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 OBVIATE THE CAVILS OF SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.

BY THE
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CHRONOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY.

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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 Sanchoniatbo, Berosus, and Manetho, respecting the Phoenician, 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
Preface.

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, unskilfully 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, AEschylus, 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 increasing 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, THC ΑΓΙΑΣ ΑΙΩΝ, “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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*Engraved by J.H. Poynter.*
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Engraved by E. Hys.
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*Engraved by J. Hyde*
I. ELEMENTS

OF

TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

Χρόνος εστίν επανορθώσεις πραγματων και τηρήσεις.

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, τρείς και δέκατον ετών, “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, נ denoted 1000; and sometimes the word at length, נל; the plural נלנינ, denoted 2000, נלנינ נ, 3000, &c.

This was followed by arbitrary marks, or symbols, for particular numbers, as among the Greeks, Χ, 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 Sapientiae, "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 Beg, that learned Persian
prince, who flourished about A.D. 1440, represents the Greek Epoch as longer than the Arabian, by \( \text{\textsuperscript{3}H\textsuperscript{4}} \text{V.} \) 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 \( \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \) denoted 10; whence by composition, \( \text{\textsuperscript{5}} \text{I} \times 10 + 1 = 11, \text{\textsuperscript{6}} \text{I} \times 10 + 2 = 12, \&c. \) Instead of \( \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{I} \times 10 + 5 = 15, \) the Jews, to avoid profaning the sacred name IAH, substituted \( \text{\textsuperscript{8}} \text{I} \times 9 + 6 = 15. \) 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, \( \text{\textsuperscript{10}} \text{I} \times 100 + 1 = 101; \text{\textsuperscript{11}} \text{I} \times 102, \&c. \) \( \text{\textsuperscript{12}} \text{I} \times 400, \text{\textsuperscript{13}} \text{I} \times 401, \text{\textsuperscript{14}} \text{I} \times 402, \&c. \) \( \text{\textsuperscript{15}} \text{I} \times 400 + 100 = 500; \text{\textsuperscript{16}} \text{I} \times 400 + 400 = 800; \text{\textsuperscript{17}} \text{I} \times 400 + 400 + 100 = 900. \)

The Jews afterwards expressed the five centenary numbers after 400 by the five final letters of the Chaldee alphabet, Caph \( \text{\textsuperscript{18}} \) 500; Mem \( \text{\textsuperscript{19}} \) 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, \( \text{\textsuperscript{20}} \text{I} \times 1000 + 400 + 30 = 1430; \text{\textsuperscript{21}} \text{I} \times 5000 + 400 + 40 + 2 = 5442. \)

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.

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

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: \(400 + 60 + 2 \times 1000 \times 1000\):
\[70 + 5 \times 1000 \; + 900 + 90 + 6 = 462,035,996\]; as I found out by decyphering the original, p. 326.

VII. VIII. Greek.

The Greek alphabet was originally derived from the Phænician, 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. \(\varepsilon\nu\sigma\mu\nu\) Bau, "the symbol Bau," 5, to supply the place of Vau, 6. 2. \(\kappa\o\pi\tau\alpha\), the symbol \(\zeta\), 90, corresponding to the Syriac Koph, reversed. 3. \(\Sigma\alpha\nu\Pi\nu\), or the symbol \(\digamma\), 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, \(\zeta\), is sometimes represented differently, \(\beta\), 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, \(\gamma\tau\), signifies 196; \(\beta \digamma \kappa\gamma\), 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 I, for 'Eiς, "one."

\[\Pi = 5.\] From Πεντε, "five."

\[\Delta = 10.\] From Δεκα, "ten."

\[\Pi = 100.\] From the ancient aspirate H, in HEKATON; afterwards written, 'ekatov, "a hundred."

\[X = 1000.\] From Χιλια, "a thousand."

\[M = 10000.\] From Μυρια, "ten thousand."

The use of the aspirate H, marks the antiquity of the notation. Thus, the most ancient Greeks wrote, PHOME, Rhome; but afterwards, when the aspirate letter was abolished, 'Pomn, Rome;
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

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, ΜΗΕΝΑΛΙΑ: Mhenalia. See Astle's Origin of Writing, p. 67, and 232, first edit.

That the letter Η could not be intended for the Greek Ετα, as in after times, which Astle imagined, writing the word Μηναλια, is evident from this, that the place of Ετα, throughout the inscription, is supplied by two Επιστες; as in ΜΑΤΕΕΠ, for Μαιναλια. The same is observable in the preceding word, ΦΗΜΕΕ, where the Ομικρον likewise is used for Ωμεγα.

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

To express multiplication by 5, in the Parian inscription, the multiplicand is placed in the midst of an imperfect Π. Thus, Ε, 50; Η, 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, ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΗ, resembles the Roman arrangement, DCXXXIII.

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

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

By annexing more reversed C's, the number 500 was increased tenfold, CIⰀ, 5000; II褫, 50,000; which again were doubled, by prefixing as many; CCI褫, 10,000; CCCI褫褫, 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 name, or district, was first made HIMDC, 3600 years before his time, 36, 13. Beverege, by an easy mistake, for nome, 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, $\overline{I}$, 1000; $\overline{V}$, 5000; $\overline{X}$, 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, רֶפֶךְבַּר י, "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, νυκχθημερον, 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 ήματα 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, sevennight, 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 celi 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, sexta hora, umbrae in totum absuntur, “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 evoluitis;
Quarta devoex 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: Nos 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: "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 ὡς παρασκευὴ, καὶ σαββάτον εὐπροσκε. 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 εὐπροσκε 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, Dominica 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, ἐπέφωσκε, (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: Ἡῳ, 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. lxiii. 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:

Αστρα δε δη προβεβηκε, παραχηκεν δε πλεων νυξ,
Των δυο μοιρων, τριετη δετ μοιρα λειτπται.

"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 Lune.—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, ωρα, "the late watch," μεσονυκτιον, "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. ωρα, "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 ωμα ὡρα, even-tide, Mark xi. 11; or simply ωμα, evening, John xx. 19, &c.

2. μεσονυκτιον, "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 σκοταιον, the word here used, by ετι σκοτιας ώσης, "while it was still dusk;" as the phrase should be rendered, John xx. 1.
4. Ἥως, "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 πρωία, 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 ἐσπεφά, evening, Acts iv. 3. The former, πρωίς ἐσπεφά, "towards evening," Luke xxiv. 29. The same usage prevailed among the Greeks. Thus Xenophon calls the former evening, Δυνα; and the latter, Οψε. Compare Anab. p. 75 and 126, Hutchinson.

The phrase ὑμακ γενουμενς, "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 ηεξατο κλανειν, "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 δὲ ὑμα εγενετο, "when it was evening," by the subsequent circumstance, in the next verse, και σκοτια ηπι εγενετι, "And it had been already dusk." John vi. 16, 17.

By the Law of Moses, the Paschal Lamb was required to be sacrificed בְּרֵי, "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, Θωσις μεν, απο εννατης ωρας ἐως ἐνδεκατης, "The Jews sacrifice [the passover] from the ninth hour until the eleventh." Bell. Jud. 6, 9, 3, p. 1291. "CHRIST, our Passover," 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, Ὄψε σαββατών, τῷ ἐπιφωσκόουσῃ εἰς μιαν σαββατών. "Late after the Sabbath, at the dawning on the first day of the week." Matt. xxviii. 1.

Ὅψε σαββατών 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, Ὄψε Τρωκω', 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.—Τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ, "at the dawning;" here the expression is elliptical, put for σὺν τῇ ἐω ἐπιφωσκούσῃ, "along with the dawning morn;" corresponding to ὑπαναξύσουσις ἐω, ὑπὸ φαίνουσις ἐω, ὑπὸ πρώτην ἐω, &c.

Προς δ' ουρ' ἄρ' τῷ ἡως, ετε δ' αμφίλυκη νυξ.
"When it was not yet morn, but still twilight night."

Iliad, VII. 433.

2. Mark expresses it differently:

Διαγενομενον σαββατον, 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, διαγνωστον σαββατον, is explanatory of Matthew’s ὀψε σάββατον; the particle δια, in composition, being intensive, or heightening the signification of the simple verb γνωστον, “to know thoroughly.” Acts xxiii. 15. Προω included the whole time of “the early watch,” and to mark the dawn, Mark adds λαυ, “very,” which is put elliptically for ἐννυχθαν λαυ, by Mark himself, i. 35, “very far in the night.”

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

Τῇ μμα τῶν σαββατων, προω, σκοτιας ετι 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

Προω, ὑπ’ ηου, οι συν τευχεσ θωρηθεντες.

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

where ὑπ’ ηου seems to be a contraction of ὑποφωσκουσης ὑω, sublucente Aurora, as more fully expressed by Aristotle, ὑποφωσκουσης ὑω, και ηθη προω, “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:

Τῇ μμα τῶν σαββατων, ὅπου βαθυς. “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, Ὁ οἷον προω ετι εστιν; παντι μεν οὖν—οὔθ' ὅσος βαθυς. “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, ἀνατελαντὸς τοῦ ἡλίου, "after sunrise." Mark xvi. 2. N. B. The verbs expressing their departure are aorists, ἔλθον, ἐλθοῦσαν, &c. signifying the act of "going;" the verbs expressive of arrival are the present tense, ἐρχέται, 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.

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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 εὖνος εστι, πρὸς τὸν θεον, ἕξῳ τοῦ, "οὐ προσκυνησεις ἵδεις ἑτεροῖς," καὶ τοῦ, "μην ἑθητὶ τῶν σαββατῶν," ὁ μὴ τὰς ἀλλὰς οἰεσαι χρηματί τινας ἐντολὰς;" "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 ἔρμην, ἥ' Ἑλιον κατα ταυτα,
'Ημερη Ἑλιον, Μηνην δ' ὀτε της δε παρεχ
'Ημερη, η'εκ Kronon, ἥ' εξεις 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, Nundinae, 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 Sabbath, 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*:

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<tr>
<th>heb.</th>
<th>Eng.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יומ</td>
<td>One of the Sabbath, or Week</td>
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<tr>
<td>יומְי</td>
<td>Two of the Sabbath</td>
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<td>יומְל</td>
<td>Three of the Sabbath</td>
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<td>יומְר</td>
<td>Four of the Sabbath</td>
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<td>יומְא</td>
<td>Five of the Sabbath</td>
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<td>יומְ</td>
<td>Eve of the Sabbath</td>
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<td>יומ</td>
<td>The Sabbath</td>
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The derivation of the Syriac numerals from the Hebrew is obvious: י, is from the Hebrew, דָּו, one, by elision of the first letter; יָה, from the Hebrew, דָּלָל, two; by substitution of kindred letters, or letters of the same organ; יְלָ from שָלָל, three, by the same; יָבְרָ, from יָבְרָ, four, by affixing the emphatic article מ; which corresponds to the prefix מ, the, in Hebrew; יָשָמָ, from שָמָ, 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 μια. 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 μια 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 σαββατον, "*the first of the week,'" Mark xvi. 9; where he uses the singular σαββατον for a week; and so does *Luke,* as Νηστευον δις τοιο σαββατον, "*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 πρόσαββατον, "*sabbath-even,'" 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 σαββατοι, η τη προ ταυτης παρασκευην, απο της ώρας 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; דוע, from ברע, evening, by elision of the last letter; and יבשות, from חובית, 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 *Greeks* and *Egyptians,* and the *Budha* of the *Hindus;* *Thor,* the Thunderer, or *Jove;* Freya, his wife; and *Sater,* *Saturn.*
presently after, in his sixth 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 mis-translation of the current phrases, μεθ' ἡμέρας οκτώ, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, &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, μετὰ 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, μετὰ τονς λόγους τουτους, ώστε ἡμερα 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 ἐπλησθήσαν ἡμέρα οκτω, “when eight days were accomplished,” Luke ii. 21; whereas, John the Baptist, τῇ ογδοῃ ἡμερᾳ, “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, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, “three days after,” according to Matt. xxvii. 63; Mark viii. 31; with his resurrection, τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμερᾷ, “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, πρω, 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 ἐτη δυο, “two years after.” Bell. Jud. 1, 13, 1, as equivalent to δευτερω ἐτει, “in the second year,” relating the same transaction, Ant. 14, 13, 3.
Theophrastus says of the Egyptian thorn, ὅταν δὲ κοπῇ, μετὰ τριτον ἐτος, εὐθεῶς ἀναβαβλαστήκειν, “when it is cut down, it sprouts again the third year after;” which Pliny, N. H. 13, 9, renders, “caesa, anno tertio resurgit.”

Demosthenes uses the phrase μὲθ' ἡμερὰς δύο, 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 μετὰ, “after.”

In memory of the primeval 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 maëtære 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 style it: Ἐβδομη τερον ἡμαρ, “the seventh, a holy day.” And Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, speaking of the seventh day, says, ἥν παντες ονομαζον. “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, הר, Iarah, signified both the moon at full, and the month; compare Job xxxi. 26. with xxix. 2. ים, Hhadash, the moon at new, and the month; compare Numb. x. 10; Psal. lxxxii. 8. with 1 Sam. xx. 5; Ezek. xlvii. 1; Numb. xxviii. 11, &c. Among the Greeks, Μήν, the month, is evidently related to Μήν, the moon; and from Μήν, 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 τριήμερα, “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.

Εἰςὸπατὴρ’παιδὲςἐδεδυσκέα·τῷδεἰκαστῳ
Παιδὲςπρωκοντα,διανύειαὑδοςἐχονσαί.
Αἱμὲνλευκαεκαίνικείναι,αἱδὲαντεμελαιναν
Ἄθανατοὶδετεουσαί,αποφθεύεινικαστοῖ.

"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. Gé-
minus 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.

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 29½ days. Whence the
thirtieth day, which Hesiod called ἕνη, “old,” was named by
Solon, ἕνη καὶ νεα, “old and new;” one half of it pertaining to
the old month, the other half to the new; and to avoid the frac-
tion, 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 cir-
cumstances 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.
|------|--------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
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, Elul, 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 clothed 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
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

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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 Gaius, 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 Hecatombeon, 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 Timocares, 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 avbog, “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 Himeraus; and the detection of Demosthenes in the sanctuary of Neptune in Calauria; all which might well have occupied the intermediate month Mæmacterion.

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 decades; the days of the first two decades were reckoned progressively, πρώτη ἑσταμένου, "first of the beginning," δεύτερα ἑσταμένου, "second of the beginning," &c. πρώτη μέσουντος, "first of the middle," δεύτερα μέσουντος, "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 ἐκατὸν φθινοντος, "tenth of the waning;" ἐννατῃ 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 febru, to purify; because in that month purifications of the people, and lustrations, were customary.

It is remarkable that the Roman Calendar retained the primaeval 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. iii. 12.
Gorpiæus, to the sixth, Ælul. Bell. Jud. 6, 8, 4.
Hyperberetaeus, to the seventh, Tisri. Ant. 8, 4, 1.
Dius, to the eighth, Marheshvan. Ant. 1, 3, 3.
Appellaeus, 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 Exsdynius, Februarius Perithius, Martius Distrius, Aprilis Xanthicus, Maius Artemiseas, Junius Deseos, Julius Panemos, Augustus Loos, September Gorpieos, October Hyperberetaeos, 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 Asiatic. 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 decades 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, Phænicians, 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.

Harpocratian, 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 Γεννηραί et Γεννυραί. 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.

1. 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 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 tutō
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."
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 מִן יִתְנָה, “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, בְּכַנֵּאת הַשָּׁנָה “at the going out of the year,” Exod. xxiii. 16; and וְקָנַח הַשָּׁנָה.

* The word מִן יִתְנָה, “days,” is frequently rendered “a year,” or “years,” in the sense of בְּשָׁנָה, 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, בְּשָׁנָה, year by year,” or “yearly,” as our translation renders the phrase. 1 Sam. i. 3. And he did so, בְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה, “year by year.” 1 Sam. i. 7. Whence, בְּשָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה, is justly rendered, “the yearly sacrifice.” 1 Sam. ii. 19. And the phrase in question is more fully expressed and explained by מִן יִתְנָה, מַלְכִּים לְשָׁנָה, “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 מִן יִתְנָה should be rendered “one year,” Gen. xxvii. 44; xxix. 20; instead of “a few days.” And the phrase מִן יִתְנָה 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 nowhere 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 Heceleus, 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 Osymundes, 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 Porphyry. 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 Σακα ήμερα, among the Babylonians, or “days of ebriety,” from the Persic Sakia, “com potatio,” or the Hebrew Sakah, “babit,” 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 365½ 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 aromura, 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 Sothiaca] 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 Sothiaca] 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 Sothiaca] period was so denominated from Sothis, the Egyptian name of the Dog-star, and was supposed to have com-

* See Tables V. VI.
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—A.D. 138 = 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 Sothiaca! 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 Sothiaca! period, commencing July 20, B.C. 1322, or 1323; during which interval, the Thoth, or beginning of the year, had regraded 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 Syncellus, 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.
Evidently was for 470,000 rapid, according Nabonassarean or approximating period, A.D. year insignificant in the Chaldeans even years; 18 of omitted by 3. Another the And cular, and of square by 54 astronomical epoch, according slowest, tard's Astronomy, esteemed much of the stars, as being important 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 50½ 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 × 18 = 324 years, and the Nabonassarean or Sothiaca1 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

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* 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 *Sothiaeal* 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 Giemshid, 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 maiores—duo vero propter rationem signorum anni intercalabantur; qui postea a Jano et a Februó nominati sunt. Servius in Virgil. Georg. i. 43.
### ELEMENTS OF JOH—JOY

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### TABLE II. ANCIENT ITALIAN AND ROMAN YEAR.

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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 Chelae, 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 Febru, "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 יא, Jah, the God of the Hebrews.

This emendation of the year of Romulus marks uncommon

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* 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-

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* Numero Deus impare gaudet.—Virgil.

† Ad cursum lunae, in duodecim mensibus descript urb annum; quem; (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desontque dies solido anno qui solstitiali circun-ugitur orbe) intercalarios mensibus interponendis ita dispasavit ut quarto et vigesimo anno ad metem eadem solis unde orsi essent, plenis annorum omnium spatii 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 365⅓ 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar'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 Caesar, 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:—

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*Diligenter habenda ratio intercalandi est; quod institutum perite a Numa, posterorum pontificum negligentiam dissolutum est. Cicero de Legib, lib. ii.
2. February ........ 28 — November 11.

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5. April ............. 29 — February 1.
8. Quintilis ........ 31 — May 1.
13. Intercalary II.  34 — September 27.
15. December ....... 29 — December 3.  

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365

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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 venisset ad Cæsarem."
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

JULIAN YEAR.

The reformed year, which succeeded the year of confusion, was called Julian, from Julius Caesar, 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 Maiores, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Januarius</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Februarius</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Martius</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Aprilis</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Maius</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Quintilis (Julius)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sextilis (Augustus)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. October</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. November</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. December</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

365
Bissextile + 1
366

Is decies senos, tercentum, et quingue 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 Caesar 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 Bissextilis. 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 Bissextilis; consequently, the vulgar year of our Lord's Nativity was Bissextilis also. Hence the Julian year 46, or the first of the Vulgar Christian Era, was the first after Bissextilis, or a common year, but every fourth ensuing year was Bissextilis. Hence, dividing any given year of the Vulgar Era by four, the remainder will give the distance from the former Bissextilis. If there be no remainder, the given year is itself Bissextilis. 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 Caesar 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 23rd, 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 Caesar, 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.

**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 advertsing 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 (Guisearts) 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, ἄνωμήρα, "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 tires le roi, "draw forth," and put money "for the king," namely, roi follet, "the mummer."
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 Clarius.

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 \times 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 29½ days, added to 7, the variations of Sunday, in that time = 36; from which subducting 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 Monday, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C. 3500 April 20</th>
<th>B.C. 1105 April 1</th>
<th>B.C. 325 March 26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3100 — 17</td>
<td>975 March 31</td>
<td>195 — 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2700 — 13</td>
<td>845 — 30</td>
<td>65 — 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2300 — 10</td>
<td>715 — 29</td>
<td>A.D. 65 — 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 — 7</td>
<td>585 — 28</td>
<td>195 — 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500 — 4</td>
<td>455 — 27</td>
<td>325 — 21*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### TABLE IV.—JULIAN DAYS.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>274</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>214</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>307</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>124</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>216</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>126</td>
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<td>187</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 Equinocitiis et Solsticiis, p. 145—154. Edit. 3.

† Add one day after this, when it is Leap year.
### TABLE V.
#### JULIAN YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>H.</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>D.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25,567</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>1,095</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>32,872</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,826</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>73,050</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,556</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>146,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2,922</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,287</td>
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<td>600</td>
<td>219,150</td>
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<td>3,652</td>
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<td>700</td>
<td>255,675</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7,305</td>
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<td>800</td>
<td>292,200</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>10,957</td>
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<td>900</td>
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<td>14,610</td>
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### TABLE VI.
#### LUNATIONS. Mayer.

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<tr>
<th>LUNAT.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>53</td>
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**SOLAR YEARS. Newton.**

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### TABLE VIII.

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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:

| Julian years | 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, — 46, 47, 48, 49. |
| Astronom.    | 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, — 1, 2, 3, 4. |
| Chronol.     | 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

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

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 cur-
rent 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
\[
\frac{x-10}{28}, \text{ and } \frac{x-2}{19},
\]
be integers. Put \( \frac{x-10}{28} = m \), and \( \frac{x-2}{19} = n \); then \( x = 28m + 10 \); and \( x = 19n + 2 \); and consequently,
\[
\frac{28m+8}{19},
\]
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, \( \frac{19a+11}{9} \). From this, subtract the near-
est 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, 532 \( y \); supposing \( y \) to denote any affirmative integer, the aggregate
532 \( y + 458 \), 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 \( \frac{532y + 458 - 4}{15} \) be an integer. From it subtract the nearest integer, \( \frac{525y + 450}{15} \), and the remainder will be an integer also, \( \frac{7y + 4}{15} = c \).

And consequently \( y = \frac{15c - 4}{7} \). From this, subtract the nearest integer, \( \frac{14c}{7} \), and the remainder will be an integer, \( \frac{c - 4}{7} = d \). And consequently \( c = 7d + 4 \). Substitute now this value of \( c \), in the foregoing value of \( y \), and \( y = 15d + 8 \). Where \( d \) may be either any affirmative integer, or nothing; taking, therefore, its least value, 0, then \( 15d \), 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 \( x = 28y + e \); which value being substituted in our second expression, it becomes \( \frac{28y + e - f}{19} \), which as well as \( y \), is to be a whole number: but \( \frac{28y + e - f}{19} \), by making \( b = e - f \), will be \( y + \frac{9y + b}{19} \); and therefore \( 19y \), and \( 18y + 2b \), being both divisible by 19, their difference, \( y - 2b \), must also be divisible by the same number; whence it is evident that one value of \( y \), is \( 2b \); and that \( 2b + 19z \) (supposing \( z \) a whole number) will be a general value of \( y \); and consequently, that \( x \) \( (= 28y + e) = 532z + 56b + e \), 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 Equationum, 1784, p. 99.
"Let this, therefore, be substituted in the remaining expression, \( \frac{x-g}{15} \); which, by that means, becomes \( \frac{532z + 56b + e - g}{15} \)

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

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 \( 2\beta \), 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 \( \beta \), 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 indication 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
S &\times 4845 = 48450 \\
L &\times 4200 = 8400 \\
I &\times 6916 = 27664
\end{align*}
\]

Divide by 7980  
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 ἣμεραι ἐπακταί, 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 Maundy Thursday, but the chief priests and their adherents on Good Friday. The former day was, ἡ πρωτη τῶν αὕτων, "the first of the feast of unleavened bread;" Matt. xxvi. 17; ὅτε τὸ πᾶσχα ἐθνον, "when they usually sacrificed the passover;" Mark xiv. 12; εὐ ἐδε θυσθαι τὸ πᾶσχα, "on which the passover ought to be sacrificed;" Luke xxii. 7†. Thursday, there-

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* See Spanheim, Chronol. Sacr. p. 82, who thinks it was introduced with the Syro-Macedonian year into Judaea, 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, τεσσαρακατεκατη, κατα VOL. I."
fore, was the proper ἡμέρα παρασκευή, “preparation-day,” Luke xxiii. 54; whereas the next, Friday, which was παρασκευή τοῦ ἰουδαίων, “the preparation of the Jews,” John xix. 42, or their παρασκευή τοῦ πασχα, “preparation of the passover,” 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 passover, 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, Νομιματα γαρ αρχιται 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 ερω του ήλιων 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, τεσσαρακοδεκατυ ἡμερα, μελλοντος του σεληνιακου κυκλου γενεσθαι πλησιασοντος. 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 τοινων εν τω πρωτω ετες την νομιμαν τον πρωτον μηνος, ήτις ἀπασης εστιν αρχη της εννιακοικεκατηριδος.—Εστι δ’ ουχ ήμετερος δ’ λογος, Ιουδαιως δ’ εγγυγοικετο τως 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, \( \text{Iah} \), (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 Pinge\(\text{r}\)e'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, Fer-
guson, 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 Petavins, 23d of March. Vol. ii. p. 374. This
shews the uncertainty of the precise day of full moon, and sup-
ports the foregoing opinion of a double passover.

ECLIPSES.

The word Eclipse (ἐκλειψις) 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, intercet-
ing 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 5½ degrees; in consequence of which, the moon is gene-
really too much elevated above the plane of the ecliptic, or too
much depressed below it, for her disk to touch the earth’s sha-
dow 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
εκλεισεν εις το σκιασμα της γης εμπιπτονταν, "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 refracted 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 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 preternatural, "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 Caesar Aug. V. and Aelius 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 Caesarea, 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 Caesar'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 Hyrcanus, high priest of the Jews, written after the defeat and death of Caesar'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 Caesar †."

† Δε' α (ανομηματα) και τον ἡλιον απεστραφη εκοιμην, ως και αηνως επειξε το επι Καισαρι μνυσος. 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, foretells, "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 presage 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. xliv. 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 phenomena 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 εινεκαιδεσ’ ὁ 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. Hudon’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,” (απὸ ανατολῆς) from the Parthian empire, to enquire for the true “born king of the Jews,” whose star they had seen “at its rising;” (ἐν τῷ ανατολῇ) 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 unu-

* Ανατολήν denote the “risings” of the stars in general, or the East; but the singular, ἡ ανατολή, “the rising” of a particular star.
usual 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 reappearance 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 (ἄναξίωτος) 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>753</td>
<td>S. April 21. Old calculation; the day of the foundation of Rome. Plutarch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S. July 5. Aft. 4, 30; dig. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>720</td>
<td>M. March 8. Aft. 11, 56; dig. 3½; second of Mardok Empad. Ptolomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621</td>
<td>M. April 21. Morn. 6, 22; dig. 2½; fifth of Nabopolassar. Ptolomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>607</td>
<td>S. July 30. Aft. 1, 55; dig. 8; supposed eclipse of Thales, according to Calvisius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>603</td>
<td>S. May 18. Morn. 9½, total; same, Costard, Montucla, Kennedy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td>S. September 19. Morn. 10, 57; dig. 9; same, Usher.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

597. S. July 9. Aft. 3; dig. 10, 33'; same, Petavius, Marsham, Bouthier, Larcher.

585. S. May 28. Aft. 3; dig. 11, 20'; same, Pliny, Scaliger, Newlon, Ferguson, Vignoles, Jackson.

547. S. October 22. Aft. 0, 35, total; when Cyrus took Larissa in Media. Xenophon, Anab.


502. M. November 19. Morn. 8, 21; dig. 2; twentieth of Darius Hystaspes.

491. M. April 25. Morn. 0, 12; dig. 1½; 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. 11½; 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.


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.
ELEMENTS

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.

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. 9½; 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. 10½; annular.
45. S. August 1. Morn. 10; dig. 5; birth-day of the emperor Claudius.
46. M. December 31. Aft. 9½; total.
59. S. April 30. Aft. 1; central; Nero murdered his mother Agrippina this year.

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 εξεπείνης ἐνε γενέτο.
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 Maeotis, 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.


**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’ ὀμος) 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 ἰκανον ηὴ γεγονεναι προς θεβαιαν 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, 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\(\frac{3}{4}\), 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 Athenian kings from Cecrops, B.C. 1558, to Alcmaeon, 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\(\frac{2}{7}\) 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\(\frac{2}{7}\) 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\(\frac{1}{2}\) 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\(\frac{1}{2}\) years, which will give the proportion of generations to reigns, as 33\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 22\(\frac{1}{2}\), 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,* (ἐνορχή) signifies "a stop;" because, says Scaliger, illis sistentur et terminentur mensurae 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 ΑΕra, 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.*

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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. Strauchiis, and other

* Quia vero Sanctus Cyrillus primum cyclum ab anno Diocletiani 153 coepit, et ulti- sum in 247 terminavit; Nos, a 248 anno ejusdem tyranni potius quam principis, inchon- antes, nolimus circumcis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innetcre: sed magis elegi- mus ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi, annorum tempora praenotare; qua- tenus exordium Spei nostrae notius nobis existeret, et causa reparationis humane, id est, passio Redemptoris nostri evidentiis elucetur. 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 Caesar," 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 Caesar’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. Paterc. 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 Paterculus, (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.


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 βασιλεύει, "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 Batanaea, 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 Annanüs 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 Caesar, 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 praeter undum est, quod hac secunda Nativitas Christi, tot illustrata mysteriis, honoratio sit quam prima.*

† *Λεγόντες, ὅτι ετέμενες την ἑορτήν, καὶ εἰς πολυθείαν ἡμᾶς ενεβάλεις.* *Patries 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 Caesar 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. Macrobi. 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 (ἐσκηνώσει) 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 decades 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 vail 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.

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

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 Cana. John ii. 1—11.

I. Passover. CHRIST visits and purges the temple.

John ii. 13—23.

John Baptist imprisoned by Herod. Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iii. 20; John iii. 24.


His sermon on the mount. Matt. v. vii.

II. Passover. John v. 1—47; (compare iii. 22; iv. 45.) Matt. xii.; Mark ii. 23—28; iii. 1—6; Luke vi. 1—11.

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.

John the Baptist sends to enquire of CHRIST. Matt. xi. 3.

John the Baptist beheaded by Herod. 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.


He sends forth the 70 disciples to preach. Luke x. 1—24.

His transfiguration on Mount Tabor. 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 Dedication, in Winter. John x. 22.

* Festum decollationis Johannis Baptistæ, Romani Augusti 29, constanter celebrant.


VOL. I.
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 xxi. 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 xiii. ; 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 ........................................ 785 32

**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 ........... 786 33

A great crowd (οχλον) of the *priests* converted. Acts vi. 7...........................................................
Powerful preaching of Stephen. Acts vi. 8—15 ....
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 Jerusalem, and
dispersion of the disciples through Judea and
Samaria, 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 embarrassament, 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 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 Sanhedrin 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: “Desinat itaque chronologi in anno dieque passionis erudio, mathematicorum calculis ac noviluniorum pleniluniorumque minutis et scrupulosis ratiocinis, sibi ac lectoribus suis negotium facere. Quo in genere, nimia sane περιπέτευμα 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 Sanhedrin 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creation of the World</td>
<td>5411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian Period (January 1.)</td>
<td>4714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>3155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cali yuga, Indian era of the Deluge</td>
<td>3102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersion of mankind</td>
<td>2614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimrod reigns in Assyria</td>
<td>2554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menes reigns in Egypt</td>
<td>2412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tcheou, or division of the Chinese empire into twelve provinces</td>
<td>2277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham born</td>
<td>2153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement of the Israelites in Egypt</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode of the Israelites from Egypt</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecrops reigns at Athens</td>
<td>1558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesostris reigns in Egypt</td>
<td>1308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Troy</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation of Solomon's Temple</td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Iphitus (July 1.)</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of the Olympiads (July 19.)</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation of Rome (April 21.)</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Nabonassar (February 26.)</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Seleucida, or Alexander's successors (October 1.)</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era Cæsarea, at Antioch (September 1.)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era Juliana (January 1.)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era Hispanica (January 1.)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vict. Actiaca (August 29.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vulgar Christian Era (January 1.) - - - - 1
Cycle of the Sun - - 10
Moon - - - 2
Indiction - - 4
Dominical Letter - - B
First year after Bissextile.
Era of Diocletian, or of Martyrs (September 17.) - 284
Hegira, or flight of Mahomet (July 16.) - - - 622
Era of Yezdegird (June 16.) - - - - 632
Era Gelalea (March 14.) - - - - 1074
Era of the REFORMATION
England (Wickliffe) - - - - 1360
Bohemia (Huss) - - - - 1405
Germany (Luther) - - - - 1517
Switzerland (Zuinglius) - - - - 1519
Denmark - - - - 1521
France (Calvin) - - - - 1529
Protestants first so called
Sweden (Petri) - - - - 1530
Ireland (Brown) - - - - 1535
England completed (Cranmer, Bucer, Fagius, &c.) 1547
Scotland (Knox) - - - - 1560
Netherlands - - - - 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 Negociations, 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 doctrinâque clarum, et sumnopere 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 relices 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 he hath made your Lordship great 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 shipwrecke and losses, upon the coast of Asia, 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 obteyne 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 a agent nine mouths."

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 undefeaced 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 (aureis), 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 Chronicle, 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 Smyrnea league, the characters being often entirely obliterated, often nearly so, (elementis sepius omnino detritis, fugientibus sapis.)" 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 lacune 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 it 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 iniserat 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 Graeca illa arcana me totum accingerem. Libentissime amm. Sed ut expeditius res absolveretur, rogo ut in operæ societatem, adsciscerentur amici communes, erudiissimus Patricius Junius, bibliothecarius regius, et multijugae doctrinae et studii indefatigabils vir Ricardus Jamesius. Utrque condicit ille. Illucescence die crastino, conveniens triumviri in horitis Arundelianis, ubi Smyrneorum decreta, et fœdus ab ipsis cum Magnesium, ad Seleucii Callinici Asiae regis majestatem tuius conservandam percussum, in sielâ variatim disruptà, primo commerimus. Fragmenta suis locis commissa longitudinem 8 pedum et 2 pollicium; latitudinem pedum 3, poll. 5; crassitiem pollicium 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 Callinicus, 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—ἐσκέυασε καὶ νομίσμα, l. 46, epoch. 31.

In the year 1667, the Hon. Henry Howard, second son of
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, Palme- rius, 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 lacunae 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.

1. Αφ οὐ Κεκροψ Δήνων εβασιλεύσε, καὶ ἡ χώρα Κεκροπία εκλήθη, το προτερόν καλουμένη Λεκτίκη, απὸ Λκταίων τοῦ αυτόχθονος, ετής ΧΧΙΙΔΑΠΙΙ.

2. Αφ οὐ Δευκαλίων παρὰ τῶν Παρνασσῶν εν Δυκωρείᾳ εβασιλεύσε, ἀνακτός Αθηνῶν Κεκροπος, ετῆς ΧΧΙΙΔΑΔ.

3. Αφ οὐ εἰκή Αθηναί[ν εγε]νετο Αρεί καὶ Ποσειδώνι ὑπὲρ Δλυροθοῦν τοῦ Ποσειδώνος, καὶ τὸ τοπὸ εκλήθη Δρείος παγὸς ετῆς ΧΧΙΙΔΑΠΙΙ, βασιλεύνοντος Δήνων Κρ[αν]α.]ου.

4. Αφ οὐ κατακλυσμός επὶ Δευκαλίων εγενέτο, καὶ Δευκαλίων τοὺς ομβροὺς εφύγεν εν Δυκωρείᾳ εἰς Δήνας πρὸς Κρανα.]ον, καὶ τοῦ Διώς τοῦ Ολυμπίου τὸ ἱερ [ον] ἑρωστάτου, καὶ τα σωτηρία εὐθείαι, [ἐ][τῇ ΧΧΙΙΔΑΠΙΙ, βασιλεύνοντος Δήνων Κρ[ε][α]ου.


7. Αφ οὐ Καμὸς ὁ Αγηνόρας εἰς Θῆδας αφικετο [κατα χρῆσυν, καὶ] εκτισεν τὴν Κακμειαν, ετῆς ΧΧΙΙΣΔΔΙΠΙΙ, βασιλεύνοντος Δήνων Λμ-φίκτυνος.

8. Αφ οὐ [Εὐφωτας καὶ Δακεδαίμων Δακω]νικὴς εβασιλεύσαν, ετῆς ΧΧΙΙΣΔΠΙΙ, βασιλεύνοντος Δήνων Ἀμφίκτυνος.

9. Αφ οὐ ναυ[ς] πεινὴ[ς]στα καπτ[ων]ον εξ Διογνυτου [ε]ς τὴν Ελλαδα επιλευσε, καὶ νωμασθη Πεντεκοντορος, καὶ αἰ Δαναοις θυγατέρες ...

.... [Αμι], ο[ν]η, καὶ Βα.... λαρεω, καὶ Ελκυ, καὶ Ἀρχέδεικῃ ἀποκληρωθείσαι ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν [ἰερον ἐδρυσ]αντ[ος] καὶ εὐθαν επι
15. [Αφ ου Εμιολτος ο Μουσαι'] ηνοικημεν ανεβην εν Ελευσινη, και τας του[πατρος Μ]ουσαίοις ποιησει[ε]ις εξεθηκει[εν], ετη ΥΗ ΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλευνοτος Αθηνων Ερικθως του Πανεινος.
16. Αφ ου καθαρμος πρωτος εγενετο [δια φοι]ον πρωτω αον . . . . εαντ . . . . . . . [ετη ΥΗΔΔΠΙ], βασιλευνοτος Αθηνων Πανεινο ον του Κερκοπος.
17. Αφ ου [ε]υ Ελευσιν ο γυμνικος [αγων ετεθη, ετη ΥΗ . . . . . . . βασιλευ- οτος Αθηνων Πανεινο ον του Κερκοπος.]
21. Αφ ου Θης[ες] Αθηνως τας δώδεκα πολεις εις το αυτο συνκρισεν, και πολειαν και την δημοκρατειαν[πρωτος καθεσιεν]ες Αθηνων, τοιν των Ησθμιων αγωινα ηθηκε, Σινων αποκεντα, ετη ΥΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΙ.
22. Απο της Αρμον[ες] της Πρωτης, ετη ΥΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλευνοτος Αθηνων Θησέως.
[Νεμεν ε]θ[εσ]αν [οι Επτα, έτη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Ὀσθέως.]


27. Αφοι Σαλαμήνα εν [Κυπρῳ] Τευκρος ωκίσκεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Δημοφωντος.


29. Αφοι [Ησ]ιδος ο ποιητης [εφαι]η, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων...

30. Αφ ού 'Ομηρος ο ποιητης εφανη, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων[ν] διωγνητον.


32. Αφ ου Αρχιες Ευαγιου, δεκατος ων απο Τημενου, εκ Κορινθου ηγαγε την αποικαν [εις] Συρακοους, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Λυσχυλου ετους εικοστον και ενος.

33. Αφ ου κατ' εναιντον [η[ε]ου] [Κ]ρ[εις]υν, [ετη] ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔ.

34. Αφ ου [Αλκαδαιμ]ο[ιας] [Το]ειοις συνεμαχησεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠ, αρχοντου Αθηνησι Λυσιον.[ου]

35. Αφ ου Τερπανθρος α Δερδενους α Δεσφιους τους νομους τους πα] λαιων [και] ουσθαι αυλης [ας εθελησε], και την εμπροσθε μουσκην μετεστησεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Δρωπιλου.


37. Αφ ου Σαπφω σε Μυτυληνης εις Σικελιαν επελευσε φυγουσα, ........

...... θ ...... ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι μεν Κριτιου του προτερου, εν Συρακουσαις δε των [Τεω]μορων κατεχοντων την αρχην.

38. [Αφ ου Λαμβανον φακης ανεκθησαν ελ]θοντες Κυρραν, και ο αγων ο γυμνος εθελ χρηματις απο των λαφυων, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Σιμων.]
40. Δφ οὖ εν [α’πη]αις Κωμω[δια εφορηθησαν υπο] των Ικαριως, ευροντος Σουσαρωνος, και αθλον ετεθη πρωτον σιχαδων αρσαχοις και οινων [αρμοσες, ετη ΗΗ ... [αρχοντος Αθηνησι].
41. Δφ οὖ Πεισιστατος Αθηνων ετηρανενευσε, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΠΙ, αρχοντος [Αθηνησι]ς[ις] Κ[ωμιου]
43. Δφ οὖ Κυρος ο’ Περσων βασιλευς Σαρνειας ελαβε, και Κροισον υπο [Πυθ]ης σφαλ[λομενον εξωγηρςεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνων Ερξκλειου. Ην δε] και Ιππωνεια κατα τουτον ο’ Ιαμισεους.
45. Δφ οὖ Δαρειος Περσων εβασιλευσε, Μαγου τελευτησαντος, ετη [ΗΗΗΠΠΙ], αρχοντος Αθη[νησι]ς.....
46. Δφ οὖ Αρμοιος και Αριστογει των απεκτε[ιναν Ιππα]οχον Πεισιστατον Α[θηνων τυραννον], και Αθηναιοι σ[υνανεστησαν] τους Πεισισταταιδας εκ[βαλεν του Πελασγου]ν τειχους, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΠΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι [Κλαμενους].
50. Δφ οὖ Σιμωνιδς ο’ Σιμωνιδου παππος του ποιητου, ποιητης ων και [αυτος, Αθη]νησι, και Δαρειος τελευτα, Εξερξης δε ο υιος βασιλευς, [ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Αριστειου.
51. Δφ οὖ Άισχυλος ο’ ποητης πραγματων ενικησε, και Ευριπιδης ο’ ποητης εγενετο, και Στησιχορος ποητης εις την] Θελλας [αφικετη], ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Φιλοκρατους.
52. Δφ οὖ Εξερξης την σχεδιαν εξευξην εν ’Ελλησποντον, και του Αθω διωρυξε, και η εν Θεριο[τυ]αις μαχη εγενετο, και ναμαχαι τους Ελλης περι Σαλαμινα προς τους Περσας, ην ενικων οι Ελληνες, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΠΠΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Καλλιαδου.
53. Δφ ο ún η εν [Πλατανιας μαχη εγενετο Αθηναιως προς Μαροδουνον τον Εξερξου στρατηγον, ην ενικων Αθηναιων, και Μαροδουος ετελευτησεν
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TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.
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I have described preceding times, beginning from Cecrops, the first who reigned at Athens, until Astyanax, archon at Paros, and Diogenetus 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

2. Since Deucalion reigned in Lycoria near Parnassus, Cecrops [re]igned at Athens, MCCCX years

3. Since the trial at Athens 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

4. Since the deluge happened in the time of Deucalion; and Deucalion fled from the rains, from Lycoria to

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**TABLE XII. THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.**
Technical Chronology.

