιός, ἀγενήτος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιοτάτος, ἡνιοχὸς παντός καλοῦ, ἀδωροδοκῆτος, ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονιμῶν φρονιμώτατος· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατήρ εὐνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἀποδιδάκτος, φυσικός, καὶ τελείος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ ἱεροῦ φυσικοῦ μονὸς εὐρέτης.

"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, *εστιν εχων*, indicates representation; for otherwise it would be *εχει*, "*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, *Αρειμανιος*, *Arimanius*: from *Ahar*, "*filthy*," or "*vile*;" and *Raiman*, 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, *ωυιωυιφ*. 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 Shahnā*, a Mahometan Arab.

"The religion of the *Persians* is very ancient, and the proficients 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 *Ahremen*, denoting the *Devil*. They maintain, that God the Creator, created both *light* and *darkness*; and that He is alone, and hath 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 *Primitive Religion*, or precepts of the sons of *Noah*. Chron. p. 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 *Irage*, his youngest, and most deserving son, he gave the body of the *Persian* empire, thence called IRAN *, consisting of *Persia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Arabia*. To *Tur*, his eldest, he gave 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 maxims.

From *Ibn Shahna*, we also learn, that *Zoroaster* was not the author of this religion : he ascribes it, and with truth, to *Kaiumarath*, 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, אַרְיִם הַסְרִי, *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 on the *Persians*. *Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 64, 65.

It may seem strange, that such extensive regions as *Iran* and *Turan*, and such titles as *Fagfour*, *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 between 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 *Irage*, or *Manugialhr*, 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 valour. See *Herbelot*. Art. *Turk* and *Afrasiab*.

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 *Fayfour*, which is still retained by the Porcelain *China* ware, in the Levant, corruptly called *farfour*. To his second, *Kai-sar*, or *Cæsar*, 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. *Manugiah*r 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.

*Manugiah*r 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, *Aphersiab*, 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, *Manugiah*r 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 *Manugiah*r, 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 *Manugiah*r?

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.

NODAR.

Firouz was succeeded by his son, *Nodar*, 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 *Nodar*, 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 *Gershah*, to whom he resigned the crown, having been advanced in years at the time of his accession.

GERSCHASP.

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 *Pischdadian*, 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 *Pischdadian* Dynasty, were strangers, in great measure to their history.

That the *Pischdadian* 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 independant 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 *Pischdadian*, 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 *Cyaxares* 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 *Greek* 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 *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia*; not a syllable of *Cambyses*, or of his frantic expedition against the *Ethiopians*. *Smerdis Magus*, and the succession of *Darius Hytaspis* by the neigling 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*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Platæa* 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. 52—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-achsueros*, and this is the parent of the *Greek* variation, *Κυ-αξαρης*, *Cyaxares*. 2. *Kai-chosru*, dropping the prefixed title *Kai*, leaves the remainder analogous to *כורש*, *Churos*, or *Κυρος*, by only reversing the three last letters, *כשרו*, *Chosru*. (See the foregoing note on *Oriental titles*.) 3. *Gushtasp* is plainly *Hytaspes*, by interchange of gutturals. 4. *Ardshir* has little analogy to *Artaxerxes*, but his epithet, *Dirazdest*, signifies *μακρο-χειρ*, *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 inculcated 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 כורש, *Churos*, (not *Choresch*,) by *Isaiah* in his prophecies, destined to release the Jews from captivity, and order the rebuilding of the temple, Isa. xlv. 28; xlv. 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 i. 1—4, was not *Cyrus* the Great, of the Greeks, or *Kai chosru* of the Persians, but another *Coresh* (or *Kiresch*) who lived in the reign of *Ardeshir Dirazdest*, and was appointed by him Deputy Governor of *Babylon*, in the room of the son of *Bakhtunnassar*, (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 *Ardeshir's* reign, and consequently, that the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity began B.C. 458, near the end of the reign of *Lohorasb*, 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 *Nebuchadnezzar* 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.

	Y.	Y.
1. <i>Kai kobad</i> , or <i>Cyaxares</i>	100	120
2. <i>Kai kaus</i> , or <i>Astyages</i>	150	150
3. <i>Kai chosru</i> , or <i>Cyrus</i>	60	60
4. <i>Lohorasb</i> , or <i>Cambyses</i>	120	120
5. <i>Gushtasp</i> , <i>Kishtasp</i> , or <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> ..	120	120
6. <i>Ardschir</i> , <i>Bahaman</i> , or <i>Artaxerxes I.</i>	112	112
7. Queen <i>Hōmai</i>	32	32
8. <i>Darab I.</i> or <i>Darius I. Ochus</i>	4	14
9. <i>Darab II.</i> or <i>Darius II. Codomannus</i>	14	6
	712	734

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 Mnemon*, 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 *Sparthæus*, the fifteenth in the list. But the accession of *Cecrops*, in B.C. 1582, according to the *Parian Chronicle*, (see Vol. I. p. 112) fell on the 25th year of *Sparthæus*, 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.

	Y.	B. C.
25. <i>Mithræus</i> , or <i>Ninus II.</i>	37	1252
26. <i>Tautanes</i> , or <i>Teutamus</i>	32	1215
27. <i>Teutæus</i>	44	1183
28. <i>Thinæus</i>	30	1139
29. <i>Dercylus</i>	40	1109
30. <i>Eupalis</i> , or <i>Empachmes</i>	38	1069
31. <i>Laosthenes</i>	45	1031
32. <i>Pertiades</i>	30	986
33. <i>Ophratæus</i>	21	956
34. <i>Epecheres</i> , or <i>Ofratanes</i>	52	935
35. <i>Acraganes</i> , or <i>Acrapates</i>	42	883
36. <i>Thonus Concolerus</i>	20	841
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
End of the Dynasty	431	821

The first prince in this table might have been surnamed *Mithræus*, 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.

* *Causas rerum naturalium non plures admitti debere, quam quæ et veræ sint, et earum phænomenis explicandis sufficient.* *Reg. I. philosophandi. Newton. Principia, Lib. iii.*

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 *נינוה*, *Ninuah*, or *Νινευη*, "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 $1000 + \text{B.C. } 1193, = \text{B.C. } 2193$.

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 Concoletus, the last in the list of *Ctesias*, has been injudiciously confounded either with *Sarac*, the last *Sardanapalus*, who perished in the overthrow of *Ninereh*, 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.

215 YEARS.

	B.C.
1 King of <i>Nineveh</i>	821
<i>Jonah's</i> prophecy	800
2. <i>Pul</i> , or <i>Belus</i> II.	790
I. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	770
3. <i>Tiglathpilesar</i>	747
II. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	740
4. <i>Shalmanasar</i>	726
III. Invasion of <i>Israel</i>	722
<i>Samaria</i> taken	719
5. <i>Sennacherib</i>	714
I. Invasion of <i>Judah</i>	711

BABYLONIAN KINGS.

1. <i>Nabonassar</i>	14	747
2. <i>Nadius</i>	2	733
3. <i>Chinzirus</i>	5	731
4. <i>Jugæus</i>	5	726
5. <i>Mardok Empad</i> , or <i>Merodach Baladan</i> }	12	721
— revolts from <i>Assyria</i>	}	710
— writes to <i>He-</i> <i>zekiah</i>	}	710

ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, <i>continued.</i>		BABYLONIAN KINGS, <i>continued.</i>	
	B.C.		
6. <i>Esarhaddou, Asaradin, or } Sardanapalus I. }</i>	710	6. <i>Arcionus</i>	5 709
<i>Medes and Babylonians re- volt }</i>	710	I. Interregnum	2 704
<i>Babylon regained</i>	680	7. <i>Belibus</i>	3 702
II. Invasion of <i>Judah, and } Captivity of Manasseh . . }</i>	674	8. <i>Apronodius</i>	6 699
7. <i>Ninus III.</i>	667	9. <i>Regibelus</i>	1 693
8. <i>Nabuchodonosor</i>	658	10. <i>Mesesemordach</i>	4 692
Defeat of <i>Arphaxad, or } Phraortes the Mede . . . }</i>	641	II. Interregnum	8 688
III. Invasion of <i>Judah, by } Holofernes }</i>	640	11. <i>Asaradin, or Esor- } haddon }</i>	13 680
9. <i>Sarac, or Sardanapalus II. . .</i>	636	12. <i>Saosduchin</i>	20 667
<i>Nineveh taken</i>	* 606	13. <i>Chyueladon</i>	22 647
		14. <i>Nabopolassar, or La- } byuetus I. }</i>	21 625
		<i>Ninereh taken by the } Babylonians and } Medes }</i>	* 606

* 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 *Lydia* and *Græcia* 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 *Cyaxares* 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. 608, 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

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 stript him of all his conquests, 2 Kings xxiv. 7, Jer. xlv. 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*. *Tiglathpilesar* 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, *Shalmanassar*, 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, *Shalmanassar* 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 *præfects*, 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 *בהוהים*, *Behohim*, “among the thorns,” according to the present Masorete text, the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions seem to have read *בהחיים*, *Behaimm*, “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 *Anacyn-daraxes* (*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* :

Φθειρουσιν ηθη χρησθ' ομιλιαι κακαι.

“*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 *Ninereh*, 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 *Ninereh*; 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 *Ninereh*. 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*, *Phœnicia*, *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 *Nabuchadonosor* 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.

SARAC, 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 unwitnessed, 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 *Ninereh* 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, Ninereh should be overthrown.*” The *Ninerites* 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 *Ninereh* 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 *Ninereh*; 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 *Ninereh* in full splendour.

2. *Nahum* described “*the burden, or doom, of Ninereh*,” 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: Ninereh 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.

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.
<i>Nineveh</i> taken	2	..	606
1. <i>Nabokolassar, Labynetus I. Boktanser, or Nebuchadnezzar</i>	43	..	604
———— subdues <i>Elam, or Persia</i>			596
2. <i>Ilverodam, or Evil Merodach</i>	3	..	561
3. <i>Niricassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar</i>	5	..	558
4. <i>Nabonadius, or Labynetus II. appointed by Darius, the Mede</i>	17	..	553
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto;"/>			
<i>Babylon</i> taken by <i>Cyrus</i>	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.

years redundant, in the second and third reigns, for reasons before stated, Vol. I. p. 166—169, we get the correct date, adopted by *Jackson* and others.

The names of *Labynetus* I. and II. occur in *Herodotus*, and are here introduced to connect his history with the other profane authors, and with Scripture.

Boktanser was the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Abulfaragi*, p. 46.

* 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. 593. 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

* ששך, *Sheshach*, here, and afterwards, Jer. li. 41, denoting *Babylon*, is most naturally derived from ש, the abridgment of אשר, "who," in composition, and שקה, "to drink," whence Σακας, *Sacas*, "a butler," or "cupbearer," in Persic. Cyroped. I. And the season called Σακεια, and Σακεια ἡμεραι, "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 surprize*, 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 spewing 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 *Gomorrhah*, 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 banquetting houses: for her time draweth nigh, and her days shall not be prolonged." Isa. xiii. 17—22.

6. *Isaiah* introduces an *elegiac ode*, or funereal 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 *prosopopæias*, 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 subterranean 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 !
Is the worm strewed 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 carcase 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.
 For THE LORD OF HOSTS hath purposed,
 And who shall disannul it?
 His hand is stretched out,
 And who shall turn it back?"

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 carcass 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 *Pischadian* 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.

	Y.		B.C.
<i>Median</i> revolt, and interregnum	7	..	710
1. <i>Dejoces</i> , or <i>Artæus</i>	40	..	703
2. <i>Phraortes</i> , or <i>Artynes</i> , or <i>Arphaxad</i>	22	..	663
3. <i>Cyaxares</i> I. or <i>Astibaras</i> , or <i>Kai kobad</i> , or <i>Ahasuerus</i>	1	} 40 ..	641
— first siege of <i>Nineveh</i> , and <i>Scythian</i> in- vasion	28		640
— <i>Scythian</i> expulsion ..	4		612
— <i>Lydian</i> war, and second siege of <i>Nineveh</i>	2		608
— <i>Nineveh</i> taken	3		606
— <i>Lydian</i> war ended with <i>Thales'</i> eclipse	2		603
4. <i>Astyages</i> , <i>Astyigas</i> , or <i>Aspadas</i> , or <i>Kai kaus</i>	35	..	601

MEDIAN KINGS. 159 YEARS—*continued.*

5. <i>Cyaxares</i> II. or <i>Fraiborz</i> , or <i>Darius</i> the <i>Mede</i> 13	}	.. 566
— succeeds <i>Belshazzar</i> at <i>Babylon</i> , and ap-		
points <i>Nabonadius</i> prefect there..... 2	} 15	.. 553

Accession of *Kai kosru*, or *Cyrus* the *Persian*.... 159 .. 551

In this intricate and complicated period, so miserably embarrassed 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 *Æschylus*, *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 Concoletus*, interpolates four *Median* kings, *Arbaces*, *Mandauces*, *Sosarmus*, and *Articæ*, 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.

HERODOTUS.			CTESIAS.		
	Y.	B.C.		Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Median</i> revolt, and } interregnum .. }	(6)	.. 710	1. <i>Arbianes</i> , and in- } terregnum..... }	22	.. 710
2. <i>Dejoces</i>	53	.. 704	2. <i>Artæus</i>	40	.. 688
3. <i>Phraortes</i>	22	.. 651	3. <i>Artynes</i>	22	.. 648
4. <i>Cyaxares</i> I.	40	.. 629	4. <i>Astibaras</i>	40	.. 626
5. <i>Astyages</i>	35	.. 589	5. <i>Astyigas</i> , or <i>Aspadas</i> (35)	..	586
Cyrus the <i>Persian</i>	156	.. 554	Cyrus the <i>Persian</i>	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 *Astyigas*, 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 *Æschylus*, 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 subtract 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 concentric 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

* *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.

These two last notes we owe to *Beloe’s* Translation of *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 160, note, second edition.

the decisive battle of *Ragan*, 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*¹ first led. The virtues of his son²
 Fixt firm the empire; for his *temperate* soul
 Breathed *prudence*. *Cyrus* third³, 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*⁴ then wore the regal diadem.
 Next, to disgrace his country, and to stain
 The splendid glories of the ancient throne,
 Rose *Mardus*⁵. Him, with righteous vengeance fired,
Artaphrenes and his confederate chiefs
 Crushed in his palace. *Maraphis*⁶ assumed
 The sceptre. After him *Artaphrenes*⁷.

¹ *Cyaxares*.

² *Astyages*.

³ *Cyrus*.

⁴ *Cambyses*.

⁵ *Smerdis Magus*.

⁶ *Maraphis*.

⁷ *Artaphernes*.

*Me*⁸ 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*⁹ 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

⁸ *Darius Hystaspes.*

⁹ *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 exactions, 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 *Labyrinthus* 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 KAUS.

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 γέρον, "*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 *Ferdousi* 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.

of *Kai kaus*, by his eldest son, *Siarek*, 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 *Græcia mendax*
Audet in *Historia*.——

SAT. X. 173.

CYAXARES II. FRAIBORZ, OR DARIUS THE MEDE.

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*, *Cyropæd.* 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 *Pharnaspes*, 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.

SECTION VI.