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

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5. S[ince Amphi]ctyon [the son] of Deucal|tion reigned in Thermopylæ, and assembled the people inhabiting that district, and [nam]ed them Amphi|ctyon|es, and [the place of council] P[ylæa,] w[here] the Amphi|ctyon|es still sacrifice, MCCLVIII years: Am|phi|cyton reigning at Athens

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6. Since Hellen [the son] of Deuc|al|ion| reigned in [Phthi]otis, and they were [na]med Hellenes, who before were called Graikoi (Greeks), and [they instituted] the Panathenaean games, MCCLVII years: Amphi|c|tyon reigning at Athens

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7. Since Cadmus [the son] of Agenor came to Thebes, [according to the oracle and] built the Cadmea, MCCLV years: Amphi|ctyon reigning at Athens

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8. Since [Eu|ro|tas and Lacedaemon] reigned in [La|co|nia, MCCLII years: Amphi|ctyon reigning at Athens

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9. Since a ship with fifty 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]ilt[ a temple,] and sacrificed upon the shore at Para|li|as, in Lindus [a city] of Rhodes, MCCXLVII years: Ericlithonius reign|ning at Athens

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10. [Since Eric|thonius, when the Panathenæa were first celebrated, yoked [horses to] a chariot, and ex|hibited the contest, and [changed the name] of Athenea; 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[elae]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

11. Since Minos [the] fir[st re]ig[ned] and built [Cy]donia; and iron was found in Ida, by the Idaei Dactuli Celmis [and Damnaneus, MCLXVIII years]: Pandion [reigning] at Athens - - - - 1506

12. Since Ceres coming to Athens pla[nted] corn, and first [sent it to other countries] by Triptolemus [the son] of Celeus and Neera, MCXLV years: Erichtheus reigning at Athens - - - - [1432]

13. Since Triptolemus sowed [corn] in Raria, called Eleusis, M[C]XL[II] years: [Erichtheus] reigning at Athens - - - - 1406

14. [Since Orpheus] pub[lished] 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 Muse]us celebrated the mysteries in Eleusis, and publish[ed] the po[ems] of his father M[use]s, MC . . . years: [Erichtheus] [the son] of Pandion [reigning at Athens] - - - - 1326

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 sacrifices] and the Lycea were cele-brated 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[iified in Eleusi]s, [was initiated the fir]st of [stran]gers, M . . . [years]: Ægeus reigning at Athens - - - - . . . .

20. Since a [scarcity] of corn happened at Athens, and [Apol]lo being consulted by [the] Athen[ians] ob[liged them] to under[go] [the penalties wh[ich] Minos (the second) should require, MXXXI years: Æg[eus] reigning at Athens - - - - 1295
21. Since Thes[eus] incorporated the twelve cities of Attica into one (community); and [having first established] a civil constitution and a popular government at Athens, he instituted the Isthmian Games, after he had slain Sinis, DCCCCXCV years

22. From the first (celebration of the festival called) Ammon, [DCCCCXC]II years: Theseus reigning at Athens

23. Since Adra[stus r]eign[e]d over the Argi[ves], and [the seven commanders in]st[iut]ed the Games [i]n [Nemea,] DCCCCLXXXVII years: Theseus reigning at Athens


25. Since Troy was taken, DCCCCXLV years: [Menestheus] reigning at Athens, in the (twenty) second year (of his reign), on the twenty-fourth day of the month Th[argelio]n

26. Since Orestes [in Scythi]a was [cured of his madness] and [a cause] between hi[m] and [Erig]one, the daughter of [AE]gisthus, [concerning] (the murder of) Aegisthus, was tried in Areopagus, which Orestes gained, [the vot]es [being equal], [D]CCCCXXX[X]II years: Demophon reigning at Athens

27. Since Teucer built [Salamis in] Cyprus, DCCCCXXXVIII years: Demophon reigning at Athens

28. Since Neb[eus built Miletus in Caria, having collected the Ionians,] who [built Ephesus, Erythrae, Clazomene, P[riene and Lebedus, Teos,] Colophon, [M]yus, [Phocea,] Samos, [Chios;] and the [Pan]ioni[a] were instituted, [DCCC]XIII years: Menestheus reigning at Athens, in the thirteenth year (of his reign)

29. Since [Hes]iod the poet [flourished], DCLXX[X] years: ———— [reigning at Athens]

30. Since Homer the poet flourished, DCXLIII years: [Diog]netus reigning at Athen[s]
31. Since Ph[ei]don the Argive was pros[cried], and made [measures and weights,] and coined silver money in Ægina, being the eleventh from Hercules, DCXXXI years: [Megac]les reigning at Athens - 895

II. Period.

32. Since Archias [the son] of Evagetus, being the tenth from Temenus, conducted a colony from Corinth [to] Syracu[se, CCCXXCIV 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 [Tyrræus with the Lacedem]o[nians fought against the Messenians] CCCXXVIII years: Lysi[as] being Archon at Athens - - - - - - 682

35. Since Terpander [the son] of Derdenæus the Lesbian, [directed the flute-pl[ayers] to [ref]orm the tunes of the [An]ci[ents,] and changed the old music, CCCLXXXI years: Droplius being Archon at Athens - - - - - - - 645

36. Since A[lyatte]s reigned in [Lydi]a, [CCCXL]I 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 cele-brated, 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,CCCXX[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: . . . . ] be-ing Archon at Athens - - - - - - 56.
41. Since Pisistratus became tyrant at Athens, CCXCVII years: C[omi]as being Archon at Athens

42. Since Croesus s[ent ambassadors out] of Asia [to] Delph[i, CCX]CII [years: Euthy]demus being Archon at Athens

43. Since Cyrus, King of Persia, took Sardis, and [apprehended] Croesus, who was de[ceived by the] [Pyth]ia, [284 years]: Er[xiclides being Archon at Athens]

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: [Alec]eus the first being Archon at Athen[ens]

45. Since Darius reigned over the Persians, (Smerdis) Magus being dead, [CC]L[VI] years: . . . . being Archon at Athens

46. Since Harmodius and [Aristoge]iton s[e]w Hippa]rchus [the son] of Pisistratus, [the tyra]nt of Athen[ens], and the Athenians co[nspired to ex[pel] the Pisistratidae [from their retreat within the Pelasgi]c wall, CCXLVIII years: [Clis]thenes being Archon at Athens

47. Since choruses of men first contended, [and] Hypo-[dr]cus the Chalcidi[an], having taught one [of them] gained the vict[ory,] CCXL[IV] years: [I]sagoras being Archon at Athen[s]

48. Since the temp[le of Minerva] Hippia [was built] at Athens, CCXXXI years: Pythocritus being Archon at Athens

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]

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
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: *Philoctates* 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 Thermopyläe, 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]latæa 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 *Ætma*, C[C]XVI years: *Xantippus* being Archon at Athens - - - - 480

54. Since [ *Ge*lon] [the son] of *Dinomones* 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 - - - 472

56. Since *Hiero* became tyrant of Syracuse, CCVI[I]I years: *Ch[ar]es* being Archon at Athens. *Epic[harmus]* the poet lived also at this time - - 470

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 - - - - 469

58. Since the stone fell in *Ægos-potamus*; and *Simonides* the poet died, having lived XC years, CCV years: *Theagenidas* being Archon at Athens - - - - 462

59. Since *Alexander* died, and his son *Pe[r]diccas* reigns over the Macedonians, CXCIII years: *Euthippus* being Archon at Athens - - 457

60. Since *Æschylus* the poet, having lived LXIX years, died at [ *Ge*la]n [Si]cily, CXCIII years: *Call[i]as* the first being Archon at Athens - - - - 457
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 [Anaxagoras 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 lived LXXVII years, died, CXL[II] years: Antigenes being Archon at Athens - - - - - - [407] 65. Since Sophocles the poet, having lived [XC]I years, died, and Cyrus went up into Persia, against his brother, CXLII years: Callias the first being Archon at Athens - - - - - 406 66. Since Telestes the Selinuntian gained the prize at Athens, CXXX[VIII] years: Micon being Archon at Athens - - - - - 402 67. Since [those returned] who went up [with] Cyrus [into Persia,] and Socrates the philosopher, [having lived] LXX years, died, CXXXV[I] years: Laches being Archon at Athens - - - - - 399 68. Since Astydamas first taught] at Athens, CXXXV years: Aristocrates being Archon at Athens - - - - - 380 69. Since Xanthus, a poet of Sard, is, gained the victory in dithyrambics, C ... years: ... being Archon at Athens - - - - - 377 70. [S]ince Philoxenus, a writer of dithyrambics, having lived LV years, dies, CXVI years: Pytheas being Archon at Athens - - - - - 377 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 Lacedaemonians, in which the Thebans conquered, CVII years: Phrasiclidies being
Archon at Athens. [At this time, Alexander, the son of Amyntas] reigns [over the Macedonians] 371

74. Since Stesichorus the Himerian, the second of [that name],] gained the victory at Athens; and Megalopol [is in Arcadia,] was built, [CVI years: Dysccinetus being Archon at Athens.] - - - [370]

75. Since Dionysius, the Sicilian, died, and his son Dionysius became tyrant, and Ale[xa]n[der being dead, Ptolomy rei]gns [over the Macedonians,] CIV years: Nausigenes being Archon at Athens - 368

76. Since the Phoceans [plundered the temple] of Delphi, [XCIV years:] Cephisodorus [being Archon at Athens] - - - - - 358

77. Since Timotheus, having lived XC years, died; [and Philip, the son of Amyntas,] reigns [over the Macedonians; and Artaxerxes died; and Ochus his son r[eigns over the Persians; and] ... gained the victory; XCIII years: Agathocles being Archon at Athens - - - - - 357

78. [Since Alexander, the son of Philip, was born, XCI years: Callist[ratus] being Archon at Athens. .. [Aristotle the philosopher lived also at that [time] - - - - - 355

79. Since Cal[ippus, having slain Dion, became tyrant of Syracuse, XC year]s: [Diotimus being Archon at Athens] - - - - - - - 354

* * *

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TABLE XIII.

/ RECTIFICATION OF THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

I. PERIOD.

1. Cecrops, first king of Athens; began to reign - 1558

2. Deucalion reigns in Lycoria, near Parnassus, in the ninth year of Cecrops - - 1549

3. Trial of Mars at the Areopagus, for killing Halirrhothius, the son of Neptune, in the second year of Cranaus - - - - - 1507
4. Deucalion's flood, flight to Athens, and sacrifice, in the fourth year of Cranaus.

5. The Amphictyons collected by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, and their assembly at Thermopylae, in the third year of Amphictyon, king of Athens.

6. The Greeks, called Hellenes, from Hellen, son of Deucalion, and king of Phthiotis, in the fourth year of Amphictyon.

7. The Cadmia, or citadel at Thebes, built by Cadmus, the son of Agenor, who came from Phoenicia, in the sixth year of Amphictyon.


9. Flight of Danaus and his fifty daughters, from Egypt to Lyndus, in Rhodes, in the fourth year of Erichthonius.

10. Erichthonius institutes the chariot-race at the first celebration of the Panathenean games, in the ninth year of his reign.

11. Minos the First reigns in Crete; iron found there by the Dactylis, in the [thirty third] year of Pandion II.

12. Ceres teaches the sowing of corn at Athens, and

13. Triptolemus at Eleusis, in the sixteenth year of Erichtheus.


15. The Eleusinian mysteries celebrated by Eumolpus.

16. The Lustration first instituted, in the ninth year of Pandion II.

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.

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.

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

II. Period.

32. Grecian colonies planted in Sicily by Archias, the Corinthian, at Syracuse, &c. in the twenty-first year of Aeschylus, the perpetual Archon 758
33. Creon, 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.

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<td>3. Amphictyon</td>
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<td>6. Erechtheus</td>
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<td>9. Ægeus</td>
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#### Perpetual Archons.

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<td>3. Archippus</td>
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<td>4. Thersippus</td>
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<td>5. Phorbas</td>
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<td>954</td>
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<td>12. Æschylus</td>
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#### Annual Archons.

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1-24 ELEMENTS OF Critias B.C. 604
Megacles Plut. 600
Philombrotus Plut. 595
Critias I. Par. M. 594
Dropides Philostrat. 593
Eucrates Diogen. 592
Simon Par. M. 591
Phænippus 588
Damasius II. Par. M. 582
Pentathlus 580
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Hippoclides Marcell. 562
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Clisthenes Par. M. 512
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Acestorides D. Hal. 504
Myrus D. Hal. 500
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Themistocles Sigon. 493
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Hybrilides Dion 491
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Aristides Par. M. Plut. 489
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Phædon 485
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Nicodemus — 483
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Calliades Herod. Par. M. 481
Callias Diod. 480
Xantippus — 479
Timosthenes — 478
Adimantus — 477
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Dromoclides — 475
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Praxiergus D. Hal. 471
Apsephion Par. M. 470
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Lycanias — 466
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Archidemides D. Hal. 464
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Philocles — 459
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Callias I. Par. M. 457
Callias Diod. 456
Sosistratus — 455
Ariston — 454
Lysicrates — 453
Cheriphanes D. Hal. 452
Antidotus — 451
Euthydemus Diod. 450
Pedæus D. Hal. 449
Philiscus — 448
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<td>Nausigenes</td>
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<td>Par. M. Diod.</td>
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<td>Polyzelus</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>Diod.</td>
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<td>Cephisodorus</td>
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<td>Chion</td>
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<td>Timocrates</td>
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<td>Chariclides</td>
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<td>Par. M. Diod.</td>
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<td>Agathocles</td>
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<td>356</td>
<td>Diod.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Callistratus</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>Par. M. Diod.</td>
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<td>Dictimus</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>Diod.</td>
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<td>Eudemus</td>
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<td>Aristodemus</td>
<td>352</td>
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</table>
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 \( \Pi, \Gamma \), is observed; the prostrate \( \varepsilon \tau \alpha, \Pi \), is used for the \( \zeta \tau \alpha \); and there are some smaller capitals, particularly the \( \omicron, \omega, \theta, \), and \( \theta \tau \), 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 \textit{Marmor Cyzicenum}, at \textit{Venice}, in the forms of the letters. See a fac-simile of the characters, and of the stone itself, in \textit{Hewlett’s Vindication}, p. 50.

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

\[ \text{ΑΦΟΥΟΙ . . . . ΝΕΣΕΙΣΤΡΟΙΑΝΕ . . ΡΑΤΕΥΣ . . . . ΕΘΗΦΗΝΗΠΙΠΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟ \Sigma\alpha\Theta . . . .} \text{ΙΣΘΩΣΤΡΕΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥΕΤΟΥ ΣΑΦΟΥΤΡΟΙΑΝΗΔΩΤΗΠΗΝΗΔΔΑΠΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑ \ΘΗΝΩΝ . . . . ΩΣΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥΕΤΟΥΣΜΗΝΟΣ . . . . ΝΟΣΕΒΔΟΜΗΙΦΘΙΝΟΝΤΟΣ.} \]

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

\[ \text{’Αφ’ ο\(\omicron\) \(\omicron\) [\text{Ελλην]ες \(\epsilon\) \(\epsilon\) Τροιαν \(\epsilon\)[\text{στρ}]\text{ατευσ}[\text{αντο}] \epsilon\text{η} \text{DCCCCLIV} \beta\text{ασιλεύοντος Α\(\omicron\)\(\eta\)\[\text{μων} \\M\text{ε\(\omicron\)}}\text{ζως \τρεις κα\(\delta\)\text{ηκατάν} \text{ετους}.} \text{’Αφ’ ο\(\omicron\) Τροια \(\eta\)\(\lambda\)\text{\epsilon\text{η} DCCCCXLV, \beta\text{ασιλεύοντος Α\(\omicron\)\(\eta\)\[\text{μων} \\M\text{ε\(\omicron\)}}\text{ζως, \text{δευτερου \text{ετους, \mu\(\nu\)\(\nu\) \\O\text{\[\text{αρ\(\eta\)}}\text{\(\iota\)}}\text{\(\nu\)\(\nu\) \text{ψε\(\omicron\)}}\text{\(\omicron\) Φ\text{\(\iota\)}}\text{\(\omicron\)\text{νος.}} \]’}

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 \(\epsilon\epsilon\), \textit{one}, anciently written \(\iota\epsilon\); \(\Pi, \pi\epsilon\text{ντε, \textit{five}}\); \(\Delta, \delta\epsilon\kappa\), \textit{ten}; \(\text{H, the aspirate, in \textit{ικατον, \textit{one hundred}}; and by combination \(\Sigma\), or \(\Pi\) multiplied by \(\Delta, \textit{fifty}; \(\Pi\), or \(\Pi\) multiplied by \(\text{H, \textit{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 \textit{Attic} mode of numeration used in \textit{Solon’s time}, and is mentioned only perhaps by \textit{Herodian}, who represents it as obsolete, in his little treatise \(\pi\epsilon\text{\(\omicron\) \(\alpha\text{ρι\(\omicron\)\(\mu\nu\)}\) \textit{of numeration},} of which a fragment is preserved in the fourth volume of \textit{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 Demetrias Phalereus, as its author. The name is unluckily defaced at the beginning of the inscription, and he thus ingeniously supplies the lacunae:


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 Demetrias, 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 Smyrncean 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 εγι, for εν or έκ; ευ for εν;
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

1*29

ay for av; του for του; την for την, &c. because these words are in general written correctly; and in the foregoing specimen, epoch 25, there is a gross omission of ευκοστου 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, βασιλεωντος Αζηνον 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 copious 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 estas,
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 Dicearchus, 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 Æsimedes, 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 Naxos, 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 Heraclidae 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 Croesus, 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 Croesus!"

Epoch 43. The supplemental number being obliterated, we may supply B.C. 548, the correct date of the capture of Croesus. This corresponds with the sequel: for Hipponax, his contemporary, flourished in the 63d Olympiad, B.C. 528, according to Pliny; and Croesus 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.

Our’ Ολυμπιας αγωνα
Φιρτερον αυδασομεν.

"Nothing better than the Olympic games
Can we celebrate."—Pind. Od. 1.

These celebrated games were originally instituted in honour of Jupiter Olympus, by the Phrygian Pelops, who settled in the Grecian Peninsula, called from him Peloponneseus, 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 δι’ Ολυμπιακος αγων αγεται, και τη εκκαλεκατη γινεται κρισις. Schol. in Pindar. Od. 3.
first prize given was for the foot-race, which was won by Corebas, the Elean. Afterwards, in the 14th Olympiad, the Diaulos, (or double course) was added; when Hymenius, 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 Corebas 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 Ulpius 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 Ulpi et Pontiani consultus (A.D. 238) ab Olympiade primâ millesimus est et quartus decimus, ex diebus duntaxat estivis quibus agon Olympicus celebratur. A Româ autem conditâ, nongentesimus nonagesimus primus, et quidem ex Parilibus, unde Urbis anni numerantur.—Ab Ægyptis quidam anni in litteras relati sunt; ut quas Nabonnazaru nominant, quod a primo imperii ejus anno consurgunt; quorum hic nongentesimus octogesimus est: Item Philipp[i Aridaei] qui ab excessu Alexandri Magni numerantur; et ad hunc usque perduci, annos quingenta sexaginta duos consummât: 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 Thrasyene 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 Thrasyene was fought in the next Julian year, B.C. 217, in the consulate of Sercilius 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.**

<table>
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<th>OLYM.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>OLYM.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chorabas, Eliens.</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>7. Daicles, Messen.</td>
<td>752</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Antimachus, Eliens.</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>8. Anticles, Messen.</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Androcles, Messen.</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>9. Xenocrates, Messen.</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Æschines, Messen.</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>11. Leochares, Messen.</td>
<td>736</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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,

2. Era of Rome 991—A.D. 238 = B.C. 753.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chionis</td>
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<td>30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Gyges</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thalpius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calisthenes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Euribates</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charmes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chionis</td>
<td>38.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chionis</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cratinus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gyges</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stomas</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Phrymon</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Euryclidias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Olytheus</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Gelo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anticratis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glauclus</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Agon</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Phadrus</td>
<td>62.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladromus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diognetus</td>
<td>64.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archilochus</td>
<td>65.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appelleus</td>
<td>66.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Elements of B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agatharcus</td>
<td>Corcyra</td>
<td>61.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eryxindas</td>
<td>Chaleid</td>
<td>62.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parmenides</td>
<td>Camar</td>
<td>63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evander</td>
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<td>64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apocles</td>
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<td>65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Himer</td>
<td>66.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phanas</td>
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<td>67.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Croton</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Argos</td>
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<td>Parmenides</td>
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<td>Theopompos</td>
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<td>Agrigent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eubatos</td>
<td>Cyrene</td>
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<td>Larissa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minos</td>
<td>Athen</td>
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<td>Eliens</td>
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<td>Thurii</td>
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<td>Pythostratus</td>
<td>Athen</td>
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<td>Eubatos</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porus</td>
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<td>Donis</td>
<td>Maliens</td>
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<td>Smierinas</td>
<td>Tarentian</td>
<td>107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polycleus</td>
<td>Cyrene</td>
<td>108.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

OLYM. B.C. | OLYM. B.C.
--- | ---
109. Aristolochus, Athen. | 157. Leonidas
110. Anticles, Athen. | 158. Orthon, Syracuse.
111. Cleomantis, Clitor. | 159. Alcimus, Cyzic.
117. Parmeno, Mitylen. | 165. Acusilas, Cyren.
118. Andromenes, Corinth. | 166. Chrysogonus, Nicen.
119. Andromenes | 167. Chrysogonus
122. Antigon, Maced. | 170. Simmias, Seleuc.
123. Antigon | 171. Parmeniscus, Coreyr.
126. Iædeus, or Nicator | 174. ———
129. Philinus, Cous. | 177. Hecatommus, Milct.
131. Ammonius, Alex. | 179. Andreas, Laced.
137. Menesthus | 185. Ariston, Thur.
138. Demetrius | 186. Seamanter, Alex.
140. Zopyrus, Syracuse. | 188. ———
141. Dorotheus, Rhod. | 189. Aselepiades, Sidon.
143. Heraclitus, Sam. | 191. Diodotus, Tyran.
144. Heracleides, Salam. | 192. Diophanes, Äol.
146. Micion, Boeotius. | 194. Damaratus, Ephes.
147. Agemachus | A.D.
148. Acesilaus | 195. Damaratus
149. Hippostratus | 196. Pammenes, Magnes.
152. Democritus, Megar. | 199. Æschines, Miles.
154. Leonidas, Rhod. | 201. Damosias, Cidon.
156. Leonidas | 157.
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—A.D. 238 = 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. 4½, 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. 10½: 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 Septembri. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.C.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>Romulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>Numa Pompilius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>Tullus Hostilius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>Ancus Martius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>U.C.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Kings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
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<td>176</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>Servius Tullius</td>
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<td>220</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>Tarquinius Superbus</td>
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Consuls.

<table>
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<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Consuls</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>L. Junius Brutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>P. Valerius Poplicola II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>P. Valerius Poplicola III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>T. Lucretius Tricipitinus II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>M. Valerius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>P. Valerius Poplicola IV.</td>
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<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>T. Lucret. Tricipitinus II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>P. Postumius Tubertus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>Opiter Virginius Tricostus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consuls.

U. B. B.C.

270. 484. L. æEmiliius Mamercinus. C. Fabius Vibulanus.
284. 470. L. Valerius Poplicola II. Tib. æEmiliius Mamercinus.

Decemvirs.

286. 468. T. Quintius Barbatus II. Q. Servilius Priscus.
287. 467. Tib. æEmiliius Mamerc. II. Q. Vibulanus.
288. 466. Sp. Postumius Albus. Q. Servilius Priscus II.
289. 465. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. T. Quintius Barbatus III.
296. 458. C. Nautius Rutilus II. L. Minucius Augurinus.
299. 455. T. Romulius Rocus. C. Veturius Cicerinus.
301. 453. Sex. Quintilius. P. Horatius Tergeminus.
CONSULS.

308. 446. T. Q. Capit. Barbatus IV.
310. 444. T. Cloelius Siculus.
311. 443. M. Geganius Macerinus.
312. 442. M. Fabius Vibulanus.
313. 441. C. Furius Pacilus Rufus.
315. 439. T. Quint. Capitolinus VI.
316. 438. M. Æmilius Mamercin.
317. 437. M. Geg. Macerinus III.
319. 435. C. Julius Iulus II.
320. 434. C. Julius Iulus III.
322. 432. L. Pinarius Rufus.
323. 431. T. Quint. Pennus Cincin.
324. 430. L. Papirius Crassus.
325. 429. L. Sergius Fidenas II.
326. 428. T. Quint. Pennus Cin. II.
327. 427. L. Papirius Mugillanus II.
329. 425. A. Sempronius Atratin. &c.
330. 424. L. Horatius Barbatus, &c.
331. 423. C. Sempronius Atratinus.
332. 422. L. Man. Vulso Capitol. &c.
333. 421. T. Quintius Capitolinus.
335. 419. Agrippa Menenius, &c.
337. 417. P. Lucretius Tricipit. II. &c.
339. 415. P. Cornelius Cossus, &c.

MIL. TRIBUNES.

341. 413. M. Cornelius Cossus.
342. 412. Q. Fabius Ambustus.
343. 411. M. Papirius Mugillanus.
346. 408. C. Julius Iulus, &c.
349. 405. C. Julius Iulus, &c.
350. 404. P. Cor. Maluginensis, &c.
388. 366. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.  
L. Sextius Lateranus.
389. 365. L. Genucius Aventinus.  
Q. Servilius Ahala.
C. Licinius Calvus.
391. 363. L. Æmilius Mamertinus.  
Cn. Genucius Aventinen.
392. 362. Q. Servilius Ahala II.  
L. Genucius Aventin.
393. 361. C. Licinius Calvus II.  
C. Sulpicius Paeticus II.
C. Paetilii Libo.
395. 359. M. Pomponius Lænas.  
Cn. Manlius Capitolinus.
396. 358. C. Fabius Ambustus.  
C. Plautius Proculus.
397. 357. C. Manlius Rutilus.  
Cn. Manlius Capitolin. II.
398. 356. M. Fabius Ambustus II.  
M. Popilius Lænas II.

399. 355. C. Sulpicius Paeticus III.  
M. Valerius Poplica.
400. 354. M. Fabius Ambustus III.  
T. Quint. Pennus Capitol.
401. 353. C. Sulpicius Paeticus IV.  
M. Valerius Poplica II.
402. 352. P. Valerius Poplica.  
C. Martius Rutilus II.
403. 351. C. Sulpicius Paeticus V.  
T. Quintius Rutilus.
404. 350. M. Popilius Lænas III.  
L. Cornelius Scipio.
405. 349. L. Furius Camillus Crassus,  
Appius Claudius.
406. 348. M. Popilius Lænas IV.  
M. Valerius Corvus.
407. 347. C. Plautius Hypseus.  
T. Manlius Torquatus.
408. 346. M. Valerius Corvus II.  
C. Paetilii Libo.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerin.
TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.
CONSULS.

U. C. B. C.
410. 344. C. Martius Rutilus.
     T. Manlius Torquatus II.
411. 343. M. Valerius Corvus III.
     A. Cornelius Cossus.
412. 342. C. Martius Rutilus IV.
     Q. Servilius Ahala.
413. 341. C. Plautius Hypseus.
     L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
     P. Decius Mus.
     P. Decius Mus.
416. 338. F. Furius Camillus.
     C. Menius.
417. 337. C. Sulpicius Longus.
     P. Ælius Pæus.
418. 336. L. Papirius Crassus.
     Caeso Duilius.
419. 335. M. Valerius Corvus IV.
     M. Atilius Regulus.
420. 334. T. Veturius Calvinus.
     Sp. Postumius Albinus.
421. 333. L. Papirius Cursor.
     C. Petilius Libo.
422. 332. A. Cornelius Cossus IV.
     Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
423. 331. M. Claudius Marcellus.
     C. Valerius Flaccus.
424. 330. L. Papirius Crassus II.
     L. Plautius Venno.
425. 329. L. Æmilius Mamercus.
     C. Plautius Decianus.
426. 328. C. Plautius Proculus.
     P. Cornelius Scapula.
427. 327. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
     Q. Pubilius Philo.
428. 326. C. Petilius Libo II.
     L. Papirius Mugillanus.
429. 325. L. Furius Camillus II.
     D. Junius Brutus.
430. 324. L. Papirius Cursor, Dictat.
     L. Pap. Crassus, Eq. Mag.
431. 323. C. Sulpicius Longus II.
     Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
432. 322. Q. Fabius Maximus.
     L. Fulvius Curvus.

U. C. B. C.
433. 321. T. Veturius Calvinus II.
     Sp. Postumius Albinus.
434. 320. L. Papirius Cursor II.
     Q. Publilius Philo III.
435. 319. L. Papirius Cursor III.
     Q. Aulus Cerretanus II.
436. 318. L. Plautius Venno.
     M. Fossius Flaccinator.
437. 317. Q. Æmilius Barbula.
     C. Junius Bubulcus.
     M. Popilius Lænas.
439. 315. L. Papirius Cursor IV.
     Q. Publilius Philo IV.
440. 314. M. Petilius Libo.
     C. Sulpicius Longus IV.
441. 313. L. Papirius Cursor V.
     C. Junius Bubulcus II.
442. 312. M. Valerius Maximus.
     P. Decius Mus.
443. 311. C. Junius Bubulcus III.
     Q. Æmilius Barbula II.
444. 310. Q. Fabius Rullianus II.
     C. Martius Rutilus.
445. 309. L. Pap. Cursor, Dict. II.
     Junius Bubulcus, Eq. Mag.
446. 308. P. Decius Mus II.
     Q. Fabius Maximus III.
     L. Volumnius Flamma.
448. 306. Q. Martius Tremulus.
     P. Cornelius Arvina.
449. 305. L. Postumius Megellus.
     Tib. Minucius Auginarius.
450. 304. P. Sempronius Sophus.
     P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
     L. Genucius Aventin.
452. 302. M. Livius Denter.
     M. Æmilius Paulus.
453. 301. Q. Fabius Maxim. Dict. II.
     M. Valer. Corvus, Dict. II.
454. 300. Q. Appuleius Pansa.
     M. Valerius Corvus V.
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ELEMENTS

Consuls.

U. C. B. C.


457. 297. Q. Fabius Maximus IV. P. Decius Mus III.

458. 296. App. Claudius Cæcüs II. L. Volumnius Flamma II.

459. 295. Q. Fabius Maximus V. P. Decius Mus IV.

460. 294. L. Postumius Megellus II. M. Attilius Regulus.


466. 288. Q. Martius Tremulus II. P. Cornelius Arvina II.


473. 281. L. Æmilius Barbula. Q. Marcíus Philippus.


475. 279. P. Sulpitius Saverrio. P. Decius Mus.

476. 278. C. Fabricius Luscínus II. Q. Æmilius Papus.

477. 277. P. Cornelius Rufinus II. Cn. Junius Bubulcus II.

U. B. B. C.

478. 276. Q. Fabius Gurges II. C. Genucius Clepsina.


481. 273. C. Fabius Dorso. C. Claudius Canina II.

482. 272. L. Papirius Cursor II. Sp. Carvilius Maximus II.

483. 271. C. Quintius Claudius. L. Genucius Clepsina.

484. 270. C. Genucius Clepsina II. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

485. 269 Q. Ogulnius Gallus. C. Fabius Pictor.


489. 265. Q. Fabius Gurges III. L. Mamilius Vitulus.


492. 262. L. Postumius Megellus. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.


495. 259. L. Cornelius Scipio. C. Aquilius Florus.

496. 258. A. Attilius Cælatinus. Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

497. 257. C. Attilius Regulus. Cn. Cornelius Blasio II.

498. 256. L. Manlius Vulso. Q. Cæcicius.

### TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

#### Consuls.

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776.  23.  C. Asinius Pollio.  C. Antistius Vetus.


780.  27.  M. Licinius Crassus.  L. Calpurnius Piso.


782.  29.  C. Rubellius Geminus.  C. Fusius Geminus.


787.  34.  L. Vitellius Nepos.  Paullus Fabius Priscus.


795.  42.  Claudius Cæsar, Aug. II.  L. Licinius Largeus.

796.  43.  Claudius Cæsar, Aug. III.  L. Vitellius II.

U.C.  A.D.

797.  44.  C. Vibius Crispinus.  T. Statilius Taurus.


799.  46.  P. Valerius Asiaticus.  M. Junius Silanus.

800.  47.  Claudius Cæsar, Aug. IV.  L. Vitellius II.

801.  48.  A. Vitellius.  L. Vipsanius Poplicola.

802.  49.  C. Pompeius Longinus.  Q. Verranius Nepos.

803.  50.  C. Antistius Vetus.  M. Suillius Rufus.


805.  52.  P. Corn. Sylla Faustus.  L. Salvius Otho.


809.  56.  Q. Volusius Saturninus.  P. Cornelius Scipio.


812.  59.  C. Vipsanius Apronianus.  C. Fonteius Capito.

813.  60.  Nero Augustus IV.  Cossus Corn. Lentulus.


816.  63.  L. Memmius Regulus.  P. Virginius Rufus.

817.  64.  C. Lecanius Bassus.  M. Licinius Crassus.


Fasting.

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<td>843. 90. F. Domitianus Imp. XV. M. Cocceius Nerva II.</td>
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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, Timochares and Hipparchus; and by those of the Alexandrian


† 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. Pingré, 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 Em-padus*, 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 Philometer*, and 574th year from *Nabonas-sar*, 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.**

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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,

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N.B.
&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.
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+ 5

**TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.**

**TABLE XVIII.**

**NABONASSAREAN DAYS.**
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 Ptolomeus, 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.**

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<td>21. Chinzirus and Porus</td>
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<td>26. Jugeus</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. Mardok Empad, or Merodach Baladan</td>
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<td>80. Asaradin, or Esarhaddon</td>
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<td>143. Nabopolassar, or Labynitus</td>
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<td>186. Nabokolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar</td>
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<td>189. Ilvarodam, or Evilmerodach (2)</td>
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<td>194. Nericassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar (4)</td>
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<td>211. Nabonadius</td>
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**Persian Kings.**

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<td>283. Xerxes *</td>
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*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:

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>821. Claudius</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>812. Philip</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>804. Decius</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>799. Gallus Hostilius</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>798. Valerian and Gallienus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>797. Claudius</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>268</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>796. Aurelian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>795. Tacitus and Florian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Egyptian Kings. |
|-----------------
| 718. Cleopatra  |
| 696. Dionysius  |
| 637. Soter      |
| 631. Ptolemy Lagus | 464 |
| 602. Philadelphus | 501 |
| 567. Philopator  | 543 |
| 526. Euergetes   | 502 |
| 501. Philopator  | 552 |
| 463. Ptolemy Lagus | 444 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grecian Kings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>424. Alexander of Macedon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431. Philip Arideus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443. Alexander Ægus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Emperors.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>828. Titus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>816. Augustus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>804. Decius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>799. Gallus Hostilius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>798. Valerian and Gallienus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>797. Claudius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>796. Aurelian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>795. Tacitus and Florian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roman Emperors.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Gordians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordian, jun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip the Arabian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallus Hostilius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valerian and Gallienus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacitus and Florian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y. A. D.</th>
<th>Y. A. D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probus</td>
<td>Constantine II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 276</td>
<td>4 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carus</td>
<td>Constantius alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 282</td>
<td>20 341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocletian</td>
<td>Julian the Apostate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 284</td>
<td>2 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantius Chlorus</td>
<td>Jovian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 304</td>
<td>1 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantine the Great</td>
<td>Partition of the Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 306</td>
<td>0 364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### EASTERN EMPERORS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valens</th>
<th>15 364</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theodosius the Great</td>
<td>16 379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcadius</td>
<td>13 395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodosius II.</td>
<td>42 408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcianus</td>
<td>7 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo I.</td>
<td>17 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo II.</td>
<td>2 474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*End of the Western Empire.*

| Anastasius | 27 491 |
| Justin I. | 9 518 |
| Justinian | 38 527 |
| Justin II. | 13 565 |
| Tiberius II. | 4 578 |
| Mauricius | 20 582 |
| Phocas | 8 602 |
| Heraclius | 31 610 |
| Constans II. | 27 641 |
| Constantine III. | 17 668 |
| Justinian II. | 9 685 |
| Leontius | 3 694 |
| Apsimar, or Tiberius | 7 697 |
| Justinian II. again | 7 704 |
| Philippicus Bardanes | 2 711 |
| Anastasius II. | 2 713 |
| Theodosius III. | 2 715 |
| Leo III. | 24 717 |
| Constantine IV. | 34 741 |
| Leo IV. | 5 775 |
| Constantine V. | 17 780 |
| Irene | 5 797 |
| Nicephorus | 9 802 |
| Michael | 2 811 |
| Leo V. | 8 813 |
| Michael II. | 8 821 |
| Theophilus | 13 829 |
| Michael III. | 25 842 |
| Basilius | 19 867 |
| Leo VI. | 24 886 |
| Alexander I. | 1 910 |
| Constantine VI. | 49 911 |
| Romanus | 3 960 |
| Nicephorus II. | 6 963 |
| John Zemises | 7 969 |
| Basilius II. | 50 976 |
| Constantine VII. | 2 1026 |
| Romanus II. | 6 1028 |
| Michael IV. | 7 1034 |
| Michael V. | 1 1041 |
| Constantine VIII. | 12 1042 |
| Theodora | 3 1054 |
| Isaac Comnenus | 2 1057 |
| Constantine IX. | 9 1059 |
| Romanus III. | 3 1068 |
| Michael VI. | 7 1071 |
| Alexius Comnenus | 37 1078 |
| Nicephorus III. | 3 1115 |
| John Comnenus | 25 1118 |
| Manuel Comnenus | 37 1143 |
| Alexius Comnenus II. | 3 1180 |
| Andronicus | 2 1183 |
| Isaac Angelus | 9 1185 |
| Alexius III. | 10 1194 |

#### EMPERORS OF NICE.

| Theodore Lascaris | 18 1204 |
| John Ducas | 33 1222 |
| Theodore II. | 3 1255 |
| John Lascaris | 1 1258 |
| Michael Paleologus. | 24 1259 |
| Andronicus II. | 37 1283 |
| Andronicus III. | 21 1320 |
| John Paleologus | 50 1341 |
| Manuel Paleologus | 33 1391 |
| John Paleologus II. | 24 1424 |
| Constantine Paleologus | 5 1448 |

*End of the Eastern Empire* 1453
Kings of England.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years A.D.</th>
<th>Years A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry VI...</td>
<td>last 8 1453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward IV. and V</td>
<td>22 1461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard III...</td>
<td>2 1483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry VII...</td>
<td>24 1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry VIII...</td>
<td>38 1509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward VI...</td>
<td>6 1547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary...</td>
<td>5 1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth...</td>
<td>44 1558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James I...</td>
<td>23 1602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles I...</td>
<td>23 1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles II...</td>
<td>36 1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James II...</td>
<td>4 1684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William III...</td>
<td>13 1688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne...</td>
<td>13 1701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George I...</td>
<td>13 1714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George II...</td>
<td>33 1727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George III...</td>
<td>1760</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ilarodam and Nericas-solassar, 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 Ωαλαμαφοδαχ, 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 ἑβδόμηκοστον) 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. I, §. 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 suisse potitum Babylone, testis Herodotus—sed multum post temporis:—tunc vere completi sunt 70 anni captivitatis. Scaliger. Note 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, ὧτι τὴν αἰωνὸς προκεχωρηκοτὸς, μαλα ὅ πρεσβευτὴς ὁ Κυρῶς ἀφικνέται εἰς Περσὰς, το ἱβδομὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ αρχῆς. Here Hutchinson, in his note (a) contends, that ἱβδομὸν should be taken adverbially for "the seventh time," like the Latin septimum. But the seventh time is equivalent to the seventh year, since 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 Can nonem hunc castigavart, vel potius conturbavant." Chron. p. 506.

1. Thus, Jackson, by continuing downwards the two interpolated years of Evlmerodach 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 1. 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 Arridæus, 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 Cyprianoë*, 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 unskilfully 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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Before</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laborosoarchod</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>Nabonadius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smerdis Magus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cambyses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraphis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Darius I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaphrenes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Darius I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artabanus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Artaxerxes I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xerxes II. 1½</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Darius II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdianus 6½</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galba</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vespasian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otho</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitellius</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Dicarnaim “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 Aegus, 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 Eegus 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.**

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<th>Y.</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>King</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>B.C.</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
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**Kings of Damascus.**

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<td>Tigranes, king of Armenia</td>
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</table>

**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 29\(\frac{1}{2}\) days, the Arabs composed their months of 29 and 30 days alternately, thus:

<table>
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<th>Month</th>
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<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Saphar</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59</td>
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</table>

* See Savary's French Translation of the Koran; which is much more faithful and elegant than Sale's English Translation.
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 feriae 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.

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<th>M.</th>
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**VOL. I.**
## Years of the Hejira.

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| 707  | 1307 | July.. | 3 | 2 |
| 708* | 1308 | June.. | 21 | 6 |
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| 712  | 1312 | May.. | 9 | 3 |
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† In 1752, when the New Style began, eleven days were omitted, from Sept. 3 to Sept. 14.
### TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.

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† 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.
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<td>May.... 11</td>
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<td>1900</td>
<td>April.... 18</td>
<td>April.... 30</td>
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N.B. In the intercalary years, marked by the asterisks, the twelfth month, Dul-heggia, consists of 30 days. The feriae all along are accommodated to the Old Style.
The use of this XXIIId. 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. 

At the same time, the Letter G, or the 6th day, of the month, Jomadh-aD-Dahr, (see Table IV., p. 129), was a Monday, the 6th day of the month, measured from the 29th Day of May, 1453. And according to the same calculation, the 20th day of Jomad I. was counted from the 1st of January, 1453, to the 29th of May, 1453, or 145 years, from the date of the birth of Christ, which is contained in the above specimen, the 3rd day of the week, or Tuesday.

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 Aracosaia, (the modern Candahar and Gzni) was frequently sent by them on embassies to the court of Chandra Gupta, (called Sandrocutps 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 Brahmims 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. Satya yuga .............. 4 \times 432,000 = 1,728,000  
2. Treta yuga ................ 3 \times 432,000 = 1,296,000  
3. Duapar yuga .............. 2 \times 432,000 = 864,000  
4. Cali yuga .................. 1 \times 432,000 = 432,000  

Maha yuga .................. 10 \times 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 Pliniian 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

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 Trebizond, 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 Bhagavat reckons it ..................... B.C. 1913
The Vishnu Purana ............................ 1905
Other Puranas .................................. 1370
The followers of Jina .......................... 1078

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. 1081, 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.

Martinus, 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. i, 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-tsien, 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 Yan, (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. 78, three years after the destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus; and have still a settlement at Cai fong-jou, 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, not 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-čang, 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 Empad, 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, (Zωδια, 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 other's 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᾿ ὧν αὐτοῖς ἀναγραφὴν ἡ των χρόνων αναγραφή,
Παρὰ τὸν τούτον οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας αἰληθεῖν ἐννυάται.

"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 præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum: omnis te exempli documenta, in illustri posita monumento, intueri; inde, tibi tueque reipublicæ quod imitere capias; inde, fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites. Livius in praefat.
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 chroniclers, 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.

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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genebrard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnold de Pontac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Jews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Mæstlinus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricciolus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Maimonides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Blanchanus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>B.C. 5026</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petavius</td>
<td>B.C. 5515</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennicott</td>
<td>B.C. 5507</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abulfaragi</td>
<td>B.C. 5409</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Person/Text</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4053</td>
<td>Strauchius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4052</td>
<td>Chevreau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4051</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4041</td>
<td>Strauchius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4040</td>
<td>Chevreau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4021</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>4020</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>4008</td>
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<td>4007</td>
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<tr>
<td>4005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4004</td>
<td>Usher, Lloyd, Simpson, Spanheim, Calmet, Le Chais, Blair, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3993</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3980</td>
<td>Bibliander</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3971</td>
<td>Uni. Hist.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3970</td>
<td>Bucholtzer, Matthias</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3969</td>
<td>Strachius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3967</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3966</td>
<td>Longomontanus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3964</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3962</td>
<td>Reynoldus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3961</td>
<td>Lather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3960</td>
<td>Lightfoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3959</td>
<td>Salmeron, Picus Mirandula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3958</td>
<td>Strachius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3955</td>
<td>Herwart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3951</td>
<td>Uni. Hist.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3950</td>
<td>Irish Computation, Coemhain, &amp;c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3949</td>
<td>Cornelius a Lapide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3948</td>
<td>Scaliger, Isaacson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3947</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3944</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3941</td>
<td>Uni. Hist.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3928</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3880</td>
<td>James Gordon, Beroaldus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3849</td>
<td>Uni. Hist.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3836</td>
<td>Helvigius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3784</td>
<td>Uni. Hist.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3761</td>
<td>Some Talmudists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3760</td>
<td>Vulgar Jewish Computation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3754</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.C.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tillemont, Mann, Priestly</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kepler, Capellus, Dodwell, Pagi</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysostom, Petavius, Prideaux, Playfair, Hales</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulpitius Severus, Usher</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireneus, Tertullian, Clemens Alex. Eusebius, Syncellus, Baronius, Calcisius, Vossius</td>
<td>751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epiphanius, Jerom, Orosius, Bede, Salian, Sigonius, Scaliger</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicon Alexand. Dionysius, Luther, Labbeus</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herwart</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul of Middleburgh</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydiat</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 præteritum rerum memoriam usu jam inverterata continet; et undecunque ducatur nihil ad veritatis fidem interest. Petavius, tom. 2. p. 215.

### III. Epochs of the Deluge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Septuagint Version</th>
<th>3246</th>
<th>Playfair</th>
<th>2352</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>3170</td>
<td>Usher, and English Bible</td>
<td>2348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hales</td>
<td>3155</td>
<td>Marsham</td>
<td>2344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Josephus</td>
<td>3146</td>
<td>Petavius</td>
<td>2329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian Computation</td>
<td>3103</td>
<td>Irish Computation, Coemhaim, &amp;c.</td>
<td>2296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cali yuga, or Hindu Computation</td>
<td>3102</td>
<td>Strauchius</td>
<td>2293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samaritan Text</td>
<td>2998</td>
<td>Hebrew Text</td>
<td>2288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Howard</td>
<td>2698</td>
<td>Vulgar Jewish Computation</td>
<td>2104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Josephus, Hales</th>
<th>1648</th>
<th>Scaliger, Strauchius</th>
<th>1497</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>Kennedy</td>
<td>1495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td>1555</td>
<td>Usher, and English Bible</td>
<td>1491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petavius</td>
<td>1531</td>
<td>Helvicus, Marsham</td>
<td>1488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish Computation, Coemhaim, &amp;c.</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>Vulgar Jewish Chronology</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Playfair</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usher</td>
<td>Hales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eusebius</td>
<td>Newton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larcher</td>
<td>Marsham</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the extremes differ from each other nearly 600 years!

VI. Epochs of the Destruction of Troy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life of Homer, Dodwell, Whiston, Freret, Bouhier, Larcher</td>
<td>1270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dioecarchus, B.C. 310</td>
<td>1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parian Chronicle, B.C. 264</td>
<td>1193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaeus Siculus, B.C. 270</td>
<td>1191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democritus, B.C. 362; Vell. Paterculus, A.D. 31.</td>
<td>1191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollodorus, B.C. 115; Dionys. Halicarnass. B.C. 5; Usher, Simp-son, Strauchius, Playfair</td>
<td>1184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eratosthenes, B.C. 194; Diodorus Siculus, B.C. 80; Eusebius, Lac-tantius, Syncellus, Scaliger, Hales</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sosibius</td>
<td>1171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton</td>
<td>904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the difference of the extremes is 366 years.

VII. Periods from the Exode of the Israelites to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Julius Africanus</td>
<td>Clemens Alexandrinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syncellus</td>
<td>Playfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschal Chronicle</td>
<td>Petavius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephus, Hales</td>
<td>Kennedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theophilus</td>
<td>Strauchius, Marsham, Houbigant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eusebius, Prap. Evangel.</td>
<td>and Hebrew Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vossius</td>
<td>Eusebius, Chronicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulpiitus Severus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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.

Varro, Proclamations of the Emperors, Augustus, Claudius, &c.
The Historians, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dion, Aulus Gellius, Censorinus, Onuphrius, Baronius, &c. The Chronologers, Petavius, Beveridge, Strauchius, Plagfair, &c. Hales

B.C.

753

N.B. Livy, Cicero, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus, fluctuate between the Varronian and Catonian computations.

Polybius .......................................................... 751
Fabius Pictor, Diodorus Siculus .................................. 747
L. Cincius .......................................................... 728
Newton .............................................................. 627

Here the difference of the extremes is 126 years.

IX. Epochs of the Overthrow of Nineveh.

| B.C. |
|------|------|
| 896  | Prideaux ...................... 612 |
| 597  | Newton .......................... 609 |
| 875  | Eusebius, Blair, Jackson, Play- |
| 821  | fair, Hales .................... 606 |
| 710  | Marsham, Universal History .. 605 |
| 748  | Helvius ....................... 602 |
| 626  | Vignoles ...................... 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 Nebuchadne- nosor, 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:
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.


3. The Western Jews, B.C. 4184, according to Riccioli.


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-impostor 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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam created</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>2104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimrod reigns</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babel built</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham born</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion of tongues</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham goes to Charran</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td>1737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac born</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2048</td>
<td>1712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob born</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>2108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi born</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2193</td>
<td>1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent to Egypt</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>2238</td>
<td>1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode from Egypt</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>2448</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>2928</td>
<td>832</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 proportionally 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 irreconcileable 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exode, under Moses</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2448</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2489</td>
<td>1271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conquest of Canaan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2496</td>
<td>1264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othniel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Servit. Mesopotam</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2516</td>
<td>1244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Servit. Moab</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2556</td>
<td>1204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamgar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah and Barak</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2636</td>
<td>1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Servit. Canaan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2676</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Servit. Midian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abimelech</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2716</td>
<td>1044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thola</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2719</td>
<td>1041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jair</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2742</td>
<td>1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Servit. Ammon</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2764</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jephtha</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2781</td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2787</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2793</td>
<td>967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2803</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2811</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2831</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2871</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hezekiah</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3199</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manasseh</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3228</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amon</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3283</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3285</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoahaz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoiakim</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3316</td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoiachin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zedekiah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3327</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple destroyed</td>
<td></td>
<td>410</td>
<td>3338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the Jewish Chronology has sunk or suppressed 14 years of the reign of Amaziah, two years of Jehosaphat, 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 Enaiim. 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 vitae primæ,
Annunciabunt sequentia hæc—usque ad tempora ultima.
1656. Sex anni et 50, res perspicua—mille supra 600 annos, Numero, de ætate primarum generationum—ad diluvium, ab initio mundi.

292. Ducenti duo nonaginta fuere—a diluvio ad Abrahamum [natum]:

942. Ab Abrahamo, nongenti, noli omittere 42—usque David [regem].

473. A David, ad captivitatem, non falsa (cano)—73 quad-ringenti:

589. A captivitate ad Christum, mansuetum hostiam—89 quin- genti.

3952. Ter mille anni, non falsa (cano)—duo anni quinquaginta nongenti

Ad nativitatem filii Mariae, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creation</td>
<td>1656 ... 3952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>292 ... 2296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham born</td>
<td>942 ... 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David king</td>
<td>473 ... 1062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonish Captivity</td>
<td>589 ... 589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Era</td>
<td>3952 ... 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'Connor.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>J P.</th>
<th>B C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creation ..................</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge .....................</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham ....................</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— goes to Canaan ..........</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode from Egypt ...........</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded .............</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— destroyed ...............</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonish Captivity ends</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Temple rebuilt ......</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication by Judas Maccab.</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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; reprobatting 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. Hec nimis effrenata 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>J.P.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>2385</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>2329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion of Tongues</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2539</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>2175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimrod's Reign</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninus reigns</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2604</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>2110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2678</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- goes to Charran</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2748</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- goes to Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2753</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2778</td>
<td>2048</td>
<td>1936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- (60)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2837</td>
<td>2107</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2924</td>
<td>2194</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent to Egypt (215)</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>2967</td>
<td>2237</td>
<td>1747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode from Egypt</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>3183</td>
<td>2453</td>
<td>1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>3702</td>
<td>2972</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--- destroyed</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4125</td>
<td>3395</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Temple</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>4194</td>
<td>3464</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Contracts</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>4402</td>
<td>3672</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>J.P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>4004†</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>2348</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>2366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion of Tongues</td>
<td>2247</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>2467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>J.P.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nimrod's Reign</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2480</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>2234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2588</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>2126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2718</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— goes to Charran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>2083</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— goes to Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2793</td>
<td>2084</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2818</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2878</td>
<td>2168</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2958</td>
<td>2248</td>
<td>1756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent into Egypt</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>3008</td>
<td>2298</td>
<td>1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode from Egypt</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>3223</td>
<td>2513</td>
<td>1491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>3702</td>
<td>2992</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— destroyed</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>4126</td>
<td>3396</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Temple built</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>4195</td>
<td>3465</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Contracts</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>4402</td>
<td>3672</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, Milcah, 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 Prinate 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-

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* 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 vidisse 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 obtinet. (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, Phoenician, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>J.P.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Creation</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>2370</td>
<td>2344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham goes to Canaan</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>2796</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode from Egypt</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>3226</td>
<td>1488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3706</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— destroyed</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4106</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the Captivity in the first of Cyrus</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>4176</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Sesostiris, 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.*


3. *Analysis Aequationum,* 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 equations 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 revival 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, scd 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 anywhere in the course of the work; but from inspection and comparison of the dates in the short Chronology 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death of Eli</td>
<td>B.C. 1117</td>
<td>1096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saul made King</td>
<td>1095</td>
<td>1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel dies</td>
<td>1057</td>
<td>1057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David made King</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>1055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon reigns</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehoboam reigns</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesac's Invasion</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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:

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.

(1.) "I have stated the time of the return of the Heraclides about 340 years before the battle of Thermopylae; (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.


1. Return of the Heraclidae ....... B.C. 825 .... 1103 .... 278
2. The taking of Troy ............. 904 .... 1183* .... 279
3. Argonautic Expedition .......... 937 .... 1225† .... 288
4. Return of Sesostris ............. 965 .... 1300 .... 335

Return of the Heraclidae.

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 Thermopylae, 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 Heraclidae; 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 Heraclidae, 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,

† 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 Heraclideæ and the battle of Thermopylae.

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 Thermopylae, B.C. 480, was an interval of 404 years: and from Charilans, 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\(\frac{1}{3}\) 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 τηρακοσία, 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 Heraclideæ, 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 Heraclidae 180 + B.C. 655 = 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Troy</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return of the Heraclidae</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionic Migration</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation of Lycurgus</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of the Olympiads</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tatian also adopted this interval; which is confirmed by the following independent computation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Troy</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeneas founds Lavinium</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascanius reigns</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return of the Heraclidae</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of the Olympiads</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 middle of the constellations of Aries, Cancer, Chele, 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 ½ years. 2. The primitive celestial sphere was certainly not invented either by *Chiron* or *Musaeus*, 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 Argoi, 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 Argoi, the framer would not have given the name of the ship Argo to a constellation invisible at Pagase, 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 ἐνιοτοτῶν, 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:

\[
\text{Εὐρ' ἁν ἄ' ἐξεκούντα μὲν τροπὰς ἁλίῳοιν,}
\text{Χειμερ' εκτέλεσθαι Ζεὺς ἡμῶν, ὡς τα τοῦ αὐτνρ}
\text{Ἀρκτουρὸς προλιπῇν ἔροιν ποον ὅκεανοιο,}
\text{Πρῶτον παμφαίων ἐπιτελλεται αἰκρόκασφαιος.}
\]

"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 Boötes, of which it is the most conspicuous: this is evident from the word παμφαίωνν, "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 επιτελλε, ὅλος επιτελλε, &c.; sometimes, with the addition of the words φανερος, εκφανης. And Homer also uses αὐτηρ, (which properly denotes a single "star," in the sense of σημα, a "sign," or constellation; applying both to Κυν Ωριωνος, "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 *Arcturus* est mihi."

*Virgil* likewise applies *sidus* to Arcturus:

> "Arcturi *sidera*, *Hecdotro*que *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 calenders; 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 α² 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-

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 γενος, 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 γενεα, "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:

Ei δ’ εθελεύ, ἵτερον τοι εἰς νόμον ἔκκορυφος
Εὐ καὶ εὐστάμηνως· σὺ δ’ εἰς φρέαν βαλέω σημιν.

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†.

* Μῦλος: 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, Phoenicia, 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, rape, and violence of every kind. Such was the rape of Io, the daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, by some Phoenician 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 ἀνωνύμοι, "nameless," by which the Brazen was distinguished from the Heroic Age, is supported by Horace in the following marked references:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multii: sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique, longā
Nocte; carent quia vale sacro.—Od. 4, 9, 25.

Nam fuit ante Helenam mulier tetrerrima belli
Causa: sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos Venerem incertam rapientes, more ferarum,
Viribus editor caedebat, 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,

* ἔτη τοιαῦτα τὰ πολὺ κροταῖοι τελεῖσθαιν. This expression is similar to that which Josephus puts in the mouth of Abraham, deplored 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:

_Mηκερ’ επει’ ωφελον εγω πεμπτωσι μετειναι_  
Ανδρασιν, αλλ’ η προσθε ζανειν, η επειτα γενεσθαι  
Νυν γαρ δε γενος εστι σιδηρων’

"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 Cumaei venit jam carminis atas:_  
_Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo._  
_Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:_  
_Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto._  
_Tu modo nascenti puerio, quo ferrea primum Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,_  
_Casta fase Lucina: tuus jam regnat Apollo.—_  
_Ille Deum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit_  
_Permixtos Heroas; et ipse videbitur illis,_  
_Pacatumque regat patriis virtutibus orbem.—_  

life, when going to be sacrificed: _επειδή γεννηθεις αποθανοι, “since you must die soon after your birth!”_  
Ant. i. 13, 3. And Hesiod himself has explained it shortly after by _αυθα γηράσκοντας τοκρας_ 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:—

_Dannosa quid non imminuit dies!—_  
_Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit_  
_Nês nequiores; mox daturos_  
_Progeniem vitiostiorem.—Od. 3, 6, 45._
Here "the last age," "the renewal of a great succession of generations," "the return of the virgin, Astraea, 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 Triviæque 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 Sibyllic 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 Heraclidae, 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 “Aeneas 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, 34½ 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 Romanæ ab conditâ urbe ad liberatam, annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. 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

* Annuum intervallum regni fuit. Lib. 1, c. 17.
† Numæ morte ad interregnum res redit. 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 [Ancy] 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, alter 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, digere 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.**

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<td>Interregnum</td>
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<td>2. Numa Pompilius</td>
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<td>578</td>
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<td>7. Tarquinius Superbus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>534</td>
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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:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. AEneas builds Lavinium</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>1133</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Aescanius</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

+ Alban Kings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ascanius founds Alba longa*</td>
<td>1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Åneas Sylvius</td>
<td>1127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Latinus Sylvius</td>
<td>1098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>1047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Atis</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Capys</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Capetus</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Tiberinus†</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Agrippus</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Romulus Sylvius</td>
<td>874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Aventinus</td>
<td>855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Proca</td>
<td>818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Numitor and Amulius</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Foundation of Rome</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Åneas 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 Åneas, 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,
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!

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, servà natus, possident!

† Crevier, in his note on the passage, judiciously observes:—Centesimus jam et duodequadragemimus aegabatur annus ex quo Romulus decesserat: sed filii Anci consulto decurant 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, Bœon, Apachnas, Apophis, Jannias, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herodotus.</th>
<th>Newton.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Menes</td>
<td>2412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Meris</td>
<td>1327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sesostris</td>
<td>1308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pheron</td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Rhampsinitus</td>
<td>1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Cephen</td>
<td>1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mycerinus</td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. *</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sabacon</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Nechus</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Psammis</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Apries</td>
<td>597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Amasis</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 940 years below his time. Nitocris also, the second noticed by Herodotus, and long before Maeris, 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 achronycial 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 repugnancies 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 Judaeus!

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, Ṣēṣer, Sisak, (or Ṣēṣ, Susak, as it is written, 1 Kings xiv. 25) may most easily and naturally be derived from Ṣ, (in composition, the contraction of Ṣen) qui, and Ṣēṣ (Sakah) bit; it might therefore have been an appellation signifying a "tipler" 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; xlvii. 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 Ṣēṣ, "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, Σακεσι τημερα.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Creation</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>2351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>2129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abraham goes to Charran ................ 1 2082 1925
——— goes to Canaan ...................... 25 2083 1924
Isaac ..................................... (130) 60 2108 1899
Jacob .................................... 129 2168 1839
—— descent to Egypt ..................... 215 2297 1710
Exode .................................... 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 Masoreto 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>J.P.</th>
<th>A.M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>2362</td>
<td>1656</td>
<td>2352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>2130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2654</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——— goes to Charran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2728</td>
<td>2022</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——— goes to Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2729</td>
<td>2023</td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2754</td>
<td>2048</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2814</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent to Egypt</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>2944</td>
<td>2238</td>
<td>1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>3159</td>
<td>2453</td>
<td>1555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>3699</td>
<td>2993</td>
<td>1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——— destroyed</td>
<td>4126</td>
<td>3420</td>
<td>588</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A. M.</th>
<th>B. C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>2256</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>2256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Cainan</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>2393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispersion of Mankind.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimrod's Reign</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>2788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——— goes to Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohath.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amram.</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>3833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>4412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——— destroyed</td>
<td>4840</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 omnigentis 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:

'O πας χρονος και τα ετη δεικνυαι τος θεωρομενος πειθησαί τη Αληθεια.

"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 progresendiurum,* "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 Heraclidae, 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 Ninevites, 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 Osymandius 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Residues</th>
<th>Lives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Adam</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Seth</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Enos</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cainan</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Malaleel</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jared</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Enoch</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Methuselah</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lamech</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Noah</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deluge .... 1656 1307 2262 2256
### TABLE II. AFTER THE DELUGE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Residues</th>
<th>Lives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heb.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sam.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sept.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Deluge. Shem</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arphaxad ...</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Cainan II...</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Salah ......</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Eber ......</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Peleg, or Phuleg</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reu, or Ragau</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Serug ......</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nahor ......</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Terah ......</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Abraham....</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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* 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 ordinis inseritur, alibi supersint centum anni, alibi desint; post genitum autem, ubi deerrant supersint, ubi supererant desint; ut summa conveniant. Et hoc in prima, secunda, tertia, quarta, quinta, septima generatione inventur. Videtur habere quandam, si dici potest, error ipse constantiam; nec casum redolet sed industiam.—De Civit. Dei, Lib. xv. 13.

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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 everywhere, 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. Grec. 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 renegade 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 subtile 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 Judaea 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 Autolycus, 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 Sibylline 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 Uziel, 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 Bereishith 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 Edesseus, 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 *Synecellus* 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 substracted 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. Dissert. 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 years.

**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.

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 Nachor: and Serug lived after he begat Nachor 200 years, and begat sons and daughters:

8. And Nachor lived 29 years, and begat Terah: and Nachor 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.

Samaritan Text.

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 αὐτὸν ἀνέπεσε, "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, Capelius, 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 serior erat proportione pubertas, quando vita 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 Lameck; 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.

Πεμπτης ὥριον αὐτρα μεμνημένοι αρ' γαμον είναιι,
Και πατέων ζητεῖν ἔοπισος 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:

Μητε τριηκοντων ετεων μαλα πολλ' απολειπων,
Μητ' επιθες μαλα πολλα' γαμος έε τοι ωρίον ούτος.

"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."

Μετα φυλασσεσαυει. Καιρος δ' επι πασιν αριστος.

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:

† 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, Gomorrah, 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, Eshecol, 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.

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." Syncell. Chronograph. p. 88, 89.

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**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; וְאַדַּרְאֵת שִׁלּוּם, "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 Hebrais 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.

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* The Jews, instead of בר, Bar, "a Son," read בור, 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; Αρφαξάδ, Σαλα, Εβέφο, &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 decades 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 decade, 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: Αρφαξαδ ἐτεκνώσε Σαλα, &c.; but in the Septuagint the verb is different, εγέννησε.

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 180th 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>Arphaxad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>Salah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enos</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>Eber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cainan</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>Peleg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaleel</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enoch</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methuselah</td>
<td>187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shem</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deluge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 180 years; which, added to the former, precisely made up the 3000 years required.

This solution is preferable to that of Suidas, voce Φαλκ; 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 Pharsaiacon, &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

* Ἀγενεαλογητός, μῆτε αρχὴν ἡμέραν, μῆτε ζωῆς τέλος εὑρὼν. 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 somnum!"—"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 καὶ φιλαληθεστατος omnium Scriptorum Josephus.—De Josepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Judaicis, sed etiam in externis, tutius illi credi quam omnibus Graecis et Latinis." Prolog. p. 16, 17.

† "Vident instauratores antiquitatis temporum qui Josephi calculos suis adaptant! Unum excipi potest, corruptissimos esse Josephi codices et oppidò discrepantès, seu in periochis singulis, seu in epilogismis annorum, vidit amanuensium:—ut de germani Historiae supplicatione statuere sit res alae plena. Unde tot pugnantes conjecturae 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. xlviii. 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 sepius 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-

---

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 irreconcileable 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 nowhere explicitly stated by Josephus, but it may be collected from the following genuine periods still subsisting in his works:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Ant.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth of Abraham</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His call to Canaan</td>
<td>2, 17</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>2078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode of the Israelites</td>
<td>10, 8</td>
<td>1062</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Destruction of Solomon's temple</td>
<td></td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Creation</td>
<td>2256</td>
<td>5402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Deluge</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>3146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of Abraham</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundation of Salem</td>
<td>2107</td>
<td>2107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence it appears, that the whole period from the Creation to the vulgar Christian Era was 5402 years, from which subducting 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abraham's Birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______ he goes to Canaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob's Family go to Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exode of the Israelites.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exode, Moses</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Servit. Mesopot.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othniel</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Servit. Moab</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehud</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamgar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Servit. Canaan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deborah and Barak</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Servit. Midian</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abimelech</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Tola</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jair</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only alteration here made in the present text of Josephus, is the insertion of Tola, and his administration of 23 years,
(Judg. x. 1, 2.) which are inadvertently omitted, between Abimelech and Jair, Ant. 5, 5—6, p. 209. but evidently were included in the original scheme of Josephus, as being requisite to complete the period of 621 years.

To Abdon no years are assigned by Josephus, Ant. 5, 7, 15. p. 215. perhaps designedly, for Clemens Alexandrinus relates, that "some chronologers connected together the years of Abatthan and Ebron, [Abdon and Elon] or made them contemporary." But we may easily reconcile Josephus with Scripture, by only deducting eight years from the 18 years interregnum after Joshua, which will give Abdon his quota of years, and leave that interregnum its juster length of 10 years.

It is truly remarkable, and a proof of the great skill and accuracy of Josephus, in forming the outline of this period, that he assigns, with St. Paul, a reign of 40 years to Saul, Acts xiii. 21. which is omitted in the Old Testament. His outline, also, corresponds with St. Paul's period of 450 years, from the division of the conquered lands of Canaan until Samuel, the prophet, and will be rendered exactly conformable thereto, in detail, hereafter, in Sacred Chronology.

The fifth period is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temple founded, (77)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehoboam</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abijah</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoshaphat</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoram</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahaziah</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Athaliah</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josiah</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoiakim</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehoiachin</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only alteration made here, is in rejecting Solomon's spurious reign of 80 years, foisted into the present text of Josephus, Ant. 8, 7, 8. in opposition to Scripture, (which Josephus accurately follows in all the other reigns) and inconsistently with his own system. The insertion of the 11 years interregnum between Amaziah and Uzziah is warranted by Scripture, from the cor-
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** unskilfully 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joseph.</th>
<th>Correct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deluge, Shem</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arphaxad</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salah</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eber</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaleg</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragau</td>
<td>130</td>
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<td>Serug</td>
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<td>Nahor</td>
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<td>Terah</td>
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<td><strong>Abraham</strong></td>
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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 **Seleucidae**, 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, Pococke, &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 control 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 (σα φανομενων) the things which are seen [or the visible creation] might not [seem] to have been (σα φανομενων) 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 quae tria corpora restant,
Ignis, Aque, Tellus, unus acervus erant.
Quicquid ubique vides, coelum, mare, nubila, tellus,
Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.

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 Μωρ, and Ιανε, "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, στερεωμα, 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 prorepserunt primis Animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus [hominum], &c.—Hor. Sat. 1, 3, 98.

Even the Athenians boasted that they were Αὐτοχθόνες, "sprung from the soil itself."
the foetus, 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, Montesquieu, &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 linguae 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, caelumque et lumina solis,
Aspice.——Possunme 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 moderantum 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, κατεναντί Ασσυρίων, followed by the Latin Vulgate, Contra Assyriam, and by the Syriac; though מְדָי, 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, Diglath, 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 Shoam; 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 Diglath 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, Theophilos 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 αρχαι, 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 Gulf, 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 Petrea, 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 Thevenot 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 Petrea, 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. 308.

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
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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 Abyssinia, under the Ethiop line, by Nitis' 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 VOL. I. Y
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, beach, chestnuts, 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-"
fountains of 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 rivers, 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 Schehallion, 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 disjicit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis,
Et calo 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 ghafts 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 Wærnskild, 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 vertebrae, 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, Chvojnoff, to explore the shores of the Icy sea, who found, near the promontory of Swatoi noes, an island about 150 verst 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 ex-
pedition, 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.

10. M. Pallas, who had formerly espoused the opinion of
Buffon, that Siberia was once the abode of elephants, was con-
vinced, 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 car-
casses had been wafted thither by its waters. In his observa-
tions on the formation of mountains, this author says, that the
relics of those large animals, inhabitants of Hindustan, the ele-
phant, 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 moun-
tains, 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 rhino-
ceros, 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 dis-
engage 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 vertebra, 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 toss'd 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 immovable 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 Αξιωος, "the inhospitable sea," and by a more flattering appellation again into Ευξιωος, "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, Agrida, 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 Rubruquis, 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 con-
tinued 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, Assy-
ria, 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 con-
firm 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 basin of that sea might have retained some of the redundant waters of the deluge, after the rest were withdrawn into the subterranean 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 Amoenitates et Acta Academiae Sueciae, 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 Streights.

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 Streights, 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, turning 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.

"Thessaly is said to have been inantly 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, Orachonous, 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 Bacea 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 strait 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 redundance 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,
Natura 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, נְתָנָה, 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, Sclavonians, 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 Ἰαπετοῦ προσβαλλόμενος, "Older than Japetus," denoting the remotest antiquity. The radical part of the word Ἰαπετ, evidently expressing Japhet.

I. 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; Cimbr i 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 Galatae 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 Galatae were called

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 $\alpha\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Axenus, nearly resembling Ashkenaz; but forgetting its etymology in process of time, the Greeks considered it as a compound term in their own language, A-ξενος, signifying “inhospitable;” and thence, metamorphosed it into Eu-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.

Riphath, 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 Slavonic and Tartar tribes; the first may be traced in the Mongolians, Monguls, and Moguls; the second in Tobolski, of Siberia; and the third, Mesech or Mosch, in the Moschici, Moscow, and Muscovites.

3. Madai was the father of the Medes, who are repeatedly so denounced in Scripture. 2 Kings xvii. 6; Isa. xiii. 17; Jer. li. 11; Dan. v. 28, &c.

4. From Javan was descended the Javanians, or Iaovês of the Greeks, and the Yavanas of the Hindus. Greece itself is called Javan by Daniel, xi. 2; and the people Iaovês by Homer, Iliad. XIII. 685.

These aboriginal Iaovês of Greece, are not to be confounded, as is usually the case, with the later Iovês, who invaded and subdued the Javanian territories, and were of a different stock. The accurate Pausanias states, that the name of Iovês, was comparatively modern, while that of Iaovês is acknowledged to have been the primitive title of the barbarians who were subdued by the Iovês. 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 Iωνες:" and he derives the name from Iων, 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 Geta, Guiths, and Goths; and of Scuths, Scuits, and Scots; and of Sacas, Sacasenas, 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.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

Of Cush's sons, Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Sabtacha, and Raamah; and the sons of Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan, seem to have settled in Idumea 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-Libysans; Ezek. xxx. 5: the Naphtuhim occupied the sea-coast, which by the Egyptians was called Nephthus; 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 Captorim 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 Gomorrah, 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, πολυδακτυλου, “skilled in many arts.” Iliad. XXIII. 743; Odys. XV. 114, &c. And Tyre, so flourishing afterwards, though boasting of her own antiquity, Isa. xxxiii. 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 Chaldeia, 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 Sharmo; 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 Ἀρμα, or Arameans, noticed by Homer, II. 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 encreased 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 Babylon." 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 Uratlu, 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

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.

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 un-mixed, 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 cheekbones 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 Phoenicians 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 deline; 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 Carthagena, 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 effluxia 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 Streights 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 “pignies 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 Streight 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 Streights 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 Teauca, 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 phenomenon, 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-explored scheme of Peyrerius, adopted by Blunt, in his *Ora-cles 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 Thau, 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 אישה (Aishah) “Woman,” because she was taken out of אדם (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 אישה, in Chaldee, or אשת, in Syriac, (Aitta) “Woman,” from the Hebrew, אישה, (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, אדם, Aish, “Man,” is not now found in these dialects, but has grown obsolete; and in its stead, the Chaldee has substituted באל (Baal) “Master,” the Syriac, גבער (Gebura) “the strong.”

2. From the primitive name of God in Hebrew, אלה (El) signifying “power,” was obviously derived אלהים (Elohim) in Hebrew, signifying “potentate;” אלה, in Syriac; אל- אלה (or, by contraction of the article אל, “the,” prefixed) אלה, in Arabic; אלה, in Ethiopic; אלה, in the South Sea Islands, where Captain Cook found אלה אלה, the name of the Supreme God, in Hapae, one of the Friendly Isles, similar to the Hebrew, אלה אלהים, “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 מת (Mat) “dead,” runs through all the Oriental dialects*; and מת, 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, شيخ مات, “the king is dead.” It is also the name of a place near Arbela, in Assyria Proper.
convention with *Jacob*, in Syriac, *Jegar Sahadutha*, which *Jacob* called יִגְאָר, *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 רָאָם אֵי, *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 Εὔσκοπος, 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, דָּבָר, *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 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 disyllables; 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!"

McCreery'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.

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"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 arbitror 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 decipher 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

* Princípio Assyrii (ut ab ultimis auctoritatem referam) propter planiciem magnitudinemque regionum quas incoelebant, cum caelum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observarunt: quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur, memoria 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-

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* 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. xliv. 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. Zoan, is constantly rendered by the Septuagint, Tanin, or Tanis; according to the same analogy that Tsur was called Tup-oc, 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,pes, 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 Jhûd, or Tourbet el Jhûd. Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 351. Rameses was in the land of Goshen, called also "the land of Rameses." Gen. xlvi. 11.

**Sin, or Pelusium.**

Sin, in Arabic, signifies "mud," and was therefore the same
as Pelusium, from \( \pi\nu\lambda\omicron\varsigma \), "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

**Pibeiseth, 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 Pelusiac.

**Tahahpanes, Tahpanes, or Hanes,**

Was the same as Daphne Pelusiaca, 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 Magdolus: and there also Herodotus represents Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho, as gaining a great victory over the Jews, when Josiah was killed; mistaking Magdolus for Megiddo. Jeremiah represents it as belonging to Egypt Proper, (xlvi. 14.) and in the neighbourhood of Tahpanes, or Daphne. 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 strait 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 Amun 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, ["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 Ἀμών, AEl 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 εμι Παν το γεγονός και ον και εσομενον,
Και τον εμον πεπλον ουδες πω θυητος 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 Ἱβα, Thebæ, "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 (Ybr) in Canaan, called Thebez, (Judg. ix. 50.) Thebes in Boeotia, 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 Dendra, 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; xlvi. 14. The affix נ, in בִּנְדֵרָה, 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." Dioc- dorus 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, com- pared with the Hindu records, the first pyramid was built about B.C. 2095, by Apachnes, the third king of that Shepherd dy- nasty, who invaded and conquered Egypt from Arabia, in the reign of Timaus, or Thamuz, who were called Yksos, or "Shep- herd kings," by the Egyptians, and Pali, or Palli, "Shep- herds," in the Sanscrit language, by the Hindus; whence pro- bably was derived the Philition, of Herodotus, signifying not a proper name, but an appellation, "Shepherd." See the Egyp- tian Chronology. The Arabs call them Dsjebel Faroun, or "Pharaoh's mountains."

The labour of constructing these factitious mountains was im- mense. "The founder of the great pyramid," says Herodotus, from the priests themselves, "shut up all the temples, and in- terdicted 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 Libyces, [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, (ἐκποιεῖν) 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 Cephenes, 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 Museum 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 subterranean 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 subterranean 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, Abdollatifiph, 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 Abdollatifiph. 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 Abdollatifth: 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 ibn 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 superintendent of the masons, says Abdollatiph, "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 Abdollatiph'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 Clysma, or the valley of Bedea. 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 Kolsum,* "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 Trogloides, the indigenous 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 mira-
acle 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 au-
thority 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 con-
firm 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, Nie-
buhr adopts the opinion of those who contend for a higher pas-
sage near Suez. "For," says he, "the miracle would be less if
they crossed the sea there, than near Bedea. 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 consid-

* 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 tradi-

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 desart." P. 352.

But Pharaoh and the Egyptians probably did not know their situation. The cloud which separated them from the Israelites, encreased 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 desart. 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 whether 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 Helopolitanis 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. Praep. 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 Petraea

From Bishop Clayton's Map.

Mediterranean Sea

Arabia

Petraea

The Red Sea

Syria

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ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

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 admeasurement 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 Petraea; 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, Pococke, 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.

Y. M. D. (1648.)

1. 1. 15.

1 Rameses, near Cairo .... Exo. xii. 37. Nu. xxxiii. 3.
2 Succoth ............... — xii. 37. — xxxiii. 3.
3 Etham, or Adsjerud .... — xiii. 20. — xxxiii. 5.
4 Pihahiroth, or Valley of Bedea ............. — xiv. 1. — xxxiii. 7.
5 Shur ;—Ain Musa ..... — xv. 22. — xxxiii. 8.
6 Desart of Shur, or Etham
7 Marah,—"bitter" waters healed ............. — xv. 23. — xxxiii. 8.
8 Elim,—Valley of Coron-del ............. — xv. 27. — xxxiii. 9.
9 Encampment by the Red Sea ........................ — xxxiii. 10.

1. 2. 15. 10 Desart of Sin, Valley of Baharim ......... — xvi. 1. — xxxiii. 11.
Manna, for 40 years ... — xvi. 13.
Quails, for a day
Sabbath renewed, or revived
Dopkah
Aluth
Rephidim
Water, from the rock
Massah
Amalekites defeated
Jethro's visit
Judges appointed
Mount Sinai, or Horeb
The Decalogue given
The Covenant made
The Golden Calf
The Covenant renewed
The first Muster, or Numbering
The Tabernacle erected
Aaron consecrated, and his Sons
Sacrifices of Atonement
The second Passover
The second Muster
Nadab and Abihu destroyed
Desart of Paran
Taberah
Murmuring of the People
Kibroth Hataavah, or Tophel
Quails, for a month
Plague of the People
Council of LXX. appointed
Hazeroth
Miriam's Leprosy
Kadesh Barnea, in Rithmah, or "the Desart" of Sin, or Paran
Twelve Spies sent
Their Return
The People rebel
Sentenced to wander 40
Years
Ten of the Spies destroyed Nu. xiv. 37.
The People defeated by The Rebellion of Corah, &c. — xvi. 1.
the Amalekites — xiv. 45.
Budding of Aaron’s Rod — xvii. 10.

20 Rimmon Perez — — Nu.xxxiii. 19.
21 Libnah, or Lebanon — — xix. 4.
22 Rissah — — xxxiii. 20.
23 Kehelathah — — xxxiii. 21.
24 Mount Shaphar — — xxxiii. 22.
25 Haradath, or — — xxxiii. 23.
26 Hazar Addar, or Adar — — xxxiii. 24.
27 Tsibath — — xxxiii. 25.
29 Mitcah — — xxxiii. 27.
30 Hashmonah, or — — xxxiii. 28.
31 Azmon, or Selmonah — — xxxiii. 29.
32 Beeroth, or Selmonah — Jos. xv. 4.
33 Mosereth, or Mosera — Deu. x. 6.
34 Benejaakan, or Banea — — xxxiii. 30.
35 Gudgodah — — xxxiii. 31.
36 Horhagidgad, or Gudgodah — — xxxiii. 32.
37 Jotbathah, or Etebatha, or Elath — — xxxiii. 33.
38 Kadesh Barnea again, after 38 years — — xxxiii. 34.
39 Miriam’s Death Nu. xx. 1.
Water from the rock Meribah Kadesh, (Deut. xxxii. 51.) — — xx. 13.
40 Moses and Aaron offend — — xxvii. 14.
41 Zalmonah, or Hashmonah, again — — xxxiii. 36.

(1609) 40. 1.

38 Kadesh Barnea again, — — ii. 8.
40. 5.

39 Mount Hor, or Seir, on the edge of Edom — — xx. 12.
King Arad attacks the Israelites — — xx. 22.
Kibroth Hataavah, or Tophel, again — Deu. i. 1.
41 Zalmonah, or Hashmonah, again — — xxxiii. 37.

Ark of the Covenant — — xxxiii. 38.

40. 5.
The People bitten by fiery Serpents

The Brazen Serpent erected Nu. xxi. 8.

42 Pithom Nu. xxxiii. 42.
43 Oboth — xxi. 10. — xxxiii. 43.
44 Jim, or Jie Abarim, in the border of Moab — xxxiii. 44.

45 The valley and brook Zered

46 Arnon Nu. xxi. 12.
47 Beer, or Beer Elim — xxi. 16
48 Jahaz. — Nu. xxi. 23.
49 Heshbon — xxi. 24.
50 Jaazer — xxi. 32.
51 Edrei — xxi. 33.

Og defeated

52 Dibon Gad — xxxiii. 45.
54 Mattanah Nu. xxi. 18.
55 Nahaliel — xxi. 19.
56 Bamoth — xxi. 19.
57 Pisgah — xxi. 20.
58 Abarim — xxxiii. 47.
59 Shittim, or Abel Shittim, in the plains of Moab Jos. iii. 1. — xxxiii. 48.

Idolatry of Baal Peor Nu. xxv. 3.
Midianites punished — xxv. 17.
The third Muster — xxvi. 2.

40. 11. 1. Last Exhortations of Moses Deu. i. 2.

40. 12. 1. Joshua appointed his Successor Deu. xxxiv. 9.

Death of Moses — xxxiv. 5.
A Month’s Mourning — xxxiv. 8.

41. 1. 1. Joshua sends two Spies Jos. ii. 1.

41. 1. 10. 60 Passage of the river Jordan — 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 Asphalitic Lake, towards the head of the Elanitic, or eastern gulph of the Red Sea; forming the western boundary of Arabia Petraea, 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 Petraea was called in general, "the wilderness of Zin," which name is still given by the inhabitants of Tor to the desart in their neighbourhood. The northern and western districts were also called Paran and Kadesh. Thus the disastrous station of Kadesh, named Barneu, "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 desarts, called "Juniper," Job xxx. 3, 4; 1 Kings xix. 4, 5; whence it is transferred to signify a desart, 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 Hazeroth, (No. 18.) which is placed also immediately before Kadesh-Barneu, 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, Σελαμωνα, as here in the Itinerary, Numb. xxxiii. 41. And the change of name is easily accounted for: the original, סלמון, Tsalmonah, being evidently derived from סלמון, 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 develope and delineate the mazy labyrinth of the circuitous wanderings of the Israelites for the last thirty-eight years, through the interior of Arabia Petraea. 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 Dizahhab 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 desarts, 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 desart, 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 desart, 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 Ludolhus, 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 desarts 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 desart 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 Mokatæb, “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 desart;" 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 headed 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 Thévenot 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 deserts, 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:"	extemdash"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 Elamanitic 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 Aror, 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.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

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 Pelusiac 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 nigrá fœcundat 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 *Oke-
ames*, 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 "*Rhinocorura,*" a city of *Palestine Syria*, built on the borders of the
desert which separates that country from *Egypt*, it has been sup-
posed to denote a stream or torrent near that city, by *Augustine*,
and by some respectable modern geographers, *Wells*, *Cellarius*,
*Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, &c. notice any such stream or torrent there; and
even admitting that there was, it would not deserve to be con-
trasted 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 *Idumaea*. 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
*Moses*’ 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 *Acrabbin,*" 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 Asphallite 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 Gergashites, and the Jebusites, Gen. xv. 18—21.