KAIANIAN DYNASTY. PART II.

PERSIAN KINGS. 228 YEARS.

		Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Cyrus</i> , or <i>Kai Chosru</i> , in <i>Persia</i>	8	} 30	559
<i>Media</i>	15		551
<i>Babylon</i> ..	7		536
2. <i>Cambyses</i> , or <i>Lohorasp</i>	7 5m.	} 8	529
<i>Smerdis Magus</i>	7m.		
3. <i>Darius</i> , son of <i>Hystaspes</i> , or <i>Gushtasp</i>		36	521
4. <i>Xerxes</i>		21	485
5. <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> , or <i>Ardshir Dirazdest</i> , or <i>Bahaman</i>		} 41	464
6. <i>Darius Nothus</i>			
7. <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i>		46	404
8. <i>Ochus</i> , or <i>Darab I.</i>		23	358
9. <i>Darius Codomannus</i> , or <i>Darab II.</i>		4	335
Conquered by <i>Alexander</i> , or <i>Ascander</i>		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*, decads, 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 *Cræsus*; he was defeated, B.C. 538, and *Babylon*

* *Chronologiæ totius cardinem et fundamentum Cyri primordia continent: a quibus, et antecedentium fere temporum, et posteriorum, ratlo, et omnis fere sacræ historiæ cum profaná concordia, dependet. Petavius, Vol. II. p. 99.*

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 *Cyropædia*, 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 *Cyropædia*, 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 *Pischedadians*, the parent of the *Socratic**.

The grand difficulty of explaining the history of the *Cyropædia*, 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*

* “There is so much invention in the plan, such just conception of the endowments requisite towards constituting an illustrious and good character, in the virtues ascribed to *Cyrus*; so much propriety in the words and actions of the several personages introduced; so many exquisite strokes of true politeness; so much *Attic* festivity in the symposiac parts; and so much civil, military, political, and religious wisdom in the more serious dialogues, that for genius, and useful knowledge, and instruction, the *Cyropædia* perhaps is superior to any work whatever, either of *Plato* or *Aristotle*.” Bishop *Huntingford's Greek Exercises*, p. 292; an *elementary* work, most useful for explaining the niceties and elegancies of the *Greek* tongue.

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 *Cyropædia*, 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*, *Hyrkania*, *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 *Turanians*, eastwards, against the *Medes* and *Persians* ; alledging, 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 *Cambyzes* a long conversation with his son *Cyrus*, previous to his setting out on the expedition, containing much *military* and *political* information. *Cyropæd.* 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, surprized 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.

Cræsus, king of *Lydia*, and the rest of the confederates, being greatly dispirited, retreated homewards, as well as they could, pursued by *Cyrus*. Cyropæd. 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*, Cyropæd. 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 *Cræsus* was taken prisoner in *Sardis*, he “hailed *Cyrus*, χαιρε, ω δεσποτα, as sovereign.” And he disposed of the treasures of *Cræsus*, as a sovereign, Cyropæd. 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 *Labyrinthus*, (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 *Cræsus*, 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*.

† *Ειτις μιν δαιμονων ρυσεται του μη ζωντα κατακαυθηναι.* *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 Khosru*. 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 *Siavesch*, the late king; and who seems to have revolted at his death. *Khosru* gave orders to his generals, *Fraiborz*, his uncle, and *Thur*, 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 Khosru*.

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 *Cræsus* 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 biassed 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 (*ελαμβανον*) 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 *Cyropædia*, the conquest of the *Medes* by the *Persians*, which he here confesses in the *Anabasis*.

But this is an unfounded charge: the verb, *ελαμβανον*, implies *peaceable*, not violent possession. It is so used in the *Cyropædia*, 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 (*ελαβε*) 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, *קבל*, *kibel*, 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 *παρελαβε*, “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* (*απωλεσαν—υπο*) a *Median* queen (*Μηδια γυνη βασιλεως*) 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

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.*

ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ἩΓΕΜΩΝ.

"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, (IAHOH †, 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 יְהוָה, *Iaw*, was derived the Phœnician pronunciation *Ieww*, and from thence, the Greek *Ζευς*. See my *Dissertations*, &c.

PROPHECY CONCERNING CYRUS.

- Isa. xlv. 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*, *Phœnicians*, *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 orders to receive the expresses and posts, coming, in quick succession, "to tell the king that his city was taken *àt 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 waggons.

Cyropæd. 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 126,224,000*l.* sterling.

Pliny notices the tomb of *Cyrus* at *Passagardæ* 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, "whose 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. 163, 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's* tomb.

Unus *Pellæo* *Juveni* non sufficit orbis;
 Æstuat, infelix, angusto limite *Mundi*;
 Ut *Gyaræ* clausus scopulis, parvâque *Seripho* :
 Cum tamen a *figulis munitam* intraverit urbem,
 Sarcophago contentus erit.—*Mors sola fatetur*
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula!

"A single globe suffices not the *Pellæan* 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 *Massagetæ*, 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 *Cræsus*, we are told, he chose the former; and he overreached the hungry *Scythians* by the simple 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

* 1. *Diodorus Siculus* relates that *Cyrus* was taken prisoner by *Tomyris*, and crucified. 2. *Ctesias*, that he was wounded in the thigh by an Indian, in a battle with the *Derbicans*, near *Hyrcania*, of which he died three days after. 3. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, that he was slain in a sea fight, by the *Samians*. All these contradictory reports are refuted by his tomb at *Passagardæ* in *Persia*.

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 *Cræsus*, 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 *Cræsus*, 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 fore ground 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." Cyropæd. B. I. p. 34.

at first under the *Lydian* yoke by *Cræsus*, and afterwards under the *Persian*, by *Cyrus*.

LYDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

I. DYNASTY OF THE HERACLIDÆ. 505 years.

		B.C.
1. <i>Agron</i> , and 20 kings after	505	1223
22d. <i>Candaules</i>		718

II. DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADÆ. 170 years.

1. <i>Gyges</i>	38	718
2. <i>Ardyes</i>	49	680
3. <i>Sadyattes</i>	12	631
4. <i>Alyattes</i>	57	619
Eclipse of <i>Thales</i>		603
5. <i>Cræsus</i>	14	562
— His conversation with <i>Solon</i>		552
—		
— Conquered by <i>Cyrus</i>	170	548

The chronology of this period is adjusted from the lowest date, that of the capture of *Cræsus*; for, ascending upwards from thence, we get the date of the reign of *Agron*, the first of the *Heraclidæ*, 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 *Cræsus*; 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 *Cræsus*, 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 *Cræsus* 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

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 every thing 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 *Æsop*, 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 ἥκιστα, ἢ ὡς ἡδίστα, “as little, or as pleasantly as possible:” *Solon* replied adroitly, ὡς ἥκιστα, ἢ ὡς ἀρίστα, “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:

*Λυδε γενος, πολλων βασιλευ, μεγα νηπιε, Κροισε,
Μη βουλευ πολυευκτον ιην ανα δωματ' ακουειν
Παιδος φθεγγομενου, τοδε σοι πολυ λωιον αμφις
Εμμεναι: αυδησει γαρ εν ήματι πρωτον ανολβω.*

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 *ὑποφηται*, *under-priests*, whose business it 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,

ΣΑΥΤΟΝ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΩΝ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ, ΚΡΟΙΣΕ, ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙΣ,
 “*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 *Cræsus* might be of some use to him, or judging this the safer procedure. *Cyropæd.* B. VII. p. 385—389.

When *Cræsus* 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 *Amphiaræus*, *Trophonius*, and the *Milesian Branchidæ*, 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 *Cræsus*, 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 *.

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

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψαμμου τ' ἀριθμον καὶ μετρα θαλασσης,
Καὶ κωφου συνιημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεντος ακουω,
Ὀδμη μ' ἐς φρενας ἤλθε κραταιρινοιο χελωνης
Ἐσομενης ἐν χαλκῳ ἄμ' ἀρνειοισι κρεεσσιν,
Ἦι χαλκος μὲν ὑπεστρωται, χαλκον δ' ἐπιεσται.

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:

Κροισος, Ἄλυν διαβας, μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει :

“ *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:

Ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡμιμονος βασιλευς Μηδοισι γενηται,
Και τότε, Λυδε ποδαβρε, πολυψηφιδα παρ’ Ἑρμον
Φευγειν μηδε μενειν, μηδ’ αιδεισθαι κακος ειναι.

The two first lines of the translation are from *Littlebury*. *Beloe* has noticed an incorrectness in his last line, where παρ’ Ἑρμον, is rendered “to *Hermus*;” which he changes to “over *Hermus*,” or “across” it. But the preposition, παρα, is scarcely

With these oracular verses, *Cræsus* 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 *Cræsus* 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 *Phocæa*; from which he actually “*fled*” to *Sardis*, after his defeat, fulfilling the Oracle in this circumstance also. § 86, 90.

The first favour *Cræsus*, 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 *Cræsus* was doomed to expiate the crimes of his fifth ancestor, *Gyges**, (see § 13.) who murdered his master *Can-*

ever used singly, in the loco-motive sense of *trans*, for which he contends. It seems here, rather, to be used as a verb, *παρ’*, by a usual apocope, for *παρεστι*, *licet*, or *παρεσται*, *licebit*; as *παρεστι στενειν*, “*there is cause to lament* ;” *Euripides*, *παρεστι χαιρειν*, “*there is cause to rejoice* ;” *Aristophanes*. And also *παρα*, and *παρ’*, are used for *παρεισι*, as *παρ’ εμοι γε και αλλοι*, “*others also assist me,*” *Homer*. *παρα δ’ εργα βοεσσι*, *Hesiod*. This verbal use of it seems to be required by the infinitives following, *φευγειν*, *μεινειν*, *ειναι*, which want a governing indicative verb. The grammatical construction seems to be, *τοτε*, *λυδε ποδαβρε*, *παρεσται* [*σοι*] *φευγειν πολυψηφιδα Ἑρμον*. “*Then, soft-footed Lydian, thou shalt have cause to fly the pebbly Hermus* ;” which seems equivalent to *φευγειν πατριδα*, “*to fly one’s country,*” *Lysias*, *φευγειν την χθονα*, “*to fly one’s native land,*” *φευγειν την πολιν*, “*to fly one’s native city.*” *Nos patriam fugimus*, *Virgil*.

* *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 the attention and anxiety of his friend and ally, *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*; who warned

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 applying for an explanation, to know what empire was to be destroyed, whether the *Lydian*, or the *Persian*; and 3. That *Cræsus* mistook 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 *Xenophon* 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 Θειον ὡς ἐστι 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 του μελλοντος προηγηματος) 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 *Orætes*, 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 invariably 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; nor 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 *Cræsus*, *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 *Amphiaræus*, in that of *Bæotia*, 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, Æacide, Romanos vincere posse*; 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 Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum* fuisset, neque *tantis donis* refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi *omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem* esset experta. *Jamdiu, idem non facit.* Ut igitur nunc, minore gloriâ est, quia minus oraculorum veritate excellit; sic tum, nisi summâ veritate, in tantâ gloriâ non fuisset.

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 terræ, quæ mentem Pythiæ divino afflatu concitabat, evanuisse vetustate*; ut quosdam exaruisse omnes, aut in alium cursum contortos, et deflexos, videamus. Sed ut vis, acciderit; magna enim quæstio est: modo maneat id, (quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus) *multis sæculis verax fuisse 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* (*Cræsus*) would have exposed him to derision." *Bis accusat*. Vol. II. p. 793. But ridicule is not argument, and the munificent oblations of *Cræsus*, 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 *Cræsus*; 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, *Δαίμονες*, from *Δαω*, *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 *Psammiticus*, 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.

† *Dæmones* autem Grammatici dictos aiunt, quasi, *δαίμονας*, id est, *peritos*, ac rerum scios. *Lactant.* Lib. 2. c. 14.

Hos autem putant *Deos* esse: sciunt 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.

Dæmones vero, quæ præmonstrare creduntur, *versutâ calliditate prædicunt*. Quæst. apud *Athanas.* 99, p. 370.

‡ *Omnis spiritus ales*. Hoc, et *angeli* et *dæmones*. Igitur momento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est, quod ubi geratur tam facile sciunt quam enuntiant. *Velocitas*, divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Cæterum *testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis*, eo modo renunciavit *Pythius*; quo supra diximus. Momento apud *Lydiam* fuerat. *Tertull.* Apolog. cap. 22, p. 22.

These extracts are taken from a learned and solid answer to *Van Dale's*, and *Fontenelle's* History of Oracles, by a Frenchman, (probably father *Balteus*, a Jesuit, pro-

these “ministering spirits,” therefore, might have conveyed the intelligence of *Cræsus*’ 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 אֱמֹן, *Amoun*, “*Truth*.” And surely the sages and philosophers, as well as kings, and great men of antiquity, were not less sceptical than *Cræsus*, nor less competent to detect a palpable falsehood, or a disguised fraud.

4. Their *total cessation*—*Delphis 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 controul 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 *Cumæan 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 *Phœbi* nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
Bacchatur *Vates*, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse *Deum*; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premento."

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, *Tanaoxares*, 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. *Cyropæd.* 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 *Nitetic*, 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 *Nitetic* must have been an old woman.

He states next, from the *Egyptians*, that *Nitetic* 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 *Nitetic*, 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*:

Εἰτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἰωσι, πρὸς ἠω τ' ἡλιον τε·

Εἰτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερα τοιγε, ποτι ζοφον ἡροεντα.

ILIAD. xiii. 239.

cus and *Palestine*, including the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians*, “*the Holy City*,” (*Kadutha*, or with a *Greek* termination, *Kαδυτις*, *Kadytis*, as it is called by *Herodotus*. B. II. § 159, III. § 5.) *Herbelot*. Art. *Lohorasp*.

The *Persiau* writers confound this *Persian* invasion with the earlier *Babylonian* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom *Khondemir* held to be *Gudarz*. Others reckoned *Gudarz* to be *Kiresch*, 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 *Pelusiæ*, 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 *Phœnicians*, 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 Δαίμων,) foretold, in vision, should rise up against me," by whom he seemed to understand with *Plato*, μεγιστος Δαίμων, "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*'s, completed the eight years assigned to the latter in *Ptolomy's Canon*. Herod. B. III. § 66.

DARIUS HYSTASPES, OR GUSHITASP.

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 *Artaphrenes*, whom *Herodotus* calls *Intaphernès*; 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 *Achæmenian**, or royal line; and his father, *Hystaspes*, was go-

* *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, reckoned among his ancestors *Arsamis*, *Arinnis*, *Teispeus*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Teispeus*, *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 cloke 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. xlvi. 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. lxxviii. 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 preconcerted 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 δ' Ασιης Ταναϊς δια μεσσον ὀριζει.

Dionys.

“*Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit.*”

Q. Curtius.

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 *Pelusiatic*, 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 Gulph*, 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 Periplous*, 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.

	<i>S. Talents.</i>
1. The <i>Ionians</i> and <i>Magnesians</i> of <i>Asia</i> , the <i>Æolians</i> , <i>Carians</i> , } <i>Lycians</i> , <i>Melyeans</i> , and <i>Pamphylians</i> }	400
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">These occupied an extent of 450 G. miles of sea coast in <i>Asia Minor</i>, from the Gulph of <i>Adramyttium</i>, and the <i>Troade</i>, on the north, round by <i>Cnidus</i>, to <i>Cilicia</i>, on the east.</p>	
2. The <i>Mysians</i> , <i>Lydians</i> , <i>Alysonians</i> , <i>Cabalians</i> , and <i>Hygenians</i> }	500
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the 20 satrapies, was owing to the gold and silver mines of <i>Lydia</i>, and the gold sands of the river <i>Pactolus</i>. The riches of <i>Cræsus</i> were proverbial.</p>	
3. On the east side of the <i>Hellespont</i> , the <i>Phrygians</i> and } <i>Thracians</i> of <i>Asia</i> , the <i>Paphlagonians</i> , <i>Maryandinians</i> , } and <i>Syrians</i> , [or <i>Cappadocians</i>] }	360
4. The <i>Cilicians</i>	500
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">These four provinces composed the whole of <i>Asia Minor</i>.</p>	
5. <i>Phœnicia</i> , the <i>Syrian Palestine</i> , and the Isle of <i>Cyprus</i> ; } from the city of <i>Posidæum</i> , on the frontiers of <i>Cilicia</i> } and <i>Syria</i> , as far as <i>Mount Casius</i> and the <i>Sirbonic</i> lake, } bordering on <i>Egypt</i> }	350
6. <i>Egypt</i> , and the <i>Africans</i> , bordering on <i>Egypt</i> , as far as } <i>Cyrene</i> and <i>Barcæ</i> }	700
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake <i>Mæris</i>, amounting to 240 talents per annum. Herod. B. II. § 149, (which was a perquisite to the</p>	

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*. 1000
 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*. 300
 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 } 450
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*, *Pausicæ*, *Pantimathi* and *Daritæ*, }
 [including *Hyrkania*] } 200
- 11. (18) The *Matieni*, *Saspirians*, and *Alarodians* 200
 The *Saspirians* occupied the eastern part of *Armenia*.
- 12. (13) *Pactyica*, the *Armenians*, &c. 400
 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 } 300
 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.

	<i>S. Talents.</i>
14. The <i>Sangartians</i> , <i>Sarangæans</i> [of <i>Sigistan</i>], the <i>Thama-næans</i> , <i>Utians</i> , and <i>Mencians</i> [of <i>Carmania</i>] with the islands of the <i>Red Sea</i> (or <i>Persian Gulph</i>) to which the king banished state-offenders.....	600
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">The intermediate country of <i>Persia</i> proper, (whose principal tribes were the <i>Arteatae</i>, <i>Persæ</i>, <i>Pasagardæ</i>, <i>Maraphii</i>, and <i>Masprians</i>) were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.</p>	
15 (16) The <i>Parthians</i> , <i>Chorasmians</i> , <i>Sogdians</i> and <i>Arians</i>	300
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">These occupied the mountainous tract between <i>Hyrkania</i>, <i>Margiana</i>, <i>Asia</i>, and the desert of <i>Choras-mia</i>.</p>	
16. (7) The <i>Sattagydiens</i> , the <i>Gandarii</i> , <i>Dadicae</i> , and <i>As-sarytæ</i> of <i>Margiana</i>	170
17. (12) The <i>Bactrians</i> as far as <i>Aglos</i>	360
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">Or from <i>Balk</i> to <i>Kilan</i>, or <i>Ghilan</i>.</p>	
18. (15) The <i>Sacæ</i> , and <i>Caspîi</i> [or rather <i>Casians</i> of <i>Kashgur</i>]	250
19. (17) The <i>Paricani</i> , and long haired <i>Ethiopiens</i> of <i>Asia</i>	400
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">These were the <i>Oritæ</i> of <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Nearchus</i>; and inhabited <i>Haur</i>, <i>Makran</i>, and other provinces in the south east angle of <i>Persia</i>, towards <i>India</i>.</p>	
<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>	
The sum total	
	7740
20. The <i>Indians</i> .	
<p style="margin-left: 40px;">These inhabited the extensive provinces of <i>Kabul</i>, <i>Kandahar</i>, and <i>Scindia</i>, west of the <i>Indus</i>; and the <i>Panjab</i>, that rich stripe of coast east of the <i>Indus</i> *. They paid (600) 300 talents in gold ingots. Differing in this respect from the other satrapies, whose pay-ments were in silver talents.</p>	

* 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 *Padæi*, 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 sævis celebrans convivia mensis,
Ultima, vicinus Phœbo, tenet arva Padæus.*

“ Nor does the *Padæan*, 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 *Padæi*, 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 *Mæris*, 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 *Gangaridæ* of later Greek writers." *Rennel's Herod.* p. 310.

* Instead of the present reading, τεσσαρακοντα και πεντακοσια και εινακισχιλια, 9540, the *Sanscroft* MSS. read, ογδωκοντα και οκτακοσια και εινακισχιλια, 9880, and in the margin, the numeral letters, ΘΩΠ, giving the same amount. See *Larcher's Herodot.* Tom. III. p. 334, edit. 1.

† That this is the true amount of the gold talents, not 600, is demonstrated by their reduction to *Euboic* talents: for $13 \times 360 = 4680$, the specific number of *Herodotus*.

‡ 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 *chaenixes* of unrefined gold dust, once every three years, or about the value of eighty guineas; reckoning with *Arbutnot*, the *chaenix* 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, *ἰππευς και τοξοτης αριστος*, "*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 re-coined 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 193*l.* 15*s.*, the whole amount of the 14560 talents was only 2,821,000*l.*, short of three millions sterling. The richest province of *Babylon*, including *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, paid only 1000 talents, or 193,750*l.* sterling; and the fertile commercial province of *Egypt* was only taxed in money, 700 talents, or 135,625*l.* 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 *Mosambique*, 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 342*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* for a *Jewish* silver talent, according to *Arbuthnot*, and a gold talent, 4108*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* supposing, with *Herodotus*, gold to be only thirteen times the value, would amount to 2,736,494*l.*, 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 Mede*, 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 Mede*.

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 226*l.* each, would give 452,000*l.*; and the 3,393,000 staters, at 1*l.* 5*s.* a piece, amounted to 3,841,250*l.*, 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 15¾ to 1. P. 314, note. And *Arbuthnot*, in his book on weights, measures, and coins, reckoned silver at 5*s.* an ounce, and gold at 4*l.* that is as 5*s.* to 80*s.*, 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 Cæsar*, 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 *Ozeir*, (*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* spake 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 *Gushtasp*, 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 Nesosch*, 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 retreats to the right foot ; and by successive ablutions from the toes of the right foot to the toes of the left ; and when these are washed, the *Daroudj Nesosch* 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 surprized 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 *Platæans*. 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 *Kadessia*, 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 *Persic* 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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $11\frac{1}{2}$ 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 *Celænæ*, *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 *Platæa* and *Mycalæ*, 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 ἐφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνυεὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψῖν τῶν πολιῶν· λεγοντες ἡλίον εἶναι Ἑλληνῶν προδεκτορα, σελήνην δὲ, σφέων. *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 carcase, 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

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 “*viceroi* 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 *Salamis* and *Platea*: 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 *Lacedæmonians* at *Thermopylæ*, 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 *Sacæ*, (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-

* This exact number of 1207, is vouched by *Æschylus*, in his *Persæ*. 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.

	<i>Herodot.</i>	<i>Diodor.</i>
1. <i>Phœnician</i> ships	300	300
2. <i>Ægyptians</i>	200	200
3. <i>Cyprians</i>	150	150
4. <i>Cilicians</i>	100	80
5. <i>Pamphylians</i>	30	40
6. <i>Lycians</i>	50	40
7. <i>Dorians</i>	30	40
8. <i>Carians</i>	70	80
9. <i>Ionians</i>	100	100
10. <i>Islanders</i>	17	50
11. <i>Æolians</i>	60	40
12. <i>Hellespontians</i>	100	80
	1207	1200

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 *Artemisium* and *Salamis*.

† These additional 30 men, *ανδρες*, are distinguished from the *sailors*, by the expression, *οὗτος αλλος ὄμιλος*, “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 *Παναθηναϊκος*, 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 reconcileable, 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 *Thermopylæ*, 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*, *Sacæ*, *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 *Thermopylæ*, nor the army of *Mardonius* at *Platæa*. 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

* 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.

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* any where, 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 625,000*l.* or for a year, 7,500,000*l.* 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*, *Cambyzes*, and *Darius Hystaspes* were immense, as

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 *Eubœa* (or southward;) and others, *Thyssus*, *Cleone*, *Acrotha*, *Olophyrus*, 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 superintendant 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

* Απο του βασιλεως διορυγματος.

† Παρ’ αυτην την διωρυχα.

‡ *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.

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 *Lacedæmonians* 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 *Thermopylæ*, 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 *Thermopylæ* 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 *Thespians**, 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.

<i>Spartans</i>	300	} from <i>Peloponnesus</i> .
<i>Tegeatæ</i>	500	
<i>Mantineans</i>	500	
<i>Orchomenians</i>	120	
<i>Arcadians</i>	1000	
<i>Corinthians</i>	400	
<i>Phlyontians</i>	200	} from other parts of <i>Greece</i> .
<i>Mycæniens</i>	80	
<i>Thespians</i>	700	
<i>Thebans</i>	400	
<i>Phocæans</i>	1000	
<i>Opuntian Locrians</i>	[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 roundnumbers,) *Diodorus* only 1,000; which is here adopted.

* *Herodotus* says that when *Leonidas* dismissed the rest of the confederate troops at *Thermopylæ*, (because in reality they would not stay themselves upon a *forlorn hope*,) he kept the *Thespians* 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 *Artachæes*, a prime favourite, and superintendant of the canal at *Athos*, is thus described, *ετυμβοχοεε δε πασα η στρατια*. “The whole army heaped his tomb.” B. VII. § 117.

The *barrow* raised by *Agamemnon* and the *Græcian* army in honour of their countrymen who fell at *Troy*, is thus described by *Homer*.

Αμφ' αυτοισι δ' επειτα, μεγαν και αμυμονα τυμβον
Χευαμεν Αργειων ιερος στρατος αιχηητων,

“ The *Lacedæmonians*, O stranger, tell,
That here, obeying their *sacred laws* *, we fell.” § 228.

After his dear bought victory at *Thermopylæ*, verifying *Demaratus*' previous information to *Xerxes* of the determined spirit of the *Lacedæmonians*, 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 †

Ακτη επι προυχουση επι πλατει Ἑλλησποντω
Ως κεν τηλεφανης εκ ποντοφιν ανδρασιν ειη
Τοις οἱ νυν γεγρασι, και οἱ μετοπισθεν εσονται.

“ Over them, next, a great and faultless tomb
The sacred corps of *Argive* warriors heap,
On the wide *Hellespont's* projecting coast;
Conspicuous far, to mariners at sea,
Both of the present and the future race.” *Odys.* xxiv. 84.

The size of the barrow was usually proportioned to the rank of the deceased; and the simplicity of the structure, and its pyramidal, or conical form, rendered it both frequent and durable all over the world.

* Ω ξειν', αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις, οτι τηδε
Κειμεθα, τοις κεινων ρημασι πειθομενοι.

The *Spartan* laws forbid them to fly from an enemy, under whatsoever disadvantage. They were called *ρηματα*, 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 *Lacedæmon*, before. But they are by no means inconsistent: he might now despair of the *Græcian* 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 controuling authority of the *Persian* government, to repress those horrid violences of *intestine faction*, and *civil discord*, by which every *Græcian* 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 *Græcian* 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 *Achæmenes*, 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.

<i>Athenians</i>	127, with <i>Platean</i> marines,
<i>Corinthians</i>	40
<i>Megareans</i>	20
<i>Chalcidians</i>	20
<i>Æginetæ</i>	18
<i>Sicyonians</i>	12
<i>Lacedæmonians</i>	10
<i>Epidaurians</i>	8
<i>Eretrians</i>	7
<i>Træzenians</i>	5
<i>Styreans</i>	2
<i>Ceos</i>	2

Ships of war

Frigates of 50 oars

171, and 53 afterwards, Athenian. B. VIII. § 14.
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 *Eubæa*, out of a sum of money, (thirty talents) which, by his advice, the *Eubæans* 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 *Græcian* fleet." B. VIII. § 1—13.

Though the *Persians* suffered more severely indeed, yet the *Græcians* 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 μελεοι, τι καθησθε; λιπων, φευγ' εσχατα γαιης
 Δωματα, και πολιοσ τροχοειδεος ακρα καρηνα.
 Ουτε γαρ ή κεφαλη μενει εμπεδον, ουτε το σωμα,
 Ουτε ποδες νεατοι, ουτ' ων χερες, ουτε τι μεσσης
 Λειπεται, αλλ' αζηλα πελει. κατα γαρ μιν ερειπει
 Πυρ τε και οξυς Αρης, Συριηγενες άρμα διωκων.
 Πολλα δε καλλ' απολει πυργωματα, κου το σον οιον.
 Πολλους δ' αθανατων νηους μαλερω πυρι δωσει,
 Οί που νυν ιδρωτι ρεουμενοι έστηκασι,
 Δειματι παλλομενοι. κατα δ' ακροτατοις οροφοισι
 Αίμα μελαν κεχυνται, προιδον κακότητος αναγκας,
 Αλλ' ιτον εξ αδυτοιο, κακοις δ' επικιδνατε θυμον.

“ Unfortunate 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.

Ου δυναται Παλλας Δι' Ολυμπιον εξιλασασθαι,
Λισσομενη πολλοισι λογοις και μητιδι πυκνη,
Σοι δε τοδ' αυτις επος ερειω, αδαμαντι πελασσας.
Των αλλων γαρ αλισκομενων, οσα Κεκροπος ουρος
Εντος εχει, κευθμων τε Κιθαιρωνος ζαθειοι,
Τειχος Τριτογενει ξυλινον διδοι ευρυοπα Ξευς
Μουνον απορθητον τελεθειν, το σε τεκνα τ' ονησει.
Μηδε συ γ' ιπποσυννην τε μενειν και πεζον ιοντα
Πολλον απ' ηπειρου στρατον ησυχος, αλλ' υποχωρειν,
Νωτον επιστρεψας· ετι τοι κοτε καντιος εσση·
Ω θειη Σαλαμις, απολεις δε συ τεκνα γυναικων,
Η που σκιδναμενης Δημητερος, η συνιουσης.

" *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 *Cithæron'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

* *Cithæron*, a mountain in *Bœotia*, famous for the orgies of *Bacchus* ; it bounded *Attica*.

———— Qualis, commotis excita sacris,
Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica *Baccho*
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore *Cithæron*.

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 tutelary divinity, by *Erectheus*, 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 *Græcian*, at *Salamis*; and that auspicious day, which gave liberty to *Greece*. B. VIII. § 77.

Ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτεμιδος χρυσαορου ἱερον ακτην
 Νηυσι γεφυρωσωσι, και εἰναλιην Κυνοσουραν,
 Ἐλπιδι μαινομενη λιπαρας περσαντες Ἀθηνας,
 Δια Δικη σβεσσει κρατερον κορον Ὑβριος υἱον,
 Δεινον μαιμωντα, δοκευντ' ανα παντα πυθεσθαι.
 Χαλκος γαρ χαλκῳ συμμιζεται, αἵματι δ' Ἀρης
 Ποντον φοινηζει. τοτ' ελευθερον Ἑλλαδος ημαρ
 Ευρυοπα Κρουιδης επαγει, και ποτνια Νικη.