These latter, in the days of Moses, were called, the Hittites, the Gergashites, 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 Gergashites," 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 descendents 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." Joshua 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 Aarunah, the Jebusite, as religious as David himself, when he surrendereed, 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, Naphtalites, 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 Naphtali; 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 rivalship 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 Ephraimitic, 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 control of Judah, as
being situated on his frontier. Otherwise, the kingdom of Judah might have experienced a scarcity of priests, or have been burdened 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 Petraea, 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
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 Kadutha is evidently taken from the Syriac,
Kadutha, signifying "the holy," from the Hebrew, Kadushah, "holy;" which is found inscribed on ancient Jewish shekels; Jerusalem Kadushah, "Jeru-
salem 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 Jerusalem, signifying, "they shall see peace*:" probably, from the name given by Abraham to Mount Calvary, after his intended sacrifice of his son Isaac; Jehovah 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 cxxxv. 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.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

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, (χεγαγορ, 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 shown 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, Seom'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 soul.”

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. xvii. 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 αὐξο ἀγορά.) In process of time the upper city spread downwards into the winding hollow way, which he calls “the cheese manufactory,” (τυροπωλείον,) 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. xlviii. 2; or “his dwelling place on Sion;” Psa. lxvi. 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 octagonal 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, annext 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 immeasureable 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, παραλαμβανει, may more correctly be rendered, "taketh along with him," or, as in the parallel passage of Luke, iv. 9.; ἐπαγεν, "led" Jesus into the holy city; and placed him, ἐπι το πτερυγιον του ἱερου, 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 ὑπερ, 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, ὅ ναος, thereto, both in the New Testament and in Josephus, as distinguished from τὸ ἱερὸν, "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," (τοὺ ὃ ναον διὰ τῶν ἱερεῶν ὁκοδομηθεὶς) Ant. 15, 11, 5, 6. But into the outer temple courts (τὸ ἱερὸν) 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 vail. 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 reverenced 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 globo-sum, 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. Nehemiah 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. Lyson, Lambeth 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

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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 dug 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 μνημείον "the sepulchre," in general, and τάφος, "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 vanquish't 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 Maundrel has given the dimensions of the modern city as follows;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paces</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Bethlehem Gate, to the N.W. corner, (B) on the right hand</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From that corner, to Damascus Gate</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Damascus Gate, to Herod's</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Herod's Gate, to Jeremiah's Prison</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Jeremiah's Prison, to the N.E. corner, next the Valley of Jehosaphat, (A)</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From that corner, to St. Stephen's Gate</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From St. Stephen's Gate, to the Golden Gate</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Golden Gate, to the S.E. corner of the wall (D)</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From that corner, to the Dung Gate</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Dung Gate to Sion Gate</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Sion Gate, to the S.W. corner of the wall (C)</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From that corner, to Bethlehem Gate again</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Sandy's, p. 123; and accommodated to the ancient site, from careful comparison of Sandy's, 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. 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 xxii. 22.
7. The Pretorium, 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.
17. The House of Thomas.
19. Sion Gate, in the modern City.
21. David's Sepulchre, and the Cenaculum; 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.
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.
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 hereticos, detrahentes de iis quae
dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu
Christi sepulchro; et nullius momenti ratunclus, negantes
illud verè esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu, &c.—[quia]
monumentum Christi erat excissum in petrâ vivâ, &c. illud vero
ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato ce-

Even Sandys, with all his partiality, could not avoid censur-
ing the absurdity of thus disguising the scenes of our Saviour's
life and death, "so that these natural forms are utterly de-
formed, 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 Egeriae descendimus, et spelunca
Dissimiles veris. Quanto praestantius esset
NUMEN AQUE, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum 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 Tem-
ple 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 Jeru-
salem, when the city was enlarged by the addition of the Tem-
ple 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 τυρωποεων, 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, εξαλω 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 Sundys 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 CΙWN. "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 Manasseh 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 cryptae 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 Phe- nician 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 cryptae 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 Rephaim, 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,
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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 Asamonean 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.

PHOENICIA.

Phoenicia 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; Odys. XV. 115—118; who styles the Sidonians, πολυδαιδαλοι, "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 dropped 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 Shelmanasar, 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 Phenix, 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 shall 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 Mamelukes 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-
experienced 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 Idumean 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 vitae; 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 Guadalquivir, 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 Cambyses 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-duckian, or Kur-distan, mountains; Kiurè, 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 Naharahim, “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. xxxiii. 7; or from Aram Naharahim, 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 Charre, 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°, 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° 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 Coele 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 Assyria." 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. 'H Nwoc, "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 Jonah 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 Nineveh 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 Nineveh, 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 ἐκβαίνω, exivit, “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 שירש, Ashur, put frequently for the land of Assyria, Gen. ii. 14; Numb. xxiv. 24, &c. is used elliptically for שירש, “to,” or “into Assyria;” both the affix, ה local, and the preposition, ל 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 Jerindsjd, 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 Niniveh 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 Niniveh, 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 Niniveh. Tank 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.

BABYLON.

The city of Babylon was of a still earlier date than Niniveh. 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 Choronensis, 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 Σεμιραμις. 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 reconcilable. 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 Chaldaean, 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 Chaldean; as it is unquestionable, that the Ninian and Cissian gates, if not the Chaldean, 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 forbad him to remove it. Herod. 1. §. 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, "Borsippa," 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 zepht, or bitumen; between each layer are found oziers. 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°, 28'; which gives that of the tower of Babel, or Belus, 32°, 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 3½ 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 desart:" 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 desart 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 Shalmanasser. 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 Ren nel 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 desarts 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, Salmone.

Ver. 8. This they with difficulty weathered, (μολις παραγενο-
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

Hevoi) 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 ἦ Κρήτη πρὸς βορρᾶν. Eustath. ad Odys. 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 ἤδη, "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, (ἀγαντες) 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' αὐτης ανεμος τυφώνικος ὁ καλουμενος Εὐροκλυδῶν). This word is compounded of Εὐρος, "the south-east wind," and κλυδῶν, "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,
(συναφασμενος) and not able to face the wind, (αντοφαλμεν τω ανεμω) they let her drive.

Vers. 16, 17. And running under a little island called Claudia, 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 Levanters 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 πλαιου) 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 Ptolemy, 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 Coreya (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 43½ 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, (κορεσέβεντες τέ τροφῆς) 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 Phoenicians, 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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"Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures."
Jesus Christ.
PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The Holy Scriptures, for their various and matchless excellences, have won the admiration and veneration of the wise and good of all ages and countries that have been blessed with their light.

In addition to the praises of Ellis, Bielfield, and Bryant, noticed in the first volume of this work, p. 267, the following are judicious and characteristic.

"Study the Holy Scriptures: therein are contained the words of eternal life. They have God for their author, Salvation for their end, and Truth without any mixture of error for their matter." Locke.

"Theological enquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts which we call from their excellence, the Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom.

"The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, [the Old and New Testament] are connected by a chain of
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, ἀσυνώνυμα, "hard to be understood," and ἀσερομνευτα, "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 Lowth’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 Rabbag. His Commentaries are rather metaphysical.

5. R. Abraham ben Meir Aven 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 subtile 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 Perplexorurn, 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. Chaijm. 1547—1549.
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 Hebraum in antiquissimâ et verissimâ suâ puritate et substantid, 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. 1680. 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 *Masorite* 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.


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 over-turns 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 Preliminaria, 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.


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.


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

dlargement 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 tainted 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.


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.


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.


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
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.


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 ΕΛΩI, in

publica, domi forisque ad me missis, (quarum magna pars, uti etiam Bibliotheca mea cum multâ superlectili, et tricenis Lexici polyglotti exemplaribus, in flammis perit Londinensis,) me submisi invitus admodum, animoque (quod testabatur σαρκωτος) multum horrescens, quodque satis superque noverunt illi omnes summâ viri, qui me promissî tum auxilii, tum etiam remunerâtionis, ad istâc non pellezerunt tantum, sed vi quâdam urgenter impulerunt. Mihi vero, in hoc molestîo per tot annorum lustrâ indesinenter occupato, dies ille tanquam festus et otiosus visus est, in quo tam Bibliis polyglotis quam Lexicis hisce provehendis, sexdecim aut octodecim horas dietim non suspâveram.

"Mitto privata quae corpore in curriculo hujus operis contigerunt mala, membroum 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 saevissimam, et miserendum urbis hujus incendium; quibus omnibus, diutius multò ut protractum fuit hoc antea languens negotium, ita supra modum ingravescebant simul onera mea et impensa. —Sunt tamen præter hæc omnia, aliae insuper (nece pauca nec parve,) quibus gravatus fui, infelicitates, quas satius atque consultius puto, silentio contingere, quam non sine periculo in publicum proférre.

"Tandem vero, cum ad culmen jam perdactus fuit miseriaeum marum cumulâ, duplicatis quasi lateribus (Exod. v. 7, 8.) Οεος απο μηχανῆς T. M. tempesstìe mihi succurrît, idque multis modis: Primo literis ad omnes Archiepiscopos, Duces, Marchiones, Comitas, Vice-Comites, Episcopos, Barones, aliosque totius Regni subditos, hujus operis recommendâtìissis: quae insecuta sunt alie a R. R. D. D. Archiepiscopos, Reverendisque admodum D. D. Episcopos singulis subsignatae: item ante quinçennis aliae, a Reverendiss. Honoratissimoque præsule, patrone meo valde benefico, Gilberto Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ad singulos suæ provinciæ Episcopos conscriptae. Quas omnes præcìm mihi commissi, (quasdam non semel) at successu parum felici: enim vero universæ hæ literæ, plus minus septingentas libras (700l.) tantum mihi porrexerunt, ad promovendum opus, in quo millenas multò plures (7000l.) infaustus exhausi, 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 לְנֵה, to swear, and renders "accursed!" p. 231 of volume 111, note.


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.


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.


This valuable Concordance and Lexicon, is a considerable improvement of Buxtort'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.


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.


These are most useful Concordances of the Greek Testament.


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.


This also is a valuable assistant to the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. A new edition has been published by Professor Dathe.


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.


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.


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.


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.


This is a learned and useful work; and is both scarce and dear. It is therefore entitled to republication in London.


An excellent Supplement is furnished in Calmet's Dictionnaire, &c. de la Bible, 4 tomes, folio, 1730. Paris.

A valuable abridgment and improvement of Calmet's Dictionnaire, &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.


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.


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.


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.


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 phoenix 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.


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.


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.


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 remoter 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 firebrands 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 wildnesses 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 rouze 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 Priestley, 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.

Elate 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 foretold 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, con-

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>5411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>5181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Enos</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Cainan</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>4786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Malaleel</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>4616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Enoch</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>4289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Methuselah</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>4124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>3937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>3755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deluge ................................. 2256  3155

SECOND PERIOD, p. 44.

FROM THE DELUGE TO ABRAHAM'S BIRTH, 1002 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Deluge, Shem</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Arphazad</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Salah</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>3018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Heber</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>2888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Peleg or Phaleg</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>2754</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Reu or Ragau</td>
<td>(32) 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Division of the Earth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nimrod’s kingdom and Confusion of Tongues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Serug</td>
<td>(30) 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nahor</td>
<td>(29) 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job’s trial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>(70) 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>1002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THIRD PERIOD, p. 106.

FROM ABRAHAM’S BIRTH TO THE ISRAELITES’ RETURN TO CANAAN, 545 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goes to Charran</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rescues Lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ishmael</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Destruction of Sodom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goes to Gerar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Isaac</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His intended Sacrifice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goes to Charran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph, Governor of Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kohath</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob’s family go to Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Amram</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph’s death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exode of the Israelites</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Their return to Canaan</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

#### FOURTH PERIOD, p. 257.

**From the Israelites' return to the regal state, 498 years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Joshua and the Elders</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First division of Lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second division of Lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anarchy or Interregnum</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Servitude Mesopotam.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Othniel</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Servit. Moab</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ehud and Shamgar</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Servit. Canaan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Deborah and Barak</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Servit. Midian</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gideon</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Abimelech</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tola</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Jair</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Servit. Ammon</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jephthah</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Ibzan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Elon</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Abdon</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Servit. Philist.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Samson</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Eli</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel called as a prophet</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Servit. Philist.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Saul elected king_...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FIFTH PERIOD, p. 308.

**From the regal state to the revolt of the ten tribes, 120 years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Saul</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Judge jointly, 38 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Saul</em> defeats <em>the Ammonites</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>—</em>  his first offence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jonathan</em> defeats <em>the Philistines</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saul's second offence</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David born</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— kills Goliah</td>
<td>1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— marries Michal.</td>
<td>1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— first flight to Gath</td>
<td>1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— second flight to Gath.</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saul's third offence</td>
<td>1070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. David</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— takes Jebus</td>
<td>1063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philistine war</td>
<td>1061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ark brought home</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan's prophecy of the Messiah, the Son of David</td>
<td>1055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David's first offence.</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon born</td>
<td>1050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absalom's and Sheba's rebellions</td>
<td>1036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David's second offence.</td>
<td>1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adonijah's rebellion</td>
<td>1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Solomon</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple begun</td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— finished.</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadmor built.</td>
<td>1006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temples on the Mount of Corruption</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Revolt</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIXTH PERIOD, p. 372.**

**FROM THE REVOLT TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 404 YEARS.**

**KINGS OF JUDAH.**

| 1. Rehoboam | 17 | 990 |
| 2. Abijah | 3 | 973 |
| 3. Asa | 41 | 970 |
| 4. Jehosaphat | 25 | 929 |
| 5. Jehoram or Joram | 8 | 904 |
| 6. Ahaziah | 1 | 896 |
| 7. Q. Athaliah | 6 | 895 |
| 8. Joash or Jehoash | 40 | 889 |
| 9. Amaziah | 29 | 849 |
| Interregnum | 11 | 820 |
## SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Uzziah, or Azariah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Jotham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Ahaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Hezekiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Manasseh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Amon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Josiah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Jehoahaz, 3 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Jehoiakim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Jehoiachin, Jehochiah, or Coniah, 3 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Zedekiah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Jerusalem destroyed** | 404 | 586 |

### SEVENTH PERIOD, p. 448.

**FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO NEHEMIAH'S REFORM, 166 YEARS.**

**BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.**

1. Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem | 25 last | 586 |
   - appoints Gedaliah governor | | 586 |
   - subdues the Ammonites, &c. | | 585 |
   - besieges Tyre | | 584 |
   - desolates Judea | | 582 |
   - subdues Egypt | | 570 |
   - his first dream | | 569 |
   - sets up the golden image | | 569 |
   - his second dream | | 568 |

2. Evil Merodach | 3 | 561 |
   - releases Jehoiachin. | | 561 |

3. Belshazzar | 5 | 558 |
   - his feast and death | | 553 |

### MEDIAN AND PERSIAN DYNASTY.

1. Darius the Mede, or Cyaxares | 2 | 553 |
2. Cyrus the Persian | 15 | 551 |
   - takes Babylon, first of his sovereignty | | 536 |
   - Jews return under Zerubbabel | | 536 |
1. High priest, Jeshua, 53 years. | | 536 |
   - Second Temple begun | | 535 |
3. Cambyses | 8 | 529 |
### SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY

#### Y. B.C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Darius Hystaspes</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temple finished</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Xerxes</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. High priest, Jehoiakim, 30 years</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Artaxerxes Longimanus</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stops the rebuilding of Jerusalem</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marries Esther</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sends Ezra to Judea</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3. High priest, Eliashib, 40 years.**

Nehemiah, governor of Judea, 12 years.

- rebuilds the walls and the city | 444 |
- returns to Persia | 432 |
- comes again to Jerusalem | 424 |

**Darius Nothus.**

3 first | 420

Nehemiah's reform. End of the O.T. Canon | 166 | 420

### EIGHTH PERIOD, p. 529.

**FROM NEHEMIAH'S REFORM TO JOHN BAPTIST'S BIRTH, 415 YEARS.**

**PERSIAN DYNASTY.**

**Jewish High Priests.**

3. Eliashib | 7 last | 420

4. Joiada, or Judas | 40 | 413

5. Jonathan, or John | 32 | 373

6. Jaddua, or Jaddus | 20 | 341

**MACEDO GRÆCIAN DYNASTY.**

7. Onias | 21 | 321

8. Simon the Just | 9 | 300

9. Eleazar | 15 | 291

10. Manasses | 26 | 276

11. Onias II. | 33 | 250

12. Simon II. | 22 | 217

13. Onias III. | 20 | 195

14. Jesus, or Jason | 3 | 175

15. Onias, or Menelaus | 9 | 172
**SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.**

**ASAMONEAN PRINCES, OR MACCABEES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Judas Maccabæus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jonathan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High priest, Jachim or Alcimus</td>
<td></td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>John Hyrcanus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Aristobulus and Antigonus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Alexander Janneus</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Q. Alexandra</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hyrcanus II</td>
<td>3 m.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Aristobulus II</td>
<td>6 m.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROMAN DYNASTY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pompey takes Jerusalem</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyrcanus II. again</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonus</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IDUMEAN KINGS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herod the Great</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Baptist born about spring</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*Note: The table entries are simplified representations of the historical events and rulers as described in the text.*
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY. xxxix

VOL. III. NEW TESTAMENT.

NINTH PERIOD, p. 1.

FROM THE BAPTIST’S BIRTH TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 75 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Procurator Coponius</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. P. Marcus Ambivius</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. P. Annius Rufus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. P. Valerius Gratus</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. P. Pontius Pilate</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ROMAN PROCURATORS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I. Passover

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Christ visits the Temple</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tiberius made colleague of Augustus</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. John’s Ministry, about Autumn</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Christ baptized, about Autumn</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Passover, 12 Apostles sent forth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. John imprisoned by Herod Antipas</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Christ preaches in Galilee</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Passover, 70 Disciples sent forth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Christ’s transfiguration</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Passover, Christ’s crucifixion, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Church of Christ founded at Pentecost</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Church increased</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Church multiplied</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Martyrdom of Stephen, about Autumn</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Jewish persecution of the Church
### SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year (B.C.)</th>
<th>Year (A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul's conversion</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. P. Marcellus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. P. Marullus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Embassy to Caligula</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herod Agrippa, king of Judea</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Jewish persecution of the Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. P. Cuspius Fadus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. P. Tiberius Alexander</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. P. Ventidius Cumanus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Council at Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. P. Felix</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul imprisoned at Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. P. Porcius Festus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul's first visit to Rome</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. P. Albinus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. P. Gessius Florus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul's second visit to Rome</td>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jewish war</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Roman persecution of the Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem destroyed</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TENTH PERIOD.

**Prophetic History of the Church, p. 558.**

**Compound Image, Four Temporal Kingdoms, 575 Years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kingdom</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Golden head. The Babylonian</td>
<td>606</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonian captivity</td>
<td>605</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Silver breast and arms. The Medo-Persian</td>
<td>536</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return of the Jews</td>
<td>536</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Church reformed by Nehemiah. 2300 days,</td>
<td>420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and 70 weeks begin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Brazen belly and thighs. The Macedo-Grecian</td>
<td>331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Iron legs and feet. The Roman</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. The Stone, or Christian Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Church Militant, 1849 Years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year (B.C.)</th>
<th>Year (A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Period, 7 Seals beginning</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Jewish persecution of the Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

I. Roman persecution .................................. 65
Jewish Church suppressed. 70 weeks end .............. 70

II. Period, 6 Trumpets, beginning with the Gothic invasions ...... 395
Three woes, for a time, times, and half a time, or 1260 days begin. 620
Three Angels of Reformation,
1. Wickliffe, 1290 days from .......................... 1360
2. Huss, 1335 days from ............................... 1405
3. Luther .................................................. 1517

III. Period, Seventh Trumpet, containing seven vials, or last woe,

beginning with the French Revolution .................. 1793
Last vial to end with the 2300 days and 1260 days ........ 1880

THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT, 1000 GENERATIONS.

IV. Period. The Mountain, or kingdom of God established 1000

upon earth in the Regeneration for 1000 years ........... 1000 generations.

V. Period. The kingdom of God in Heaven ............... eternity.
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ANALYSIS

OF

SACRED CHRONOLOGY.
ANALYSIS

OF

SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE, 2256 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seth's line</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>5411.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>5181.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enos</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4976.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cainan</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>4786.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaleel</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>4616.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>4451.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enoch</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>4289.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methuselah</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>4124.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>3937.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>3755.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 primordial 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, דַּנַן, יָאָשׁ 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," (χωκος.)
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, I 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, (πνευσάσθη) and said, Receive a holy spirit." (λαβέτε πνεῦμα ἀγίου) 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 ψυχή, 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 דָּרָם 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, נָשָׁה Aishah, "woman," because she was taken out of נָשָׁת, Aish, the proper name of "man," or the male, Gen. ii. 23, he afterwards called her נָשָׁת Hhavah, or Eve, "because she was the mother of all living," Gen. iii. 20; either from חָי Hhai, "life," or "living," or from חָי, 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, דָּרָם 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 manester," 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 ethereal 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 ardentiy, 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,
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. xxxv. 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,* 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 advance'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 סֵרָפִים 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 πυρος, "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 Hindostan 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 after-
wards John; who, following Ezekiel, describes them as “living
creatures,” or “animals,” (םיו, אמ) Rev. iv. 6—8. Whence the
Te Deum in our excellent Liturgy, joins “Cherubim and Sera-
phim” 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 mis-
taken 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 cove-
nant, 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 re-
peated the prohibition, and the penalty of death, he allured her
with the hope of impunity: “Ye shall not surely die:” and in-
geniously 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, mainly 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 (נָשָׁק) 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.

ANALYSIS OF

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.

VIRTUETEM videant, intabescantque reliqii. 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 xxi. 3, John xiii. 2; 
and the chief priests and Pharisees to condemn him; acting under the influence of the 
power of darkness, Luke xii. 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 our 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 (*) 
Prince of the air (a;) then, rising from his grave, 
Spoil'd principalities and pow'r's triumph'd, 
In open shew (o) and with ascension bright, 
Captivity led captive through the air (a;) 
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 lxviii. 18. 
(e) "The God of peace shall bruise Satan, shortly, under the feet of his saints," 
Rom. xvi. 20, Psalm xci. 13, ex. 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 
(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 exorted 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." Polyeni 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 dawning 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 τηρησε 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 αῦρο, which in strictness, corresponds to the foregoing, σπερματος αὐτῆς; “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 helpermate. 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 condideret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus;” for the particle Μη, is masculine, agreeing with ψειδής “seed.” This Vulgate Version was authenticated by the Infallible Council of Trent, and preferred before the Hebrew and Greek fountains. See Episcopius, 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 deceivies 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 eda modestia careremus: Sed quoniam ita Natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis commodè, nec sine illis ullo modo, vivi posset, saluti perpetue 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 Rowe 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. 400.

† 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 recompons'd with joy,)n
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: curs acuere mortalitca corda.  

† In this difficult and much contested passage, we may, with the judicious Hammond, understand  ἐτα τῆς τεκνογονίας to refer to the bearing the promised Seed, or Christ: the salvation of Eve, ἀγαθησθαι, to include the salvation of Adam, a fortiori; which will account for the plural aorist, καὶ μανώσαν, "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 דוע, 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 שָׂרֵם (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 דְּרֵשׁ מִן אֶת רְאֹשׁ (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 cxv. 45. In the present case, the emphatic article יהו elh, intimates the true or proper way to the tree of life: as in the translation of Junius and Tremellius; ad custodien-dum viam ad arborem vitæ; adopted by Wells, in his Paraphrase: the preposition יְהוּ, 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. Further, 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 Revelatior 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 (יִּתְנַה Kanithah) a man [from *] the Lord," Gen. iv. 1.

* The particle יַּהְנַן (eyn) "the," is put elliptically for יִּתְנַה (methah) "from the," as understood Gen. xl. 25; and expressed, Gen. xix. 24, Josh. xi. 20, Ezek. xxxiii.
Not long after, “she again bare his brother Abel,” [הָעֲרָבָה] 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.” 

* 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, נלוה, 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 קב, Zabah, "the animal sacrifice," Psalm xlix. 7, or לנהם, 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. xxxiii. 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. (ἑομαξε.) 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. II, p. 226.
which, therefore, St. Paul styles, πλευρα θυσιαν, "a fuller sacrifice*," or more complete and "excellent," than Cain's; and speaks of it in the plural number, δωροίς, "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 πυρ, respexit, by ενεπιστρεψεν, inflammavit, "The Lord set fire to the offering of Abel," &c.

* Wickliffe, in his translation of Heb. xi. 4, renders,—"By faith Abel offered a much more sacrifice than Cain 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 דָּה, Garn, "also," Gen. iv. 4, refers rather to Abel himself, as contrasted with Cain, than to his sacrifice.

2. מַעֲלָה. 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 πλευρα 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 (πλευρα) than meat?" And again, xlii. 41, "Lo a greater (πλευρα) 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 dost not well, a sin offering lieth (coucheth) 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 dropped by accident, out of the present Masorete Hebrew text. It is preserved in the Samaritan

* Here, the original הָנָּן, Hataloth, rendered "sin" in our translation, may more correctly be rendered a sin offering, as in several passages, Levit. iv. 21—29, vi. 23, Num. vi. 14, 15, Ezra vi. 17, Ezek. xlv. 29, &c. And so the Septuagint rendering ἀμαρτία; "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 dost well," says He, "shall 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 dost 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 is generally taken in the sense of iniquity, depravity, perverseness: 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 ֶל (lachen), "therefore," the Sept. Vulg. Syriac, Arab. read ה- (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 ה, 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 ה, 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. xliv. 5, xlviii. 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 internixture 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.

ENOCH.

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, Ecclus. xliv. 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:

\[\text{"Him, the Most High}\]
\[\text{Wrapt in a balmy cloud with winged steeds,}\]
\[\text{received to walk with God,}\]
\[\text{High in salvation and the cliques of bliss,}\]
\[\text{Exempt from death."}\]

† 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 ἰαυτων αὐχεν,) but left their proper habitation, (το ἰεσων οἰκήησιον,) ["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 יְדָע (yadd) "shall strive;" the ancient versions, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, Syriac, and Chaldee Paraphrast, appear to have read יְדָע (yaddur) "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 Astraea, 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 cede madentes
Ultima Cœlestum 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, (ταρταροὺς ἔφυσας,) 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 ὠρκός, "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.
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 יָד (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 יַד יָד (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," Ecclus. xliii. 11. Homer calls it ταρας μεροτον αντρωπον, "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. xl. 1.

At the same time also, was probably delivered the general

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* In the original passage, Gen. ix. 13—16, the verb וּלָלָה, 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 Masleff 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. *Shem* ............... 2 . 3155
2. Arphaxad ................................ 135 . 3153
3. Salah .................................. 130 . 3018
4. Heber .................................. 134 . 2888
5. Peleg, or Phaleg ...................... 130 . 2754
6. Reu, or Ragau ......................... 132 . 2624
Division of the Earth .................. 2614
Beginning of *Nimrod's* kingdom, and confusion of tongues .......... 2554
7. Serug .................................. 130 . 2492
8. Nahor .................................. 79 . 2362
Job's trial ................................ 2337
9. Terah .................................. 130 . 2283
10. Abraham ................................ 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 Arpachitis, in Assyria; evidently derived from אֲרַפָּחִיתָס, Arpachshad, his name in Hebrew. And Josephus relates, that the Chaldeans, who occupied a part of the land of Shinar, were originally called Arphaxadeans, 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 apostasy, "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:


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 Rechoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh 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 Nineveh, and several other towns.

The marginal reading of our English Bible, “He went out into Assyria,” qo to invade Assyria, is here adopted in preference to that in the text; “And out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh,” &c. for the reasons assigned, Vol. I. p. 451.

The meaning of the word Nineveh 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 Semites; of which we have several instances in Scripture. Thus Nahash, the brazen “serpent” in the wilderness, was called by Hezekiah, in contempt, Nechushtan, “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.”

Αρχαίη Βαβυλων Τυριων Βηλον πολισμια.

2. Eustathius, in his Commentary on the Periegesis of Dionysius, verse 1006, states, that “Babylon was built 1600 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.

"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, Odyssey. xi. 571.

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 plough-share 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 Phoenicians, Arabians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Libyans, southwards; the Persians, Ethiopians, 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 Charre, 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 Eutychius, flourished Zorodasht, or the elder Zoroaster, the founder of the Zabian religion: and according to Abulfiragi, 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 malà fortunà 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 Lowth's admired Prelections on Hebrew Poetry, he thus endeavours to set aside the evidence of Ezekiel, p. 180.

Locus Ezecielis fictionem habet et vero impossibilem; fieri enim omnino nequit, ut viri non coevi, Noachus, Jobus, et Daniel, in cadem 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 Barachel, 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 Syriasms, Chaldaisms, and Arabisms.

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 fulset historic veritas nisi quibusdam allegoriarum conquisitoribus tantum placuissent sua fictiones, ut nihil amplecti vellent quod non unbratil 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." Praecept. xxxiii. p. 419.
Peters, 143.

* מִלּוּא, (Ajob,) from בֵּינֵיהוּ, (Aib,) "imimicatus est."
† Thus, "Ram, the father of Aminadab," Ruth iv. 19, is called "Aram," Luke iii. 33, and בְּרִים, (Ramim,) "the Syrians," 2 Chron. xxii. 5, are called בְּרֵיסָיָן, (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.

1. 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 Gomorrah, 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. Melchizedek, 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 Idumea, 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.” Asiatic. 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 71½ 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. 38 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 Jobei antiquitatem, confirmant, etiam non mediocrer, constellationes quorum fit mentio, Job. ix. 9, et xxxviii. 31. Ibi, Deus Jobum alloquens ait: Numquid religare poteris amnexitates (seu delicias) Pleiadam, (תַּנְתֶּן) 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 calculi inactur temporis quo Kimah seu Pleiades vernum tempus praeviant, invenietur id contingere anno ante Christum 2136.——Jam vero nomine Kimah Pleiadas esse intelligendas, multa gravissimæ argumenta demonstren.

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 e xo de or departure from thence.

If now we reckon, with the most intelligent critics, Schultens, Peters, Louth, &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, I 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 widing Paine ridicules “the Bible makers, and those Regulators of Time, the Bible Chronologists,” for “their ignorance in affixing to it the era, [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 sub-
stance 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 circum-
stances 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 solici-
tude 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 prædivitum, eō illustriorem fuisse, quod his neque
integris corruptus, neque amissis depravatus fuerit. Severus Sulpi
tius.
† The verb וְָּנִּבְּ (Barak,) properly signifies to "bless." In this passage, there-
fore, where the sense evidently requires the contrary, the particle נִּל, "not," should
be understood; "Perhaps, my sons have sinned (נָּא), and [not] blessed ([נָּל] 1)
(נָּבְּ 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 re-
volting: 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 xxii. 10, the particle נָּל, "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 mali-
cious implication of the contrary, Eccles. x. 20. "Curse not (לְָּיָנְלָּה לְָּנָּה) 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 altogeth-
er incompatible with the character of Job. But the impropriety will be re-
moved, if they be rendered interrogatively: "And will he bless Thee to thy face?"
The interrogation magnificently insinuating the reverse, that he would not bless God.
And this antiphrasis is frequent in Scripture: Thus Jezebel 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 pas-
sage, the refusal is clearly expressed: "Thou shalt not build Me a house to dwell in,"
1 Chron. xvii. 4. And 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 Sabæ or Seba;" vi. 19, the Nabatæan 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 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. Odys. 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 Mauudrel, 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

“...
receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?

—but 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 sat 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 cobler, 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 inconsiderable. 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 pastrapy one, formed from Galland's.

See Alnaschir, 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, Ezek. 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.—xxxvi; the fourth, the speech of Elihu, chap. xxxvii; and the fifth, the answer of God, and Job's submission; chap. xxxviii.—xliii. 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.”
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 upheld 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 prosperons.
7. And though thy beginning be small, 
Yet shall thy latter end greatly encrease.
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 perislieth:
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?
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 shouldest 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 vail 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 inflections. 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:
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:
Wherefore hidest Thou thy face,
And holdest me for thine enemy?

24. 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:
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, quam in solutum 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.—

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 נד. (Goel,) when applied to God, as it evidently is in this
place, (being in apposition to יִרְאֶה. 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. xlvi. 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," xlviii. 4; and again, "The Redeemer shall come from Sion," lxx. 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 יָדַי (Hai,) "living;" and the Sept. αὐτόνομος, "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 adjudication, was by "the living God," Matt. xxvi. 63, "who livest 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 everyone 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 יָדוֹר. (Aharon,) is here put elliptically for יָדוֹר לֹא. (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 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 יָדַע, (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
suit with me, what then shall I do when God arises [in judgment?] and when He visiteth, what shall I answer Him?" Job xxxi. 13; where the verbs arise and visit are plainly parallel or synonymous, and the noun רָדְעָה  (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, רָדְעָה  (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 ci. 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, lxxii. 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.

Verse 26. The verb רָדְעָה  (nikeph,) 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. 20, is literally, "They shall require thy soul!" (יָמִּיתְךָ מֵאָדָם) 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 יְזָה (zoth,) is rendered "thus," in several passages of the English Bible, as Levit. xvi. 3, 2 Sam. xvii. 15, 2 Chron. xxxii. 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, רָדְעָה  (u-me-basari,) is literally "and from my flesh." But the conjunction יְזָה, 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 Dent. 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," I 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," I John iii. 2.

Job next, by anticipation, views his Redeemer in a most encouraging light; first as his gracious Protector, יַעַע (li.) signifying "with me," as in Gen. xxxi. 42, &c. or "for me," Psalm lvi. 9, xcv. 16, &c. or, "on my side," Psalm cviii. 6, &c. and next, as finely contrasted with his unkind friends, רֵא נְאֵר (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 συντελεσταιν κολπω, where, instead of the present Masoretic text, לָעָב, "in my appointed time," they evidently read, לָעָב, "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."

* מַלְאֵי, from מַלְאַל, abscondidit, 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.
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 iniquties 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*

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*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.—xxxii. 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, ידיל, "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 recepctable of departed spirits was called in Hebrew יַּהְנָי, Sheol, and in Greek Ἀδης, 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 gulf," 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 befell 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; abhoring 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 מַלְאֵךְ (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," liii. 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 מֶלַיץ (Melitz,) is rendered "Interpreter," Gen. xiii. 23, and "Ambassador," 2 Chron. xxxii. 31, and critically corresponds to the titles of Christ, "Intercessor," Is. lix. 16; "Mediator," 1 Tim. ii. 5, Heb. xii. 24; and "Advocate with the Father," 1 John ii. 1.

The word כָּפָר (Caphar,) literally signifies "a covering," and in a religious sense, an "atonement," Exod. xxix. 36, Num. 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 mediatorial 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. Oft-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-controlling 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.

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 witting 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 S I S I C O M N I A!
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 δέ, παλιν ἀναστησόθαι αυτον, μετ' ὤν ἀναστησιν ὁ 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 increase; 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.
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 recompenser 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,
I'm 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," (διαφωτιστήριον) 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 Mahommedan 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 inhabith 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 sylvae, nunc formosissimus annus. Virg.

חָמָה, Chimah, is derived from חָמָה, Chamah, "desideratus est." Hence Cama, the Indian Cupid, armed with bow and arrows. Astat. 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 Maζουρως, namely, τον αστρων 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-

\* כָּלָל, Chesil, from בָּלַס, Chasal, "frigus," in Arabic.
\+ מָזוֹר, Mazaroth, from מַזָּר, Mazar, "inebrians, potens," Syriac, or "fortis ac validus fuit," Arab. And this derivation is confirmed by the Latin epithets of Sirius, and ποικιλός, canícula:—"Rubra canícula"—"Aestus canícula"—"fragrantis atrox hora canículæ"—"Jam Procyon furit"—"Insana canícula"—"Rabiem canis."—"Sirius arbor"—"Torrens sintientes Sirius Indos," &c. in Virgil, Horace, Columella.
\‡ אִישׁ, Aish, from יַע, Aush, "congregavit."—Our English Bible, through inattention to the feminine affix והל, "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. Daithé, by a blunder unpardonable at the present day, calls Aish, "Ours Major!"

N.B. This astronomical analysis was first published in the Inspector, 1799, 8vo. White. It was occasioned by the blundering ignorance of the willful 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 Maζουρως.—The

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According 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,
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 Noachidae, 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,
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 κυινων,) 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 ἱππος, 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 Αἴγυπτum, nigrà fecundat Arenā. 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 "un-  
spotted 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 per-  
fect 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* (δειλαζο-
μενος) [by the Devil; that wicked 'fisher of men:' ] Then the
appetite having conceived, produceth (τωτος) sin; and sin when
perfected, bringeth forth (ατοκωσί) 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 disso-
lution 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 in-
telligent 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 supple-
crating 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," ἡδον κατω, as rendered by the Septuagint, is what St. Peter called Tartarus, in the parallel passage, noticed before; ταρταρώσας, 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 transcendentally 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 vailed 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-
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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 adfligare; 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 maldictions;

* 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. Dathe 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.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ABRAHAM</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— goes to Charran</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— visits Canaan</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— rescues Lot</td>
<td></td>
<td>2077</td>
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<td>—— Destruction of Sodom</td>
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<td>2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— visits Gerar</td>
<td></td>
<td>2067</td>
</tr>
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<td>2. Isaac</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— his intended sacrifice</td>
<td></td>
<td>2028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jacob</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— goes to Charran</td>
<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
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<td>4. Levi.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Joseph Governor of Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kohath.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Jacob's family go to Egypt</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Amram</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Joseph's death</td>
<td></td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Moses</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—— Exode of the Israelites</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their return to Canaan</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>1608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Σπούξ. 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 (γῆν) 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.

Charran, as it is called still by the Arabian geographers, was Carrhae, 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 (חָרִיחס, צֵה צֵה, 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. יָדָע, יָדָע. “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.
ANALYSIS

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,” (םיינע) 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 spiri-
tual 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 Timans, 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 signifies 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 ninetieth 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, Gomorrah, 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.”

† Ashhtaroth, from יִשָּׂרָאֵל (Ashh,) “to shine;” תַּעַרְוָה, (Torah,) “a cow,” or “heifer,” in Chaldee; and Karnaim, the dual of קָרָנִים, (Kern,) “a horn.” Hence VOL. II.
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 Naphtali, 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 Avims, 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 Phoenicians called the sun Beelsamen, “master of the heavens,” whom the Ammonites and Moabites called Baal, Num. xxii. 41; and Moloch, or Melech, “king,” i.e. “of the heavens,” 1 Kings xxii. 17, Jer. xi. 5, xxxii. 35. Orpheus called the moon ταυροκτων μηνηι, and Horace, “Siderum regina bicornis,” both renderings of Ashtaroth Karnaim.

* The original expression, דבבז, דבבז, 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 Ἱωνα, 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, ῥήματι σιμος, 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 (ἐξηγησαυ) 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 βασιλεὺς αὐτολλουρ, or αναζ αὐτολλουρ, 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 ˌEl Ṣadī, "*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 בָּחָנ (Abh) "*a father;*" בָּר (rab), (rab) in Chaldee, "*great;*" and חָנ (Ham), the abridgment of חָנִים (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, (νεκρωμένου,) 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, (νεκρωμένου,) 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
Gomorrah, 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 Gomorrah, 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.


† "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 Zo’boim?
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:

“Then the Lord (יווה) rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah, brimstone and fire* from the Lord (יהוה 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 Capdegaite, in 31 deg. 51 min. latitude; and then burst, and discharged a shower of burning sparks, (une pluie d’etincelles ardentes,) which not only set fire to all the country in the environs, and especially to the brambles with which the mountains called Alpuxarras, 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 Violenx, le Tigre, by M. de la Galissanier, 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 Atmosphaeræ, 1778, p. 85.
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 (ασωτία): 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; orbe totum aquarum violentia 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 τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος,) 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.
ANALYSIS OF 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

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* Isaac was not the "only son," as in the English Bible. The Hebrew יִהְיָה, (Jehid) is rendered by the Septuagint here, μόνογενής, "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 Jehovah* Jireh, (“the Lord will see,”) according as he

see,” afterwards, Gen. xxii. 14, Kennicott, with much probability, infers, that the original reading here was Jahah; which was changed into Elohim. Dissert. Vol. I. p. 510.

* The true ancient pronunciation of “this glorious and awful name, ἸΑΩ,” 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 IΑΩ?” uttered a remarkable response, preserved by Macrobius, of which this is a part:

Φραζεο των παντων υπατων Θεων εμευ’ IΑΩ.

“Learn, that the God supreme of all, is IΑΩ.”

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 we may 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 Balaam, 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 [in] this day, In the mount of the Lord [it] shall be seen;" is scarcely intelligible, and is also ungrammatical: for the verbs רַדֵּשׁ and רַעַשׁ, 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, "Dominus 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 Ashereth 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-Meleech and Anam-Meleech, 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 re-quirement 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 Phoenician History, strangely metamorphosed this transaction; he represented Saturn, whom the Phoenicians call Il, as sacrificing his only son, Ichid, by the nymph Anobret, adorned in royal attire, upon an altar which he had made. Euseb. Prepar. Evang. 4, 16.

Here the Phoenician Il is evidently from the Hebrew יְהוָה,  Jehovah; Anobret, from הַנָּוְאָבֶרֶט, Han-obret, by "grace conceiving," as intimated of Sarah in Scripture; and Ichid, from יְהִי, 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, \( \tau \nu \pi \alpha \gamma \zeta \beta \sigma \omicron \lambda \gamma \), 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 fram er 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 ὑποστάσεως, 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 ἀντριαίων, "patient expectation," Psalm xxxix. 8; and for ἀξίων, "earnest expectation," Ruth i. 12, Ezek. xix. 5. And Diodorus Siculus contrasts ὑποστάσεως, a confident person," with ἀνθλίππως; one "without hope." In the second clause, on, "not," may be put for οὐπώ, "not yet," corresponding to Noah's conviction of the approaching deluge, μηδὲν βλέπομενον, 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 ὑποστάσεως, "not seen," is to be retained.

Chrysostom has furnished an admirable commentary thereon:

'Ἡ πιστις των εστιν υφις των ανήλων, φθον, και εἰς την αυτήν τούς ὑστερον μισήσας απειροφρονα τα ἡ ὑδρωμενα. — Επειδὴ γαρ τα εν εκλειπαν αυτοστάτα είναι ἄκοκοι, ἡ πιστις ὑποστάσας αυτοις χαρίζεται μαλλον δε, ου χαρίζεται, αλλ' αυτο εστιν ουσια αυτων. Οιν δε αναστάσεως ου παραγεγονεν, ουδε εστιν εν υποστάσει, αλλ' η ελπις ύφιστασιν αυτην εν τη θημετερα ψυχην.'

"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 unsubstituting, 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 ὑποστάσεως, "foundation," to the figurative πληροφορία, "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 whatsoever heareth my discourse, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath (ἐχει) 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 (προελθηκατε) Mount Sion, and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to myriads of angels, to the assem-
of] the promises, but seeing them after 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 Char-ran; 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
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, xlii. 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. xxii. 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, "thymother'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 reverenced 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 sup计划ed 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. xlvi. 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 re-
markable vision at Bethel; and solemnly devoted himself to his
service, wishing only for food and raiment; and vowing to pro-
fess the worship of God, and pay tithes 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 ven-
geance, (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 sup-
posed 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 sup-
ported 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 Jo-
sephus, 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.
xxxix. 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. xxxix. 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.
SAVED

CHRONOLOGY.