“Whene'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.”

Ἀρτεμις is properly *Diana*; but here the epithet, *χρυσαορου*, “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*. *Χαλκος*, 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 *ευρυοπα*, “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*, (*μηδίζοντων δε προθυμως.*) B. VII. § 138, 139.

If we consider the period in which *Herodotus* wrote these reflections, when the *Lacedæmonians* had obtained the ascendancy 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 *Thermopylæ*, *Xerxes* marched his army into *Attica*, which he entered *four* months after he had crossed the *Helles-*

* *Mitford*, 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*.

pont. 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 *Cyrtilus*, 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 *Cræsus*, 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. 395; 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 surprize 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.

Triremes.

Lacedæmonians	16	} <i>Peninsula.</i>
Corinthians	40	
Sicyonians	15	
Epidaurians	10	
Træzenians	5	
Hermionians	3	} <i>Continent.</i>
Megareans	20	
Ambraciotæ	7	
Leucadians	3	

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 *Thermopylæ*, 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 *Cythnus*, 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,

Æginetæ	30	}	<i>Islanders.</i>
Chalcidians	20		
Eretrians	7		
Ceos	7		
Naxians	4		
Styreans.....	2		
Crotoniates and others	[9]		
	198		
Athenians	180		
	378		

Frigates of Fifty Oars.

Cythnians	1
Melians	2
Siphnians	1
Seriphians	1
	5

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 *Ægina*, 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 *Alcæus*, 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 λιθοι, ουδε ξυλα, ουδε
 Τειχεα τεκτονων αι πολεις εισιν·
 Αλλ' όπου ποτ' αν ωσι ανδρες,
 Αυτους 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 *Lacedæmonians*, 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 *Lacedæmonians*, 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 *Platæa*) kept their station quietly, when sent for; knowing the genius of the *Lacedæmonians*, 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 רב יועץ, *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 Shakeh*, "*chief butler*." Isa. xxxvi. 2. Hence, the Jewish title, *Rabbi*, "*my master*."

by a stratagem*. He sent by night a trusty friend to *Xerxes*, to apprize 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 *Greeian* fleet:

" Advance, ye sons of Greece, from thralldom 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 *Æschylus*, 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 *Αθηνη*, 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 *μυστηρια*, “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, *Ἐκας εσπε βεβηλοι*, *Procul este 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*, יְהוָה, IAH, or IACH, strongly aspirated, and stript of its Greek termination, ος. 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 ΙΑΩ?" (—The God of Israel, יְהוָה, *Iahoh*.)

Οργια μὲν δεδαωτας εχρηνη νηπευθεα κευθειν·
 Εν δ' απατη παυρη συνεσις και νους αλαπαδνος·
 Φραζεο τον παντων ὑπατον Θεον εμμεν' ΙΑΩ·
 Χειματι μὲν τ' ΑΙΔΗΝ· ΔΙΑ δ' ειαρος αρχομενοιο·
 ΗΕΛΙΟΝ δε θερευς· Μετοπωρου δ' αβρον ΙΑΚΧΟΝ [ΙΑΩ].

"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.]

Macrob. Saturnal. Lib. I. 18.

Thus explained by *Orpheus*:

ΕΙς ΖΕΥΣ, εἰς ἈΔΗΣ, εἰς ἭΛΙΟΣ, εἰς ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.

"One DIS, one PLUTO, one SUN, one BACCHUS."

Here the last term, *Διονυσος*, (signifying, according to *Macrobios*, *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 *Iaw*, (as in the present text of *Macrobios*,) 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 *Δημητηρ*, "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 *δαδουχος*, "the torch-bearer," and *κηρυξ*, "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,

* *Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.* "Without corn and wine, love cools." Proverb.

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 *Δηναϊκα*, or "festival of the *wine-press*," corresponding to this, the torch-bearer cried out to the people, *Καλειτε Θεον*, "Call ye upon God;" and they answered *Σεμελη, Ιακχε, πλουτοδοτα*. Here the term *Σεμελη* scarcely admits a grammatical or intelligible construction; but, connected with the Hebrew *יאכχε*, or *Iach*, may it not easily denote *יְשִׁמָּה*, *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 *ΙΑΗ*, *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, *Semele*, 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 *Similæ* †," *Lib.* XXXIX. cap. 12, which *Crevier*, in his note, ignorantly turned into *Stimulæ*.

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 *Ενοι Σαβοι!* a corruption of *Ιεω Σαβαωθ*, "Lord of Hosts;" or *Ιω, Δεσποτα!* "Sovereign, Lord;" *ελεευ Ιου*, a corruption of *Halelu-Iah*, "Praise ye the Lord;" where *Ιεω* is the *Phœnician* pronunciation of *Iaw*; and *Ιω* and *Ιου* *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, Pacsha*. 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 *Æneas* to *Hades*, or the *Shades*, where they saw the good in *Elysium*, the wicked in *Tartarus*.

† Both the Greek *Σεμελη*, and the Latin *Similæ*, preserve the *Iota* subscriptum, corresponding to the last Hebrew letter, *Iod*, and prove the identity of all three, *Shema-li*, *Σεμελη*, and *Similæ*.

‡ From the Hebrew *אֵין*, *Aun*, or *Aōn*, or Chaldee *אֵין*, *Hōn*, 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 *Phœnician* *Aun*, *Aon*, or *On*, *Gen.* xli. 45—50; *Josh.* vii. 2; *Ezek.* xxx. 17; the *Greek* *ων*, and in the neuter *ον*; the *Chinese* *yn*, or *un*; the *Hindu* and *Eleusinian* *Aum* or *Om*; and the *Irish* *Omh*; which was well explained by *Orpheus*, *Αυτοφυης*, "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 *Vix*, 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 ‘Ο επι βωμῶν, “the priest of the altar,” out of a book called *πετρωμα*, (from *πετρα*, a stone,) which was composed of two stone tablets, fitly joined together, to be their future rule of conduct. “The initiated were required,” says *Porphry*, “to honour their parents, 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*, יהוה, *Iah*, was also the *Patriarchal God*, signifying “the same,” or “unchangeable;” and יהוה, 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.
IAHOH is a *man of war*, IAHOH 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 *fideli tuta silentio*
Merces : vetabo qui *Cereris sacrum*
Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat Phaselum.——— OD. III. 2, 25.

And in his *Bacchanalian Odes* he evidently describes those *pantomime* exhibitions, Od. II. 19; III. 25.

BACCHUM in *remotis carmina rupibus*
Vidi docentem,—*credite Poster!*———
Euoe! (εὐοι) *recenti mens trepidat metu*,
Plenoque Bacchi pectore, turbidum
Lætatur. *Euoe!* *parce, Liber*,
Parce, *gravi metuende thyrso*.———
Tu *flectis amnes*, tu, *mare barbarum!*———
Te vidit, *insons Cerberus*, aureo
Cornu decorum.———
Quo me, BACCHE, *rapis tui*
Plenum! *quæ nemora*, aut quos agor in *specus*,

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 *μυσται*, "*Mystics*," or Novices, from their imperfect views; in the higher, *εποπται*, "*inspectors*," and *τελειοι*, "*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 *Phædo*, 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*, (*τελεταις*) were no ordinary persons; for in reality, thereby was *enigmatically* signified (*αινιττεισθαι*) of old, that whoever was *not initiated* in the lower, and *not perfected* in the higher mysteries, (*αμνητος, και απελεστος*) should go to *Hades*, and there lie in mire; but whoever had been both *purified* and *perfected*, (*κεκαθαρμενος τε και τετελεσμενος*) 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

Velox, mente novâ! —————
 Nil mortale loquar, dulce periculum est,
 (Ιω Ληναε) ΙΟ ΛΕΝÆΕ! sequi Deum
 Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

Here we descry the *delivery of the law* on the craggy precipices of the remote *Sinai*; the *plenary inspiration*, or *frantic possession* of the roaming votaries in *wilds* and *caves*, of this *great and terrible GOD*, with his *Thyrsus*, or *Moses' rod*, turning the course of the river *Jordan* and the *Red Sea*. His triumph over *Hades*, in his own resurrection, and that of his followers; and his titles, by which he was invoked in the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

The apostrophe, *Credite Posteris*, refers to all this as *ancient mythology*.

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 *απορρητα*, “*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.

See *Potter's Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 389—393. *Bos's Antiquities of Greece*, with *Leisner's* notes, p. 116, &c. *Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, Vol. I. p. 131—138. And also the *Asiatic Researches*, for similar mysteries in the East.

* Θειον το φθγγομενον.

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. *Dicæus*, the son of *Theocydes*, 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-

* Την φωνήν, της ακουεις, εν ταυτη τη έορτη, ιακχαζουσι. 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 *Ionian*." 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 *Bæotia*; where he appointed *Mardonius* to the command of a select army of 300,000 chosen men, to remain in *Thessaly* during the winter, and to attack *Peloponnesus* 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 *Phœnician* 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

* The original expression is remarkably strong, though simple. *Ἀπαγών της στρατίας οὐδὲν μέρος, ὡς εἶπαι.* 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 chuse; 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 contemptuously 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 (μηδισαντες), 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 *Platæa*, 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 *Bœotia*, 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 *Bœotia*, 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 *Bœotia*, 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

* 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 *Lacedæmonian* band had marched toward the Isthmus, and fearing to be attacked by the confederates in *Attica*, which was disadvantageous 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 calculated 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, *Attaginus*, 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 drinking 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-

* *Æchylus*, 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 avails
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 *Bœotia'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
Levelled 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 *Platæa'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 beseeem
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 *Platæa*, 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 *Plateæ*.

A few days after this entertainment, furnished *Mardonius* with a striking specimen of *Grecian* spirit. Among his auxiliaries, he was joined by a body of a thousand *Phoceans*, rather from necessity than inclination. Either suspecting their fidelity, 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 exhorted his men “*to die like heroes, and shew those barbarians, that the men, whose death they meditated, were Grecians.*” Accordingly, the *Phoceans* faced about every way, and closed their ranks in column. Upon which, the *Persian* cavalry wheeled 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 *Bœotia*, 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 *Plateæ*, not far from *Thebes*. B. IX. § 19—25.

BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

Their army consisted of 110,000 men *, the flower of which, were the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeatæ*, 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 *Phocæans*, *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 *Platæa*, beginning from the right wing to the left; and the corresponding order of the enemy. B. IX. § 28—32.

Lacedæmonians	10,000	} Persians, &c.
Tegeatæ	1500	
Corinthians	5000	} Medes, &c.
Potidæans.....	300	
Arcadians	600	
Sicyonians	3000	} Bactrians, &c.
Epidaurians	800	
Træzenians	1000	
Lepreatæ	200	
Mycenians.....	400	} Indians, &c.
Phliasians.....	1000	
Hermionians	300	
Eretrians	600	} Sacæ, &c.
Chalcidians	400	
Ampraciataæ	500	} Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thes- saliens, 1000 Phocæans, &c. amounting to about 50,000.
Leucadians	800	
Cephalenians	200	
Æginetæ.....	500	
Megareans	3000	}
Platæans	600	
Athenians.....	8000	
<hr/>		
Heavy armed troops.....	38700	
Light armed Helots.....	35000	
Light armed other Greeks	34500	
<hr/>		
	108200	
Thespians without arms	1800	
<hr/>		
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 *Tegeatæ*, and 52 *Athenians* ; and the whole amounted only to 1360 men, according to *Plutarch*. B. IX. § 41—89.

The battle of *Platæa* 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 *Platæa*, 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 *Platæa*, 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 *Pthiasians*, 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 renegade 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 *Platea**, 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 *Bœotia*. *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 scimeter 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 *Platæa* 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 enterprize was intended by the *Persian* admiral, got leave to retire to their own ports, before the *Æquinoctial* storms should set in. B. IX. § 96.

† *Plutarch* observes, that *Pausanias*, and the *Grecian* confederates at *Platæa*, con-

were routed at *Platæa*, 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 *Platæa* 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 *Cithæron*, to *Pan*, and the nymphs *Sphragitides*, (from *σφραγις*, "a seal," intimating a sacred silence); if they sacrifice to the heroes *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypsiion*, *Actæon*, and *Polyidus*; 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 *Platæans*, 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 *Cithæron*, 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. That nothing might be wanting to fulfil the Oracle, the *Platæans*, 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 "*Cecrops*' hilly land, as extending to *Cithæron*."

This generosity of the *Platæans* was afterwards, in their adversity, remembered and rewarded by *Alexander the Great*; who, when he had conquered *Asia*, ordered the walls of *Platæa* to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald, at the *Olympic* games, "That the king granted this favour to the *Platæans*, 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 *fæderal* 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, *Hamestris*, 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, *Masistes*, 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 *Sacæ* to revolt. But *Xerxes* 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 *Aspasia* 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 *Artabanus*, 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 *Masistes*, intending to dispatch him in turn. But *Artaxerxes* anticipated his treason, and cut off him and his family

* *Raro antecedentem Scelestum*

Deseruit, pede, Pœna, claudo.—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 pœna pro culpâ 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 *Judea*, 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

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 Bosphorus, 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 *Lacedæmonians* 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 *Lacedæmonians* 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 *Bæotian* 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 *Bæotia*; and in like manner, *Argos* lost her dependant states in the Peninsula, *Mycenæ*, *Epidaurus*, and *Træzene*. *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 40,000*l.* on his accession to the

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-councillors 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 NOTHIUS.

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 *Lacedæmonians* 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-*

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 (*διαβαλλει*) *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 ψευδως*, "*to accuse falsely*;" and *εὐλαβου τας διαβολας κὰν ψευδεις ωσι*.

who praises "*the magnanimity of Cyrus,*" and represents him as "*an honour to human nature.*" Hist. of Greece, chap. xxv.

In his rebellions 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 *Agésilas* 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 *Agésilas* 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 *Clazomenæ*, 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 Lacedæmonian 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?

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 enterprizing 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.

ARSES.

The reign of *Arses* was short; for in his third year, *Bagoas* finding that his treasons were likely to be punished by the young

* The original is very expressive, and not easily translated: ὥστε ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλιππου δεινότητα μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὄρμην, καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. — ὡς ὁ παῖς οὗτος, βασιλεὺς μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος, πλουσιός! The unusual compound, μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη, implies "a disposition to employ himself about great objects," which was highly characteristic of *Alexander*.

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 *Leb-tarikh*, 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 Namè*, 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 *Perinthians*, 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 επιτηδεια*) “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 *μεγαλοπραγμοσυνη*, “*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 *Hecatombeon*, 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 Διου 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* dress. Acts xvi. 9—11. See Vol. III. p. 518, of this work.

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 gallies, 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 governors 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, *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, not to risk a pitched battle with *Alexander’s* veterans, but to waste the country before him; and to make a powerful diversion, 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;

* Αναξιον 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*. *Arian*, *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 risque

* 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, imperial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment.

Φιλιππος Αριστοτελει χαιρειν.

Ισθι μοι γεγονοτα υιον πολλην ουν τοις Θεοις χαριν εχω, ουχ ουτως επι τη γενεσει του παιδος, ως επι τω κατα την σην ηλικιαν αυτον γεγονεναι· ελπιζω γαρ αυτον υπο σου τραφεντα και παιδευθεντα, αξιον εσεσθαι και ημων, και της των πραγματων διαδοχης.

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 arrogance 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* hastened toward *Syria* to meet him. They missed each other in the night, and finding their mistake, both turned back, *Alexander* rejoicing to catch his enemy entangled in the *Syrian* straits, 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 midnight, 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. *Alexander* 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."

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 *Phœnicia*. 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 repeople *Tyre*, from the adjacent countries; improved in its harbours or basons, 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 sands; 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-

* *Αμουν*, 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*.

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.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Alexander</i> the Great	8 (332)	331
2. <i>Philip Aridaeus</i>	6 (324)	323
First Partition of the Provinces .....	....	323
3. <i>Alexander Ægus</i>	5	317
4. <i>Seleucus Nicator</i>	32	312
Second Partition of the Provinces .....	....	310
Final Partition of the Empire .....	....	301
5. <i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	280
6. <i>Antiochus Theos</i>	15	261
7. <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i>	17	246
<i>Parthian</i> dynasty	102	229

* 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-Græcian* 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 adverting 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 *Cambyzes* 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, 226*l.* would give 90,570,000*l.*; 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 1400*l.* 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 *Parætacæ*, 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-

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 hardier 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.

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 *Penjab*, nearer their sources, and to avoid the desarts 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-

swered, “*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*; *Nicæa*, 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

* 'Οτι, βασιλικως, μοι χρησηθαι, ω Αλεξανδρε. The word βασιλικως 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, soothing 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.

* Νομιζειν μεν γαρ δη τον ενθαδε βιον ως αν ακμην κυομενον ειναι, τον δε θανατον γενεσιν εις τον οντως βιον, και τον ευδαιμονα τοις φιλοσοφησασι.

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' η καλως ζην, η καλως τεθνηκεναι
Τον ευγενη δει.

Sophocl. 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 ἀτοπῷ τῆς τολμῆς,) 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 following fine observation we owe to *Jortin*. *Eccles. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 45.

"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 enterprize, 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 enterprize, 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 *Pasargadæ*, 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 *Chaspes*; he formed a bason at *Babylon*, capable of holding a thousand gallies; he restrained the inundations of the *Euphrates*, by cutting new canals; he sent vessels to explore the

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 *Hephestion*, saying that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, likewise, *Perdiccas*, *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 *Phœnician* voyage, in *Pharaoh Necho's* days.

† Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξη, και ανοητε, και ματην πολλα περι την Ἑλλησποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν· οὕτως εμφορονεις βασιλεις Ασιν Ευρωπη συναπτουσι, ου ξυλοις, ουδε σχεδιαις, ουδε αψυχοις και ασυμπαθεσι δεσμοις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμω, και γαμοις σωφροσι, και κοινωνιαις παιδων, τα γενη συναπτουντες. *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 *Cæsar* ; when *Cæsar* 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 panegyric of *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. *Cæle 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

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 *Sacæ*, overthrowing the *Uxians*, *Arachotians* and *Drangæ*, and acquiring the *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, and *Hyrceanians*, 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 *pæans* 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 Chaldæan 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 ascer-

* *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 atchieved in the short compass of his reign, is altogether astonishing. When asked once, by what means he had effected such wonderful things, he answered, μηδεν 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 controul, 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*

* Ουκουν ουδ' εμοιγε εξω του Θεου φναι αν δοκει ανηρ, ουδενι αλλη ανθρωπων εοικως.

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 dissensions and convulsions after his death, kindled by the ambition of his generals; and to have despaired 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 *Antipater*; *Armenia* to *Neoptolemus*; *Mesopotamia* to *Arcesilas*; *Babylonia* to *Seleucus*; *Media* to *Atropates*, the father-in-law of *Perdiccas*; *Persia* to *Peucestes*; *Thrace* to *Lysimachus*; *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*; besides several of the *Asiatic* provinces which were left under the government 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 Aridæus*, 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*, *Cœle 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*, *Cœle 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 *Petavius*. *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 stript him of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*. 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.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Arsaces</i> , or <i>Arshak</i> , or <i>Aschek</i>	7	229
2. <i>Arsaces</i> II. or <i>Arshak</i> II.....	27	222
3. <i>Priapatius</i> , or <i>Schabour</i> , or <i>Padeshahi Buzusk</i>	15	195
4. <i>Phraates</i> , or <i>Baharam</i> , or <i>Firouz</i>	12	180
5. <i>Mithridates</i>	37	168
6. <i>Phraates</i> II. or <i>Firouz</i> II.	9	131
7. <i>Artabanus</i> , or <i>Ardevan</i>	1	122
8. <i>Pacorus</i>	53	121
9. <i>Phraates</i> III. or <i>Khosrou</i>	12	68
10. <i>Orodes</i>		
<i>Mithridates</i> II. }	20	56
<i>Orodes</i> again }		
11. <i>Phraates</i> IV. or <i>Khosrou</i> II.	40	36
		A.D.
12. <i>Orodes</i> II.....	11	4
13. <i>Vonones</i> , or <i>Narses</i>	3	15
14. <i>Artabanus</i> II. } or <i>Ardevan</i> II.		
<i>Tiridates</i> }	30	18
<i>Artabanus</i> again }		
15. <i>Gotarzes</i>		
<i>Maherdates</i> }	2	48
<i>Vonones</i> II. }		
16. <i>Vologeses</i>	19	50
17. <i>Artabanus</i> III.....	8	69
18. <i>Pacorus</i> II.	30	77
19. <i>Chosroes</i>	59	107
20. <i>Vologeses</i> II.....	28	166
21. <i>Vologeses</i> III.	22	194
22. <i>Arabanus</i> IV. or <i>Ardevan</i> III.....	9	216
<i>Persian</i> dynasty	454	225

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. II. 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 *Achemenidæ*, 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 *Dahæ* 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 *Aschganides*. 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 *Hyrkania*, 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*.

PACORUS

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 *Prætor*, 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 prætor*. 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 *Carrhæ*, 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 *Carrhæ*, 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!

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 *Hyrcauus*, king of *Judea*, in his exile; and when *Herod* sent an embassy to *Phraates*, to permit *Hyrcauus* to return to *Jerusalem*, the *Parthian* king dissuaded *Hyrcauus* from going home, but in vain; where he was sacrificed some time after, to the wicked policy of the *Idumæan*. 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,

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.

	Y.	M.	A.D.
1. <i>Artaxares</i> , or <i>Ardschir ben Babek</i>	14	10	. . . . 225
2. <i>Sapor</i> , or <i>Schabour</i>	31		. . . . 240
3. <i>Hormisdas</i> , or <i>Hormouz</i>	1		. . . . 271
4. <i>Vararanes</i> , or <i>Baharam</i>	3		. . . . 272
5. <i>Vararanes II.</i> or <i>Baharam II.</i>	17		. . . . 275
6. <i>Narses</i> , or <i>Narsi</i>	(7) 8		. . . . 292
7. <i>Misdates</i> , or <i>Hormouz</i>	7	5	. . . . 300
8. <i>Sapor II.</i> or <i>Schabour doulaktaf.</i>	70		. . . . 307
9. <i>Artaxerxes</i> , or <i>Ardschir</i>	4		. . . . 377
10. <i>Sapor III.</i> or <i>Schabour ben Schabour.</i>	5		. . . . 381
11. <i>Vararanes IV.</i> or <i>Kerman Schah</i>	11		. . . . 386
12. <i>Isdegertes</i> , or <i>Jezdegerd al Athim</i>	21		. . . . 397
13. <i>Vararanes V.</i> or <i>Baharam Gour</i>	23		. . . . 418
14. <i>Vararanes VI.</i> or <i>Jezdegerd ben Baharam.</i> (17)	18		. . . . 441
15. <i>Peroz</i> , or <i>Firouz</i>	20		. . . . 459
16. <i>Valens</i> , or <i>Balasch ben Firouz.</i>	4		. . . . 479
17. <i>Cavad</i> , } or <i>Kobad.</i>	11		. . . . 483
<i>Zambad</i> , }	8		. . . . 494
<i>Cavad</i> , }	30		. . . . 502

	Y.	M.	A. D.
18. <i>Chosroes</i> , or <i>Nouschirvan</i>	48	....	532
19. <i>Hormisdas</i> II. or <i>Hormouz ben Nouschirvan</i> ..	8	....	580
20. <i>Cosroes</i> II. or <i>Khosru Perviz</i>	39	....	588
21. <i>Siroes</i> , or <i>Shirouieh</i>	1	....	627
22. <i>Ardesir</i> , or <i>Ardeschir ben Schirowieh</i>	(2 m.) 2	6	.... 628
23. <i>Sarbaras</i> , or <i>Scheheriar</i>	(1, 1 m.) 2	....	630
24. <i>Hormisdas</i> , or <i>Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar</i>	4	....	632
	411	....	636
<i>Saracen</i> Dynasty			

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 *Euty-chius* 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 *Arsacidæ* 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.

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 *Manichæan heresy* *.

* MANICHÆISM.

The founder of this sect or heresy of the *Manichæans*, 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 *Hormouz*, 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 *Manichæans* 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 *Manichæans* 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 every thing 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*.

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*, *Docetæ* and *Encratites*, whose notions 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 *Ormuz*, on the Persian gulph, 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 of celestial origin, the bad 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 *dæmons 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 *Manichæans* called *the pillar of glory*. *Mani* was not the inventor of these absurd and fantastical notions; which are attributed to him by *Augustine*, *Arche-laüs*, *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 *Manichæans* 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 *Manichæan* 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 merchandize, 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.*

genuine spirit of Christianity, before its adulteration; superior indeed to the *Catholic*, even at that time; if we may judge from the retort of *Faustus*, representing them rather as retaining many Pagan superstitions themselves.

“You,” says he, “have substituted your *agapæ*, or love feasts, for the sacrifices of the *Pagans*, your martyrs for their idols, whom you serve with the very same honours. You appease the *manes*, or shades of the dead, with wine and feasts; you celebrate the solemn festivals of the Gentiles, on their *calends*, and their *solstices*. And as to their *manners*, those you have retained without any alteration. Nothing distinguishes you from the *Pagans*, except that you hold your assemblies separate from them!”

In these charges, it must be confessed, there was some truth, mixed with falsehood and exaggeration. Even at that early period of the Church, *Pagan* usages had begun to creep into it, along with *Pagan* proselytes. The corruption increased rapidly in the next century, and woefully in the ensuing, till the *Reformation*. See its progress traced in the third volume of this work, B. II. p. 610, &c. and in *Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I.

The *Manichæans* 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 *Lardner*, Vol. III. p. 368—545, it is no wonder that the *Manichæans* 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 *Manichæans*! 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 *Khalef*, “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 *Cæsars*; 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 SCHABOÛR 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.

ISDEGERTES, 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 *Isdegerdes*, 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 *Isdegerdes* 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 *Khacan*, 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 *Isdegerdes*, 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 *Haiathelites*, 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 *Haiathelites*, his benefactors, to their utter astonishment, at his ingratitude. Their king, however, contrived to draw him into an ambuscade, by a mutilated deserter, like another *Zopyrus*, 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 strewed 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 *Balash*; 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 impostor, 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 *Tsudador*, 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 *Manichean* 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*, *Hafiz*, *Giarni*, *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 birth day, 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.

Nouschirvan 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 veil 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 !"

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 *Ardshir*, 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 *Homaïoun Nameh*, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which he had translated into Persian. 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 *Hormouz*, 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
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur.”

Juv. Sat. xiii. 2.

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 préceptor 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 *Kaikhān* 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 *Manichæism* 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

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 *Phœnicia*, 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 *Cæsarea*, 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 *Nebuchadnezzar*, 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, "*Wind-falls*," 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-

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 *Ardeshir*, 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.

Jeздегерд, 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 *Jeздегерд*, 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.

	Y.	A.D.	Heg.	
1. <i>Mahomet's Hegira</i> , or flight	10	622	1	
CALIPHS.				
Companions. {	2. <i>Abubeker</i>	2	632	11
	3. <i>Omar</i>	9	634	13
	4. <i>Othman</i>	12	643	23
	5. <i>Ali</i>	5	655	35
	6. <i>Al Hasan</i>	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.

	Y.	A.D.	Heg.		
Ommiada.	7. Moawiyah, or Moavias	19	660	40	
	8. Yazid, or Jesid	4	679	60	
	9. Moavias II.	20d.			
	10. Merwan	7m.	683	64	
	11. Abdalmelek	21	684	65	
	12. Al Walid, or Valid.	9	705	86	
	13. Soliman	3	714	96	
	14. Omar II.	2	717	99	
	15. Yazid or Jesid II.	4	719	101	
	16. Heshain	19	723	105	
	17. Al Walid or Valid II.	1	742	125	
	18. Yazid or Jesid III.	1	743	126	
	19. Ibrahim	70d.			
	20. Merwan II.	6	743	126	
	Abbasida.	21. Abul Abbas or Al Saffah.	5	749	132
		22. Al Mansur, or Abu Jaafar.	20	754	137
		23. Al Mohdi	11	774	158
		24. Al Hadi	1	785	169
		25. Harun, or Aaron Al Raschid.	22	786	170
		26. Al Amin	5	808	193
27. Al Mamun		20	813	198	
28. Al Motasem.		8	833	218	
29. Al Wathek, or Vathek ..		5	841	227	
30. Al Motawakkel		15	846	232	
31. Al Montaser		6m.	861	247	
32. Al Mostain		4	862	248	
33. Al Motaz		3	866	252	
34. Al Mohtadi		11m.	869	255	
35. Al Motamed.		22	870	256	
36. Al Motaded		9	892	279	
37. Al Mochtaphi		6	901	289	
38. Al Mokter		25	907	295	
39. Al Kaher		1	932	320	
40. Al Radi		7	933	321	
41. Al Mottaki		4	940	329	
42. Al Mostakphi		1	944	333	
43. Al Moti		28	945	334	
44. Al Tai		18	973	363	
45. Al Kader		40	991	381	
46. Al Kayen		43	1031	422	
47. Al Mokter		20	1074	467	
48. Al Mostader		24	1094	487	
49. Al Mostarshed.		16	1118	512	
50. Al Rashid		1	1134	529	
51. Al Mokter		25	1135	530	

	Y.	A.D.	Heg.	
} Abbaside.	52. <i>Al Mostanjed</i>	10	1160	555
	53. <i>Al Mostadi</i>	9	1170	566
	54. <i>Al Naser</i>	46	1179	575
	55. <i>Al Daher</i>	1	1225	622
	56. <i>Al Mostander</i>	16	1226	623
	57. <i>Al Mostasem</i>	16	1242	640
End of the dynasty	636	1258	656	

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 *anwa*, "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 29½ days, the *Arabs* composed their months of 29 and 30 days alternately, thus,

1. <i>Muharram</i>	30	30	7. <i>Rajan</i>	30	207
2. <i>Saphar</i>	29	59	8. <i>Shaaban</i>	29	236
3. <i>Rabia</i> I.	30	89	9. <i>Ramadan</i>	30	266
4. <i>Rabia</i> II.....	29	118	10. <i>Shawal</i>	29	295
5. <i>Jomada</i> I.	30	148	11. <i>Dulkaadah</i>	30	325
6. <i>Jomada</i> II.	29	177	12. <i>Dulheggia</i>	29	354

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 *Eutychi* 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 *feriæ*, 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 *feriæ*, 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 χρονοὶ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ γενεσεως χιλιοὶ τετρακοσιοὶ πεντηκοντὰ τρεῖς, μαιω εικοστῇ ἐννατῇ, ἡμέρα τρίτη. “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, מַחְמַד, *Mahmad*, rendered, ἐνδοξος, 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 *Mussulmans*, 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 *Euty chius’* 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

* Instead of the correct year, A.D. 569, the *Modern Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 17, dates the birth of *Mahomet*, A.D. 578. following a marginal error in *Abulfeda*, p. 1.