JACOB'S CHILDREN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Y.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reuben</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1915</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Simeon</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1913</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1911</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Judah</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1910</td>
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<td>Dan</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>1903</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, xliv. 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 ennable 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, סָפָה, (Sephan,) "Texit," and סָפָה, (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 Timaus, or Thannuz, 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 beheld 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 Pelusiac 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. xlvi. 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. xlvi. 26, and this number is thus collected:

- **Jacob's children,** eleven sons and one daughter .............. 12
- **Reuben's sons** .................................................. 4
- **Simeon's sons** .................................................. 6
- **Levi's sons** ..................................................... 3
- **Judah's three sons and two grandsons** ......................... 5
- **Issachar's sons** ................................................ 4
- **Zebulun's sons** ............................................... 3
- **Gad's sons** ..................................................... 7
- **Asher's four sons and one daughter, and two grandsons** .... 7
- **Dan's son** ....................................................... 1
- **Naphthali's sons** ............................................... 4
- **Benjamin's sons** ............................................... 10

| Total | 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," xlvi. 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. i. 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 foretell 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,
   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 [wine],
   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.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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 pa-
allel 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 con-
stellations of the Zodiac, bowing down to him, the twelfth; it is said that "his father ob-
served the saying," Gen. xxxvii. 11; and the learned Origen supposed that he alluded
thereto in his predictions on this occasion:—Legite in tabulis celbi, quaeunque accident
vobis et filii vestris. "Read, in the cælestial 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.
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, נפתלי, Telch, the latter part of it signifies the
constellation Aries. See Duxtof'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 exclu-
sively 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 pro-
bable 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," (יְדֻנֵל, εις ἡγουμενον, 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. 

vii. 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar!" 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 foul 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 foretells 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 Esheol, 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 יִשְׁעָה, (Yeshua), "salvation," is rendered, by all the versions, "Saviour;" put for יִשְׁעַיָּהוּ, (Yisshuah,) 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.
SACKED

CHRONOLOGY.

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 סלוא, Siloah, or Siloh, Isa. viii. 6, where the Septuagint Version reads Σλωαμ;) signifying, according to the Evangelist, ἀνεστάλμενος, "sent forth;" and consequently, derived from סלוא, Shalalh, "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, (ἀνεστάλκε,) to heal the broken-hearted," &c. Luke iv. 18.

And in the course of it he declared, "I was not sent forth
(απεσταλην,) 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 sendest forth,” (απεσταλης,) 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,” (απεσταλκε με—πεμπω) John xx. 21.

Whence St. Paul expressly styles “Jesus Christ the Apostle, (ο 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 Melchisedek, 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. 18, 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 נלש, Shilohh, ending with נ, Hheth, the present Masoretic text reads נלש; and in the most correct MSS. נלש, ending with ה, He*: which might easily have been corrupted from the former, by the erosions of age, changing נ, Hheth, into נ, 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, Mead, &c. is from נלש, 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, א 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, Naphtali, 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.

* Nepthali is compared to a “hind,” in our English Bible, but יְתַּלֶל also signifies “an oak,” as well as יְתָל; see Isa. i. 29, lxi. 3, lxvii. 5, and יְתַל 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 רְאֵב from רָאִיה,) meaning thereby "the vine," according to the Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem; which is usually planted against a wall, or other prop. Psalm cxviii. 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_boxes, 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_boxes, the Syriac Translator reads,_boxes.
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 Ephraimité, 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 רgif (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 mediated 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 denominate "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 sware 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 εὐνυχυσάς μετὰ Ἐσω, καὶ μετὰ αὐθρωπῶν ὑνυχας εστί, the former is an exact translation of יְשֵׁרֵי, whence שֵׁרֵי, Israel is derived; the latter is rightly rendered in the future tense, to denote his ensuing success with Esau, Pharaoh, &c.

VOL. II.
ANALYSIS OF

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

* פיתון, or Pith-on, or Beth-on, "the house of On," or the Sun; was a second Heliopolis, 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 Jehovah, 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 לָקַּח, 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 יִהְמוּרָה, "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, מַרְמִיָּה, rendered "their enchantments," as derived from the root מָלָל, or מָלָל, 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."—Circulatorem aspexi equestrem, spatham praecutam 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-

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* 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 Busridis aras? Virg. Georg. iii. 5.
Cum Thrasius Busirin adit, monstratque piari
† 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 reproved 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.

_Phill_, 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 induces 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 _Moses_," [or Moses.] Enseb. Prep. 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. xiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20, Josh. xxiv. 12. This insect was worshipped in Palestine and elsewhere, under the title of Baal-zebub, "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. κυνομυνα, "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: "Judaei, casae 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 respite 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 aether, 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 heartened 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. (διεσώρευσεν) "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, (αναγιγμα, παραγμα,) 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 be-
came, 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, [ex-
pelled, for a time, by some divine judgment or visitation in
mercy,] it walketh through desert places, seeking rest, but find-
eth 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,"

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 diabo-
lical 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, num-er Israel and Judah," 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. But the parallel pas-
sage 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

families and flocks, as Moses demanded, though he had reluctantly consented to let the men go, before the invention 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 paschal 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.
† 'Ο παντοδυναμε ς ου 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 sojourn 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, Let 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 Petraea, 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 Bedea, 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 lxxxvii. 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 (ʾEli) and I will build Him a tabernacle,
    The God of My Father, (ʾELOHI) 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.

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 (Elim) is like thee, O Lord,  
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,  
Awful in praises, doing wonders!  
12. Thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea overwhelmed them.  
They sank as lead, in the deep waters.  
13. Who, among the Gods (Elim) is like thee, O Lord,  
Who is like thee, glorious in holiness,  
Awful in praises, doing wonders!  
14. Thou didst stretch forth thy right hand.  
The earth swallowed them.  
15. Thou, in thy mercy, dost conduct this thy people  
Whom thou hast redeemed;  
Thou dost guide them, in thy strength, towards thy holy settlement.  
16. The nations shall hear [this] they shall tremble,  
Sorrow shall seize the inhabitants of Palestine.  
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.

DESSERT 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-
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 centgravens, 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 extin-
guished for their apostacy, according to the tremendous denun-
ciations 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 command-
ment, 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,

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 pro-
claimed 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 sac-
ricifice, 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 adulter
y, 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 cov-
enant 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 HATAA AVAH.

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 Hattaavah, 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 Hazerōth (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
swear unto their fathers: neither shall any of them that pro-
voked me see it.—As ye have spoken in my ears, so will I do
unto you, [by a righteous retaliation.] Your carcases 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 carcases 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 pro-
mised 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, ac-
cording 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 got 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 sinners 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, την συναγωγήν Κορᾶ, “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 ac-
cording 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 re-
move 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 Geo-
graphy, Vol. i. p. 402—409, &c.

Balaam’s Prophecies.

Balaam was a celebrated Chaldean diviner, who dwelt in
"Aram Naharahim, in the mountains of the east," or in the
eastern part of Mesopotamia, "at Peth-or," or Beth-ur*, prob-
ably the original residence of Abraham’s family, "beside the

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* The Alexandrian Version renders the Syriac, נַהֲרֵיָם, Peth-ur-ab, by the Hebrew,
Baš-ošp-α, the ג, 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, forbade the phrenzy of the prophet," (παραφρονιαν,) 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:

\[
\text{Let me die the death of the righteous!}
\]
\[
\text{And let my end be like his!}
\]

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. 1. 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 ירח, Aharith, “end,” literally signifying “hereafter,” denotes a future state, in the parallel passage of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 29; corresponding to ירח, “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.

Εἴλευσται αὐθρωπος εκ του σπέρματος αυτου, Καὶ εἰρευετει εθνων πολλων' Καὶ ὑψωθησεται η Γογ [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 rouze 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.

1. "There shall flow water from his buckets,
2. And his seed, in waters many
3. And higher than Agag shall be his king,
4. And his kingdom shall be exalted."

REFORMED TEXT.

1. "There shall come forth a man of his children,
2. And his arm *, on peoples many:
3. And higher than Gog, shall be his king,
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 Baruchocab'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, נֱבֶעִי, (Nebi,) the term applied to Christ's birth, in the signal prophecy of Micah, v. 2, was easily changed into יִזָּל, Izzal, resembling it in sound: and יֵשׁ. (Aish,) into יֵסָה, (Maim:) and מִלְוַדְיוֹ, (Midao,) into מִלְדוֹלֵי, (Midliu) by expunging the first yod, and transposing the two following letters.
In the second, יִנְאָרְיוּ, (Yanoaru,) into יִנְרָיוּ, (Yaralu,) by erasing the middle Vau; and יִכְפָּר, (Baamim,) into כִּפָּר, (Bemaim,) by erasing the second letter Ain.
In the third, גָּתָי, (Gog,) into גָּתִי, (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.

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 Goy *, 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 Masoretic reading, נברְנ, contends, that the preposition יב, put for יב, (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 overpowerd 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, xlviii. 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.


"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 לֶּחֶה, Korkar, a scarce word of doubtful signification, in Balaam's prophecy, לֶּחָה, 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. lli. 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 Amaleck, and said,
Amaleck 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, Και ταπαίνωσιν ο θεος αρχονσας Συνατερας Σων "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. 361, 357.—And τυφων, signifies a "whirlwind," or "hurricane"—Hesychius, Suidas.

* The original לְוָי, is written by the Sept. Hp, abridged from לְוָי, Ir; signifying,
Moab," whose destruction was noticed, Numb. xxii. 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, יִירְמִים, Irim, "cities," frequently drops the intermediate Vau, Numb. xxv. 2, &c. and also in regimen יִירְמִים, Iri, Numb. xxxii. 36.
the predictions of the rest being generally delivered in a figu-
ra tive and highly poetical style, very concise, and very obscure.

When Moses had written and finished "the Book of the Law," he com-
manded 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 op-
pressed and crushed alway.

36. "The Lord shall lead thee, and thy king which thou
shall 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 יָלָךְ, (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 cattale, 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."

Torvo humi posuisse vultum. — Od. III. 5.

Plutarch thus represents C. Marcius Coriolanus: 'Ο γαρ ην (ὁσπιρ ηξιον τον στρατωστην ο Κατω) ου χειρι και πληγη μονον, αλα και τονο φωνης και υφει προσωπου φαδρος ευνυχων, which is admirably translated by Shakespeare, 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 ferens,) 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' 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 comáque, 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 wouldst 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 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, "fur" 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 (εσφαγμένοι) 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 Bethezob, the place of her residence, beyond Jordan, with the relics 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 seditious 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 eyewitness of the heart-rending spectacle:

“Whilst the Temple was burning [to which one of the Roman soldiers, moved by a divine impulse, set fire (Σαμονω σφη των 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 shown 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 seditious, 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 *Bar-chocab*, 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 Asiatic 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. xxxix. 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:
    Aperse 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," Isa. i. 2.

† The original, βρίσκω, (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 κτιστήσας, by the Septuagint Version of 2 Sam. xxii. 32, and by Theodotion here πλαστήσας, of the same import: which agrees better with the context. In this sense it may be derived from the verb βρίσκω, which signifies to "cast," 1 Kings vii. 15; or to "form," Jer. i. 5. The Septuagint Version here, and ver. 18, renders it "God," (Θεός,) 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, οὐκ αυτῷ, τεκνὰ 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 ἥσσωσιν up his nestlings,
    Hovereth about his brood,
    Spreadeth about his wings,
    Taketh 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 mischief upon them,
I will spend mine arrows upon them;
24. I will send upon them the raging of famine,
The burning of w'cers, 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 lxxxii. 16, exlvii. 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 דְּרוֹשׁ, (Sadim,) signifying "Almighty," Gen. xvii. 1, and like the plural, דְּרוֹשִׁים. (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 דְּרוֹשַׁים, (Ha-Sadim, or Ha-Sadim,) "the Almighty" near Sodom and Gomorrah, 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 אלוה, (Elohe,) THE GOD, THE ONE TRUE GOD.
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 al: 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.
6. 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, דָּלָה, "and recompence;" the Sept. Vulg. Syr.
and Chald. all read דָּלָה. "I will repay, or recompense;" which is established by
St. Paul, citing the passage, ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησίας, εἰς ἀνταπόδωσιν. "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 ו, chi, which introduces the last part, frequently signifies "never-
theless," or "notwithstanding," Isa. 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 יָדַע 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, cvii. 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 your 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.

Therefore, I lift up my hand to heaven, and say——
(† AM LIVING FOR EVERMORE.)

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:

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 *

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 at
tempted 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 re-
ceived translation of the last line, “From the beginning of revenges upon the enemy,” until
their final completion; in which the rendering of תַּכְנֹא. “revenges,” is unsupported
by any of the ancient versions; I render it “hairy;” for the words רֹאָל שֵׁעַר, are
rendered “locks of hair,” Numb. vi. 5, and the expression here, תַּכְנֹא פֶּרֶשֶׁא, “head of locks,” remarkably corresponds to דַּלְקַנ שֵׁעַר, “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. xlviii. 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;—"Thou 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, lxv. 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 ex-postulation 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, Phae-
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

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* Men seldom live to see more than the third or fourth generation of their offspring, Gen. 1. 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.
SACKED CHRONOLOGY.

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 thy 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 Helenus.

Stirpis Achilleæ fastus, juvenemque superbum Servitio enixæ tulimus : qui deinde secutus Ledaem 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 Mosaic 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 viceroy; 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,” I 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

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* 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 THU MMIM.

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 xxi. 7; by Elisha to Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, 2 Kings iii. 11—14; by Isaiah to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 6—34, xx. 1—11; by Huldah to Josiah, 2 Kings xxi. 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, ג, Caph final, 500, and ר, 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.
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 Mosaic 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.
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.

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
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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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 τελευτ, "without blemish," and that after they were flayed, they were cut up with great care, skill, and accuracy, εύ, καὶ περιφραδέως, and τεισαμενος. Hence, perhaps, St. Paul borrowed the technical expression, ὀρθογομεν, 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,      |
| Molliit 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. 29, 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.
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,[2] for the cure of all those bitten by the fiery serpents, who looked upon it with the eye of faith,[3] 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, lxix. 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 de-
fence of the state; their lands were granted to them upon the
condition of military service, when summoned by the govern-
ment. 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 trea-
sonable 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. xxii. 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 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, Cycnea 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-peon 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 Gershom," 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 lxxxviii. 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.

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"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 (βυνακει κατ' αυτον τον καυρον) 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. 26.

† 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 recapit-
lates the divine mercies, and warns them to shun the idols-
tries of their forefathers, and of the neighbouring nations; de-
claring, 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 cir-
cumstances 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 circum-
cised generation that perished in the wilderness were circum-
cised 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 four-
teenth 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 injunc-
tion, "Loose thy shoe from off thy foot, for the place whereon
thou standestis holy," v. 13—15.

And most signally did He fight for Israel. 1. In the mira-
culous downfall of the walls of Jericho, v. 1—20. 2. In de-
stroying 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
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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 hasted 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 Indigene, or natives, as we learn from that profound antiquary Virgil:—

Hæc nemora indigenæ Fauni Nymphæque tenebant,
Gensque virum truncis et duro robere nata;
Quæs neque mos neque cultus erat, neque tangere tauros,
Aut componere opes norant, aut parecre parto:
Sed Rami, atque asper vietu venatus agebat.
Primiæ ab Ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul ademptis,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus alis,
Composuit, legisque dedit: Latiumque vocari
Maluit, his quoniam latusset tutus in oris.—

Tum manus Ausonia, et gentes venere Sicanae:

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

* Ἀβοῦ-γινες, "Gentes transfugæ," is rather derived from the Hebrew רבי (Abar) "transivit:" and גע (Gol) "gens," which, in the Phoenician plural, gives גע (Gin) "gentes:" than from the Latin, "Primique ab origine reges." Virg. Æn. vii. 18.
ANALYSIS OF

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 ρας (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; οἰστρος, Graii vertere vocantes)
Asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita silvis
Diffugient armenta.  Geor. III. 145.

The Latin Asilus, and Greek οἰστρος, were probably only different pronunciations of the same oriental term, הַצִּֿרְאָה Ha-tsiraah*, as this fly is called by Moses and Joshua, Exod. xxiii. 28, Deut. vii. 20, Josh. xxiv. 12.

That οἰστρος 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, Mazaroθ, 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,

And so, by transposition of the letters T and S, which compose the Hebrew Tsade, Ἡ, Ha-tsiraah became Ha-istr-aah, whence οἰστρος.

The Phœnician term itself, without the He emphatic הַצִֿרְאָה, may naturally be derived from the Hebrew, קְרֹא, Tsirah “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:

Oιστροπληξ έν εγω
Θεις 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,

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,

* Zebub, the Phoenician title of this “deadly” fly, as it is styled, Eccl. x. 1, is probably derived from the Hebrew, בָּבָב Sabab, “circuivit,” alluding to their wheeling flight. Thus the Psalmist describes his enemies: “They compassed me about like bees.” Ps. cxviii. 12.

† Isaiah, denouncing “a woe” against Abyssinia, describes it as “the land of the winged cymbal,” (Tsatsal 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 Albara; for when once attacked by this fly, his body, head, and legs, break out into large bosses, which swell, break, and putrefy, 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.]


"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, Naphtali, and Dan, six years after the former division. These are described, chap. xviii. and xix.

The arms of the Israelites prevailed everywhere, 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
ANALYSIS OF

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 lxviii. 61, 1 Sam. iv. 11.
the rising jealousy and rivalship 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, i.ii.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 everywhere 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

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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 Lebanon, 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.

† 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 Crocha, 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
bouried 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 un-
common 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 ori-
ental 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 Jerusa-
lem, 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
Ma-
hometan 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. 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:——  
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. "drink 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. 26, 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 retarded 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, "Abiezzer, (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-barah, 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, (crescents,) 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 Ashtaroth Karnaim, ("the shining cow two-horned,"') Gen. xiv. 5. These crescents 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 gleaning 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 Arbuthnot'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 Phœnia, under the title of θηαοντι, 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 Jerubbeth; 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 Ελαουν, (יוֹלֵען) בֵּמָשְׁתָּא, "most high," and a goddess called θηαοντι, (חֶנֶרֶב) who lived about Byblus," namely, at Berytus, which is midway between Byblus and Sidon. Bobart, Vol. i. p. 775.

† Thus, the name of the hornet, zimb, in Arabic, is evidently formed from the Hebrew zobub, zobub, or zemub; the various readings, Raiphon, 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 Sanchoniatho 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 Sanchoniathone.

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 followers 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 choosing 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 neigh-
bourhood, when his skull was fractured by the blow of a mill-
stone, 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 Jerub-
baal."—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 usurpa-
tion 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 Ma-
nasseh,] 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 adminis-
tration 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 milstone upon Abimelech's head, and all-
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. xxii. 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, ὑπὲρ τριάκοσια 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, ג, 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 חט, 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 מצר, 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 ג, 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 devotement, 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 devotion.

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 devotion 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, I 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 ἁρματοσ is here rendered by the Septuagint and Vulg. ἀγαμαστός, mirabile; and also, Isai. ix. 6, in the Alexandrian copy, αγγελος ἀγαμαστός, 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 שמש, Sampson, a diminutive from שמש, Shemesh, or Semges, "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 חָצָלָה is nearly the same as Sciagal, or Sciagul, the Persian names for the jackal, which is evidently formed from thence. This creature is between a wolf and a fox, and according to Belon, Sandys, Shaw, Morison, &c. so abounds in Palestine, particularly about Cesarea, 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 Elam, 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 vulpinealta, 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 missae, junctis ardentia tadius

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 Phoencians, 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 lixiii. 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 Elam, 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 Ashkelon 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 uncircumcised, 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 1 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. Wearyed 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

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* 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.
‡ *Dagon* 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 avaricouerη* of the Greeks, "rising out of the sea." *Horace* perhaps alludes to this idol:

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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 hin-
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, Abishua, 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 Ramath, a disciple of the prophets.” From the Hebrew Tsophim, was probably derived the Greek, Σοφος, “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, שָׁמֵעַ, may be derived either from שָׁמַע, audìvit, or from בָּשַׁם, posuit, and לֶוַי, 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.
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 Eliv'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 sheep, 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 ει πεπληρωκως ετος ην ευεκατων, 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 Samson'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. xvi. 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 הָלָה יְשֵׁנָה, 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 ad-
duce 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 re-
pentence, occasionally raised up to them, such as Jerubbaal, or
Gideon, [Bedan] Barak *, Jephthah, and [Samuel] Sampson †.
And he concluded by threatening them with the divine chas-
tisements 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," this pro-
phet, 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 in-
curred by neglecting it on the part of the ministers of religion,
and of the guardians of the state.

* דְּרָב, Barak, nearly resembles דְּרָב, Bedan, whose name is not found among the
Judges, and was the reading of the Sept. Syr. and Ar. versions.
† יִנְשָׁי, Samson, resembles יִנְשָׁי, 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.

x 2
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.

1. Saul .......... 40
   Samuel Judge ...... 38
   Saul defeats the Ammonites
   —— his first offence
   Jonathan defeats the Philistines
   Saul's second offence
   David born
   —— kills Goliah
   —— marries Michal
   —— first flight to Gath
   —— second flight to Gath
   Saul's third offence
   1100

2. David .......... 40
   takes Jebus
   Philistine war
   Ark brought home
   Nathan's prophecy of the Messiah, the son of David
   David's first offence
   Solomon born
   Absalom's and Sheba's rebellions
   David's second offence
   Adonijah's rebellion
   1070

3. Solomon .......... 40
   Temple begun
   —— finished
   Tadmor built
   Temples on the Mount of Corruption
   The Revolt
   1030
   1027
   1020
   1006
   996
   120

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 rivalship 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, Ishboseth, 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," (μὴς ἀπεκοντα ἑτῶν 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. (ζητησα) 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 vexed, 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 Cliais 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 (έωσι) 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 *sinners* 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-

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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 vailed 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 savor 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 anointing, 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.
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, 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 Epiphanian version of Josephus.—Et regnavit Saul, vivente Samuele, 18 annis, et eo mortuo, 2 annis—and correcting from thence the present text, ἐνο καὶ εἰκοσὶ, reads ἑτη ἕνο, ἔδει, ἑτη] εἰκοσὶ.—"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 בָּנָא, Abi, 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, הרה, Haoboth, [the diviners,] and יהודית, 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 obeyest 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; εγγυρσεν εκ τουτων ο βασιλευς, τον Σαμουηλον οντα, who also expressly states, that Samuel’s soul enquired why it was raised from Hades. Σαμουηλον ψυχης πυθομενης διατι—αναχαιηναι πουπειε [εξ φδου.] 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, יָרֵע, is rendered to provoke, Job xii. 6, to rage, Prov. xxix. 9, to be wroth, 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 בִּלְעַל פַּתְיָה, 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 בֵּהֶמ בָּהָן 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, ἕγονον πνεῦμα πυθωνός, "having a spirit of Python," or "of divination," in the English Bible. But the Greek πυθωνός, or Latin Python, are evidently the Hebrew בַּלע, Python, 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, בַּלע, seems to be a contraction of בַּלע כו, signifying "an enemy," from הָלָע כו, 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 arctenens, (et nunquam talibus armis
Ante, nisi in damis capreisque fugacibus usus,)
Mille gravem telis, exhaustâ pene pharetrâ,
Perdidit, effuso per vulnera nigra veueno.
whence ὁ εἰκὼν, "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, אבaddon, Abaddon, is actually preserved in the Apocalypse, Rev. ix. 11, and is no other than יִרְאֶה בַּית, Aub adon, "the master of Ob," or the "arch-enemy," corresponding to the Greek translation there given, βασιλευς-ἀπολλων, "the king destroying," the same as the Heathen title, ἀνάξ ἀπολλων, in Homer, the word ירַי, Adon, being frequently rendered in the Sept. by the synonymous terms, αρχων, "ruler," διακόνης, "master."

This mode of divination into which "the arch enemy" seduced mankind, seems to have been of very early date; we find ובשארכו, Aboth hadashim, "the monthly diviners," noticed in the ancient book of Job, as remarkable for their inflations, xxxii. 19, corresponding to מִדְיוֹת לְחַדְשִׁים, Modithim le hadashim, "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 star-gazers, 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 fmanam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros, celebri certamine, ludos,
Pythia, perdomitae 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.

—Phoebi Trivieque sacerdos.
—pecius 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.

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 xxxiii. 8, xvii. 18—32. To silence and convince such, a well-attested apparition, minutely prophesying what was to befal *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*;

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* 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 Praelectiones, 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 subterranean 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. Amnon, by Ahinoam.
2. Daniel — Abigail.
3. Absalom  — Maacah.
4. Tamar
5. Adonijah — Haggith.
7. Ithream — Elgah.
8. Solomon
10. Shobab
11. Shimea
12. Ibhar
13. Elishama
14. Eliphalet
15. Nogah — Concubines.
16. Nephez
17. Japhia
18. Eliada
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. xcv. 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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. "Whenceover 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; Shall 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, דוד, 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 וַכְלֵּם, omnis qui, or quicunque, as "they that made idols, are like them; and so is every one that trusteth in them," Psalm cxv. 8.

3. The second term, בְּ-הָאוֹתָו, be-haatho, may either be taken as a verb, "in injuring him," or a noun, "in his injury," either from the verb בָּאוֹת, aoth, to injure, or wrong, by "perverting judgment," as it is used Job viii. 3; Lament. iii. 36; or from the noun בָּאוֹת, 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 לְפָּנַי, liphnich, "before thy face," read לְפָנִי, liphni, "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 named 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 Zion, 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, ἴὼν, Adoni, is clearly distinguished from Ἰαω, Iahoh, "[the] Lord," ver. 2, before; and from Ἰαω Ιαω, Ἰαω Ιαω, "the Lord," ver. 11, afterward: and it corresponds to Ἰαωθ, Meshihu, "his Messiah," ver. 2; and also to ὄν, Beni, "my Son," ver. 7; and to Ἰαω, Bar, "the Son," ver. 12. It occurs in the form of regimen, and is used elliptically, for Ἰαω υνινα, Adoni-Iahoh, as fully expressed, Amos viii. 9, &c. But Ἰαω, 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, Ἰαω τοῦ Μεσσηνοῦ, Ἰαω Ιαω Ιαω, 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, EL, Eloh, and Elohim; Jah, Jehovah, and Adoni; which have all appropriate significations, being unfortunately confounded together, and reduced to only two, Θεός and Κυρίος, 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 decipher their radical significations, p. 111—224.
mative 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 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 נֵב, my son, [absolutely] not לֵב, 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 נַסַּחְתִּי (Nisachti) passively, "I was ordained," followed by the Sept. εγώ δὲ κατεστάθην; the Vulg. Ego autem constitutus sum; and St. Paul, τον δρισθέντος, Rom. i. 3, instead of the present Masoretic punctuation, נַסַּחְתִּי (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 pre-determined to happen," &c.

5. The appropriation of these two kindred prophecies to Jesus Christ, as "the first born," (τον πρωτοτοκον) Ps. vol. ii.
ANALYSIS OF

Ixxxix. 27, or "THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON OF GOD," (τὸν μονογενῆ) 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 cxviii. His ascension and spiritual gifts to his disciples; applied by St. Paul, Ephes. iv. 7, 8.

Psalm ex. 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 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. xxii. 2, &c.

Psalm 1. This sublime Psalm of Asaph recognizes the Messiah under the fullest title of the Deity, EL ELOHIM 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 scenic 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 Aidon, derived from the future tense, נָחַד, judicabo, of the verb, צָנָה, Dûn, 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, דָּנָא, Aram, "Syria," is put by mistake for דָּמָן, 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 flock 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 dis-honoured 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, *Ammon, 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 un-guarded 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, 123 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 ב, 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, בֵּן, 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 חָלַמְשֵׁר, if derived from חָלַם, 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 חָלַם, "he put," as in the former passage, only obliterating or omitting the lower part of the Mem final, ב, which would leave a complete Resh, ב.
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.

ABSAŁOM'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-
Siah's persecutors, Ps. lxix. 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 imprecautions 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, γεννηθησον ἡ επαυλίς αυτον ερημος, the singular, auton, "his," is auton, "their," in the prophecy itself, Ps. lxix. 25; in the original, in the Sept. (γεννηθησον ἡ επαυλίς αυτον ερημωμεν) 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 imprecautions 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 temperizing 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
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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, xxiv. 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. xxii. 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, מָעַר, 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. vii. 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 devotion 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-
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 thanking 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 sware unto him,” 2 Sam. xix. 23.

David religiously kept his oath to Shimei, as appears from his last advice to Solomon: “I sware 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

* תי ἐμοὶ καὶ βραχὺν. 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.

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 Benjaminite, 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 (αἰτίαν ἐνλογον), 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 ὢ ἂΝ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΩΝ ΠΛΑΣΘΕΙΣ ὝΠΟ
ΔΕΜΑΣ ΤΟ ΘΕΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΑΛΟΙ ΤΟΙΧΟΝ ΠΤΥΧΑΙ;

But what house framed by builders can, within the compass of its walls, contain the Divine body? Euripides frag.

Ω ἀμαθείς ανθρώποι, διδάξατε ἡμᾶς τι ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς αποκεκλεισμένος;

 apaúdeútei, ouk ιστε ὅτι οὐκ ἐστι θεὸς χειροτομητος;

O ignorant mortals, teach us why is the Deity shut up in sanctuaries? Ye uninformed, know ye not, that God is not made with hands? Heracitus.

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 Cepheus of Herodotus, and the Shishak, or Sesac of Scripture.) And in the north he built Baalath, or Baelbech, 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 Tarshish, 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 Abyssinia, 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,

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. hi. 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. 63. 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," (נַשְׁחָתִי, naschthi,) here applied to the primeval 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," Psalm ii. 6.

Proving the adulteration of the present Masoretic punctuation, נַשְׁחָתִי, (Naschthi,)
"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.
bidesman; 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; sumnum 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—29; 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. Quast. Tusculan.
† The finest comment on this aptorism, 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 pullies 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 יְתוֹר, "to manifest (or prove) them," from רְתוֹר; reading יְתֹר, "created them," from תֹר. 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,"

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,"

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, דְּבָרֵי אֲשֶׁר, (Badli Asupoth,) "master-collections," seems to correspond to the κυρίαι ὑπομνήματα, or maxime rate sententiae, "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. | KINGS OF ISRAEL.
---|---
1. Rehoboam | 1. Jeroboam
5. Jehoram, or Joram | 7. Ahaziah
7. Q. Athaliah | 9. Jehu
Interregnum | 12. Jeroboam II.
10. Uzziah, or Azariah | 13. Zechariah & Shallum
14. Manasseh | 2d Interregnum
17. Jehoahaz, 3 m. | 18. Jehoiakim

| Jerusalemtaken | 404 | 586 |

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 interregnims. 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, 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. xxxv. 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 xxii. 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.

**REHOBOAM.**

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

* Υιος αυτω Ροδοαμ, εξ αλλοφυλων, αναξιος της αρχης ου γαρ η πολυγαμια την ευπενιους ποιε. Saidas, voces Ασταρτη.
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 sacrileges, 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 through-out 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,
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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 swore 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,
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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.

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 Elizezer, 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. xlviii. 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 Orebin, 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. דיאריבים, Ha Orebin, "the Orebites," might have been the descendants of Oreb, whom Gideon slew upon the rock Oreb, Judges vii. 25. And Jerom mentions "the Orbin, 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. Maundrell, 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 dost 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, controlling 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 dost 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. xlviii. 7; and by St. Paul, Rom. xi. 2—4.

* Κάκις Κροιος. This is the judicious insertion of the Alexandrine Greek version.
† St. Paul, by his rendering τη 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 דַּבָּר יָהֹה, 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 χρηματισμός, the Oracle *, Rom. xi. 4, whom he elsewhere calls ὁ Ἀλων “the speaker,” Heb. xii. 25, because λαλεῖ τὰ ρημάτα τοῦ Θεοῦ, “he speaketh the oracles of God,” John iii. 34. And so should the synonymous terms, ὁ λόγος, John i. 1, &c. ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, 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

† 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 xxii. 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. xxii. 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

* 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 77 (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. xlviii. 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.
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 Aravians, 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 hasted 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
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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 יִנָּה יִנָּה,
   Adoni, ver. 1—8—11, (which is a contraction of יִנָּה יִנָּה,
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ANALYSIS OF
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 יוהי יוהי. אֵּּ הי יוהי, or יוהי יוהי, 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 shown.

This was the decision of the primitive Church. The learned Cyril declares, τὸν πατέρα μεν γὰρ οὐδὲν εἰσάκε πτωποτε, ὁ δὲ τῶν προφητῶν φανερ, νός ἡμ. "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 יוהי יוהי יוהי, "to this people," instead of לַיהָ, "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: יִּיהָ יִּיהָ יִּיהָ Hishmen, instead of יִּיהָ יִּיהָ יִּיהָ Hashmen, πνευμάκεν "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," ἐπαρχύνθη; 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, דֶּנֶּה לְאֹת, Eth Ha Adam, as distinguished from דְּנָה, 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, which connects it with the foregoing vision.

III. 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:

"He only taketh away our infirmity;
And beareth our paine."
Coverdale, 1550.

"He only hath taken on him our infirmity;
And borne our paynes."
Bishop's Bible, 1577.

"Surely, hee hath borne our infirmities;
And carried our sorowes."
Geneva Bible, 1593.

"Surely, He hath borne our griefs;
And carried our sorrows."
Our Bible.

"Surely, our infirmities He hath borne;
And our sorrows He hath carried them."
Bishop Lowth.

"Surely, our infirmities he took away;
And our sicknesses, he removed."
Dodson.

"Surely, our infirmities he hath borne [away],
And our sorrows, he hath carried them."
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 "grievies" 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 בזות, 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. lv. 14. See other instances, Magee on Atonement, Vol. I. p. 417—419. The other noun, הִרְפָּא, 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, רַשָּׁא Rashā, Nahash, is rightly rendered "He hath borne," in the primary sense of the word bear, Deut. i. 12, &c.; or, He hath taken on 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:

        ἀυτὸς τὰς ασθένειας ἡμῶν ἔλαβε,
        Καὶ τὰς νοσοὺς ἐβαστάσεν.

"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 shearsers, is dumb, so he opened not his mouth.

3. 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: "whereunto shall I liken this generation?" Matt. xi. 16; or "whereunto 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 and 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 πολν 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 τῃ ταπεινωσει αυτου ἵ κρυσι αυτου ημιη, "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 רָע, 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. ἡχυη προς ξαναυον, "he was led to death," where, instead of the present text, מַלְאָל, "to them," the Sept. evidently read מַלְאָל, "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 Gibeah 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 Wetsstein, 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, *απὸ τῶν ανομων τῶν λαον μον ηχεὶν πρὸς Σαμαριον*, 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 reproputed 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 לְנֵי, the present *Vulgate* and *Syriac* editions read לן, "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. xxxii. 39, thence called Golgotha, and freely interpreted "the place of a skull," Matt. xxvii. 33. The verb should be understood, and pointed passively, יָנֵי, put for יָנֵי, in *Niphal* as in 2 Sam. xviii. 9, and in one of De Rossi’s Spanish MSS. And ינ, Nathan, is frequently used in the sense of "appointing," or "designing," 1 Chron. xvi. 4, Gen. xviii. 5, &c.

With יָרֵבּ, "his grave," as intended with "the malefactors," is strongly contrasted in the next line, יָרְבּ מָהְרְ יָרְבּ, (put for יָרְבּ מָהְ-יָרְ יָרְ) "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 בַּמְחָתָם, Bamoth, masculine, or its plural, בַּמְחָתִים, Bamothim, in regimen, בַּמְחָתִים, 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 בַּמְחָתָם, Bamoth, the plural feminine of בַּמָּה, 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 בַּמָּה, 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 בַּמָּה, Maalah Kibri, “the highest of the sepulchres of the sons of David,” in which Hezekiah was interred, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 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,” (ἐνταφίασαι με—ἐνταφίασον) Matt. xxvi. 12, Mark xiv. 8, to distinguish it from the ordinary burial, expressed by the verb ἁφαί, 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,” (ἐνταφίαζεν) 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. Josey 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 lii." 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 unloose 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, Prophesy 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;"
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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
[ wildfire, 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
ANALYSIS 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, בֵּבֵל נֵעַ (Chiun Chochab) corresponds to the Greek, Αστρωκυς κυνος, or Αστροκυνος, "the dog-star;" whence we collect, that the Greek, κυνος, "dog," is derived from the Egyptian, Chiun. The meaning of which is, perhaps, most naturally furnished by the root, κυνος, "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 Πεφαυ, or Πεφφαυ, whence Πεφφαυ is easily formed, Acts vii. 43. A title of the same import in Arabic; for רַי, Raiph, or Riph, in that dialect, signifies "a fruitful and verdant plain." See Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton. And "Upper Egypt is now called Reif." Asiatic 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, nigra fœcundat arenā."

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-pilesar 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.

Pekiah 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 Tabeal 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-pilesar* for assistance against Rezin and Pekah, professing himself his vassal, and sending him a subsidy of all the sacred and royal treasures. Accordingly, Tiglath-pilesar, 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:

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:

* הָעַלְמָה. 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—8, 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;] 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 Shiloah, 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 shall call his name Jesus, (Saviour.)"
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.

†† 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 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 birthplace 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 מגד, Nagid, a usual epithet of the MESSIAH, 1 Chron. v. 2, Isaiah Iv. 4, Dan. ix. 25, usually rendered Μανήβος, "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 'Hγυςωτ, 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 πομανει, "shall guide as a shepherd," afterwards intimated by Micah, και πομανει, 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; foretells 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 the children of *Israel* in *Media*, 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6, whither his father had transplanted the *Transjordanites*, 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 treasures, 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 xxii. 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 Simoon, 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 Simoon. 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 Simoon 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-aches, from imbibing the poisonous vapour."

Bruce met it at Rashid, near Sennaar, March 20, 1773, 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 ζεῦς φοίητος, "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 encreased 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.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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 Ptolemy’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.
ANALYSIS OF

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 Meditarranean, 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. Sec 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 hardiness:

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 hâc 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 Ptolemy'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 Ptolemy'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 εσαύτοτην) 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 Nabonadus, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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 Ikkurim, 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 מִיּוּ. 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. xxxvii. 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. xlíx. 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 prophesies 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 deprived 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 apostasies 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.

Nebuchadnezzar destroys Jerusalem.                        y. B.C. 25 last 586
  appoints Gedaliah governor                           — 586
  subdues the Ammonites, &c.                               — 585
  besieges Tyre                                                — 584
  desolates Judea                                             — 582
  subdues Egypt                                               — 570
  his first dream                                             — 569
  sets up the golden image                                    — 569
  his second dream                                             — 568
Evilmerodach                                                 3 561
  releases Jehoiachin                                      — 558
Belshazzar, his feast and death                             — 553

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN DYNASTY.

Darius the Mede, or Cyraxares                             2 553
Cyrus the Persian.                                        15 551
Cyrus takes Babylon; first, of his sovereignty.            — 536
The Jews return from captivity under Zerubbabel           — 536
Jeshua high-priest fifty-three years                      — 535
The second Temple begun                                   — 535
Cambyses                                                   8 529
Darius Hystaspes                                           36 521
The Temple finished                                       — 516
Xerxes                                                     21 485
Jehoiakim high-priest, thirty years                       — 483
Artaxerxes Longimanus                                      41 464
  —, stops the rebuilding of Jerusalem                      464
  —, marries Esther                                        — 458
  —, sends Ezra to Judea                                      — 457
Eliashib high-priest, forty years                          — 453
Nehemiah governor of Judea, twelve years............... 440
——— rebuilds the walls, and the city ....................... 444
——— returns to Persia .............................. 444
——— comes again to Jerusalem .................. 432

Nehemiah's reform, and end of the Canon of the Old Test. 166

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 Daphne Pelusiace, 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. xliii. 8—13, xlv. 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, Moabites, 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 pro-
phets: the Ammonites, Amos i. 13, 15, Ezek. xxv. 4—10, &c.
the Moabites, Ezek. xxv. 8—11, Jer. xxv. 21, xviii. 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, xlvii. 4, Ezek. xxviii. 21—23, &c. the Tyrians, Isai. xxxii.
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 Egyp-
tians, Isai. xix. 4—23, Jer. xlvii. 13—26, Ezek. xxix. 2—12,
xxx. 20—26, xxxii. 2—16, Joel iii. 19, the Ethiopians or Abys-
sinians, 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 pro-
phesies, 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, Itho-
baal, or Ethbaal, according to the Tyrian annals, signifying,
"the Master," which was a Phœnician title of God. These
latter prophesies were probably delivered in the course of the
ensuing year, B.C. 585, during the invasion of the neighbour-
ing 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 Nabuzaradan, 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

- Ithobaal ........................................ 13 0 \{ Kings.
- Baal ........................................ 10 0
- Enribaal .................................. 2 M.
- Chelles .................................. 10 M. \{ Judges.
- Abbarus .................................. 3 M.
- Mitgen ................................ 6 0 \{ Kings.
- Belian ................................ 1 0
- Merbal ................................ 4 0
- Hirom .................................. 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, Hyrcania, 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 Syncellus reckon it the twentieth, or the year after the destruction of Jerusalem; Abulfaragi and Eutychius 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 τό τευτέρον τῆς Ἀιγυπτίου πορευθείς.
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 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.
JEWS 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, 1. § 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 Cyropedia, 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.

* Fragu. 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 Ga-
datas, 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 or-
dered 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 μαμήν 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 Mede and the Persian." [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, Jack-
son, &c. for he was born B.C. 553 + 62 = B.C. 615; only six-
teen years before the birth of Cyrus, B.C. 599, whereas Her-
dotus calls Astyages, when Cyrus was born, γερων "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, Hero-
dotus, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, &c. and the apocryphal history
of Bel and the Dragon, all represent Cyrus as immediately suc-
ceeding 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 chase, 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." Cyropaed. lib. 1. 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." Cyropaed. 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. xliv. 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 *

* Μην δ' ἄρα πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατον' Ἀλλ' εἰκεῖνοι πὰυς, τὸ εργάν ἡρυσε, Η ἡ 2
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 αυτον θυμον οιακοστροφουν
Τριτος δ' απ' αυτον Κυρος, ευθαιμουν 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
Breath'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 FOUNDEN.