† 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 *al*, "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, quæ 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. Harken 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.*” *Abul-feda*, 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 breast-bone 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*

* 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 burthensome 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 burthen 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.

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, counter-acted 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 intreat 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 *Kadessia*, 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 daughter 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 brotherhood, 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 extinguished the rising jealousies and contests for superiority, between 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 successful.

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 anciently 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 *Mosaical* 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 *Ramadan*, 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 invisible *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 believers, 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 emergency, 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.

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, every where 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. *xlvi*ii.

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, falshood 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 *Zemzen*, 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*. *Abulfeda*, 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 *Koreishites*; 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 increased 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.

THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE.

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 forbade 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] lo, 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 increase 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 imposture, 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* Caliphate, 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 abetted 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

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 *Awsites*, 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

death. 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 *Khaibar*, 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 *Abulfeda* 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. 1 p. 107, 108; whereas it was some time after. He attributes *Rishana's* conversion to female vanity.

ficient: *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 alledged 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—nescit quid perdat, et alto
Demersus, summá rursus non bullit in undá!

Persius.

† Such as the histories of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Cain* and *Abel*, *Enoch* and *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, *Ishmael*, *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 opening 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 determined 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 translation, Vol. I. p. 2—36. *Sale's* English is greatly inferior, in correctness and elegance. 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 Counsellor 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 every where.—*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 *Docetæ*, 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

* *Ahmed* signifies "celebrated;" its superlative, *Mahommed*, "most celebrated," is the title of the prophet adopted throughout the *Koran*. *Savary*, Tom. II. p. 355, note.

† Instead of παρακλητος, "the advocate," or HOLY SPIRIT, whom CHRIST promised to send to the Apostles, John xiv. 16; xvi. 7, these heretics substituted περικλητος, "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 *uncharitableness*, 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 oppresses 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 phænomenon, 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 veil* 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 dæmon!* 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 *Poperly*, 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 *Zabiism*, *Magism*, *Judaism*, and *Paganism*, and the original Scriptures were every where 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*. *Euty chius*, *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,

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 *Yahomet'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, *Khaura**, 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 every where 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*.

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 eap 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? *Refua*, 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 *Maudrel* 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 *Aderbigian*, *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 *Abubekr* 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 KHORAIBA.

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 70,000*l.* 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*, Khaliff. 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, *Okail*, 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 Arabiæ*, says, *Arabes antiquitus non habebant quo gloriarentur, quam gladio, hospite, et eloquentia.*

for sale; and forgiveness of his most inveterate enemies, *Aysha*, &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*," every where, the fatal consequences of "*lusts militating* (*στρατευομενων*) *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 *Cufa*, 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 Cæsar, 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 exalted 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 *Sonnites*, 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.*

ABDALMALEK.

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, unbecgetting, and unbecgotten.*” 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 succesor *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 excellence,* 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 stiled 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 close thick 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 Persic 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 25,000*l.* 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* :

“ 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 unrevenged,
 For my death will discover who has been my assassin.

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 incurvations 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 ebn Aglab*, 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, *Mecænas* his favourite, shocked at his behaviour, said, *Surge tandem tu carnifex*, “*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 *Bagdad*, 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 *Bagdad* 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.

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-chang-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,

who styled him *Kai Khan*, *Kaan*, or “*Great Khan*.” See the list, *Abulfaragi*, p. 320, and *Univ. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 636.

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 Jeleleddin*, *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 *Visir*, *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 *Mexanderan*, and were destroyed by *Tamerlane* afterwards. *Richardson's Diss.* p. 359.

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 revered 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.

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 *Hamadán*, 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 *Sofi* 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.

* See the description of *Ancient Bagdad*, *Modern Univ. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 277—280. Octavo, and of *Modern Bagdad*, *Niebuhr's Voyage in Arabia*, Tom. II. p. 239—250.

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 feebler principalities all around, *Solyman*, 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 increased 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.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Othoman, or Othman</i>	28	1300
2. <i>Orchan</i>	32	1328
3. <i>Amurath</i>	28	1360
4. <i>Bajazet</i>	13	1388
Interregnum.....	14	1401
5. <i>Mahomet</i>	7	1415
6. <i>Amurath II.</i>	28	1422
7. <i>Mahomet II. the Great</i>	31	1450
8. <i>Bajazet II.</i>	31	1481
9. <i>Selim</i>	8	1512
10. <i>Solyman the Magnificent</i>	46	1520
11. <i>Selim II.</i>	8	1566
12. <i>Amurath III.</i>	21	1574
13. <i>Mahomet III.</i>	8	1595
14. <i>Achmet</i>	14	1603
15. { <i>Mustapha</i>	1	1617
16. { <i>Othman II.</i>	4	1618
16. { <i>Mustapha again</i>	1	1622
17. <i>Amurath IV. or Morat</i>	26	1623
18. <i>Mahomet IV.</i>	36	1649
19. <i>Achmet II.</i>	8	1687
20. <i>Mustapha II.</i>	8	1695
21. <i>Achmet III.</i>	27	1703
22. <i>Mahomet V.</i>	24	1730
23. <i>Othman III.</i>	3	1754
24. <i>Mustapha III.</i>		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 enterprising 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,

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*.

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,

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 *Zelevi*, “ 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 Palæologus*, 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 *Loldang*, 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 *Solyman* 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 fuere in ejus castris." — *Regem vivum cepit, caveâque, in modum feræ 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 Tarrisianum*, 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 *Sihon* 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 accomplished *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 *Samarcande*, 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 distant 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 magistrates 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 expeditions 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 *Sefti*, 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 enterprize, *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 tanti præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Mox referet ; nimis hæc 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 gallies 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 *Bœotia*, *Phocis*, *Athens*, *Ætolia*, 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 *Musulman* 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 Palaeologus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, and Pope *Eugenius*, whose legate, Cardinal *Julian*, solicited *Uladislaus* to take advantage of the abdication of *Amurath*, 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 absolution for the breach of their oaths, to king *Uladislaus*, the despot of *Servia*, and *Huniades*, waywode of *Transylvania*, the principal parties concerned in making the treaty.

Roused from his cell, by their sudden and unprovoked invasion of his dominions, old *Amurath* resumed the reins of government 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. *Amurath* 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 Christians have made in thy name, and broken, without provocation! 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 proclaimed, *Hungarians, behold the head of your king!* Ten thousand 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* regretted 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 partizan, than a consummate general, and his military life is chequered 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* himself, 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 promise 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 natural moroseness, or soured by repeated defeats from those thunderbolts 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 prevent 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, shattered 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 to 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

* Speaking of his son *Ameras*, slain by *Mahomet*, because he preferred death to infamy, he says, “*Ameras, sua manu jugulavit—volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. 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

* *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 Casames*, who had subdued *Persia*, and required *Mahomet* not to invade or molest his ally, the emperor of *Trebizonde*, 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 disappointment 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 thralldom 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 *Caminice*, 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 $26\frac{3}{5}$ 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 *Beneficarii* 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 *Prætorian* 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 gallies and more, able to cope with the confederate *Christian* fleet, more nume-

rons 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.* Larcher.

THE ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT *is a labyrinth, from which it is impossible for us, at this day, to extricate ourselves.* Howard.

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 30 dynasties, during 113 generations, for the immense number of 36,525 years. These dynasties consisted of three classes; the first *Aurites*, the second *Mesraitcs*, 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 *Mes-raités*] 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 *Eusebius*] in 39 years; the thirtieth dynasty of *Tanites*, one generation in 18 years.

“ The sum of these thirty dynasties is 36,525 years, indicating 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 *Cyranic* books.”

This curious fragment forms the basis of the *Technical Chronology* of the *Egyptians*, from the beginning of their computations 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 following table, to restore its integrity in the *dynasties* and *generations*, and to correct some numeral errors that have crept into the *reigns*, by careful comparison with itself, and with the other documents.

I CLASS. AURITES, OR GODS.

DYN.

VULCAN [the supreme God]

		Gen.	Y.	B.C.
[I]	<i>Helius</i> [the Sun]	[1]	30,000	36875
[II—XIII]	Twelve Gods, <i>Saturn</i> , &c.	[12] . . .	3,984	6875
[XIV]	Eight Demigods	[8]	217	2891

DYN.		Gen.	Y.	B.C.
II CLASS. MESRAITES, OR HEROES.				
[XV]	<i>Cynic Cycle</i>	15	....	443 2674
III. CLASS. EGYPTIANS, OR MEN.				
XVI.	<i>Tanites, or Thinites</i>	8	(190)	253 2231
XVII.	<i>Memphites</i>	(4)	6 (103)	218 1978
XVIII.	<i>Memphites</i>	14	....	348 1760
XIX.	<i>Diospolites</i>	5	....	194 1412
XX.	<i>Diospolites</i>	8	....	228 1218
XXI.	<i>Tanites</i>	6	....	121 990
XXII.	<i>Tanites</i>	3	....	48 869
XXIII.	<i>Diospolites</i>	2	....	19 821
XXIV.	<i>Saites</i>	3	....	44 802
XXV.	<i>Ethiopians</i>	3	....	44 758
XXVI.	<i>Memphites</i>	7	....	177 714
XXVII.	<i>Persians</i>	5	....	124 537
[XXVIII.	<i>Saites</i>	1	....	6] 413
XXIX.	[<i>Tanites</i>	5]	....	39 407
XXX.	<i>Tanites</i>	1	....	18 368
	<i>Persian conquest of Egypt</i>	113		36,525 350

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 πατήρ, "*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* Idolatry, 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 first of the human race, *Saturn*, corresponded to *Adam*; he and his successors composing the twelve *primary Gods*, namely, 1. *Saturn*, 2. *Jove**, or *Jupiter*, 3. *Osiris* and *Isis*, 4. *Typhon*, 5. *Horus*, 6. *Mars*, 7. *Hermes* or *Anubis*, 8. *Hercules*, 9. *Apollo*, 10. *Amun*, 11. *Tithoes*, 12. *Sosus*; representing the Antediluvian patriarchs, who reigned during the *golden age* of *Hesiod*, (see Vol. I. p. 243, of this work,) which began, according to the *Chronicle*, B.C. 6875, higher than the *Indian* and *Babylonian* eras of the Creation, but not so high as the *Alphon-sine*. See Vol. I. p. 211. *Pliny* reckoned that the eleventh, *Tithoes*, lived 3600 years before his own time, or about B.C. 3550, which corresponds well enough with the *Chronicle*, and proves that he was an *Antediluvian*, contemporary with the seventh or eighth Babylonian king of *Berosus*, and with *Noah*. See this Volume, p. 8, and Vol. II. p. 1.

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*

* This list is given by *SynceLLus*, with a judicious correction of the place of *Jove*, by *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 134.

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*, σοφίας εις ακρον ελαλακοτα ανδρα, "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.

	AFRICANUS.			EUSEBIUS.		
	K.	Y.	B.C.	K.	Y.	B.C.
XVI. <i>Tanites</i> , or <i>Thinites</i> ..	8	253	2218	.. 8	252	2218
XVII. <i>Phœnician</i> Shepherds	6	284	1965	.. 6	250	1966
XVIII. <i>Diospolites</i> *	16	263	1681	.. 16	348	1716
XIX. <i>Diospolites</i>	6	209	1418	.. 5	194	1368
XX. <i>Diospolites</i>	12	135	1209	.. 12	178	1174
XXI. <i>Tanites</i>	7	130	1074	.. 7	130	996
XXII. <i>Bubastites</i>	9	120	944	.. 3	49	866
XXIII. <i>Tanites</i>	4	89	824	.. 4	44	817
XXIV. <i>Saites</i>	1	6	735	.. 1	44	773
XXV. <i>Ethiopians</i>	3	40	729	.. 3	44	729
XXVI. <i>Saites</i>	9	150 6 m.	689	.. 9	168	685
XXVII. <i>Persians</i>	8	124 4 m.	538	.. 8	120 4 m.	517
XXVIII. <i>Saites</i>	[1]	6	414	.. 1	6	397
XXIX. <i>Mendesians</i>	4	20 4 m.	408	.. 5	21 5 m.	391
XXX. <i>Sebennytes</i>	3	38	388	.. 3	20	370
<i>Persian conquest</i>	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.

THEBAN KINGS.

		Y.	B.C.			Y.	B.C.
XVI.	1. <i>Menes</i>	62	2220		20. <i>Apapus</i>	100	1651
	2. <i>Athoth</i>	59	2158		21. <i>Achescus</i>	1	1551
	3. <i>Athoth II.</i> . .	32	2099		22. <i>Q. Nitocris</i> . .	6	1550
	4. <i>Diabies</i>	19	2067		23. <i>Myrtæus</i>	22	1544
	5. <i>Pemphos</i>	18	2048		24. <i>Thyosimares</i> . .	12	1522
	6. <i>Tægar</i>	79	2030		25. <i>Thinillus</i>	8	1510
	7. <i>Stæchius</i>	6	1951		26. <i>Semphracrates</i>	18	1502
	8. <i>Gosormies</i> . .	30	1945		27. <i>Chuther</i>	7	1484
XVII.	9. <i>Mares</i>	26	1915		28. <i>Meures</i>	12	1477
	10. <i>Anoiphis</i>	20	1889		29. <i>Chomæphtha</i>	11	1466
	11. <i>Sirius</i>	18	1869		30. <i>Ancunius</i>	60	1454
	12. <i>Cnubus</i>	22	1851	XIX.	31. <i>Penteathyris</i> . .	42	1394
	13. <i>Rauosis</i>	13	1829		32. <i>Staremenes</i> . .	23	1352
	14. <i>Biuris</i>	10	1816		33. <i>Sistosichermes</i>	55	1329
XVIII.	15. <i>Saophis</i>	29	1806		34. <i>Mæris</i>	43	1274
	16. <i>Sen Saophis</i> . .	27	1777		35. <i>Siphoas</i>	5	1231
	17. <i>Moscheris</i> . . .	31	1750	XX.	36. ———	14	1226
	18. <i>Musthis</i>	33	1719		37. <i>Phruron, or Nilus</i>	5	1212
	19. <i>Pammus</i>	35	1686		38. <i>Amurthæus</i> . .	63	1207
					&c. ———		
						1076	1144

The chronology is determined from an incidental remark of *Dicæarchus*, that from the time of *Nilus*, the 37th king, to the era of the Olympiads, was 436 years. His reign therefore began $436 + \text{B.C. } 776 = \text{B.C. } 1212$. 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*, *Mæris*, 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.

DYN.			DYN.		
xv.	1. <i>Mestram</i>	35 2613		35. Amephes	15 1614
	2. <i>Curudes</i>	63 2578		36. Amenses	1 1599
	3. Aristarchus	34 2515		37. <i>Misphragmuthosis</i>	16 1598
	4. Spanius	36 2481		38. Misphres	23 1582
	5. ———— }	72 2445		39. Tuthmesis ..	39 1559
	6. ———— }			40. Amenophthis	34 1520
	7. Serapis	23 2373		41. Horus	48 1486
	8. Sesonchosis..	49 2350		42. Acencheres ..	25 1438
	9. Amenemes ..	29 2301		43. Athoris	29 1413
	10. Anasis	2 2272		44. Cenchaes . . .	26 1384
	11. Acephtheres	13 2270		45. Acheres, 8 or	30 1358
	12. Achoreas	9 2257		46. Armais	9 1328
	13. Amyses	4 2248		47. Rhameses ..	68 1319
	14. Chamosis	12 2244		48. <i>Amenophis</i> , }	8 1251
	15. Amesises	65 2232		or <i>Meris</i> }	
xvi.	16. [<i>Menes</i>]	14 2167	xix.	49. Thuoris	17 1243
	17. Use	50 2153	xx.	50. Nechepsos ..	19 1226
	18. Rhameses ..	29 2103		51. Psammuthis .	13 1207
	19. Rhamessemenes	15 2074		52. ————	4 1194
	20. Thysimarus..	31 2059		53. [<i>Certus</i> , <i>Ce-</i> }	20 1190
	21. Rhamesseleos	23 2028		<i>tus</i> , or <i>Proteus</i> }	
	22. Rhamessemeno	19 2005		54. <i>Rhampses</i> , or }	45 1170
	23. Rhamessebaites	39 1986		<i>Pheron</i> }	
	24. Rhameses ..	29 1947		55. Anenses	26 1125
	25. <i>Concharis</i> }	6 1918		56. Ochyras	14 1099
	[or <i>Timaios</i>] }			57. Amedes	27 1085
xvii.	26. <i>Silites</i>	19 1912		58. Thuoris	50 1058
	27. <i>Baion</i>	44 1893		59. Athethis	28 1008
	28. <i>Apachnas</i>	36 1849		60. Cencenes	39 980
	29. <i>Apophes</i>	61 1813	xxi.	61. Vennepes ..	42 941
	30. <i>Sethos</i>	50 1752		62. <i>Susakin</i> , or }	34 899
	31. Certus	29 1702		<i>Susak</i> , or <i>Sesak</i> }	
	32. <i>Asoth</i>	24 1673		63. Psuenus	25 865
xviii.	33. <i>Amosis</i> or }	22 1649		64. Amenophis ..	9 840
	<i>Tethmosis</i> }			65. Nephecheres .	6 831
	34. Chebron	13 1627		66. Saites	15 825

DYN.				DYN.			
	67.	Psinaches . . .	9	810	83.	Necaab II. or	
XXIII.	68.	Petribastes ..	44	801		<i>Nekus</i> , or	} 9 501
	69.	Ososthon....	9	757		<i>Necho</i> . . .	
	70.	Psammus	10	748	84.	Psammuthis..	17 492
	71.	Concharis . . .	21	738	85.	Vaphres, <i>Ap-</i>	} 34 475
	72.	Ososthon....	15	717		<i>ries</i> , or	
	73.	Tacelophes...	13	702		<i>Hophra</i> ..	
XXIV.	74.	<i>Bocchoris</i>	44	689	86.	<i>Amasis</i>	50 441
XXV.	75.	<i>Sabacon</i> , or <i>So</i>	12	645	XXVIII.	87. <i>Amyrtæus</i>	6 391
	76.	<i>Sebecon</i>	12	633	XXIX.	88. <i>Nepherites</i> ..	6 385
XXVI.	77.	<i>Taraces</i>	20	620		89. <i>Achoris</i>	13 379
	78.	<i>Amaes</i>	38	601		90. <i>Psammuthis</i> ..	2 366
	79.	<i>Stephinathes</i> .	27	563		91. <i>Menas</i>	4 364
	80.	<i>Nacepsus</i>	13	536		92. <i>Nectanebus</i> ..	8 360
	81.	<i>Nechaab I.</i> ..	8	523	XXX.	93. <i>Teos</i>	2 352
XXVII.	82.	<i>Psammeticus</i> .	14	515			—
						Conquest of <i>Egypt</i>	2263 350

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 *Mestram*, 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 *Manetho*; 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 *Nitocris*: “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.

HERODOTUS.	DIODORUS.	Y.
1. <i>Menes</i>	<i>Menas</i> , or <i>Mnevis</i> .	
} 329 reigns	Many ages.	
	<i>Gnephachthus</i> .	
	52 reigns for 1400 years.	
	<i>Busiris</i> .	
} (<i>Nitocris</i>)	7 reigns.	
	<i>Busiris</i> II.	
	<i>Osymanduas</i> .	
} (<i>Nitocris</i>)	7 reigns.	
	<i>Uchoreus</i> .	
	12 reigns.	
2. <i>Mæris</i>	<i>Mæris</i> , or <i>Myris</i> .	
	6 reigns.	
3. <i>Sesostris</i>	<i>Sesoosis</i> , or <i>Sesostris</i>	33

HERODOTUS.	Y.		DIODORUS	Y
4. <i>Pheron</i>	}		<i>Sesoosis</i> II.	
			Many ages.	
			<i>Ammosis</i> .	
			<i>Actisanes</i> , the Ethiopian.	
			<i>Mendes</i> , or <i>Marus</i> .	
			Interregnum.	
			5 reigns.	
5. <i>Proteus</i>			<i>Cetes</i> , or <i>Proteus</i> .	
6. <i>Rhampsinitus</i>			<i>Remphis</i> .	
			6 reigns.	
			<i>Nilus</i> .	
7. <i>Cheops</i> 50			<i>Chemmis</i> , or <i>Chembes</i>	50
8. <i>Cephrenes</i> 56			<i>Cephres</i>	56
9. <i>Mycerinus</i>			<i>Mycerinus</i> , or <i>Cherinus</i> .	
10. <i>Ayschis</i>			<i>Bocchoris</i>	
11. <i>Anysis</i>				
12. <i>Sabaco</i> 50			<i>Sabach</i> , or <i>Sabaco</i> .	
<i>Anysis</i> again.			Interregnum	2
13. <i>Sethos</i>				
14. 12 Kings	}		12 kings.....	15
<i>Psammeticus</i> } 50			<i>Psammeticus</i> .	
15. <i>Nekus</i>	}		4 reigns.	
16. <i>Psammis</i> }				
17. <i>Apries</i> 25			<i>Apries</i>	22
18. <i>Amasis</i> 44			<i>Amasis</i> ...	55

The forgeries of the *Egyptian* priests are obvious in the later Chronicle: to *Diodorus* they foisted in many reigns, after *Mæris*, 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 ære perennius,
Regalique 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 immoveable *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.

	B.C.
The <i>Theocracy</i> established in <i>Egypt</i> .	}
The <i>High Priests</i> of the 3 most ancient <i>Gods</i> , govern the country.	
N.B. We are ignorant when the reigns of both commenced.	

II PERIOD.

The <i>High Priests</i> of the 12 following <i>Gods</i> possess themselves of the government, and begin to reign, [17000 years before <i>Amasis</i> .]	}	17570
The <i>High Priests</i> of the <i>Gods</i> of the third order succeed them. First, the High Priest of <i>Osiris</i> , [15000 years before <i>Amasis</i> .]	}	15570
The <i>High Priests</i> of <i>Orus</i> dispossess them.		

III PERIOD.

	Y.		
<i>Menes</i> , the first king	Eratosth.	62 ..	12356
329 kings.....	[10870]	..	12294
<i>Mæris</i>	Vecchietti	68 ..	1424

I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

PRIMARY GODS, 2256 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
<i>Saturn, or Adam</i>	2256	5411
12 Generations, ending with the deluge.....		
<hr/>		
<i>Sesostris</i>	44	1356
<i>Pheron</i>	18	1312
<i>Proteus</i>	50	1294
<i>Paris and Helen</i> arrive in <i>Egypt</i> 20 years before B.C. 1270, <i>Larcher's</i> } misdate of the destruction of <i>Troy</i>		1290
<i>Rhampsinitus</i>	Manetho 66	1244
<i>Cheops</i>	Herodot. 50	1178
<i>Cephrenus</i>	Herodot. 56	1128
<i>Mycerinus</i>	20	1072
<i>Asychis</i>	40	1052
<i>Anysis</i>	1	1012
An <i>Ethiopian</i> prince [<i>Bocchoris</i>]	50	1011
<i>Anysis</i> again, quitting the Isle of <i>Elbo</i>		
A chasm of 191 years	(241) 191	954
<i>Sabaco</i> , the <i>Ethiopian</i>	Herodot. 50	763
<i>Sethos</i> , priest of <i>Vulcan</i>	40	713
——— defeats the <i>Assyrians</i>		712
Interregnum	Diodor. 2	673
12 joint kings	Diodor. 15	671
<i>Psammeticus</i> alone	Herodot. 39	656
<i>Nekos</i>	Herodot. 16	617
<i>Psammis</i>	Herodot. 6	601
<i>Apries</i>	Herodot. 25	595
<i>Amasis</i>	Herodot. 44	570
<i>Psammenitus</i>	Herodot. 6 m.	530
<i>Cambyzes</i> conquers <i>Egypt</i>		525
<i>Amyrtaeus</i> retreats to the Isle of <i>Elbo</i> , 503 years after <i>Anysis</i> issued from thence		458

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.

DEMIGODS AND HEROES, 743 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
1. <i>Noah</i> and his sons	542	3155
2. <i>Misraim</i> and his successors	201	2613
	743	2412

world, which it inculcates, militate against the *Mosaical* 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 *Mæris*, 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 *Amyrtæus' 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 *Amyrtæus* 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 unskillfully 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 *Amyrtæus* upwards, to *Mæris*, are too high; and from *Mæris* 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.

In

* Like the *Epicurean Atheists* of old.—DEOS, *nomine* ponunt, *re* tollunt. As described by *Cicero*.

III. EGYPTIANS.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS.

	Y.	B.C.
Menes and his successors, &c. ending with Timaus, or } Concharis..... }	253	.. 2412
		.. 2159

SECOND DYNASTY, SHEPHERD KINGS, 260 YEARS.

1. Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada	19	.. 2159
2. Baion, Byon, or Babya.....	44	.. 2140
3. Apachnes, Pachnan, or Rucma	37 7 m.	.. 2096
First pyramid begun about.....		.. 2095
Abraham visits Egypt about.....		.. 2077
4. Apophes	61	.. 2059
5. Janias, or Sethos	50 1 m.	.. 1998
6. Assis, or Aseth	49 2 m.	.. 1948
Expulsion of the Shepherds	260	.. 1899

THIRD DYNASTY, NATIVE KINGS, 251 YEARS.

Alisphragmuthosis, &c.....	27	.. 1899
Joseph appointed Governor, or Regent	9	.. 1872
Jacob's family settle in Goshen	215	.. 1863
Death of Joseph .....		.. 1792
Queen Nitocris .....		.. 1742
Exode of the Israelites.....	251	.. 1648

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS.

1. Amosis, Tethmosis, or Thummosis	25 4 m.	.. 1648
2. Chebron	13	.. 1623
3. Amenophis I.	20 7 m.	.. 1610
4. Amesses	21 9 m.	.. 1589
5. Mephres	12 9 m.	.. 1567
6. Mispfragmuthosis	25 10 m.	.. 1554

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 *Mæris*, 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.

	Y.		B.C.
7. <i>Thmosis, or Tethmosis</i>	9	8 m. ..	1528
8. <i>Amenophis II.</i>	30	5 m. ..	1518
9. <i>Orus, or Horus</i>	36	5 m. ..	1488
10. <i>Acenchriss</i>	12	1 m. ..	1452
11. <i>Rathosis</i>	9	..	1440
12. <i>Acencheres I.</i>	12	5 m. ..	1431
13. <i>Acencheres II.</i>	20	3 m. ..	1418
14. <i>Armais, or Harmais</i>	4	1 m. ..	1398
15. <i>Ramesses</i>	1	4 m. ..	1394
16. <i>Harmesses</i>	66	2 m. ..	1393
17. <i>Amenophis III. or Mæris</i>	19	6 m. ..	1327
<hr/>			
Death of <i>Mæris</i>	340	7 m. ..	1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS.

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

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS.

A chasm	151	..	966
1. <i>Bocchoris, or Asychis</i>	44	..	815
2. <i>Anysis</i>	2	..	771
3. <i>Sabacon or Soa, or So</i> }	50	..	769
<i>Anysis again</i>	6	..	719
4. <i>Sebecon, or Sethos</i>	40	..	713
<i>Sennacherib invades Egypt</i> .....		..	711
<hr/>			
End of the period	293	.	673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS.

12 Contemporary Kings	15	..	673
2. <i>Psammiticus</i>	39	..	658
3. <i>Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho</i>	16	..	619
— kills <i>Josiah</i> , and takes <i>Cadytis</i> or <i>Jerusalem</i> ..		..	608

	Y.		B. C.
4. <i>Psammis</i>	6		603
5. <i>Apries</i> , or <i>Pharaoh Hophra</i>	28	..	597
<i>Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt</i> .....		..	570
6. <i>Amasis</i>	44	..	569
<i>Solon's visit about</i> .....		..	554
<i>Cyrus conquers Egypt</i> .....		..	535
7. <i>Psammenitus</i> , I. Revolt of <i>Egypt</i>	6 m.	..	525
	<hr/>		
	148		

EIGHTH DYNASTY, PERSIAN KINGS, 112 YEARS.

1. <i>Cambyzes</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	38	..	525
I. <i>Persian Administration</i> }			
2. <i>Darius Hystaspes</i> , II. Revolt of <i>Egypt</i>	3	..	487
3. <i>Xerxes</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	24	..	484
II. <i>Persian Administration</i> }			
4. <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> , III. Revolt of <i>Egypt</i>	4	..	460
_____ reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	43	..	456
III. <i>Persian Administration</i> }			
<i>Herodotus visits Egypt</i> .....		..	448
5. <i>Darius Nothus</i> , IV. Revolt of <i>Egypt</i>	112	..	413

NINTH DYNASTY, EGYPTIAN KINGS, 81 YEARS.