In the second year of their return, in the second month, the

* Zorobabel was the son of Salathiel, the son of Jechoniah, or Jehoiachin, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

governor, high-priest, and remnant of the people, laid the founda-
tion 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 Cambyses, 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.
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,
   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, תָּהוֹדֶות, or fully, תָּהוֹדֶות hemdoth, "desires," which is applied to Daniel, ix. 23, and is there put elliptically, for תָּהוֹדֶות שָׁנָא, 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. ἀνὴρ εὐθυμων, "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 הָרַם, “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
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

[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. lxxii. 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. xxii. 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.
§ שלושה "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."
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" Caesar, 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 Περσίς, "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, ὅν εὐημερίαν, "whom they valued," which are evidently a gloss upon τοῦ εὐημερίαν απὸ νῦν Ἰσραήλ, "who was valued by the children of Israel."

3. Καζως συνεταξε μοι Κηριος. 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 1) 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 (ναός) 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 seditious 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 Howes, 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.

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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

† 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 spoilation 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."
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, i. That the Greek cities
thoroughout 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 conjecture (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 Johanan, 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, Johanan, 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 foretells 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 foretells 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.
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, נְגָּם, "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. 331.
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, excited 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, Jacchidin, &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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. DREAM.</th>
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<tr>
<td>B.C. 569</td>
<td>B.C. 558</td>
<td>B.C. 553</td>
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<tr>
<td>A compound image of gold, silver, brass, and iron, denoting four successive kingdoms.</td>
<td><strong>Four wild beasts rising from the sea.</strong> Dan. vii. 2, 3.</td>
<td><strong>A mighty king of Greece to overthrow the fourth king of Persia; his kingdom to be divided into four inferior, to the four winds, but not to his posterity.</strong> Dan. xi. 2—4.</td>
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<th>I. KINGDOM.</th>
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<tr>
<td>B.C. 606</td>
<td>B.C. 536</td>
<td>B.C. 331</td>
<td>B.C. 753, springing from one of these four horns, (the western) and waxing exceeding great towards the south, the east, and</td>
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<tr>
<td>The head of gold; the Babylonians. Daniel ii. 37, 38.</td>
<td>The breast and arms of silver; the Medo-Persian. Dan. ii. 30.</td>
<td>The belly and thighs of brass; the Macedo-Grecian. Dan. ii. 39.</td>
<td>The legs of iron, the feet and toes partly iron and clay; 1. The Roman Republic, B.C. 168. 2. The Roman Empire, B.C. 30.</td>
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<tr>
<th>I. VISION.</th>
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<td>B.C. 558</td>
<td>B.C. 556</td>
<td>B.C. 534</td>
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<td>A lion with eagle's wings. Dan. vii. 4.</td>
<td>A bear with three ribs in his mouth. Dan. vii. 6.</td>
<td>A swift he-goat from the west, with a great horn, afterwards broken into four smaller ones to the four winds, or quarters of the world. Dan. viii. 5—8.</td>
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<th>IV. KINGDOM.</th>
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<td>B.C. 753</td>
<td>B.C. 753</td>
<td>1. A little horn, B.C. 753, springing from one of these four horns, (the western) and waxing exceeding great towards the south, the east, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A wild beast rising out of the sea, with a leopard's body, bear's feet, and lion's mouth, having seven heads, and ten horns. Pagan Rome.</td>
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**Apocalypse.**

IV. Kingdom. A wild beast rising out of the sea, with a leopard's body, bear's feet, and lion's mouth, having seven heads, and ten horns. Pagan Rome.
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. Heruli in 488, Ostrogoths 553, Lombards in 756.

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, 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.

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.

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.
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, increasing 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 Δαυιδ 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, pouring the same things under different emblems, but more distinctly and circumstantially. The four kingdoms are now represented by four fero-
ocious 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, xlvi. 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, Pōmn, 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

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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 control 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 reverenced at first
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 Lombards, 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 Lombards 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 Ecumenical, (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

been "expressly" foretold "in the apostacy of the latter times," by St. Paul, alluding, in the term ἐκτὸς, "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 Kennet'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 British 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 further 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 said 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 hastened 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 pressing, 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 fe et 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 spared. 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 Geoffrey Monmouth, whose weight we know."

* How remarkably does this correspond with the description of the persecuted witnesses 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 Christianae Ecclesiae, 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 anticrystian 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 Viceregent 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," Αντιπατος, 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 Choaspe, 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 Mnaemon, 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 potii sunt; dein Medi, postea Persae, deinque Macedones; exinde duobus regibus, Philippo et Antiocho, (qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant) haud multo post Carthaginem subactam victis, summam 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 Ætolians, who settled there: for the Greek name Αττολία, Aitolia, in the Æolic dialect, used by the Ætolians, 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 Ætolians,) 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 Grecia, 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 memorat est, quantum brevi creverit adeptâ libertate; tanta cupido gloriae.
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 deposition 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 apologetics 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 Popery, 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 Asamonius." — "He stopped the celebration of the daily sacrifices for three years and six months." Bell. Jud. Prom. 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 Maccabaeus, was about five years; compare 1 Mac. i. 20 with iv. 36—52; and the daily sacrifices were suspended precisely three years, compare 1 Mac. i. 59 with iv. 52.

Wittle, 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, Isa. 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 Michaels, Dathè, Blauez, 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 (w Aaron) and the altar," Matt. xxvii. 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 referred 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 דבּר, Dabar, both in ver. 23 and 25, as equivalent to the fuller expression, דבּּר לְהוֹ, Dabar laho, “the word of the Lord,” at the beginning of the chapter, iv. 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, Abbar-baneth, 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 Naclamanides 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 xiv. 7, ii. 7, Heb. i. 1—8. Levi unskilfully objects, that the מ emphatic, or demonstrative prefix, is wanting to משיח, 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; applyng 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 "anointed" 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, וֹנַי וּלְלַשׁ, "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 יְבִלָה. Chanaph, "overspreading!" but it literally signifies "a wing," and here probably denotes the same as πτερυγος του ἵσπου, 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 יָרַע, actively, "He shall cut off" [the people of the Jews,] instead of יָכַה, 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 יָכַה. 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 fixt 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.
† Isai. liii. 8.
‡ Dan. viii. 12; Matt. xxii. 7; John xi. 48.
|| Isai. xlvi. 8; Jer. xxxii. 31; Heb. ix. 15; John xii. 42; Acts ii. 41, iv. 4, vi. 1—7.
§§ Heb. vii. 27.
** Matt. xxiv. 15.
‡‡ Dan. viii. 14; Luke xxi. 22; Rom. xi. 25.
 §§ 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. I. 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 Rosmead, 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. xxxiii. 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, Mosaic, 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 xlviii. 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. 18, 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 Sale's Prelim. Discourse, p. 39—49; and Koran, p. 236, and 149, 278.
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 increasing 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 *Sacra 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."


* 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 Sacra 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 Councell of Constance.—In the same Councell, 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 everlasting 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, unmixt, 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 described 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, Zwingle, 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 clothed 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 intermarriages 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.

EIGHTEH PERIOD.

FROM NEHEMIAH'S REFORM TO THE BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, 415 YEARS.

PERSIAN DYNASTY.

JEWS HIGH PRIESTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eliashib</td>
<td>7 last</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joiada or Judas</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan or John</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaddua or Jaddus</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Onias</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon the Just</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleazer</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manasses</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onias II</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon II</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onias III</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus or Jason</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onias or Menelaus</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tbody>
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**ASAMONEAN PRINCES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judas Maccabeus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jachim or Alcimus, high priest</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan, appointed high priest</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hyrcanus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristobulus I. and Antigonus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Janneaus</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Alexandra</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyrcanus II</td>
<td>3 M</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristobulus II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROMAN DYNASTY.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hyrcanus II, again</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IDUMÆAN KINGS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herod the Great</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of John the Baptist</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Maccabeus. 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. 400, 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 Seleucid*e, 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 control 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. Cel. sum, 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 rivalship 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 Phænician 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 twentieth 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 Coele Syria, Phoenicia, 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 sanhedrin, among the high-priests; and was succeeded in that office by Antigonus Socheus, 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

13
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 Phoenicia, 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 Jaddua, 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 Coele 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 Coele 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 Coele 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 [Coelesyria,] 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 Coele 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 Coele Syria, whereby these countries were much afflicted by both parties. First Antiochus reduced them, B.C. 203, the Jews willingly submitting

* Υψεὶ καὶ θρασοὶ μεγάλως επηρεμον, 3 Mac. ii. 21. N.B. The third and fourth books of Maccabees in Greek, are to be found in the Alexandrine Septuagint Version.
† Εἰ εἰκονις εἰσηρήναται ταῦτας τῆς τιμῆς, ἐμε οὖν 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 Cynoecephala, 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 dowry, to restore the provinces of Coele 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’ybios 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, Euboea; 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 Thermopylae, and drove him out of Greece; and soon after, Livius and Æmilius defeated his fleet near Phoeæa, 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 expenses 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 Coele Syria and Phoenicia. 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 deposition 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 wicked 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 Cæle 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 Lenas, 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 Olympus, 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; 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 Maccabaeus, 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 Bئilim Iahok, "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 Graecising 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 Idumea) 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, (εγκαινισμον.) And this was "the feast of new dedication" (εγκαινια) "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 Seleucidae, 2 Mac. x. 3. See Vol. I. p. 175.
who set up Heliodorus] shall not give the honour of the king-
dom. 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 Phœenia] with a
small people [or retinue.] And he shall enter into the quiet
and plentiful cities of the province [of Phœenia] 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, Eulemus, and Macron, governor of Cyprus] shall
[betray and] destroy him: [so that Ptolemy shall be taken pri-
soner.] And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief
[to each other;] and they shall speak lies at one table. [Anti-
ochus 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 cove-
nant, [or the Jewish temple and religion] and he shall do [ac-
cording 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 Epiphat_, 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 _Timothaeus_, 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 proficacy, 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 privately escaped from Rome, and landed with "a few men †," only eight friends and their servants, at Tripolis, in Phœnia; 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 fomenter 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 Judaei, amicitia Romanorum petita, 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 tents 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 Coele 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.
Philometer, 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 Seleucide, of Contracts, or of Alexander's successors, as before, xiii. 33—42.

At his election, however, by the people, therewas 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 minae, 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 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 Hyrcania, during this war, John, the son of Simon, was surnamed Hyrcanus. 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, דותיש וברע, "the fourth year;" and on the reverse, דותיש וברע, "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 x 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 Hyrcanus, 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, Hyrcanus 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, Phœnia, 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.

Hyrcanus 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, Hyrcanus 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, "Numenius, 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 Physcon, 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 Messiah; 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 Hyrcanus, 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 enclosed 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. Weary 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 Euchæres, 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 confident 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, Hyrcanus, 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 Machaera, where she kept her treasures.

Next year she sent Aristobulus with an army to attack Ptolemy Meneus, at Damascus; but he returned without doing anything 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 Janneaus, and his wife Alexandra, and had been appointed by them governor of the province of Idumea. 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 Hyrcanus, 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 Hyrcanus, 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 Hyrcanus 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 Hyrcanus in turn, and defeated them with great slaughter; among others of the Jews attached to Hyrcanus, who fell in that battle, was Cephalion, 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 Coele-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, Hyrcanus 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. Hyrcanus pleaded his prior claim to the crown, as the elder brother, and complained of the usurpation of Aristobulus; while Aristobulus alleged the imbecility of Hyrcanus. This last circumstance, probably, decided the artful Roman in favour of Hyrcanus; 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 Gabinius, 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 Hyrcanus, 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 Hyrcanus 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 Hyrcanus, 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, Macherus, Hyrcania, 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 Caesar, 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 au-
cient form of government, and appointed *Antipater* procurator of Syria and Judea.

*Gabinius* 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 *Charan*, 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 *Gabinius*, was defeated, taken with his son, and sent back again to his former prison. *Gabinius*, 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 *Caesar* and *Pompey*, *Cesar*, 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar, 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 Hyrcanus. He appointed Phasaelis, 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 Hyrcanus, 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 Hyrcanus 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 Caesar, then president of Syria, to Hyrcanus, with express orders to acquit him, under pain of incurring his highest displeasure, which Hyrcanus was sufficiently inclined to do without this mandate. All this, however, so intimidated his accusers and the sanhedrim, that they all sat silent; until Simeas, 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 Hyrcanus and the whole sanhedrin to death, except Pollio and Simeas, 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 sanhedrin 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 sanhedrin.

After Julius Caesar’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. Caesar 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 Caesar in Syria, by Bassus, and of Caesar 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, Phasaelus 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 Idumaean, 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. Phasael 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 Hyrcanus to their side, and Felix, the commander of the Roman forces at Jerusalem, by representing the overgrown power of the sons of Antipater. But Phasael and Herod soon mastered the faction, drove Felix out of Jerusalem, and recovered Massada, and all the fortresses that they had taken; and upbraided Hyrcanus 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. Hyrcanus judged it imprudent to oppose "these sons of Zeruiah," who controlled him as much as David was controlled 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, Antony 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. Antony gave them a hearing, and asked Hyrcanus, 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 Antony, who was well disposed towards them before, made Herod and Phasael 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 Phasael 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, Phasael went, and took Hyrcanus 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 Hyrcanus and Phasael to him, before they left the country. Phasael, 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 Hyrcanus, 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 Hyrcanus. 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 Masada, 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 Masada 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, Antigonia, 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

THE 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, דְּבֵּרָתָל, "Then shall we raise against him," the Sept. read, ρομπάς, καὶ εἰγρήθησονται. "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 Janneus, 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 Coele-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 Hyrcanus 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. Hyrcanus 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 Hyrcanus to come, but sent an embassy to Phraates, king of Parthia, to solicit his permission. Contrary, therefore, to the advice of all his friends, Hyrcanus 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 Idumean, 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, Hyrcanus,) 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 praetorian 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 increasing 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, Caesar, he called Caesarea. Here he made the most convenient and safest port in all the coasts of Phoenicia, 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 Cesareum, in honour of the emperor; the other Agrippaeum, 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 ναὸς) was built in a year and a half, and the rest of the temple (τὸ 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, ἐκκαθομηθή. 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.
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 OBVIATE THE CAVILS OF SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.

BY THE
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CONTAINING A

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OF

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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.

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<th>B.C.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Herod the Great</td>
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<td>John Baptist born about Spring</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Roman Enrollment by Cyrenius</td>
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<td>Nativity of Jesus Christ about Autumn</td>
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<td>Visit of the Parthian Magi to Jerusalem</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Passover, April 12</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Assessment, or Taxing, by Cyrenius</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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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 ἐπιγράφαν, "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, εἰδεξε 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. Οἱ αντοπται, και ὑπηρεται ΤΟΥ ΔΟΓΟΥ, in strictness, can only denote the eye-witnesses and ministers of the personal Word, or Oracle, who conversed with, and ministered unto Him, απ' αυτης, "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 παρεδόσαν, "delivered them by tradition," either in speech or writing; and these were the apostles and disciples in general; from whom likewise St. Luke, παρηκμολουξηκοτι, "derived information, as an attendant," on St. Paul especially, ανωτεν 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 \textit{κατηγγέλεις}, he had been \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{verbal} harmony notwithstanding, that appears between their Gospels, they have supposed that all the Evangelists made use of a \textit{common document} in the \textit{Hebrew} or \textit{Syrochaldæe} dialect, which contained a short narrative of the principal transactions of \textit{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 \textit{Dissertation on the origin of the three first Gospels}, annexed to his Notes on the third volume of Michaelis; who conjectures that \textit{Luke} meant to express the title of this common document, which was \textit{Διηγησις περὶ των πεπληρωμένων πραγμάτων.} \textit{k. t. 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 \textit{Luke} omits the article \textit{την}, in his account, \textit{αναταξασθαι διηγησιν, κ. t. λ.} p. 199, note.

But that profound Greek critic, \textit{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 anarchrous, [without the article:] but when the book is \textit{referred} to, the article should be inserted." And he instances, in \textit{Hesiod's Poem,} entitled \textit{Ἀσπίς Ἡρακλεοῦς, [Hercules' Shield,]} which Longinus thus cites, εἰγε Ἡσιοδὸν καὶ ΤΗΝ Ἀσπίδα θετεων. ["If the Shield also is to be ascribed to Hesiod.”]

And surely, \textit{Luke's} preface militates against this hypothesis throughout: for \textit{Matthew} and \textit{John,} who were "\textit{eye-witnesses and ministers} of the "\textit{Oracle,}” had no need of a common document; and \textit{Luke} expressly asserts, that he derived his information from \textit{Apostles*}; and we may conclude the same of

* \textit{Luke} accompanied \textit{Paul} the \textit{Apostle} to \textit{Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 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.


And this agreement is strongly marked in several unusual words and phrases.

They all agree in the citation, ὃς κατὰ σκεύασε τὴν ὦδον σου ἐπιρροσθεῖν 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, οὐ μὴ γενοῦσανταί

He had, therefore, abundant leisure and opportunity to acquire the fullest and most authentic information, at the fountain head, from the Apostles themselves.
Oavarov, though they differ from each other in the remainder of
the sentence, Matt. xvi. 22, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27. This ex-
pression is not found in the Old Testament; it occurs only in
the Chaldee Paraphrase. Dissert. p. 69.

They all use the verb ἀπαγόρευ, 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 "difficulty;"
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 trans-
lations, would not be likely to agree so often, critically, in ex-
pression. Dr. Marsh himself, p. 167, has produced the follow-
ing 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 narra-
tive of those things which have been accomplished among us."

4. WAKEFIELD'S VERSION.

"Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to write an ac-
count 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek in both</th>
<th>English, Mark</th>
<th>English, Luke</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>— των δέκατων...</td>
<td>&quot;which love...&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;which desire...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>περιπατεῖν...</td>
<td>to go...</td>
<td>to walk...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εν στολάς...</td>
<td>in long clothing...</td>
<td>in long robes...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ἄσπασμον...</td>
<td>salutations...</td>
<td>greetings...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εν ταῖς αγοραῖς...</td>
<td>in the market places...</td>
<td>in the markets...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ πρωτοκλητικὰς...</td>
<td>and the chief seats...</td>
<td>and the highest seats...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ πρωτοκλητικὰς...</td>
<td>and the uppermost rooms.&quot;</td>
<td>and the chief rooms.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"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.


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 *Papías*, who all wrote in Greek, and who, unques-
tionably, referred to the Greek Gospels. See those references collected by Lardner, Vol. II. p. 15—93.

2. Irenaeus, 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 καὶ, in the original καὶ γραφήν ξηνεγκεν εὐαγγελιον. 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. Delaruc, 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 justa Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermones, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos *, sive ut plerique autumant, justa Matthaeum, &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, Lipsiae, 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.

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In the Commentationes Theologicae, "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, ὁ ρουξεύ λαννον, "he dug a wine-press," Matt. xxi. 23, into ωρουξευ ὑτοληνον, "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

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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, λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, "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 יְבִלְהוּ, "And he said," for יְבִלְהוּ, "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 Buschting, in the preface to his German Harmony of the four Gospels, Hamburgh, 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 pedissequus, 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 "footman," 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 everywhere, 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.

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 Evangelistae invicem attestantur de quibusdam etiam quae ipsi non dicunt, et tamen dicta noverunt. Index Augustini. 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 curtained 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 γενέα . . . . . . Αβαραμ ἔως Δαῦ, 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.
ANALYSIS OF
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 authentica 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, Pagii, Basnagae, 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 ἑκμελιουντων, “establishing,” the former being actually used by Peter; and the latter, corresponding to his expression, ἐστηριγμένων εν τῇ παρονῇ αληθείᾳ, “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 Caesar, 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, εν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, τῇ ἱδίᾳ διαλεκτῷ αὐτῶν, καὶ γραφὴν ἐξενεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πετροῦ καὶ τοῦ Παύλου εὐρωπε ἐναντίον μὲν τοῦτον εὐαγγελιζόμενον, καὶ ἑκμελιουντὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων εξοδον, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητής καὶ ἐρμηνευτής Πετροῦ, καὶ αὐτος τα ὑπὸ Πετροῦ κηρυσσόμενα εὐγγεγραφοὶ ἤμιν παραδειγματίζεται. 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 Irenaeus. All that can be collected from it is, that he followed the other Evangelists. But there is another passage of Irenaeus, 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, Irenaeus 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 Irenaeus, may be collected from the expression, παρασπεωμα 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 Irenaeus interpreted, [respecting the Millennium,] that when Domitian

* Lardner has cited a contrary passage in appearance of Irenaeus, 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, I 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 (ερη) at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue, Bethesda, having (ἐξούσια) 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; ὦν, for "was," iii. 13, ix. 25, xii. 7, and εἴη, 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,

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<th>Author</th>
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<td>Matthew's</td>
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<td>Mark's</td>
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<td>John's</td>
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**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,” (στρατοπέδων,) 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 vine 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 abstinence and mortifications of hermits and fanatics; the latter

* Φιλονη, here, is improperly rendered “clove,” (as if it were corruptly put for the Latin φανολη, Panula.) Hesychius explains it by ἡλατηριον, (i.e. εἰλατηριον) μεμβρανον, η γλωσσοκομον, “a parchment covering, or a letter-case.” And Lex. Reg. MS. explains γλωσσοκομον—εντα τα βιβλια εκεντο, “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. Πᾶσα γραφὴ ζωοπνευστος*, may more closely be rendered, "every scripture-prophecy is divinely inspired," 2 Tim. iii. 16, for this is the usual acceptance of γραφή, 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 πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς, "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.

"Chilo having been asked, what Jove was doing? answered, He is humbling the proud, and exalting the humble."

"Thales having been asked, whether a man, while doing wrong, could escape the notice of God? No, said he, not even in thought."

"The same having been asked, What is the Deity? answered, What hath neither beginning nor end."

"The same having been asked, What is difficult? answered, To know one's self: What is easy?—To advise another."

"The same having been asked, Who is happy? answered, He that has a sound body, and a well educated mind."

"Bias having been asked, What would make life fearless? said, an upright conscience."

"Contemplate,” said he, “as in a mirror, your own actions; that you may adorn the good, and hide the bad,” &c.
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 feebl er phrases of classic lore. You will seek in vain among them for such a magnificent amplification as this, εχορησαν [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-sives 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.

† Our Bible translators consulting euphony, or the harmony of their periods, often use adjectives adverbi ally, 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 sobriety;" 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, ὅν<sup>!</sup> αὐ<sup>!</sup>νων άγαθει παρα τω Θεω παν ρημα. "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 ο<sup>!</sup>ω, "to say," is used by Matthew often, by Mark once, but never by either Luke or John; the synonyme, ε<sup>!</sup>ω, is used by all except Mark; and ω<sup>!</sup>ω, by all except John; ἀνακλίνω, "to recline," occurs in all the gospels except John's; κατακείμαι, "to lie down," in all except Matthew's. Matthew alone applies the title Κα<sup>!</sup>ζηγγητης, "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, λέγω, εἴπω, φίλος, ἔρως, εἰρω, 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 ἰταφός, used only by Matthew, and φίλος, 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 φίλος, 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 ἰταφός, "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 Genera 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 Eubuleides 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 irreconcileable 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 irreconcileable, 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, ὃ παραδόουσα αὐτόν, 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 ὃ προδέουσα αὐτόν, "who betrayed him," or by προδότης, "traitor," as he is styled on one solitary occasion by Luke, vi. 16. Compare John xviii. 36, 37, where the verb παραδέωμι 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 Syrophcenician 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 (ἀπεστάλκε) me [to be his representative,] (the visible image of the invisible God, Col. i. 15,) so send I (πέτω) you [to be my heralds,"'] John xx. 21. "Go ye into all the world, publish (κηρύξατε) 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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*, ΜΟΝΗ ΟΥΤΕΟΝ ΘΗ ΑΑΗΟΕΙΑ.

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 distrustting 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 (anjua)."

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, xxii. 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 ἐς ὅ, "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 ἀδελφον Ιησου τον λεγομενον Χριστου, ἵκαβος ονομα aυτο. "The brother of Jesus who was called Christ, his name was James." Antiq. XX, 8, 1.

† Ego illis potius assentio qui "filium Del," dici putant "Adamum," creationis iure, atque in gradu attollit animos ad credendum Christi genituram. Nam qui ex terra, sine patre, hominem primum potuit producere, idem efficere potuit ut Christus ex virgine sine patre nascetur. 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, יִלְיָהוּה. "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, יְהֹוָה, Yah, and יה, El,) are sometimes interchanged, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. Eli, therefore, or Eheli, is the abridgment of Eliakim. Nor is it of any consequence that the Rabbins call him instead of 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: Ἡσυνος—ων (ὡς εὐνομετέρον, νοῦς Ἰωσήφ, [ἀλλ' οὐντος]) νοῦς τού Ἰηλι. "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:

--- ek Mariaς
Δηνυής. Μαριαμ γαρ αφ' αίματος ήν Λαρων,
Μαρτυς δ' αγγελος άμμυν.

--- "[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 Elisheba, 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 λέγωμεν Χριστός, "Jesus, who is called Christ," i. 16, which is not likely to have been the evangelist’s. Townsend, 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 Jeconiah, 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:—

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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.
About the birth of John the Baptist, Augustus Caesar 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 Syllaüs, his prime minister. He had lent Obodas sixty talents, for a limited time, and was disappointed of the stipulated payment; and Syllaüs 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, Syllaüs 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, Syllaüs 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

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* Απογραφέο&omicron; πασαν την οικουμένην. Here, ἡ οικουμένη, 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 οικουμένην, 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, Οικουμένη μεν γαρ χωρα πολλον αξιων ετημα' ερημη δ' ανερωτον 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." Cypreaed. 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 (παρανομιαι) 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 Caesar 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 capitulation, 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*.

* Κωνή (Βηθλεεμί) τις εστιν εν τη χώρῃ Ιουδαίων, ἀπεχουσα σταδιως τριακοντα πεντε ἱεροσολυμων, εν ἡ ἐγεννησθη Ιησους Χριστος, ὡς καὶ μαθει εὐνασθε εκ των απογραφων των γενεμενων επι Κυρηνου του υμετατου εν Ιουδαιω πρωτου γενεμενου επιτροπου. Justin Martyr.
Cyrenius, whom Tacitus calls Quirinius, and describes as *impiger militiae et acribus ministerii*, "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 (\( \pi \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \varepsilon \omega \zeta \alpha i \)) 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 (\( \pi \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \sigma \sigma \varepsilon \alpha i \)) 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 Caesar'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 πατ' ὑμών κηρυγγόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπηκοόντων εἰς ἐκ απιστείτε, μικρὸν ὑστερον απόδειξιν, μᾶλλον ἡ ἡδη λεγεσθώ φατε μεν τοι αυτον 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 tabulae in Latin, and απογραφαί 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 Syllaus 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 deposition 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


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 Caesar?" 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:

(Ἀντί ἡ ἀπογραφή πρωτῆς εγενέτο ἁγεμονευοντος τῆς Συριας Κυρηνίου.)

("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 ὁποτές. 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 uncial, or in capitals, without points or accents, the word is ambiguous; and may also be unaspirated, αὐτη, "self," the feminine of αὐτος. And both occur together in this same chapter, where the Evangelist, speaking of Anna the prophetess, says καὶ αὐτη, αὐτη τῇ ὥρᾳ επιστάσα, "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, ἀπογραφή, "assessment," or "taxing," is used in a different sense from the plural, ἀπογραφαι, "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 ἀναρολὴν, "the rising" of a star, and ἀναρολαῖον, "the east," Matt. ii. 1, 2. See Vol. I. p. 73.

The ordinal πρῶτην, "first," is here understood adverbially *, and connected with the verb ἐγένετο, "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 πρῶτη cannot be understood as an adjective, connected with αὐτογραφη, as rendered by Campbell, Newcome, Wakefield, "this first register," appears from the want of the article, as in the usual form, αὕτη ἡ αναστάσις ἦ πρῶτη. This is "the first resurrection," Rev. xx. 5, as acutely observed by Middleton. On the Greek Article, p. 304, 305.

† The verb γνωμαί 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, εὐπρόστατα, "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, εφόβησαν Ἰσραήλ ἐποίησαν, "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 (Mərəyut), 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 shouldbefal 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 prophetic 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 αναρολων,) to go to Jerusalem for further intelligence respecting the birth-place, or residence, of "the true born" (ὁ τεχνὲς) King of the Jews, whose star they saw at its rising (ἐν τῇ αναρολῇ), "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 (γοηματιοσετές), 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 temporal 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-
dental 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 Παιδοκτόνος, "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." Saturn.
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 con-
spiring 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,

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 con-
firmed 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 βασιλευς, "reigned," Matt. ii. 22. An-
tipas was appointed tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip of Iturea,

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, ΒΗΝ, "swine," and ΒΙΟΝ, "son."
† Hence Dio calls Archelaus ΗΡΩΔΙΑ Παλαιστίνων, "Herod of Palestine;" and
Spanheim has noticed a coin of his, with the inscription ΗΡΩΔΑΟΥ 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, Athrorges, 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 mal-administration 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, (ἀποτυμησομενος 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 εν τοις Αμαν.
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 pleased." 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 commence-ment 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 adminis-trations 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 "ramein of camel's hair," or sackcloth, 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 יִנָּה, "together," the Sept. (which is followed by the Evangelist Luke,) seems to have read בָּנָה, "the salvation," as in the parallel prophecy, "And all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God," Isai. iii. 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 speak; He that cometh after me,

* Among the heathens also, from ancient times, ablution, or sprinkling with water, was practiced 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 extraneae—sacris quibusdam initiantur Isidis alicujus, aut Mitræ per lavacrum. Tertull.—Apuleius thus describes those of Isis.—“Sacerdos, stipatum me religiosâ cohorte, deducit ad proximas balnea; et prius sueto lavacro traditum, præfatus Deum 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-

* Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κηρύγει λέγων· Οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἐπίσωπος τοῦ οἰκείων, ἐπιρροήθη μου γεγονέν. ὅτι πρῶτος μοι 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. ἐπιρροήθη, 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 ἐπιρροήθην, "the former days," Micah vii. 20. Sept. οἱ ἐπιρροήθη λόγοι, "the former discourses;" Ἐσχίνη: but the latter, in the following, ἐπιρροήθη αὐτῶν προειστα, "He, (the good Shepherd,) goeth before them, and the sheep follow him," John x. 4. In the present case, however, since the antecedent ὁπίσω, "after," in strictness, refers to the later mission of Christ, the consequent ἐπιρροήθην, contrasted therewith, to preserve the propriety of the figure, must denote his earlier existence. And it may also be remarked, that where ἐπιρροήθη denotes place, as "before and behind," Rev. iv. 6, it is contrasted, not with ὁπίσω, but ὁπίσωθεν. Nor does it any where, merely by itself, appear to signify precedence of rank or dignity: even in the supposed parallel passage, εἶθε τον Εφραίμ ἐπιρροήθην τού Μανάσσου, "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 εἰ γεγονεν, "how is it?" &c. or, "what hath been, and now is," the reason? John xiv. 22; and, γεγονεν, "it is done," or "the mystery of God hath been, and is now finished," Rev. xvi. 16. And so, fuit Illium, faetus Troes, intimates, that Troy hath been in existence, but is now no more. Hence, γεγονεν is distinguished from the indefinite tenses, εἴγενε, "was made," "became," or "came to pass," John i. 3, or ἦν, "was," which contain no reference to present time.

3. Πρῶτος μοι ἦν is inaccurately rendered, "he was before me," confounding πρῶτος with προτερός, "before," in point of time; whereas, in strictness, it relates to precedence of rank, as ὁς ἂν θελῃ ὁμοίῳ γενέσθαι πρῶτος, ἐσται παντῶν ένοικός. 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 sinners, ὅν πρῶτος εἰμί εγώ, "of whom I am chief," 1 Tim. i. 15. Compare Luke i. 43, 44.

4. Κηρύγει—ὁ ἐπίσωπος. This relates to his first testimony, εἶγον φωνὴ βωσυτος, "I am the voice of one crying," &c. for κηρύγει, and βωσυτος, signify a public crier or herald.
mony, essentially 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, ἂν, τό, usually rendered "the," he has clearly proved to be, in fact, a relative pronoun, signifying "who," "which," or "that," as Πατέρ ἡμῶν ὅ ὑψωτάτην ἑν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, "Our Father, who [art] in the heavens," Matt. vi. 9. Here the substantive participle, ὅν, is understood: it is expressed in the following passage from Aristotle, ὅ μαλιστα ἕνεκα οὐτε ἰδίοτα πλοῦτων, "They who are most worthy are least apt to be rich," p. 39. Ἐγὼ εἰμι πάν το γεγονός, καὶ ὁν, καὶ εσομένον, "I am all that hath been, and is, and will be," p. 43.

The article is chiefly used to express eminence, κατ' εἰκόνα, 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 נ, or emphatic prefix, דָּבְרֵי, and in the Septuagint, by ὁ Θεός. 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. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, "In the beginning was the Oracle, or personified Word." ἐν ἀρχῇ, 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, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ προς τον Θεοῦ, "The Oracle was with the God," or the Father; and the third, καὶ Θεός ἐπὶ ὧν λόγος, "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 Θεός, without the article, frequently denotes "the God," when ὁ Πατήρ, "the Father," [of all] is understood, as Θεός οὐδὲς ἐφοράκε πνεύματε, ὁ μονογενὴς νόεως, ὁ ὑψώτατος τοῦ πατρὸς, εἰκὼν ἐξ ἑξήγησατο, "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 του πατερα, understood after Θεοῦ. Thus Virgil, "Urbem quam statuo vestra est," "The city that I am building is your's," put for Urbis quam statuo vestra est, Æn. i. 576. So in the phrases, παρὰ Θεοῦ, "from God;" ἐκ του ἡμῶν "of God;" τεκνὰ Θεοῦ, "children of God;" occurring also ver. 6, 12, 13, of this Introduction. Θεοῦ, 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," (παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ) Luke i. 37; "For, with God, (παρὰ Θεοῦ) all things are possible," Matt. xix. 26.

Θεός also, without the article, denotes the Son, where either ὁ λόγος, or ὁ νόεως, 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 λόγος, the Oracle, ὁ ἐνεργός Θεός, "the second God."

2. The article is sometimes used simply to express reference. Thus ὁ θεός τοῦ Ἡσαραγλ, "the God of Israel," Ο θεός τοῦ αἰωνος τοῦτον, "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 θεός is applied to Christ, in that much disputed passage, "to feed the Church of God, (τον Θεον) 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 ἄγιον, "the Holy Spirit."

Verse 3. Παντα δι' αυτου εγενετο. Here the preposition δι, "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 ἀπροστον, το παντα περιεχει, ὑπ' ὧν ὅρωμαι τον Βούλην, Φως, Ζων. ταυτα τα τρια ουνατα μιαν ευναμιν απεφηνα, και ειν κρατος του Δημιουργου παντων θεου, το παντα εκ του μυ αυτον παραγαγοντος εις το ειναι, ὥρατα τε και ασορατα.

"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 Orphus. 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, (εξ 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.

18. The divinity of the Oracle, or Jesus Christ, is further intimated, 1. by ὁ θεογενὴς όπις, “the only genuine, or legitimate Son,” as distinguished from νοθος, a spurious son, Heb. xii. 8. By this epithet, Isaac was distinguished from Ishmael, Heb. xi. 17. It is equivalent to γηνησιος, 1 Tim. i. 2. 2. By ὁ ων εις τον κολπον του πατρος, “who is reclining on the Father’s bosom?” a metaphor taken from ancient usage. So John, the beloved disciple, reclined on Jesus’ bosom, John xiii. 23, as he sat next to him at table, in the highest seat. And 3. By oracularly expounding (εξηγησατο) 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. xlviii. 1—10.


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 (στρατευομένοι) 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.
ANALYSIS OF

"Whose [winnowing] fan is in his hand, and he will throughly 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, i 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.

* “The name of the Lord,” signifies “the power of the Lord,” or his Majesty, Exod. xxxii. 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, παῖς, 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 foretold 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 Messia, 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 comprehend ed 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 (συμπαθεῖν) 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, Thaddeus, 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 τι, si, is frequently used for επει, siguitem, or quoniam, "since," "because," intimating not doubtfufulness 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 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 will 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

* Κοσμος, Matt. iv. 8 = εικοσμενης, Luke iv. 5. The latter was shewn to denote the land of Judea and Galilee, or Herod's dominion: 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 opportunity 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 Sanhedrin, 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.

* Μέσος ὑμων, "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 increase, 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
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. Ixi. 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, in so 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 reproof 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. lxix. 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-
phecy, (γραφή) [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 Sanhedrin, 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

* ο ἐκπαιδευτής τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. 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, πορευον, ὃ νικος σου ἔη, Go thy way, thy son liveth! And the father believed the oracular

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 γενομενον, 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 (γενεται) a son Ragau," Ant. I. 6, 5. And Hesiod wishes (η προσεθε Θανων, η επιτε α γενοσαι) 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 Duiitsch, 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 †.]  

On this occasion, in the synagogue, he read and applied it to himself: "This day is this scripture-prophecy (γερανη) 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 xiv. 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, αποστελει τερασματες εν αφεσι, 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, τὸ ὄρος, 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 τὸ ποταμὸς πεδίνος, "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 τὸ ὄρος, "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 ὀρεινη, "the mountain district," ver. 22; and we may add, ἡ πετρη, "the rock," in the parable of the Sower, Luke viii. 6, is explained by τὸ πετρωδές, "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, ὄρος, 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.


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.


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, Θελω, καθαρισθητι, “I will, be purified,” exactly corresponding to the terms of the supplication, “Lord, if thou willest, 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, (ςουλος,) is also called (πατος,) "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, (εσπλαγχνητη,) 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, “Dam-sel 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, ἐστησεν των Ιουδαων, “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 ἔστησεν, “the feast,” by way of eminence, as the Passover was styled, Luke ii. 42; John iv. 45, xi. 56, xii.; 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 Matthew’s collection. By the fragm. edit. Aldin. and by the Fathers Irenæus, Eusebius, Cyril, Theophylact. See Scaliger, Emend. Temp. p. 555. The present reading, indeed, is the only instance, out of seventeen, in John’s Gospel, in which ἐστησεν 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’ ἐστησεν, is applied to the Passover, Matt. xxvii. 15; compare John xviii. 30. 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 ἐστησεν, 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.

* ἰσὸς τῷ ὑπό is the same as ἰσὰ ϑεῷ, Phil. ii. 6, or ἵσοις, "godlike," Homer; so ἵσαις, "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. xxviii. 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. 22.
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, *Thaddens*, 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*, (δαιμονες, δαιμονια*).

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*, (δαιμονιζουμενοι,) *lunatics*, (σεληνιαζουμενοι,) and *paralytics*, (παραλυτικοι,) 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 ἄρβολος. They should not be confounded. According to the primitive *Pagan* and *Jewish* notions, *demons* were “*the spirits of deceased men*,” good or bad, Acts xviii. 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 Δαιμωνιον. 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, φιμωζησει, και εξελαε 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, σωπα, “Hush!” to the latter, πεφυμωσο, “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 causae 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 imperatorial brevity" of this command, to that of Neptune chiding the winds, in Virgil: Quo 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, ὧ μεγας Παν τεθνηκε, "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.

Ἐγὼ εἰμί πάν τὸ γεγονός, καὶ οὐν καὶ έσομενον'
Καὶ τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω ἥντος απεκαλυψαν.

"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 im-
postures. 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 posses-
sion, at least in our Saviour’s days; when it was the pre-
vailing opinion of the Jewish nation, from the highest to the lowest, and indeed of the whole world. What right, then, infi-
dels 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 demo-
niacs, 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 possest! 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," (παν ρημα αργον) 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 αργος, which Cicero renders Ignava Ratio, "Idle argument;" and explains, Genus interrogantis ignavum atque iners, quod eadem ratione omnis 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 propropera 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 amphitheatré. 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. xxii. 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

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This seeming paradox is explained in the parable of the Talents, Matt. xxxv. 23, 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.

VOL. III. 

I
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 minis-
ters.

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 irre-
claimable 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 cir-
cumstances 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 δαμασκάνη, “the wicked one,” by way of bad eminence; as doeth 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, δαμασκανα. “Satan,” or “the adversary;” and Luke viii. 12, by his Greek title,—ὁ δαμασκάνη, “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 Chris-
tian toleration. Now, worldly interests of grandeur and ambti-
on, and, above all, increasing luxury, keeping pace with in-
creasing 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,

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 re-
taining 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 alto-
gether "devilish," with some gloomy sectarists. Though unhap-
ply, "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
Fruge Cleanthae.

"'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, quae extrahit vitia radicitus, et preparat animos ad
satus accipiendos; eaque mandat his, et, ut ita dicam, serit, quae adulta fruges uberrimos
ferant.

"The culture of the mind is philosophy, which eradicat the vices, and prepares the
heart for receiving seed; and infuses, and, as I may say, sow[s 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 sinners, 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, \(\epsilon\sigma\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\chi\nu\sigma\zeta\eta\) 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 (\(\epsilon\kappa\beta\alpha\lambda\gamma\)) 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 clothing, 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, \(\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \varepsilon\gamma\iota\upsilon\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varepsilon\omicron\), "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.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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, (ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς) 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, (ἀγού ός) 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 δε τιθελεσ πεζης, παρα τοι ειφρος,— "If you choose to go by land, a chariot is ready for you." Hom. Odysse. iii. 325. And Aeschines contrasts an expedition (ναυτικη) "by sea," with (πεζη) "by land." Contr. Cesiph. § 43.

† To correct the ambiguity of Matthew, who expresses the former and latter evening by the same phrase, οφιας 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 ἐπαραξώ, 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 willest! 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
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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, (Πέτρος,) as belonging to the rock *, Christ, (τὸ Πέτριον,) 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 (διὰ ταῦτα) 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. (ἐπί τῶν μὲν φύλαξ,) is plural, relating to men in general; not singular, (ἐπί τῶν ποιμένων;) 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, Πέτρος, and Πέτριον. 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 lifetime 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, (διαγγελομένως,) they saw his glory, and the two men standing

* Ἰλὲως σοι, put elliptically for Ἰλὲως σοι γὰρ Θεός, "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. Hears 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 xxi. 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, iii. 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 DEMONIAC.

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 (εξεθαμβήθησαν), 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, εὑρεθείς marks a higher expression of fear and astonishment than φοβηθομαι, 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 surprising 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 Caesar, 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 προσωπος. 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 mindedness 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 increasing 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 circumstentially 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 Messiah, 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 worships 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, απελθὼν δὲ καὶ νεφραμένος, ανεβαίησα, ver. 11, rivals Caesar'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 (*σκοπα*) 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, (αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι) 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 *, (πεσωτα,) 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," (ἐκβλησμοναι και ἐξω,) 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 †, (Satans,) 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, πινων, 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," Psalm xci. 13, derived from the first covenant, Gen. iii. 15.

‡ Πατερ is the vocative case, "O Father;" but ὁ Πατήρ, afterwards, the nominative, "the Father;" which surely is not to be confounded with the preceding. The latter seems to be elliptical, put for ὁ Πατήρ ου [ἐν οίς ὑποκειμεν εὔνοια ἐμ- ποροθεῖν 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, [Σε ὑ] ὁ Κυρίως μου, και ὁ Θεός 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 εἰπεν ὑμῖν τὸν υἱὸν, &c. "None intimately knoweth the Son," &c. (the compound verb being intensive, 2 Cor. vi. 9,) and Luke, in explanation thereof, οὐδεὶς γνώσει τις ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς, &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 "tempering 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,

\[\text{Homo sum; nihil humani a me alienum puto.}\]
\[\squot; I am a man; I count no human being an alien.\]

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.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

151 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 (εὐκαυνία) 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

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<td>Pharisee and Publican in the Temple</td>
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There are also some sections in common with Matthew, but in different order and expression.

** Luke. **

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** Matthew. **

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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.

Here our Lord underwent a similar temptation from the un-
believing Jews, resuming their former conversation in the tem-
ple, 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 be-
fore, [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 be-
lieve 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.

* Ἐως ποτὲ τὴν σωκυχήν ἕμων αἰρεὶς; "How long dost thou take away our life," or "kill us," torturing us with ambiguous and enigmatic speeches. The same phrase occurs in Terence, Cur me ececas? and in Horace, Candide Mecenas, occidis, sepe rogando.

† Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν εσμὲν. According to the ancient idiom of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the speaker ranks himself first, but according to the courtesy of modern lan-
guages, English, French, &c. ranks himself last. This most important passage, there-
fore, should be rendered, "The Father and I are one." Not ἐγώ, "one person," but ἐν, "one thing!" or supplying the ellipsis, ἐν πνεύμα, "one spirit," or disposition; as
supported by several parallel passages, ὁ κολλωμένος σῷ τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐν πνεύμα σῷ, ["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, ἵνα ὑμῖν εἴν, καθὼς ἤμεις ἐν εσμὲν. "That
they may be one, according as We are one;" ἵνα ὑμῖν τετελεσμένοι εἰς ἐν. "That
they may be perfected into one," John xvii. 22, 23. And so prays Paul, ἐν ἐν πνεύ-
ματι, μὴ σωκυχήν συνάδουντες τῷ πιστε τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, "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; συμψυχα, το εν φρονοντες, "joint souled, one minded," Phil. ii. 2; συνοδοντες τηρειων την ευοτητα του πνευματος εν τη συνθεσι της εφημης, "earnestly endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," Eph. iv. 3, ο φυτευων δε και ο ποτιζων εν υιοι, "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—Ἰησους Χριστος—ἐκερος του Πατρος αριστων ου γνωμη, "Jesus Christ—different from the Father, in number [or person,] not in sentiment." And Origen, more fully, ὁρθοσελευμον ουν τον Πατερα της αληθειας, και τον Υιου της αληθειαν ουτα ενοι εν υποστασι πραγματα, εν ει, τη ρομολογη, τη συμφωνη, και τη τυποστητι του σωλυματος, "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 cxviii. 1; Ephes. iv. 3-13.

* Θεος here, should be rendered "A God," as contrasted with ανδρωπος, "a man," Acts xiii. 22. The Jews evidently did not mean "God [the Father]" which would be absurd; but δ ευνερος 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 Peræa.

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, Caesarea 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 ες βρα τους Ιουδαιας [εις το]ν περαν του Ιορδανου. And omitting εις τον, (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 Perea, 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, licentious 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,

“Why calllest 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 Perea, 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 *. Believeth 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.
† ἐραπασών ἰανρ. 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 τεσσαρων, must signify "he that had been dead," so must ἐκθεῖνος, 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 Bartimeus, 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, Zacchaeus, 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." Zacchaeus, 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 fourfold." 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 αὐτῷ, 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."

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 minae (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 vailed 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.

HARMONY OF THE PASSION WEEK.

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<td>He teaches the people</td>
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<td>He curses the barren fig-tree.</td>
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<td>He purges the Temple again.</td>
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<td>He returns to Bethany</td>
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<td>The Pharisees question his authority</td>
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<td>He silences the Sadducees</td>
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<td>He censures the Scribes and Pharisees</td>
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<td>His prophecies on Mount Olivet</td>
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<td>He foretells his crucifixion two days after</td>
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<td>The chief priests conspire against him</td>
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<td>He returns to Bethany, to Simon the leper, at supper</td>
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<td>A woman anoints his head</td>
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<td>Judas sells his LORD</td>
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<td>Preparation of the passover</td>
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<td>He eats it with his Apostles</td>
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<td>He washes their feet</td>
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<td>He detects the traitor Judas</td>
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<td>Judas departs at night</td>
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<td>Institution of the Lord's Supper</td>
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<td>His agony</td>
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<td>Judas betrays his LORD</td>
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<td>Jesus taken to Annas</td>
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<td>Caiaphas</td>
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<td>Jesus taken to Pilate, at day-break</td>
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<td>Judas hangs himself</td>
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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, μετὰ ἑνὸ ἡμέρας, 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? 'Ο νίος του ανθρωπου παραδίδοται 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 πρὸ της ἱερτῆς 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, ἡ ἱερτῆ 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 curing 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 ἐορτή τῶν αὐτῶν, "the feast of unleavened bread," Luke xxiv. 1. And, accordingly, the Jewish council, when plotting against Jesus, objected to putting him to death, εν τῷ εορτῷ, "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 εν τῇ εορτῇ, "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 sallad; 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 preternatural 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 τρίτη, "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 Caiphas, 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. Nonnas, the poet, renders, rightly, the text, Ην δε τιταινομενη τριτατη Σανατηφοσος ὀφα. “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 embalming*: 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's 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 tabernacle 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 Halleluiah, Psalm cxviii. 26.

Some of the Pharisees, from among the crowd, then said, Teacher, rebuke thy disciples, but he refused, "If these, said he,
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 poenitentiam intellexisset; facta est terra eorum deserta, civitates eorum existas 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, Immanuel—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 bath 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 vegetables, 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, ex. 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 kermez, 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 kermez, 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,
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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

* ετοσιον αχθος αρονης, "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 Sanhedrin, 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar the dues of Caesar," which they resisted; and these licentious and irreligious courtiers, the Herodians, "to render unto God the dues of God," which they neglected; thus publicly reproving 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 reproved 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. Ecclus. 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 Capernaum, 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 announcement 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.

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preparing for his embalmment; 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 testi-
mony 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 Chuza, Herod's steward,
and our Lord's own relations; and on the morning of the resur-
rection 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 prepara-
tion, 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, Zecharia-
h's prophecy, xi. 12, 13. (See Vol. II. p. 478.)

This unexpected treachery, offered by one of his own disci-
pies, 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

* 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 cenaeculum, 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.

N 2
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 hagaddah, 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.


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," (δευτυνον γενομενον,) 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.
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, (ὡμας,) 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 Cenaculum, 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.

"He that 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 Cenaculum 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 [Paschal] 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,

* META το έκπνησαί. This character of the time of the institution is attached by Luke, xxii. 20, to the administration of the cup, but it "like wise" applies to the administration of the bread in the preceding verse 19, as signified by άσαντως, connected with META το έκπνησαί. 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 adverting 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 ἀλλα, which was spoken, after all was over, in quitt ing the Cenaculum.

† These participles, κλώμενον, είσομενον, εκχυνομενον, though in the present tense, are to be understood in the future, for μελλον κλαζαὶ, εισοθαὶ, εκχυνοθαι, 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 VIII.," 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 prohi-
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, (ὤμησαντες;) Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26. And the same expression for the Great Halleluiah, is used in the Midrash Tillim, ההליאיה,  "Him-num. Lightfoot.

When the whole was ended, Jesus said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified," (εσταιασθη;) [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 bided 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 τεκνια 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, xvth, 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 cenaculum, 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 εκλειπων, "they went out," is properly applied by the three Evangelists, to mark departure from the cenaculum; 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 εκλειπων εις το ορος των σκλαυν should rather be rendered "they went out toward the Mount of Olives;" for the preposition εις 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 cenaculum after the first discourse; and may not his proposal, εγερθησθε, αγωμεν εννευζεω, (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. 1. 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 lxii. 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, καὶ εξοχήν. 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 σιγ, 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. Υπερεφιλον τον Λευκομηδην, και μονον ανδρα ήγοντο. They extolled Leucomedes, and reckoned him the only hero." Xenophon Res. Grec. VII.

2. Εφιορμοντο—προς τον Μαρκιον, ένα στρατηγον και μονον αρχοντα παντων γενωσκεν εκεινου λεγοντες. They burst forth into praises of Marcius Coriolanus, saying, that they acknowledged him for their sole general and only ruler." Plutarch. Coriolanus.

3. Τον δε μεκετ των αλλων επεφανε τινα και λαμπρον εξω τον ενος τουδε ανδροθετους γενεσθαι, ταυτην παραστησαι τοις πολλοις την δοξαν, ότι μονος εκεινος εκ του Φαζιων γενους εστι λοιπος, ουχ ως μηδενος αλλον οντος, αλλως μηδενος εκεινος ομοιον, αρετη τεκμαιρομενος το συγγενες, 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

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 Ἀθηναῖοι εὐεχοῦν — ὠδον ὀρθομενοι καὶ εἰρηκόντες, ως εἰς μονὸς Θεὸς ἀληθίνος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι καθευδοῦσιν, η ἄποθημουσιν, η οὐκ εἰσιν'· γεγονὼς δὲ εἰς ΕΚ Ποσείδωνος καὶ Αφροδιτῆς.

"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."  Democares ap. Athen. vi. 253.

5. Ο omnium quantum est qui vivunt homo hominum ornatissime, Nam sine controversia, a Diis solos 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 veniens maris, ac tua nautae 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 cæli et siderum. Here Archimedes is celebrated as a consummate astronomer. Livius xxiv. 34.

8. Mirati sumus unicum magistrum, summum grammaticum, optimum poetam, omnes solvere posse questiones. Suetonius. Grammat. II. Here unicum is ascertained to have the same meaning, by its synonyms.

9. Vulgus et eexter ti umn virum ducemque, spretà alliorum signitià, laudibus ferunt. Tacitus H. iii. 3. Here unum is taken in the same sense as unicus.

These instances seem sufficient to shew the popular use of the word μονὸς in the sense of excellent, &c. as expressly stated, No. 3; and of the phrase in question, μονὸς Θεὸς ἀληθίνος, No. 4, which evidently was not applied to Demetrius Poliorectes 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 καί, 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 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Φιλίππον, (Æsch. cont. Ctesiph. § 81,) "Alexander and Philip" are clearly distinct persons; and
blessed and only Potentate;” “Ο μονος εχων αισιασιαν, “who only hath immortality,” 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16. And when our Lord, modestly disclaiming the title of “Good

the article του, 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, (Θεω πατρι), and preserved in Jesus Christ;” (Ἰησου Χριστου) he exhorts them to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; and he warns them against repurate Infidels, who perverted the grace of our God into licentiousness; “denying both the only sovereign God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.” (Και τον μονον εσπυτυν Θεου, και κυριον ημων Ιησου Χριστου αρνομενοι,) 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, του Θεου ημων, “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 αρνομενον του πατερα και του νιου,) 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, (Θεω πατρι,) 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, μονος “only,” indicating pre-eminent, (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 ἔσπυτυς ὁ Θεος, is applied to the Father, Acts iv. 24, and also by Justin Martyr, in the following express passages: ἐν ημερεσ ἐνδικαλος, και του πατρος παντων και ἐσπυτυς Θεου νιος και αποστόλος ουν, Ιησου Χριστου. “Jesus Christ, who is our Teacher, and Son and Apostle of the Father of all, and sovereign God.” And again, describing the Trinity; επ’ ανοματι του πατρος του θων και ἐσπυτυς Θεου, και του Σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου, και Πνευματος ἀγιου. “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, κατα την χαριν του Θεου ημων και κυριον Ιησου Χριστου, “According to the grace of our God and Lord, Jesus Christ,” 2 Thess. i. 12, whom Thomas styled, ὁ κυριος μου και ὁ Θεος μου, “My Lord and my God,” John xx. 28.

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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 tenor 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, ει μη εις θεος, is so rendered, Mark ii. 7, "Who can forgive sins but God only?" corresponding to the varied phrase, ει μη μονος θεος, speaking of the same thing, Luke v. 21; in both cases, the synonymous terms εις and μονος, (as shewn before,) though adjectives of the masculine gender, as agreeing with the substantive θεος, 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 Arius, 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 εις, 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 superintendence 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. iv. 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. 18, &c.

It was the decided opinion of the primitive Church, before the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, that the phrases Ἰνα ἐν ὑςι, “that they may be one,” τετελεωμένοι εἰς ἑν, “perfected into one;” John xvii. 22, 23: το ἐν φρονοντες, “one-minded;” Phil. ii. 2: εν ἐνι πνευματὶ, μιας ψυχῆς συναξομενές τὴν πίστιν του 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 confederat 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 Caenaculum, 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, (λυπεσθαι,) and afflicted, (αδημοσειν,) and exceedingly amazed (εκθαμβισθαι.) And he said, “My soul is excessively grieved, unto death, (περιλυπος ἐως θανατον.) 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 willest; 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 will 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 reproof 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 ani. animi anxietate corpus altior sonnus 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,

* 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 καθευδ&;eta;ς; Why sleep ye? Luke xxii. 46. And it entirely removes the weighty objection of Archdeacon Charton, "that any appearance of irony ill comported with the state of our blessed and affectionate Saviour's mind at that sad hour."

† τὴν σπαραγ. "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.

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 reproved 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 xlii. 9, and in the "Son of Man," a reference to his own dignity, which required to be truly reverenced 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?

* ἵππος, "companion," as distinguished from φίλος, "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, εἰς μέ εὑς οὐκ εἰς με; Job vii. 18, Sept. εἰς μέ, 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 roused 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, Gillpin, &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

* διὰ τοῦ μαθητίας. 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 Cenaculum; 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 (πυλών), Matt. xxvi. 71, or vestibule (προαύλιον), Mark xiv. 68.
proof of their stronger attachment to their adored Lord, of whom it has been remarked, that Peter reverenced 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, ἐπὶβαλὼν, 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 thereof," or "reflected on" his offence; used elliptically for ἐπὶβαλὼν τοιῷ, as the phrase occurs in M. Antoninus. τοιῷ γὰρ ἐπὶβαλὼν, εἰπάθης τῆς οργῆς. "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 spoke 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, ὃς εἶχεν τὸ ὑμερα, "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, πῶμας γενομένης, "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 ὃς εἶχεν τὸ ὑμερα, eum dies adventaret, "when day was approaching." Its meaning here, may fairly be collected, from a similar phrase, γενομένης δὲ ὑμερας, Luke iv. 42, which must be so understood, from the explanation of the accurate Mark, recording the very same transaction, καὶ προ, εἰριναν λιν, "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.

Gill, 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 ἡγαγον, they brought him to the high priest's palace, xxii. 54; and ανηγαγον, they brought him back to the council, xxii. 60. 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 farther 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. i. 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 απέριττα, "from now," which is likewise used in the two former declarations, intimates future events, not remote, but near.
† υμείς λέγετε: οὕτως εγὼ ειμι. It should be so pointed, to mark the asseveration. εγώ is emphatic, and υμείς frequently put for the causal, ειτο, "for," "because." See Matt. v. 3—5, xi. 26; Luke xxiiii. 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* (απεστρεψε) 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 μεταμελήθης, as distinguished from μετανοήσας, "having repented." For μεταμελεία signifies "regret for what has been done," ευαρεστήμα πεπραγμένως. 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 sunrise, 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 outsetting, when he quartered his troops in Jerusalem, he, by an audacious innovation, first set up the Roman ensigns, bearing the images of the Cesars, in the city, privately, in the night time. As soon as the people discovered this "abomination," they repaired to Cesarea, 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 Cesarea. *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 seditious, 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, επαληλους, is remarkably strong and expressive. It signifies, "succeeding each other, without intermission," like the waves of the sea; αλλεπαληλους κυματε. 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 Caesarea, 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 Caesar, 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 Caesar; 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. xviii. 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 Caesar the dues of Caesar, 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, (γωνικουτος, ) 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 Chiliararch'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

* Χριστὸν βασιλεὰ, Luke xxiii. 2. This title, on account of its celebrity, is anar-throus, or without the definitive article; put for ὁ Χριστος ὁ βασιλεὺς, Mark xv. 32, like Ἡσυχ Χριστον, John xvii. 3, put for Ἱσοῦς ὁ Χριστος, Matt. xvi. 20; or like νιὸς Θεοῦ, Matt. xiv. 33, put for νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Matt. iv. 3, or νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, Matt. xvi. 16; or like Θεος πατηρ, Jude, ver. I, put for Θεος ὁ πατηρ, John i. 18; 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-

* Τὸ αὐτὸ των, 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 induced 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 praetorium, 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 xxi. 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, 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 pretorium, 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 considerately apologizing in some measure for his abuse of that boasted authority, through intimidation, "Thou couldst 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 Caesar's friend: Whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Caesar." 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 praetorium, 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 Caesar." 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, nimium faciles, qui, tristia crimina caedis,
Flumineā tolli posse, putetis, aquā!

† 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 xxi. 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 xxi. 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*.

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, cx. 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 xxviii. 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 Simeon’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. Cura 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 phenomenon, 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

*About, or at the ninth hour, JESUS exclaimed with a loud voice, ΛΕΙ, ΛΕΙ, 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 obscurity, 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 .PARAM, in the former, and ΘΕΙΩ, 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,” (πέρι τῆς εὐνατης ὥρας,) recorded by Matthew; the other, “at the ninth hour,” (τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς εὐνατης,) 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 Ἡλί, ηλι, (my powerful), God, referring to his power; but the latter, as ἴλον, ἔλω, [my accursed.] bound to bear together with my humanity, the curse due to man for sin! thus, strangely misrepresenting ἴλον, as a participle passive, like εἰκαταρατος, “one accursed, or subject to a curse;” as if it were derived from the verb ἴλον, 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 ἴλον, 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 ἴλον, (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 ἴλον 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!

hurstd himself admits, overturning his criticism founded thereon. הֶלְלָה, "the Potentate" is derived from הֶלָּה, אֵל, the primitive name of God, signifying "power."

3. But (דֵּלָה) אֵלָה, in the present text of Mark, is now considered by the ablest editors, Wetstein and Griesbach, as faulty, who substitute הָלָה, as in Matthew, or הָלָה, supported by Eusebius, the Cambridge MS., and several additional vouchers. And אֵלָה, the Syriac, might have been easily substituted for הָלָה, the Hebrew, by the unskillfulness 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, ἀφήκε τὸ πνεῦμα, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα, and ἔξεπνευσε, 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, ἀπέθανε, Luke xvi. 22; ἐτέλευσε, Matt. xxii. 25, &c.; εκομήθη, Acts vii. 60, &c.; ἔξεψυζε, 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 pretorium, 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, Ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ νῦν ὢν ὄτως, and ὄντως ὁ ἀνθρώπως ὄτως ἐκαίως 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, αληθῶς Θεοῦ νῦν εἰ, should be rendered “Thou art truly the Son of God,” Matt. xiv. 33, where, though the phrase Θεοῦ νῦς εἰ is entirely anarthrous, there cannot be a doubt that it is to be understood in the highest sense; from the worship (προσκύνησαν) then actually paid to Christ by the disciples. This anomaly was noticed in
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,
sniting 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 miracu-
lously attested, unquestionably prepared the way for the conver-

foregoing note; and Townsend 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 ὁ προφητης, "This is
truly the prophet," John vi. 14; and again, vii. 40, οντως προφητης ἦν, "John was
really a prophet," Mark xi. 32; ἡγερθη ὁ 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 Testa-
ment, 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, [Judæans] and the haters [Jews] of the just one shall be desolate,"
Psalm xxxiv. 19—24. (Instead of יטש, "wicked," the singular number of the
Masorete text, the Sept. followed by the Syr. Arab. and Lat. read יטש, 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 ἐκκαιου) 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

This Jewish title of the Messiah, was naturally adopted by Pilate's wife, who styled
Jesus τῇ ἐκκαιῳ ἐκεῖνῃ, "that Just One," Matt. xxvii. 19; and by Pilate himself,
του ἐκκαιου 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, ὁ ἐκκαιος, "the
just," who, for attempting to reform the world, should encounter persecution and cruci-
fiction. 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, 1806, 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 male-factors, 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 cruror, 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 Encyclopédie, art. Pericarde. "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 ἐκεῖνος, the emphatic pronoun, “that person,” referring to Jesus, ver. 38, foregoing, by “He,” which is liable to be confounded with the former, “he,” the rendering of the article ὁ, prefixed to ἰωάκως, “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.
(επεφώσκε) 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 sate 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 anarthrous 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. ὑποστρέψασαι ἐν [ἀλλις, or λοιπαὶ,] ἔτοιμασαν, &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 whitened 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 praetorium 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.


31. Early Watch. A great earthquake, descent of two angels, removal of the stone, terror and trance of the guards, resurrection of Christ early. xxviii. 24. xvi. 5. 5.

First party of women, Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, set out to view the tomb, about day break.

Sunrise. Mary Magdalene, near the sepulchre, seeing the stone removed, hastily runs back to tell Peter and John, that the body was taken away somewhere.

The two others proceed, and reach the sepulchre, after sun rise.

They see the first angel, and soldiers, in the porch.

They see the second in the tomb.

They fly from the sepulchre, amazed and transported.

The guards departed.

Peter and John come running to the sepulchre; and return, without seeing the angels.

Mary Magdalene, slowly following them, sees the two angels in the tomb, and...

I. Presently after, Jesus himself. His first appearance to her.

She goes to tell the Disciples.

II. Christ's second appearance to the two other women, as they were returning.

Second party of women, Joanna and her company visit the sepulchre, and see the two angels.

They return, and tell the disciples, who disbelieve their report.

Peter goes a second time to the sepulchre, but sees no more than before.

Noon. Cleophas, and another disciple, go towards Emmaus.

III. Christ appears to them on the way.

I. Evening. He discovers himself to them at Emmaus, and vanishes.

They return, to tell the disciples.

Christ appears to Peter singly.

Sunset. II. Christ appears to ten Apostles and others after supper; while Cleophas was conversing with them. They are affrighted.

He shews them his hands and feet, pierced.

He eats and drinks with them.

Eighth Day.

III. Christ appears to Thomas, and all the rest, shews him his hands and his side.

Thomas's confession of faith.

Twenty-second Day.

IV. Christ appears in Galilee, at the appointed mountain, to all the Apostles, and to 500 brethren at once.

The spectators worshipped, but some doubted.

VOI. III. R
ANALYSIS OF

A.D. TWENTY-NINTH DAY.

V. Christ appears at the sea of Tiberias, or Galilee, to James and six more, fishing......}

THIRTY-SIXTH DAY.

VI. Christ appears at Jerusalem, on their return, to all the Apostles.............

Commissions them to publish the Gospel to all the world. .....................

FORTIETH DAY.

VII. Christ meets his Apostles again, at Jerusalem. Renews the promise of the Holy Spirit. .........

He leads them forth to Bethany.............

viii. His ascension into Heaven............... 

Two angels foretell his second appearance in glory, at the regeneration. ............

CHRIST'S SUCCEEDING APPEARANCES.

34. i. To Stephen, the martyr, at Jerusalem....... 

35. ii. To Saul, on the way to Damascus. .........

36. iii. To Ananias, at Damascus. .............

37. iv. To Saul, or Paul, at Jerusalem.............

38. v. To him, at Corinth.....................

39. vi. To him, at Jerusalem again............... 

40. vii. To him, on his voyage to Rome.............

41. viii. To John, in the Isle of Patmos.............

"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 embalmment; 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 outsetting 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 ἔλθον, and the present tense ἐρχόμαι, 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. ὅτε εἰς σαββατών. τῷ εἰπεῖσωκοσμῷ εἰς μιᾶν σαββατών, [ἐκ τῆς 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 ἑκατὸν Μαρίᾳ ἡ Μαγδαληνή καὶ ἀλλαὶ Μαρίαι δειψάνει τὸν ταφὸν [καὶ ερχονται εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον.]

"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. Τῷ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββατων, ορθῶν βαθῶν, ἡλιόν [ἐκ τῆς πολεως, καὶ ερχονται] ἐπὶ τὸ 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. Καὶ λειαν πρωι τῆς μιᾶς σαββατων [ἐκ τῆς πολεως ελθουσαί] ερχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ανατελάντος τοῦ ἡλιου.

"And very early on the first day of the week, [going from the city,] they come to the sepulchre, after sun-rise." Mark.


"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 Edipus? Here, and this is the mother of his children."

(Γυνὴ δὲ, μητὴρ, ἡ δὲ, των Ζεβεδίου γενοῦ.)

Edipus 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, _εὐφόρησαν_, "they were _affrighted," or _startled_; at seeing the latter, they were overpowered: _εἰθαμβήσαν_, "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, _εἰς θουσαν απὸ τοῦ μνημείου_, (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_:

> Εστά _δὲ_ _θαμβεῖν_ _δυσοφορήν Τερπωρ _ _τε μιχθείς.
> " _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 patroles 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 mansuet, 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 ταύτα ταύτα, of the 9th verse, and ταύτα 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 withheld 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 considerate and slow hearted to believe in all the sayings of the Prophets on this subject! Ought not The Christ to have
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

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 hat 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 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.

1. 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.


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.


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. viii. 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, (νεφυσησε) 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, Jepthah, Samson, Saul, David, &c.*, namely, an uncommon and preternatural 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 reprobrate 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 Κυρίος 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 Θεός μου,) rather than by way of assertion of Christ’s divinity, with the ellipsis αὐτού, 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 βασιλεὺς μου καὶ ὁ κυριος μου, and of the latter, ὁ Θεος μου καὶ ὁ κυριος μου, are not necessarily vocative cases; they may fairly be understood as nominatives, supplying an easy ellipsis, [Σου, ὁ οἱνοι] ὁ βασιλεὺς 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 Θεος μου, ὁ Θεος μου; yet for this, the Evangelist Matthew substituted the vocative, Θεος μου, Ἰησους, 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 con founded ὁ and ὁ, their respective articles; as in the instances, ὁ φιλος for φιλε, Odys. III. 375; ὁ φιλατσ' 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 ὁ τι [συ ει] ἀντων εγενετο ευδοκια εμπροσθεν σου, adduced by Matthew, xii. 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, Πατηρ.

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 (ἐγω, 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 ἐγω 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. 360, and has well explained the title given by our Lord to Nicodemus, ὁ διδασκαλος του Ἰσραηλ, "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. Wetzstein, 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._—Hor.

"*Petimus,*" ut Critiœ; "*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 xxii. 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, (πλοιαωώς,) drawing the net to shore; from which they were distant two hundred cubits, or about a hundred yards, John xxii. 3—8.

As soon as they landed, they saw a charcoal fire, and a small fish, (οὐσαμωσος,) 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 xxii. 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 xxii. 12, 13.

This was the third public appearance of Christ to his disciples, noticed by John, xxii. 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 sat 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
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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 embalmment, 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 consumption 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 reverenced 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 torebuke and to censur e 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, preeminently, "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, Lelius, &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.

† Émile, 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 Sophroniscus, 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

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 Χριστὸς οὐτος 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, Ἰησοῦν, τὸν λεγομένον Χριστοῦ. Ant. xx. 8, 1.

† Χριστιανῶν φίλον, corresponds to the phrase, Χριστιανῶν ἐνος, 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 βάπτισιν) 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.
taintly 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 waved 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 disapprove 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 skillfully 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, Caesar 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 control 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.
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.

Кηρύσσω, "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. Πασγ γῷ κτίσει, "to every creature," this should rather be rendered, "to all the creation," meaning the rational creation, or ανθρώπων 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. Μαθητεύσατι, "teach," Μαθητεύω, 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 διδασκόντες, "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 ὑ διαστησας κατακριθήσεται. Here διαστησας should be rendered, "He that disbelieveth," which is a stronger term than (ον πιστευσας,) "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 διαστησας, "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 whatsoever] 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 primiti- 
tive 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 dis- 
pensation 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 dis- 
believers, who reject and disobey them.

The fourth clause states the miraculous powers and extra- 
ordinary gifts of the Spirit, conferred on the Apostles and 
first professors of Christianity, in order to qualify and ena- 
ble 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 con- 
tinuance upon earth, unto the end of the world, and consum- 
mation of all things.

Reserving for the last, the profound constitution and disci- 
pline 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 Autolycum, 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, תוד (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 Elitham, 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 adoration 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, Kupiov, is equivalent to του Kupiov, 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 adoration; 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 re-
ceived 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 bless thee and keep thee;
2. The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee;
3. The Lord 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 counte-
nance 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 de-
gree 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 perfection]," (James i. 17.) 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, I 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 Demoniaces, 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, διακονια, "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. Helps, 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 δυναμων, "workings of miracles," ver. 10, and they to whom these were distributed, are afterwards called δυναμες, "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

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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 καὶ το αὐτο Πνεῦμα, "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 undefinable; adopting the metaphysical subtilities 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 heresin factit; Trinitas rationaliter expensa veritatem constituit.—Veritatem male accipit idiotes 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 Παντοκρατωρ.—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, of 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; xxi. 3—9; Psalm cxxxix. 1—9; 1 Kings viii. 27; Jer. xxxiii. 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 βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κυρίος τῶν κυριευόντων. 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 βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κυρίος κυριων, the title of Christ, Rev. xix. 16, conferred on Him by the Father, Phil. ii. 9, who is "the Lord God Omnipotent," κυρίος ὁ Θεός ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, 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 ἄρσαγµων ἡγησατο το ειναι ισα Θεω. The phrase ισα Θεω was shewn before to be equivalent to ισοδίως, "Godlike," (see this Vol. p. 100, note,) to which we may add these examples, τιµην δε λεγοχασι ισα θεοις. "They were allotted Godlike honour," Odys. XI. 304. τον γιν νισι Θεω Ιοταησιοι εισορωσι, "whom now the Ithacans respect as Godlike," Odys. xv. 519.

The expression ἄρσαγµυν 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 Δασιαν καταδραµων, ουδε ώστε ἄρσαγµα και λαφυρον ευστυχιας ανεπιστον σπαραξαι και ανασυραξαι διανοηθες. "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 Άeschines, μη ἄρσαξε την φιλοτιµαν, "Seize not the need of honour;" and Cicero, Sapiens Virtutis honorem præmium hanc prædat 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 Ilii 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, σταυρός, 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 Messiah, Psalm cxxxii. 1, 2.

* The original term αὐνωθεν, here should be rendered “anew,” corresponding to δευτέρων, “a second time,” in the next verse. The full phrase, πάλιν αὐνωθεν, “again anew,” Gal. iv. 9, is equivalent to πάλιν εκ δευτέρων, “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, πᾶς, “any one,” in our Lord’s answer; by shewing that it must be understood universally, as equivalent to πάς, “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, Damasen, &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, deserves 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 cxlii. 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 "Zacharias 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 regeneration, (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 subllest 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 surprise 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 humour, and to get from under the sober standing rules of order, decency, and regularity. They would be their own masters and lawgivers, 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 enduring 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 αναδεικτησεν διηνυσοντο,) 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 throughly 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 foretells, 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 Whitsunday, 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 lover, 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 Sin, 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 (παιδεα), 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 respecter of persons, bloods, or favoured classes of men, but in every nation, who-ever 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
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.

1. 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 advertsing 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 Judaizing 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. xxi. 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 Melanthon; 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 Praedestinatione, 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.

† The leading principle of the Deists, is comprized by Lord Herbert, in his Religio Gentilium, in this distich,

    Haud crucient animum qua 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 ἐστὶν, 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, (δῶν ἦν τῷ προτέρως) [will ye then believe?] John vi. 62.

This usage of the participle may also be defended by classical authority:

'Oς ἡδε τα τ' ἐοντα, 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 εἰν to have been originally a participle of a past tense; though even so early as in Homer's time, this acceptation seems not to have been sufficiently intelligible without the aid of the preposition προ; that τα τ' ἐοντα, 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 φανεταῖ signifieth "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 εἰν, "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, υἱοὶ βλεπόμενον, are understood in the sense of ὄντως βλεπόμενον, "not yet seen," as in the case of Noah afterwards, who, when oracularly warned of the ensuing deluge, though not yet seen, (μηδεπω βλεπόμενον,)
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 fullness 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 Syrophcenician 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 asent 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, (ἡδὲ κακοῖς,) 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 sinners, 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-

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. xv. 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 Solifidian 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 quaerentes, non licentiae, 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 (διὰ βέβαιας ἀπόφημος,) 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 Solifidian 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 effeminates, 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

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keep the whole law, and yet offend in one [point,] is guilty of all,” that is, he is equally obnoxious to punishment, (eνοχή) 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 willful 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 Mosaic 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 fulfill;" 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 †,

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* "Iota" denoted the smallest Chaldee letter Ιοδ, .Schedule. And a "tittle," or rather "curl," the distinction between similar letters, a Resh ג 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 tutelar 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.

* οὐν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. The article ο, has the import of the pronoun who, ων, "art," being understood. See the note on the introduction of John's Gospel, in this Vol. p. 67. Εν οὐρανοῖς, signifies in the heavens, or highest heavens, or the universe, as distinguished from οὖν 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 vii. 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 vii. 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.
† Quæ humo affigunt Diviæ particularum 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 Pet. 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. 'Ο σὺ μισεῖς, ἔτερῳ μὴ ποιησῇ: “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," (ἐρωθητοι τοις αρχαίοις,) 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, (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμιν,) it is extended to prohibit every incitement or provocation thereto.

1. Causeless anger, breaking out into
2. Contemptuous expressions, Raca, "Rascal," &c.
3. Slanderous epithets, Fool, i. e. "Atheist," or "Apostate," under the penalties of divine judgment for the first, a higher, corresponding to the Sanhedrion, 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. 18, 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-
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 penas 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 hae 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 infancy, 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, Gentooos, 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 lie 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 xlviii. 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. Serm. 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 λόγος ἵνα γινώσκηται ναὶ; ναὶ; νῦν οὐ; οὐ. “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, 1800, 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.

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1. If a man has vowed, but not solemnly, to take the habit of some religious order, for changing his vow made, in conscience only, he is to pay .................................. 15 4 0

VOL. III.
No wonder then, that our Lord, in his divine Sermon on the Mount, gave this warning to his disciples: “Except your  

2. If a man has taken a vow of chastity, solemnly, he may have a dispensation, if necessary, for not keeping his vow, paying the prelate .................................................. 15 4 0  
3. For prolonging the term of vows to go to the Holy Sepulchre, or to St. Peter's, at Rome, upon a lawful cause assigned .......... 9 2 9  
4. If the dispensation be only for two years .......................................................... 4 0 9  
   For changing the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre into another .... 12 3 6  
5. For changing one vow into another for a perpetuity, in the case of a chapter, convent, or great college ................................. 100 0 0  

II. DISPENSATIONS OF OATHS.  
6. For the breach of an oath or contract respecting civil employments or concerns .................................................. 7 2 3  
7. For a bull containing both the inhibitory clauses, and absolution from infancy, in such cases .................................. 56 9 6  
8. And if several persons are included in the same act or contract, each must pay .................................................. 3 0 0  
9. For the breach of an oath that cannot be kept without incurring everlasting damnation; as for example, a dishonest vow, or a wicked promise .................................................. 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 marriage contracted in the first degree of affinity, and in conscience only, to be paid, or according to the ability of the party ........ 1000 2 6  
11. For a marriage in the second degree, beside a gratification to the prelate, the pope, or his missionary, is to be paid ................. 100 15 6  
12. For erecting a public Jewish Synagogue .......................................................... 603 15 0  
13. For a private Synagogue in a Jew's house .................................................. 300 1 6  
14. For [a crusader, or] soldier in the Catholic cause, who neither kills nor wounds any [Heretic] in war, nor [as an officer] causes another to do so .................................................. 36 9 0  
15. For pardon and rehabilitation, [or readmission into the bosom of the Church] of a heretic, in an ample form, with the inhibitory clause, before abjuration [of his heresy] .................................................. 36 9 0  
16. For simony, or for fornication of priests, friars, or nuns, each .......... 36 9 6  
17. For incest in a layman .................................................. 4 6 0  
18. For adultery in the same .................................................. 4 0 0  
19. For adultery and incest together .................................................. 6 2 0  
20. For the adulterer and adulteress jointly .................................................. 6 6 0  
21. For absolution to keep a concubine at bed and board, with a dispensation to hold a benefice .................................................. 4 5 6  
22. For striking a clerk or priest .................................................. 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.

23. For striking an abbot or prelate .................. £. s. d. 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 allude 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 conscientiae, 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 luci attulit haec 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. Seeckendorf, 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 penitentaries *, after the penitent had confessed his sins.

ABSOLUTIO GRATIALIS.

Misericuratur tui Omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam aeternam. Amen.


(Deinde, injungit penitentiam sicut ipsi videbitur conveniens, et postea dicit.)

Dominus noster Jesus Christus te absolvat, et ego, auctoritate ipsius qua fungor, te absulvo, Imprimis, ab omni vinculo excommunicationis majoris et minoris, (si fuerit Clericus, dicet, "suspensio aut interdicta," si forte incurrit;) et deinde, absolv te ab omnibus peccatis tuis, et ab omnibus pecunia tibi in purgatorio debitis pro peccatis et delictis: et restituo te unitatis et participations Ecclesiae: et virtute et auctoritate mei 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.


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 innocence 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 penitentaries, 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 Bozhornius, 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.

* 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 Mariae, 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 calendar*; 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 ranked the lowest, and the least, or none at all, the highest. See the foregoing note; 7. Their censoriousness 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. lxv. 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 tolerable with her anathemas. But her holy severity, and the holy delicacy of her sentiments forbade 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 meek,” 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.” Avertissements, &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. Hereticos, Schismaticos, et Rebelles contra Dominum nostrum Papam N. pro posse, perseverar et impugnabo. “Heretics, 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, Phænicia, &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, יְהֵמ הָוִיק, (lehem hoki,) is rendered in the Syriac version, "the bread of my sufficiency," or "necessity;" and in the Septuagint, more freely, μοι διαντα και αναρην, "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 ετησουνον*, 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 Schlesener's Lexicon.) But the most probable is that which represents it as compounded of ετη, ad, and ουσια, essentia; as understood by Theophylact, who explained it ετη τη ουσια και συντασε ημων αναρην, "sufficient for our existence and sustenance:" in the last word, αναρην, evidently copying the foregoing rendering of the Alex. Septuagint: and it was so understood by Suidas, ετη τη ουσια ημων αρμοζον, "suitable for our existence," In this sense of ετησουσον, (which is perfectly agreeable to the analogy of Greek composition, as in ετησαφων, "what relates to burial;" επεληνον, "what relates to the vine vat," &c.) it is contrasted with περισσοις, 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 ετησαρεια τον σωματος, "the necessities 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, ετησουσον, 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 crasinnus, "to-morrow's bread;" (as if derived from the participle of the verb πεπευμα, like περιμονας, say they, from that of the verb περιπευμα,) 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 careful-
ness 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 ad-
ventitious 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 (ὀφειλήματα) 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
cxxxx. 3.

Debts, also, denote positive sins, (ἀμαρτίας), as in the parallel
copy of the Lord's Prayer, Luke xi. 4; or actual trespasses,
(παραπτώματα,) 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 πεπανεμόν, 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 work 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 Shakespeare'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. i.
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, [man-kind,] 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 damned 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, 

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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 metonymie '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, τον Θεου ήμων και Σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου, "of our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ," 2 Pet. i. 1, (which differs only in the position of ήμων before or after Σωτηρος, without affecting the sense; for the pronoun, in fact, understood, ought to be repeated twice, namely, τον Θεου ήμων και Σωτηρος ήμων, 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, Dodridge, 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 Albigois, 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 Coparians, who presented it A.D. 1544 to Francis I. king of France. Molinaeus 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 filieth 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 dominion, 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' Creed.

"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 i. 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.

delevede 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 ὅψι, (Sam,) "offering," evidently read the adverb ὅψι, (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 (μεταβασθηκεν,) 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 νῦν ἐστίν, “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, ἐσχάτα ὁμα καὶ νῦν ἐληλυθεν, “the hour is coming, and hath now come, when ye shall be scattered,” &c. John xvi. 32.

4. The foregoing expression, καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, is explained by Paul, εγγὺς ἐστίν, “the Lord is nigh,” or “at hand,” Phil. iv. 5; yet he denies that “the day of the Lord, ἐγενέσθηκεν, 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, μακροθυμοῦσαι, “wait patiently, until the presence of the Lord, because his presence, ἡγγίζει, draweth nigh,” James v. 7, 8; and so Peter says, “the end of all things, ἡγγίζει, 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

* Τὴν ἐκατάρασιν. This compound is used only in this passage; the lexicographers reckon it of the same import as the simple, αναστάσις, "resurrection," but εκ is often intensive in composition, as ἐκσαμένω, "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 (τα ἁγαστασία) according to their works.) ——And whosoever (α νικ) 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, xxii. 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 1. 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.

* ἐνωσιὸν 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 θρόνου, 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. i. 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 ζωντες,) 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 (ἐκδίκησιν) 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 "minded 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 (επιστάμεθα) 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 Oration.
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. 388.

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 primâ*, 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 fulffyllynge and performance 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 looke 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 fashion 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 away: the earthe and all the workes therein shall bee consumed wyth fire:' as though he should say, 'as gould is wont to be fined, so shal the whole world be purified wyth 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 remayneth?"

"Scholer. The general dome. For Christ shal come, at whose voice all 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 children of God shall bee in perfecte possession of that kyngdom of freedom from death, and everlasting life, 'wych was prepared for them before the foundacions of the world were laysd;' (Matt. xxv. 24,) and 'they shal regyne with Christe for ever;' (Rev. xii. 5.) But the ungodlye that believed not, 'shall be thrown from thence into everlasting 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 kyngdome 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 descriveth, (ii. 34—41,) that the onlye rock, Christ, may obtayne 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 sainctes, according to God's promises, (Rev. xx. 4, &c.) that He may lyre and be Lorde in the world, accordyng 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. 203. 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 downfall 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

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* 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 Fidel Evangelice de gloriose Christi adventu columnam subductum eunt, qui, vetustâ Ecclesie 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. Insumuch, 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 foretells 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 overthrowing 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, lxxi. 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 Hallhed; 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 rouze 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 encrease 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 prophet, 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.

“1 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 (dilatory) 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:

Haec ita disserui, Lector, non temere asservui. Rem vero totam Ecclesiam, ex verbo Dei arbitrandam, defero: cuius judicio, ut par est, meam de his mysteriis sententiam, lubens submittto.

And his Clavis Apocalyptica ends thus devoutly, p. 432.

Id extremum te volo, Lector, qui in hac incidis, ut si mihi assidenti, quid forte revelatum esse perspexeris, aut tibi ipsi, aut aliiis, ad haec MYSTERIA [intelligenda] profuturum, id totum Dei in me misericordiae acceptum referas; Cui, et ego, ob tantillum sapientiae 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.