1. <i>Amyrtæus</i>	6	..	413
2. <i>Pausiris</i>	6	..	407
3. <i>Psammeticus</i> , II.	6	..	401
4. <i>Nephereus</i>	6	..	395
5. <i>Acoris</i>	14	..	389
6. <i>Nectanebis</i>	12	..	375
7. <i>Tachus</i> , or <i>Tæos</i>	2	..	363
8. <i>Nectanebus</i>	11	..	361
<i>Ochus</i> reduces <i>Egypt</i> }	18	..	350
IV. <i>Persian Administration</i> }			

<i>Alexander</i> conquers <i>Egypt</i>	81	..	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 reduced 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 *Præadamite 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. 2153,) 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. 2613, 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 *Eratostrhenes*, 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 *Amyrtæus* 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, ארץ מצרים, “The land of *Misraim*,” Gen. xiii. 10, &c. and once, in the singular number, יארי מצור, “the canals of *Misor*,” Isa. xix. 6, whence the *Misor* of *Sanchoniatho*, 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. l. 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 enbankment 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 *Hephaistos*, 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 *Bæon*, 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. xlvi. 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* Σωζ, or Σωεζ.

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 Veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucumque diemque ;
Qui primi fines aliquando, habuere Latinos.*

————— *Lydia* quondam

Gens, bello præclara, 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 *Palæstinus* ; the *Palestinæ 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. l.

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 *κελαινος*, whence *κελαινεφης Ζευς*, “*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*, *Suphis*, 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 *nitch* 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 incrustated 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 †.

Herodotus relates a singular stratagem of this queen to re-

* 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.

MCÆRIS, OR MYRIS.

This seems to have been one of the best and wisest of the Egyptian kings. The formation of the lake *Mæris*, (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.” *Mæris* therefore only opened a communication between the river and this vast natural bason, 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 *Abdollariph* 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

stored to the right owner by the Arab physician, *Abdollatiph*, who visited *Egypt* in his reign. See Vol. I. p. 387, of this work.

Mæris is said to have built two great pyramids in the midst of this lake, “*a hundred orgyæ*,” 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 *Mæris* 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 *Mæris* 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 *Abdollatiph'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 Targitans, encountered *Sesostris*, and checked, or defeated him at the river *Phasis*, as we learn from *Justin*, who calls *Sesostris*, *Vexoris*, 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 *Æea*, 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 *Phœnix*, 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 Phœnix*.'

"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

By a wise and enlarged policy, *Mæris*, 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 *Phœnix* 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.

	B.C.	Differ.	Differ.			
1. <i>Sesostris</i>	1308			}		
2. <i>Amasis</i>	569				Y.	
3. <i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i>	247	322			Y.	
	A.D.				1061.	B.C.
4. <i>Tiberius</i> (20th).....	34	281			771	
					Anysis.....	

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 *Phœnix*, 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 *Phœnix* 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 *Phœnix* was indeed an *Egyptian hieroglyphic*, expressing the *Canicular* period of 1461 years. The same was veiled under a curious ænigma, or *astronomical* riddle, by the *Heliopolitan* priests to *Herodotus*. See Vol. I. p. 39 of this work. *Tacitus*, accordingly, describes the *Phœnix* 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 *Osymandes*, which was another title of that illustrious prince.

3. The early *Christians*, adopting the fable of the *Phœnix*, 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 *Phœnix*, 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 *Tanaïs*, 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 *Phœnix* is thus related by *Clemens Romanus*, the friend of *St. Paul*:—

“ Let us consider that extraordinary *sign* (*σημειον*), which happens in the Eastern regions, namely, in *Arabia*. There is a bird called the *Phœnix*, which is *only begotten* (*μονογενες*), 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*.

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 *Abysinia* 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 *Ægyptus*, 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 *minæ* 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 *Esne*, 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 reprobating 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, 6000, or 7000 years before. “*These Zodiacs,*” says citizen *Burckhart*, (a worthy pupil of the French Institute,) “*prove most incontestibly the fallacy of the Common Chronology, which allows only 6000 years for the age we live in.*”—“*The Zodiac of Hennè, 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 Zodaic at *Hennè*, 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?

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 *κητος*, 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*, *Odyss.* 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 *Phœnicia*, *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 *Syncellus*, 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 *Syncellus*, 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-*

* It was adopted by *Diodorus*, *Tacitus*, *Justin*, *Apion*, &c.

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 Ο-σαρ-σιφ, *Osarsiph*, is plainly a corrupt transposition of Σαρ-Ιω-σηφ, *Sar Joseph*, or “*Joseph the Lord*,” or Regent of *Egypt*, in whose administration *Jacob's* family settled in *Goshen*. The Hebrew, שר, *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 *Chæremon*, 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

* Ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δομον λίθου αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσαρακονταπόδαρ.

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 expence 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 courtesan, 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 *Hero-*

* Ετεσι καρτα πολλοις ὑστερον, “*very many years after*,” as correctly rendered by *Littlebury*; or “*un grand nombre des années*, by *Larcher*; but *Beloe* incorrectly drops the intensitive particle, *καρτα*, “*very*,” and defectively renders, “*many years*,” materially injuring the sense.

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 ὄρων, εὐσεβῆς ἐστω.

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 incrusting 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 expence 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 *νόμος*, "*a law*," by the accent, and is the technical term here employed by *Herodotus*.

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 *Mæris*?

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 fens, 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*.

† Λογιωτατοι. Herod. B. II. § 77.

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 enterprizing 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 *Phœnician* 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*, *Eudoxus*, 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

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 *Phœnicians* 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 Periplous of Hanno*, p. 175, with the same, p. 178, and his *Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 275, 276, or *Beloe'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. xlv. 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*," (εὐντι ἀμωμῶ νομῶ) § 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 *Amyrtæus*, 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 *Amyrtæus* 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-

titude and hospitality, hearing that *Tamus* had brought with him considerable treasures, massacred him, his family and retinue, 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 unsuccessful, on account of the slowness of their operations, and the rising of the *Nile*; and were forced to retreat with great loss. See. p. 195.

Tachos succeeded *Nectanebis*, in B.C. 363. To withstand the mighty *Persian* power, he hired a body of *Spartan* mercenaries, 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-contented, 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.

A P P E N D I X.

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 quàm plurimum ; et primum quidem, OMNI ANTI-QUITATE ; quæ, quo propius aberat ab ORTU, et DIVINA PROGENIE, 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

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 *Bhagarat*, an ancient *Hindu* poem. *Asiat. 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.

Μουνοι Χαλδαιοι σοφην λαχον ηδ' αρ' Εβραιοι,
ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΑ σεβαζομενοι ΘΕΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ .

“ *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*.

Αρχην ΑΥΤΟΣ εχων, αμα και Μεσον, ηδε Τελευτην
Ως λογος Αρχαιων, ως Υδρογενης διεταξεν,
Εκ ΘΕΟΘΕΝ γνωμαισι λαβων κατα διπλακα Ξεσμον.

“ 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* :

Ζευς ην, Ζευς εστι, Ζευς εσσεται. Ω μεγαλε Ζευ.

“ JOVE was, JOVE is, JOVE will be : O GREAT JOVE !”

This title, *Ζευς*, 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*, ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ, 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 *Pischadian* 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 *governed* by HIM; and the *loving* and *worshipping* Him; and *honouring* our parents, and *loving* our neighbours as ourselves; and *being merciful* 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 solitis 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 Messalæ lippa propago:
Compositum jus, fasque Animi; sanctosque recessus
Mentis; et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.*. 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,
Where *justice* dwells, with *sanctity* combined,
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 *Lacedæmonians*, 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 *Lacedæmonians*, than with *all the oblations* of the *Greeks.*" The *Lacedæmonian* 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.

- 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.”
- WISD. xiv. 12—21.

* The following excellent and enlarged observations on the *origin of Idolatry*, we owe to *Sir William Jones, Asiatic Research*. Vol. I. p. 222.

“ 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 *Mihl*, 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 *Υγιεια*, and *Ιασων*, “*Health*” and “*Remedy*,” are the poetical daughters of *Æsculapius*, who was either a distinguished *Physician*, or *medical skill* personified; and hence *Χλωρις*, “*verdure*,” is married to *Zephyrus*, [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 unwitnessed, 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 lessons 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 classes therewith, 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*:

Ταυτα ὑμων της ἡδυπαθειας τα αρχετυπα, αὐται της ὑβρεως αἱ Θεολογίαι, αὐται των συμπορνευοντων ὑμιν Θεων αἱ διδασκαλίαι.—Πανισκοι και γυμναι κοραι, και μωριων εντασεις ταις γραφαις απογυμνουμεναι.—Ἠταιρηκεν ὑμιν τα ωτα, πεπορνευκασιν οἱ οφθαλμοι, αἱ οψεις μεμοιχευκασι. Ω βιασαμενοι τον ανθρωπον, και το ενθεον του πλασματος ελεγχει απαρξαντες!

“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 *Kiriath 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 *Cumæan 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:

Παρα μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς, ἐγὼ γ’ ὄρω πασὶν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀδικεῖ τις ἔκων; ὀργὴ καὶ τιμωρία κατ’ αὐτοῦ· ἐξεμαρτε τις ἀκων; συγγνώμη ἀντι τῆς τιμωρίας. Φανήσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ τοῖς ἀγραφοῖς νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώπινοις ἠθεσι διωρικεν.

“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*.

Mihi quidem *æ veræ* videntur opiniones, quæ *honestæ*, quæ *laudabiles*, quæ *gloriosæ*, quæ in Senatu, quæ apud populum, quæ in omni cætu concilioque proferenda sint: ne id non *pudeat sentire*, quod *pudeat dicere*.

“ To me indeed, those sentiments seem *true*, which are *honest*, which are *laudable*, which are *popular*; 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 propinquis, 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 experiens 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 veræ custos rigidusque Satelles.

“ Whatsoever 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 *Aristippi furtim* præcepta 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.* I. 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 *Ορφευς*) the supreme principle of creation, was represented as threefold, *ΒΟΥΛΗ*, *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 πατηρ*, “*THE FATHER*,” whom the *Platonists* reckoned, *Αυτο Ον*, “*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 Νους*, “*THE MIND*,” or *ὁ Λογος*, “*THE ORACLE*,” whom they represented as inferior to the

first; and whom *Porphyrus* calls, Ὁ Δημιουργος, “the framer of the world,” (to which, perhaps, *John* alludes, i. 2.) And Ἡ ψυχή του 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, πηγή της Θεότητος, “the fountain of the Godhead;” and του τε ἡγεμονος και αιτιου παντος πατρος, “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 *Αυτοσοφία*, “*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, ὅτι Νους εστι γενουστης του παντων αιτιου, “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 ὁμοουσιος, 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 αἰδιος εστιν ὁ υἱος, οὐκ ἦν κτισμα, εἰ δὲ κτισμα τυγχανει, οὐκ ἦν αἰδιος. “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* subtilities, 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 σκοτος αγνωστον, “ *darkness unknowable*.” He was the Ζευς κελαινεφης, “ *black-clouded Jove*” of *Homer* and the *Greeks* ; for “ *clouds and darkness are round about him*.” Deut. iv. 11 ; Psal. xcvii. 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 Δημητηρ, “ *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 *Athenè*, *Minerva*, or *Pallas*, of *Homer* and the *Greeks*, the immediate

naturam, fuisse Creaturam. At qui naturâ filius est, gignitur ex substantiâ Patris ; sed Dei substantia indivisibilis est : eandem 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.

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 SEEVA, 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 *Seeva*, “the *destroyer*,” corresponding to the *Persian Ahriman*; and both, perhaps, to the *Abaddon* of the Orientals, and the βασιλευς απολλων of the *Apocalypse*, Rev. ix. 11; or the αναξ απολλων, “*destroying king*,” of *Homer*, signifying *Satan*, originally; afterwards applied to the *Sun*, φοιβος απολλων, 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, Phœnicia, 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 MOSAICAL, 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.

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 *Pœnos*, nec artibus *Græcos*, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu, *Italos* ipsos ac *Latinos*; sed pietate ac religione: *Atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ*, quod *DEORUM IMMORTALIUM numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque 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, qui miscuit UTILE DULCI,
LECTOREM DELECTANDO, PARITERQUE 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-*

* Ἀληθευοντες εν αγαπη. Ephes. iv. 15.

† Παρησια. Acts iv. 29; xxxviii. 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 thralldom 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*, POPERY,” 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

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 afflicted. 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 sepultæ, celata VIRTUS.

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 eâ se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus, alteri se *populares*, alteri *optimates*, et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea quæ faciebant, quæque dicebant, *Multitudini* jucunda esse volebant, populares; qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia *optimo cuique* probarent, *Optimates* habebantur.

Quid est igitur propositum *his Reipublicæ gubernatoribus*, quod intueri, et quo cursum suum dirigere debeant? Id quod est præstantissimum, maximeque optabile omnibus sanis, et bonis et beatis: *Cum dignitate otium*.—

Hujus autem *otiosæ dignitatis* hæc fundamenta sunt, hæc membra, quæ tuenda *principibus*, et *vel capitis periculo* defendenda sunt: *Religiones, Anspicia, Potestates Magistratum, Senatus auctoritas, Leges, Mos majorum, Judicia, Jurisdictio, Fides, Provinciæ, Socii, Imperii laus, Res Militaris, Ærarium*.

Harum rerum tot atque tantarum esse defensorem et patronum, *magni animi* est, *magni ingenii, magnæque constantiæ*: Etenim, in tanto Civium numero magna multitudo est eorum qui aut propter *metum pœnæ, peccatorum suorum conscii*, novos motus conversionesque Reipublicæ quærant; aut qui, propter *insitum quendam animi furorem* discordiis 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, *Aristocrates*. 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, *Aristocrates*.—

“ 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 *tranquillity 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

excitantur: *Ut vigilandum sit iis qui sibi gubernacula Patriæ depoposcerunt*, enitendumque omni scientiâ ac diligentîâ, ut conservatis his quæ paulo ante fundamenta et membra esse dixi, tenere cursum possint, et capere *Otii* illum portum et *dignitatis*.

Hanc ego viam, *Judices*, si aut *asperam*, aut *arduam*, aut plenam esse *periculorum* aut *insidiarum* negem, mentiar; præsertim cum id non modo intellexerim semper, sed etiam præter cæteros senserim: *Majoribus præsiidiis et copiis oppugnatur Respublica, quam defenditur*; propterea quod *audaces* homines et *perditi* nutu impelluntur, et ipsi etiam sponte suâ contra *Rempublicam* incitantur: *boni*, nescio quomodo, *tardiores* sunt, et *principiis rerum* [*novarum*] *neglectis*, ad extremum, *ipsa* denique *necessitate* excitantur; et est nonnunquam, *cunctatione* et *tarditate*, dum *otium* volunt *etiam absque dignitate* retinere, ipsi *utrumque* amittant!

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 *Tranquillity* 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:

Quî, cedo, Rempublicam vestram tantam amisistis tam cito?

‘What, prithee, occasioned the loss of so great a commonwealth as yours, so suddenly?’

He replies in the character of old, morose *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 *masacre* of the *Household of Faith*, if we rightly understand Rev. xi. 7—10. See Vol. III. p. 640—642.

DII PATRII, quorum semper sub NUMINE Troja est,
 Non, tamen, omnino Teucros delere paratis,
 Cum tales animos Juvenum, tam certa tulistis
 Pectora!

VIRGIL.

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,
 Scarce 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.*"

See my *Fast Sermon on National Judgments*, Isaiah ix. 12, preached at *Killesandra* Oct. 19, 1803, p. 36, 37, published by *Colbert, Dublin*.

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FOUR VOLUMES:

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III. SCRIPTURAL,

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IN TENUI LABOR.—*Virgil.*

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