1. 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 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 innocence 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.
Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, also vouches the same in his Apologies, p. 45, 302. "Even now, we who believe in Jesus, exorcising 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

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 primateval 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, forbade 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. 18, 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 Demoniaes. Of this, several signal instances occur in the Acts, and their frequency is intimated in the Epistles. The most remarkable are the following.

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.
7. The prayer of faith healed the sick ....James 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 (ακούομεν) 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
impacted 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 encouragement 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, (συναναγεινβεσιαν τας ασθενειας ἡμων,)—"for we know that He cooperateth [in] all things, for good, with them that love God, who are called, according to His purpose," (τας 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 πνευματος, Griesbach has restored ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτος, 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, (ἐρως *), so frequent in the Heathen classics, and deified in

* It is remarkable, that the classic noun, ἐρως, amor, and the verb ἐρω, amo, do not occur in the New Testament; their places are supplied by ἐπιθυμία, cupidō, and ἐπιθυμεῖν, cupidō.
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. μακροθυμεῖ, 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, ανέχου καὶ απέχου, "bear and forbear." And some of the Sages and Philosophers shewed themselves remarkably patient of injuries, Lycurgus, Solon, Socrates, &c.

II. χρηστευεῖαι 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. Cicerò 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, χρηστευεῖαι.

These form the general outline of charity.

The particulars are as follow.

1. οἱ γῆλοι, "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," (γῆλοι) and "envyings," (φθονοί), Gal. v. 20, 21, 1 Cor. iii. 3.

2. οἱ περίπερευναι, "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 περίπερευναι; παν ὅ μη διὰ χρειαν, ἀλλα διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβανεῖαι, "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 eneipereperesamyn novo auditori Pompeio! si unquam mihi περιφνοί, η καμπα, η ενθυμημα, η κατασκευα, suppediabethent, illo tempore. Quid muta? clamores [plausudentem]—intellexi hominem [Pompeium] moveri. Epist. ad Atticam, 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, orando, amplificando.

3. οἱ φωσιονται, "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. οὐκ ασχημονεῖ, "is not disorderly," violating decorum or decency, like the incestuous person at Corinth, 1 Cor. v. 1—13; women praying with their heads uncovered, 1 Cor. xii. 13; the disorderly celebration of the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 17—31; 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, (ενσχημονοω,) and according to order," (κατα ταξιν,) 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

5. οἱ γῆται εἰς λαύνεις, "seeketh not her own" gain, but rather the gain of others, 1 Cor. x. 24; Rom. xv. 2, most ready to spend and he spent in the service of her friends, with perfect disinterestedness, 2 Cor. xii. 15.

6. οἱ παραξενεῖαι, "is not highly provoked," or wrathful, for παραξενεῖας signifies "a sharp contention" or violent quarrel, as between Paul himself and Barnabas, so that they separated, Acts xv. 39. Compare Acts xxiii. 3; Ephes. iv. 31; James i. 19.

7. οἱ λογιζομέναι το κακόν, "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—6, l. 20; and the goodness of God to sinners, Rom. iv. 8;
Analysis of

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, (ιηπιος,) I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I reasoned as a child; but when I became a man, (ανηγ,) 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, (ηπιγνωσομαι,) 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. ou χαρεῖ επι τη ἀδίκη, “rejoiceth not in iniquity,” or at the success of the unjust, Psalm x. 3; Rom. i. 32.

9. συγχαρεῖ δὲ τη ἀληθη, “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. παντα στεγει, “covereth all things,” concealeth the frailties and infirmities of others, Gen. ix. 23; Prov. x. 1; xvii. 9; Ecclus. 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. παντα πιστευει, “believeth all things,” is disposed to credit reports favourable to the character and conduct of others, Matt. i. 20; James iii. 17; Rom. 1. 8.

12. παντα ελπιζει, “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. παντα υπομενει, “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.
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 superintendence 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,” (συμπρεσβυτέρος,) 1 Pet. v. 1; John also called himself “the Presbyter,” (ὁ πρεσβυτέρος,) 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 &c” evi-

* It is remarkable, the Syriac vulgate Version, the Peshito, renders ἐπισκόπους, in this place, (Phil. i. 1,) “with the elders,” and ἐπισκόπη, 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.
SA-CRED CHRONOLOGY.

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, alleging 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, ἰσπατεύω καὶ ἀρχεύω, 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 Eccl. 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. 1. 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, rend 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 constituant.) 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.*

Jerome 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 Jerome 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—168.
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 factional 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 Presbyter.”—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 Lac-tantius, 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 betters were chosen before them, they thought it better to leave the Church, and to draw their favourites 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 Pri-mates 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 chiepest 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, expense, 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.

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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. Wheresover 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 depreciate 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 foretell 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 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 superstitions, 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 intendentment 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 quit 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 His.""

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 ebings 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 Latine 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 obligations, 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 purer ages of
the Church, that when Heresies arose, and carried some doc-
trines 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,
caus ed 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 be-
l ieved." 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 Scrip-
tural meaning of heresy and schism; which it is of so much
religious and civil importance clearly to ascertain and define.

The word aívelεςìς, 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, (aipeoεςìςv,) 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," (aipeoεςìςv—
πω πατρομω Θεως,) 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 suffi-
ciently "maintaining the head Christ;" for paying too much
defere nece 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, Ἑρισί ὁμοθεσία, "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 behoveth."

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 *meekness*, 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 suspicet, et inscineret."

"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, *ἀληθικὸν ἀνθρώπων παρατήρον*, 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 loquacities, 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 foretells “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 skill-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.

* * παρουσία. 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, παρεισαγωγή, “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, maranatha [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-

* Εν αφθαρσίᾳ, "in incorruption or purity;" put for αφθαρτίας, "incorruptly or purely." Schleusen.
† Ἀνάθεμα, is the Greek rendering of the Syro-Chaldaic, μαράν αθα (ἀνατρήσας) "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.

THE latter portion of the History, to which we are now arrived, is comprised 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 Fabricius 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 deposition 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 Cesar, 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

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, επιται, ἡ ἐκατεσφαρον ετῶν, παλιν ἀνεβην εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, 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 επιται intervenes, Gal. i. 21, to break the connexion with the first visit to Jerusalem, Gal. i. 18.

*Lardner* observes that the expression ἡ ἐπιται 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, *Horne 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, (μακρὰν εξαποστελεῖν,) 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 impurity for all manner of misdemeanors, relying upon so powerful a support,” Annal. XII. 53, 54.

Here the phrase, jam pridem Judæae impositus, intimates recent preferment. For jam pridem signifies a short time back, which is still subsisting, as Istud jam pridem scio, Plaut. jam dudum ausculto, Hor. Jampridem equidem audivi cepisse odium tui Philumem-nam, 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 jam pridem 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,

   ——— Quaerque ipse miserrima vidi,
   Et quorum pars magna fi.

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. Broter, the learned editor of Tacitus, in his Notes et Emendationes ad Annal. XII. 54. Vol. II. p. 302, 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 Caesar, was sent prisoner by Festus to

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. Pearson .................................................. 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 *Samaria*, 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 *Skeptics*
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 sententiae; 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 Palestine, probably because it is anonymous.

Paul's Epistles, in former times, were rejected by the Judaizing 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 leading writers of the Unitarian school, Evanson, &c. have questioned 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 invaded 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
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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 η 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 both ...... A.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 *Horn Pauline*, 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*, (Phil. lemon, 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—33. *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, (ασπασαμένος) 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. 20, 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 inconstant offender, by delivering him up to Satan, for the mortification 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 disappointed 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, warranted 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 purposefully 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 ardentely “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 *Hore Paulinae*, 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 Caesarea, 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 ἀπολέλυμενον, "sent abroad," (as above,) namely, by the Apostle, confirmed by the comment of Euthalius, ἀπελυσεν εἰς διακονίαν Τιμοθεον—Παύλος. "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, (ἡγουμένου.) 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. 36, &c. 287, &c.
1. Objections drawn from dissimilarity of style, are often fanciful and fallacious; as we have seen already in the remarkable attestation of Josephus to Christ, this Vol. p. 276. On the contrary, 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 sentences, by long and involved parentheses, &c. with this difference however, that this being more leisurely written, and better digested in his confinement, is more compressed in its argument, and more polished in its style than the rest, which were written with all the ease and freedom of epistolary correspondence, 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. θεᾶτοιζομενοι is an expression perfectly agreeable to St. Paul's mode of writing: as appears from 1 Cor. iv. 8. But since other writers may likewise have used the same metaphor, 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' own confession. It is here applied to the Apostle's public persecutions: "exposed on a theatre to public revilings and afflictions," exactly corresponding to his complaint to the Corinthians, in the parallel text, θεᾶτον εγεννηθημεν τῳ κοσμῳ, "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 manner," for which he refers to Tacitus, Annal. XV. 44, in his note, p. 176.

"Ch. x. 30. Εμοι εκδικησις, Εγω ανταποδωσω, is a quotation 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 overthrown 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, ἐν ἡμερᾳ εὐδικῆσεως αὐταποδώσω, “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, ἐν ἡμερᾳ εὐδικῆσεως, which is only a paraphrase, not a translation, like his εἰμι εὐδικησεις, of the Hebrew, דָּוָות, and in the second, the joint rendering, αὐταποδώσω, is founded on a various reading, וָאָזוֹנ, 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 Masoretic reading, וַאֶזוֹנ, “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, αὐταποδώσω, by the emphatic prefix Ε&gamma;ω, 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 Adaeus, Thaddaeus, 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, uidess 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. οὐ γὰρ προσελθεῖται ἡλαφωμενω ορεῖ—

22. αλλὰ προσελθεῖται Σων ορεῖ.—"

"Here," (says he,) "the expression ορεῖ ἡλαφωμενω, monti palpabili, which is opposed to Σων ορεῖ, 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 ḫ🏼Mel (lehar Mosheh,) This latter word the translator misunderstood; and instead of reading, and taking it for a proper name, he either read, by mistake, ṣḥ_mem, palpatio, or pronounced, by mistake, ḫ.createComponent (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,
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 lxviii. 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 ψηλαφωμενος? 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 Sion: to which, by an admirable anticipation, he represents them as already come, (προσελήνθησε.)

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 της ουνεκλησεως εχει ταυτην την επιστολην ως Παυλου, αυτη ευδοκιμετω και επι τουτω, ου γαρ εικη οι αρχαιοι ανδρες ως Παυλου παραδειγμασι. Της δε ο γραφας την επιστολην, το μεν αληθες Θεου οιδεν. 'Η δε εις ημας φθασασα ιστορια, υπο τινων λεγουτων μεν οτι Κλημης, ο γενομενος επισκοπος Ρωμαιων, εγραψε την επιστολην, υπο τινων δε, οτι Λουκας, 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 ἵστορια εἰς ἣμας φθασα, 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, \( \pi \omega \mu \rho \omega \varsigma, \pi \omega \nu \rho \pi \omega \varsigma \), (Heb. i. 1,) \( \pi \omega \nu \rho \omicron \omega \kappa \lambda \varsigma \), Eph. iii. 10, (which were evidently forged on the same anvil,) is "abundantly variegated and diversified;" animated with all the energy and vehement 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 Paulinae, 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 Caesar, to whom he had appealed from the provincial tribunal at Caesarea, 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 Caesar'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 Caesar'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 Caesar's household, (Phil. iv. 22,) and probably among the rest, the Empress Poppaea * herself, as we may collect from Josephus, who remarkably styles her θεοσεβής, "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-

* Poppaea 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 saxo illi Leoni, quin gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenita redeat saeuita, "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 θε πρωτην αποστολην λεγει; παρεστη ηδε τῷ Νερών καὶ διεφγεν επειδή η δοι τον οινοχον αυτον κατηχησε, τοτε αυτον απετημεν. 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. Leccanius 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 Hora Paulina; 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 ................................ 63.
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 steadfast 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, Jeron, 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, proconsular 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, Jeron, Ecumenius, 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, שֶׁלֶשׁ, 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 everywhere 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 recals 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," (μεταμορφωσις,) 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 (μεταμορφωσις,) 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. 38, 34.

And that this generation was now "passing away," the Apostle also emphatically repeats:

"I write, (γοαφω) to you fathers, because ye have known Him that is from the beginning——"
"I wrote (εγραφα) 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 βασιλεισσα, 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, (ους) "whom I love," ver. 1, (πεπιηνουντας) "walking in truth," ver. 4, whom he warns "to look to themselves," (ἰαυτους,) 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.

* ἐκβαλλεὶ εἰκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, 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 περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ιωαννὺν εὐαγγελίου καὶ αὐτοκαλυφθέως. "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 abstrusenesses.' 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, Μαχωμετ, 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 *Cerinthus*; 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-

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* 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, contro 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 alleged solecisms, or "harsh constructions," are mere Hebraisms, common in the Alexandrine Greek, as we have noticed before, p. 31 of this Volume. Thus ἀπὸ Ίησου Χριστοῦ, ὃμαρτυς ὁ πιστὸς, Rev. i. 5, in classical language would be τοῦ μαρτυρος του πιστου, the latter genitive being in apposition to the former, but the given construction is perfectly grammatical, ὁ ὁμονομαι, being understood before the nominative, "from Jesus Christ [who is] the faithful witness." The same construction is found in the Alexandrine Sept. ὁρασις του ευνυμιου αυτου, ὁ αρχιονοχοις και ὁ αρχιστοποιος. "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 αρχιονοχου, &c. It is also found in the Gospel: ὑμεις φωνετε με, ὁ διδασκαλος, και, ὁ 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,
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.

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* 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.
**Sacred Chronology.**

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**Catholic Epistles.**

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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 lxix. 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, ἐπαυλὺς αὐτῶν, we have been induced to substitute ἐπαυλὸς αὐτῶν, 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, αὐτῶν, is also supported by the Vulgate, Ethiopic, and Armenian versions of the New Testament, edit. Cont. 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, αὐτῶν, yet, rather inconsistently, is forced to explain it in the same sense of αὐτῶν.—"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, plural, 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, πορευθηκαί εἰς τὸν τοπὸν τοῦ ἱδίου, "to go to his own place," Acts i. 25.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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, ὑπ' εἰς τόν ὀφθαλμόν αὐτῶν τοτῷ εἰσὶ παρά τῷ κυρίῳ.

"That they are in the place due to them, with the Lord!"

Clemens Romanus thus speaks of Peter himself, οὗτος μαρτυρήσας επορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν τοῦτον τῆς ὁδηγίας. "Having thus testified, he went to the due place of glory." And Ignatius notices both, επικαταταχθανεῖν εἰς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τῆς ὁδηγίας ἡ γενεσία καὶ ἀκαταστάσης εἰς τὸν ὁδόν τοῦτον μελέτην καὶ χρώμαν. "Death and life are both impeding: 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 τοτῷ, here, can be properly taken in the figurative sense of station, combined with the transitive verb πορευόμεναι, 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 τοτῷ, are used indiscriminately. We propose this, however, with diffidence; for after all, the first interpretation is best supported by ancient authorities.

* ἔνοχος, καρδιογνωστὰ παντῶν. 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 choose 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, (συγκαρμηφίσθης) 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 cænaculum.] 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 HEARTS 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 lxixii. 15, and practised on the foregoing occasions; and by Paul also, when "he besought the Lord thrice, that he might be relieved from some thing 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, διαμετρωμενα, incorrectly rendered "cloven," in the English Bible, Giptin 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

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who so ever 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 held 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 [fleshy] 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

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* The Hebrew term אֱל֖בֶל (Heb. haleb) used in both these Psalms, literally signifies "toils," "snares," or "cords," as "holden in toils of affliction," Job xxxvi. 8, where the Septuagint renders εν σκωμίων πείνας, "in cords of penury." Hence it was used figuratively, to denote "pains" or "pangs," and rendered ωτινές 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*, (σοφομενον,) 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,"
ANALYSIS OF

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, σωτηρίαν, "the reformed," are contrasted with ἀπολλυμένοι, "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.

“Nother 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 τῷ θεῷ, μαλλον η ὑμιν, "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

* Παρακλητος, "exhortation," Rom. xii. 8, is distinguished from παραμυθα, "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," (πειθομενων ἀρματων, 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, (διέκπρεποντο) 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 (σαν) 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 (α επιω) 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, (οὐφλος—ὑπηκοόν,) 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 serving 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, xxii. 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 καταστήσαμεν, "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, Ursus 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.

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 steadfastly 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 Ananias, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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 prophesy, 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 Sanhedrin, 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 goads,) which hurts only itself, not those against whom it is levelled. It is used by the ancient Greek writers; προς κεντρα μη λακτίζε τους κρατοναι σοι. "Kick not against the goads, with those who have you in their power." Aeschylus Prometh. 322. And also by Pindar, Isth. ii. 173. And by Terence, Nam que 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 (συμβαίνειν) 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.

SAUL RETIRES TO ARABIA.

During the persecution of the Church in Judea, Saul went into the heathen country of Arabia Petraea, 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 dextrae 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 (ιστορησαι) during that war.” Bell. Jud. vi. 1, 8.

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, alleging 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, (ἐκποστελέω) to the remote Gentiles," Acts xxii. 17—21, "selecting thee (ἐξαπορομενος σε) from the people of the Jews, and from the Gentiles, to whom [the latter] I am now going to send thee forth, (ἀν αποστέλλω) 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 Caesarea; 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, ὑπάρχησα] to ordain thee a minister and witness of what thou sawest [then, εἶδες] and of my future appearances to thee" (ἀν ὑπάρχησας ἀεισ.) 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 Lydda, 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, (προσηφαρομενος) 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 clothed 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 Caesarea; "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 Caesarea, 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 Caesarea, 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 Caesarea; 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-

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**persecutor** in ignorance, like *Saul* himself. To him, only, *an Angel* appeared, perhaps *Gabriel,* Dan. viii. 16, Luke i. 19.

The original expression, τῶν προσκαρτεροῦντων αὐτῷ, "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.

† *Τεσσαράιαν αρχαίαν.* Diodorus Siculus uses the phrase, αρχαία στυπνας, "hempen strings," or cords, in describing the mode of harpooning the Hippopotamus, 11 Apostropeus, ii, εἰς τῶν ἐμπαγεμένων εναπποντες αρχαία στυπνας, αφισι, μήχρι αυ παραλθη, Edit. Rhod. p. 32, as ingeniously noticed by Wakefield. If αρχαίας signified "corners," (as in the English Bible) the article ταις should be prefixed, as in Matt. xxiv. 31, τῶν τεσσαρων ανεμών. *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 Caesarea;" 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 Caesarea, 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 Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, who preached the word to none but Jews only, Acts xi. 19; and 3. from the equal surprise 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 (apax) hath God granted to the Gentiles also repentance unto life eternal!" xi. 18, as a matter of surprise 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, (τὸν λόγον) 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 (τὸ όνόμα), (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 (ψυχαρα), 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 (αλλοφυλος), 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 προσεφυσθαι, 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 Mosaic, 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, Ἐλληνιστας, Griesbach substitutes Ἐλληνας, 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.
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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 Caesar. 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 superintendence 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 κολακευαν ασθοναν) 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 Turnus during his combat with Æneas, 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, Ireneæus, 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 confabulation 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 perse-
cutions, 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 pre-
sent 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 no where 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, (ασθενής;) or impediment, which rendered his speech contemptible,” (ἐξωθενομενος;) 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

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* 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-lation 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 δαυμα ποιει, "power" and "strength," and συγχεινα, "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 denounced 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 unfairly, indulium animae, "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 blindered 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 “loret h to the pre-eminence, praying against their betters with malicious words,” who would provoke the castigation of the meekest of the Apostles.

“The revelations whose excellency” 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 αὖ μεθοδεύει τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς οἰκὰς επιθυμιας, λέγει μὴ δικαίωσαι μὴν κρίνει εἰναί, ὁδὸς πρωτοτοκος εἰς τον Σατάναν. “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 back ground, 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 multa grandine nimbi
Culminibus crepitant, sic densis iictibus, Heros,
Creber, utrâque manu, pulsat, versatque Daretas. 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 highest 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

* τεταγμένοι is unnecessarily rendered in a prodestinarian sense, "ordained," in the English Bible. It is evidently contrasted with the obduracy of the Jews; απωταυτο —ιαυνος ους αιως εκπιαν—which is represented as their own act and deed. Luke uses the compound, διατεταγμένος, 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, Jove; 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," (αγαθοπροφήτης) 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

* Εξεστησαν 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 disapproval 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 dispossess of the damsel at Philippi, who, though she had a spirit of Python, or of the old serpent, was yet compelled, by a superior control, to render homage to the ambassadors of Christ—These men are servants of the most High God, who announced 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," (κατακτακτωλον.)

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.

* Αναξιφορμιγης ύμνοι, Quem Virum aut Herou, lyrâ, vel acri
    Τινα Θεου, την' Ήρωα Tibia, sumis celebrare, Clio?
    Τινα δ' άνδρα κελαδηγομεν; Quem Deum?


† 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, (ἐμπλασθομενον, 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, (σταθης) 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 δειναδιμονεστερος, ύμας,) 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, ΑΛΝΩΣΤΩΜ ΘΕΩ. To the unknown God.*

* ΑΥΛΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ. The whole inscription according to Theophylact and Εκευμενιος, is supposed to have been, Θεως Ασιας και Ευρωπης, και Ασίως, Θεω Αρνωστω και νεφ, which Jerom, with some variation, translates, Diis Asiae et Europe et Africa, 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 Αυ/ωστω; for the genuine inscription is more conformable to the ancient Greek mode, which frequently puts the adjective before the substantive; as τον εμον πεφλον, in the Saitic 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 Αυ/ωστον, εν ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ, "by the unknowable, 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 λαμπροσταον ανδυτατον, "the most illustrious proconsul;" Σπον. Vol. II. p. 270, οι ζυνταλαντον 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, μηνν, 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. 268. Thus, the title of Hesiod's poem, is ΑΣΠΗ 'Ημακλεος; but Longinus refers to, την Ασπηδα, "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, ττη.

3. That the article is actually understood in the inscription, is evident from the context; for ΑΥΛΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ, is clearly in apposition to, ο ΘΕΟ, whose nature the Apostle proceeds to explain immediately after in the next verse.
Whom, therefore, ye rightly worship, though without knowing him, \(\text{ἀγνωστῷ, εὐσεβεῖτε} \) HIM declare I unto you," ver. 22, 23.

This exordium, after a well-turned compliment to their religious zeal, (in which favourable sense, ἐνσιδαμονία, 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

\(\text{Αγνωστῷ} \) 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 \(\text{σκότος αγνωστόν}, \) "darkness unknowable," which they explained, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν νοησίαν, "above all comprehension!" this was thrice repeated in their mysteries. See Cudworth, p. 354, (incorrectly paged, 414,) which is well expressed by Josephus, Ὁ Ἰωνεὺς, ἐνναυμα μὲν ἡμῖν ὁμορμόν ὅπως ἐκατ' ὀνομα, αγνωστόν, "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 \(\text{αγνωστόν} \) is unequivocally shewn by the following sentiment, which Lucian puts in the mouth of Socrates: "we seem to be utterly purblind judges (αμβλυωτοῖ) both of possibilities and of impossibilities. We judge according to human power, of that [power] which is unknowable and incredible, and invisible," (αγνωστόν οὐσίαν, καὶ ἀπιστον, καὶ αἰσθαν.) Halevyn. 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 Dodon, one of the sons of Janus, 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, Ἰαονεῖς, 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 Phoenicia, before the reign of Cecrops, which began B.C. 1558, 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 Θεοί, "disposers," because "they disposed and held in order all things and all countries," (ὅτι κοσμὺ δεντές τα παντα πρόγναηα, καὶ πᾶσας νομας, εἰσοψ.)

"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, Νηθθ, or Νηθθας; 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, (τυφ πατρων θεω, 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.

Εἰς, ταῖς αληθείαισιν, ἡς ἐστὶν θεος,
'Ος οὐρανον τ' ετευξε, καὶ γαῖαν μακραν,
Ποιην τ' χαρτον οἰῆμα, κ' ανεμον βιας.

"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.
Aθην, Minerva; and of the city itself, Aθηνας, Athens, dedicated to Άθηνας πολιάς, “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 sacerdoto-tem. De Nat. Deor. iii. 39.

On the Saite temple of Neith, was this inscription, Ἠγώ εἰμι ΠΑΝ το γεγονός, καὶ οὐ*, καὶ εσομένων καὶ τον εμὸν πεπλων οὐδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυφεν. “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 Panathenaea, 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 Panathenaea, 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 Panathenaea 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 pre ordained 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"

* ψηλαφησιαν, (Aor. I. Αοιδε, pro, ψηλαφησαν.) 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, ψηλαφαω, "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 grooping, as it were, in darkness, (ψηλαφωντες, ὠσπερ ἐν σκοτει) using other's eyes instead of their own; so as to denominate [the secondary] the cause itself," [for 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 conourse 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 ειδεναι) 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,” (Δογγον Θεον.)

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 (τον τον ανθρωπον) whosoever he is.

Socrates. He it is who careth for thee: (φιλει 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 ποτέ εστιν ὁ ἀνθρωπός) provided I may be enabled to become better.

Socrates. Truly that same person (καὶ ἔνας ὁμοιός) hath a wonderful regard for thee.

Alcibiades. I think then, the best way will be to postpone sacrificing until that time.

Socrates. You think right, for it is safer, than to run so great a risk [of sacrificing improperly.]

Alcibiades. 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,
El, or Iαω: 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 Jove 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," IAQ, was the Hebrew, IAHOH, intimating his unity; whence was derived the Phoenician, IEYΩ, and from thence, the Grecian, ZEYΣ. See my Dissertations.

* Τον 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 particle "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 ἥδε καὶ ανδρων,—πατηρ ανδρων τε ζεων 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- membr 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 * (τὸ Θεῖον) 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, (εὐσέβεια) 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 leadest;
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 ὁ εν αὐτῷ, ζυντα, καὶ κινούμεθα,
Καὶ εσομαι.

Here, the middle verb, κινούμεθα, "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 ἐστομεν, "we creep;" and our faint resemblance of the Deity, like the echo of a voice.

* To Θεῖον. 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.

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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, (δεικνύειν) 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, oi 'Ελληνες, 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, (ἀνακαμάσας, 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 factions 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 (γνωστόν) 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 μὴ βατρο- λογησάντες, 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 farewell 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 Phœricia, 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 Ptolemaïs, and from thence to Caesarea, 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 τοῦ Ὠσου, Griesbach, upon strong external evidence of versions and manuscripts, substitutes τοῦ Κυπροῦ, as referring to Christ. But the received reading is admissible; τοῦ Ὠσου, 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 xxii. 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 apostasy 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

* ἀποσκευασμένοι, "having collected their baggage," or got mules for the conveyance of it. Xenophon has a similar expression, ἐπεὶ προσήναυν συνεκειμένοι ἐπορευόμενο. "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?

† Χιλιαρχος, 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, (προσεπεσεις,) 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, (πεπολιτευμα,) 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 whitened 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 smile 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 τῷ πατριαρχῷ θεῷ, "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, πατριαρχῶν θεῶν, and in the Latin likewise.

Dii Patrii, quorum semper sub nomine 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

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 Caesarea; 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

* Τῷ ἰκανονταρχῷ. 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 Caesarea, 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 Caesar," 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, allying 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 Caesarea, he appealed to Caesar, 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 Caesarea, 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, (πασιν) 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.

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Hunc dedit olim

Barbarus incesta, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori.—Sat. vi.

13
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 Caesar’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 Caesar'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 Caesarea 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 Caesar'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 Aqua Salvia, 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 everywhere 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 sorrows or extravagancies of fanaticism. His judgment concerning a hesitating conscience, his opinion of the moral indifference 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
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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. Laecanius 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, "Whoever 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, tedá lucebis in illâ,
Quà stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant. SAT. I. 153.
of Marcosia, in Lusitania or Portugal. Apud Gruter. p. 238, n. 9, or Lardner, VII. p. 248.


“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 Cyricacus 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, Apollos? 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!"

JEWSHR 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 whitened 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

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 Acre, 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,

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


† Per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum Judæi, empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace, tamquam 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 moenia 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-mount 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

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<th>Period</th>
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<tr>
<td>I. Golden, or Babylonian</td>
<td>606</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Jewish captivity, for 70 years</td>
<td>605</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Silver, or Medo-Persian. Captivity ended</td>
<td>536</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish Church reformed, to continue for 70 weeks of years; to be regenerated after 2300 days, or years</td>
<td>420</td>
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<td>III. Brazen, or Macedo-Grecian</td>
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<td>Egyptian persecutions began</td>
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<td>Syrian persecutions</td>
<td>168</td>
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<td>IV. Iron, or Roman</td>
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<td>V. Stone, or Christian Church, founded in the midst of the one week</td>
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### Church Militant

<table>
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<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>I. Seven seals began</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Jewish persecution</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Roman persecution</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second Jewish captivity, for 1810 years</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church established in the Roman Empire</td>
<td>323</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Six trumpets began</td>
<td>395</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gothic persecutions</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>End of the Western Empire</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papal and Mahometan persecutions, to continue for 1260 years</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Church Reformed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. By Wickliffe, after 1290 days</td>
<td>1360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. By Huss, after 1335 days</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. By Luther</td>
<td>1517</td>
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<tr>
<td>End of the Eastern Empire</td>
<td>1672</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. Seventh trumpet, including seven vials, or last plagues. Infidel persecutions</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the 2300 and 1260 years</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. First Resurrection at the Regeneration.

The Mountain, or Kingdom of Christ and his saints upon earth, to continue for 1000 years, and until the end of the world, or 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.


1. Ποτε ταυτα εσται; Ποτε ταυτα εσται; καὶ, τι Ποτε ταυτα εσται;

2. Καὶ, τι, το σημειον της σης παρουσιας;

3. Καὶ,—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 ἐπιφάνεια, "appearance," 1 Tim. vi. 14, &c. αποκαλύψις, "revelation," 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Pet. i. 7, iv. 13.

But in this hypothesis, συντελεία τοῦ αἰωνοῦ, is incorrectly confounded with the foregoing technical term, παρουσία; 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 συντελεία, in the Septuagint version, which is the usual rendering of the Hebrew נלעא (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, κως συντελεσθή κρίμα τοῦ αἰωνοῦ τῶν αἰωνων, "until the judgment of the world for evermore shall be concluded."

In the third hypothesis this phrase is rightly understood; but the term παρουσία, 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 ἰδώντες, "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," (εἰρηναριUSIC εν ἐνυαρισκείον τοῦ κυρίου) 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 υφιστάται, υφιστασαι, иριστασαι, signifying to "view" or "be viewed," Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64, Rev. i. 7, Heb. ix. 28, αποκαλυπτασαι "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.


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 Caesar, 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-

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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, (μεταβαίνωμεν εντευθεν.) 
"Some of these prodigies," says Josephus, "the people interpreted 
as they liked, others they set at nought, until they were con-
victed 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 uni-
versally 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.

34. Αρεν λεγω γινει, ου μη παρελθη γινει αιτη, εως αν παντα ταυτα γενηται.
35. ('Ο ουρανος και η γη παρελυσονται οι δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελυσονται.)
36. Περι δε της ημερας εκευς και της ωρας, ουδες οικεν, ουδε οι αγγελοι των ουρανων, ει μη ο πατηρ μου μονος.


32. Αρεν λεγω γινει, οτι ου μη παρελθη γινει αιτη, εως αν παντα [ταυτα] γενηται.
33. ('Ο ουρανος και η γη παρελυσονται οι δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελυσονται.)
34. Περι δε της ημερας εκευς και της ωρας, ουδες οικεν, ουδε οι αγγελοι των ουρανων, ει μη ο πατηρ μου μονος.

Mark xiii.

30. Αρεν λεγω γινει, οτι ου μη παρελθη γινει αιτη, μιχρες ου παντα ταυτα γενηται.
31. ('Ο ουρανος και η γη παρελυσονται οι δε λογοι μου ου μη παρελυσονται.)
32. Περι δε της ημερας εκευς και της ωρας, ουδες οικεν, ουδε οι αγγελοι οι εν ουρανω, ουδε ο νιος, ει μη ο πατηρ.

2 Peter xi. 9.

Ωδε κυριοι ευσεβεις εκ παρασομονα μετασαγανα, αδηικους δε εις υμεις κρησεως καλοξομενους τηρεν.

1 Thessal. v. 2, 3.

Αυτοι γαρ ακριβως οικεν, ότι η ημια κυριον, ως κελπνης εν νυκτι, ουτως ερχεται—αερνισθεν αυτους εφισταται ολειδρος.

In the 32d verse of Luke, the omission of παντα, is supplied by the Syriac, Arab. Persic, Armenian. 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 η εκευς, "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 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 serrā dissecuit Caligula. Sueton.
doctrines 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, suited 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 wrapped 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-
gence 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 carcass is," &c. * in the language of ancient prophecy, Isa. xxxiv. 6, xlvi. 11, lxvi. 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,] unsotted 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 stedfastness [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. lxv. 17, lxvi. 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.
bhish 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, αἰωνία, 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 intention 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 Apocalypse. But he is rather fanciful and over-mystical; and his abridger, of course, is sometimes tinted 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, xiii. 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,
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 afflictive 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†

* ὁμοιὸν ὑπὸ αὐθρωποῦ. This phrase is rendered indefinably 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," καὶ ἐξοχήν. And he has elsewhere judiciously accounted for its being anarthrous: "In the Hebrew [ἦς Ἰαχ, the Bar Anosh] before Ἰαχ bar, the article [ἦ, he] could not be admitted, [because of the prefix, י כaph.] The Septuagint, therefore, adhering closely to the original, have rendered, ὅς τοὺς αὐθρωποὺς," p. 580. Hence, the Apostle, more distinctly rendered, ὁμοιὸν ὑπὸ αὐθρωποῦ, 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] τοὺς αὐθρωποὺς, John v. 27; in all other places he has assumed it: and the very assumption forbade him to use the phrase otherwise than as [definitely] ὅ τοὺς αὐθρωποὺς. He was to be designated as Ὅ τοῖς, for otherwise he would not have been distinguished from any other individual of the human race: and if Ὅ τοῖς, then τοὺς αὐθρωποὺς, for Ὅ τοῖς αὐθρωποὺς 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 φιλαληθεστέρος, as well as κριτικωτέρος, I shall not affront him with an apology for the freedom of this note on a subject of such importance.

† Ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τριχὲς. "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)

Ἄρμοροςι δ' ἀρχα χαται εἰπερωσανυτον Ἀνακτος
Κρατος απ' ἀθανατου μιγαν δ' ἐκεῖξεν Ολυμπον.

"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, "clothed 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 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 steadfastness 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 fourscore 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 proras, 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.

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, [preeminently,] 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 Hutchisonian mystics, to denote the God-Head; (see Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. וב, 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.

* 'O ην, καί 'O ὦν, καί 'O ἐρχόμενος, 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, ὄν and ἐρχόμενος, it is evidently put for, γεγονος, "having been," but understood verbally for ην; as they are also for εστι and μελετ ερχόμενοι.

This title of the ancient of days is an expansion of his Hebrew title, דוד יesh ישה. "I AM WHO AM," Exod. iii. 14; which is rendered by the Septuagint, Εγώ εἰμι 'O ὦν. It bears a striking analogy to the Egyptian title of Neith.

Εγώ εἰμι Παν το γεγονός, καὶ ὄν, καὶ εσομένον.

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, June, Apollo, &c.

יְהָをする "Aon," or יְהָをする "On," Gen. xlii. 45—50, originally denoted the supreme being, though afterwards the Sun; and was evidently the ancestor of the Greek participle, ὄν masculine, and ὄν 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.

† "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 *Prophet 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 decipher these mysteries, until the *time of the end,* and *knowledge shall be encreased," 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.

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**SCHEME OF THE PRIMARY SYMBOLICAL PROPHECIES.**

I. Period. Seven Seals, 306 years.

1. Seal. A white horse. The rider, Christ, as an archer conquering and to conquer, vi. 1, 2, .................. 31
   *Foundation of the Church.*

2. Seal. A red horse. The rider with a great sword, to inflict great slaughter, ver. 3, 4 .......................... 65
   *Mutual wars and massacres of Jewish and Roman persecutors of the Church*, ending with the *desolation of Judea* .......................... 135

* The following were the principal *persecutions* of the Church by the Jews and the Romans.

**JEWISH PERSECUTIONS.**

A.D.

1. By the Sanhedrim, after Stephen's martyrdom, Acts viii. 1, ix. 31 ............ 34
2. By King Herod Agrippa. Martyrdom of James, Acts xii. 1—19 ............ 44

**ROMAN PERSECUTIONS.**

A.D.

1. By Nero. Martyrdom of Paul and Peter, 2 Tim. iv. 6, 2 Pet. i. 14 ............ 65
2. By Domitian. Exile of John to Patmos, Rev. i. 9 .................. 95
3. Seal. A black horse. The rider holding a balance, to weigh the
wheat and barley, v. 5, 6 .................................................. 136
Scarcity and famine .................................................. 193
Disease and pestilence .................................................. 270
5. Seal. Cry of the Martyrs to God, for vengeance against their
persecutors, v. 9, 10.

3. By Trajan. Martyrdom of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch ............. 107
4. By Marcus Antoninus. Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna .. 167
Martyrdom at Lyons * .................................................. 174
5. By Severus. Violent and general .................................. 203
tians recant through fear .............................................. 250
7. By Decius. Very severe and general. Torture of Origen. Many Chris-
tians recant through fear .............................................. 252
8. By Gallus. At Rome chiefly ...................................... 258
9. By Valerian. Martyrdom of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage ........ 258
10. By Diocletian and Maximian. 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 columnar inscriptions, found at Clunia, a Roman colony
in Spain.

1. DIOCLETIANUS JOVIUS ET MAXIMIAN HERCULIUS. CÆS. AUG.
AMPLICATO 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 "over-
turning 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 per-
mitted. 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 pro-
posed to the senate to enrol him, by name, among the number of their gods. See p.
230, &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

VOL. III.
ANALYSIS OF

Roman persecutions, the last ending .................. 313
The Martyrs exhorted to patience for a short while, v. 11.

Great convulsions in the Roman Empire, downfall of Paganism, and establishment of Christianity .................. 323

7. Seal. Half an hour’s silence in Heaven, viii. 1. ............. 323
Calm, and tranquillity of the Church and empire, during the beginning of Constantine’s reign .................. 337
During this calm, a great conversion of Jews, Pagans, and Heretics to the Church; and suspension of Divine judgments during the sealing, with the cross in their foreheads, or baptism, of 144,000 true Israelites, vii. 1—8.

Thanksgiving of the spiritual Church and angelic host to God and the Lamb, v. 9—12.

II. Period. Four war trumpets, 225 years.

1. Trumpet. Mingled storm of hail, fire, and blood, viii. 7. ....... 395
Invasion of the northern Goths, &c.

2. Trumpet. A volcanic mountain cast into the sea, ver. 8, 9. ....... 455
Invasion of the southern Vandals .................. 472

3. Trumpet. A comet falls from Heaven, called Wormwood, v. 10, 11. 476
Extinction of the western Roman empire by the Goths.
Bitter contests between the invaders.

4. Trumpet. Dimness of the sun, moon, and stars of Heaven, v. 12. 533
Great faintness and calamity of the whole Roman empire.

III. Period. Three woe trumpets, 1260 years.

5. Trumpet. First woe. A fallen star opens the pit of the Abyss, lets out a swarm of locusts with stings, and their infernal King Abaddon, or Satan, to torment for five months, the unsealed, ix. 1—11. ............. 620
Mahomet, the false prophet, who promulgated his heresy, and lets loose the Saracens to harass the corrupt Christians for 150 years.
End of the first woe, ver. 12. .................. 770

6. Trumpet. Second woe. Four angels loosed from the river Euphrates, for an hour, a day, a month, and a year, v. 13—19. .................. 1281
Four Turkish sultanies let loose to slay the eastern corrupt Church, and to propagate their heresy for 391 years and fifteen days.
Extinction of the eastern empire by the Turks, and end of the second woe, xi. 14 .................. 1672

7. Trumpet. Third woe, including seven vials, or last plagues. 13
This trumpet probably began to sound with the French revolution, completed.

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.


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.


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 three woes, for 1260 years, (Dan. vii. 35, xii. 7.)

2. Their death, and miraculous resurrection, after three days and half, and visible ascension into heaven ...

3. Destruction of their foes, and conversion of the remnant that are saved ........................................ xi. 1—6.

II. The mystical woman persecuted by the old Dragon. Or the true Church, by the Devil, from the beginning to the end of the world, (Gen. iii. 15.)

2. Warfare of Michael and his angels with the Dragon and his angels, (Dan. xii. 1.) ................................................ xi. 7—12.

3. Thanksgiving of the spiritual Church for the victory of Michael, or Christ ........................................ xii. 1—6.

III. The Dragon's persecuting instruments........................

1. The western wild beast ........................................ xiii. 7—9.

2. The eastern; and the image of the former framed by

3. the latter; or the Roman, Mahomedan, and Infidel powers.

IV. 1. The Lamb and his 144,000 elect, on Mount Sion, or the Church established at the regeneration, and their worship, (Isa. ii. 2, 3 ; Micah iv. 1, 2 ; Dan. xii. 1.) ........................................ xiv. 1—5.

2. The three angels of the Reformation, Wickliffe, Huss, and Luther, (Dan. xii. 11, 12.) .................. — 6—12.

3. The promised reward of their patience, (Dan. xii. 13.) ................................................ — 13.

V. 1. The symbolical harvest of wrath, (Joel iii. 14—16.) — 14—16.

2. The symbolical vintage of wrath, (Joel iii. 17—20.) — 18—20.

VI. 1. The mystical harlot, or corrupt Church, (Hos. i. 3.) ........................................ xvii. 1—18.

2. Her pride, luxury, and fall, (Ezek. xxvii ; Isa. xxi. 9.) ........................................ xviii. 1—24.


VII. The white horse, and rider, Christ, with the sword of the Spirit, and his armies, proceeding to the conquest and the slaughter of his foes, (Psalm xlv. 1—7 ; Ezek. xxxix.) .......................... — 11—21.


The conclusion ........................................ — 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 foretell 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 xliv. 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 lxviii. 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, ἡ ἐνεργή, 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 chœnix, 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 Celestis, 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 ὁμοουσιος, "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," (ον περι του κορυφαίου των εν τω νομω παραγγελματων,) but "the very least of all," (τετελεσθη εις τον σταυρον,) "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 Arians; 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, raging among Zealots and Fanatics, calling themselves 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 x), 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 of 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?
ANALYSIS OF

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, γεγονος, "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," (ἐλεσθη) 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," (ἐλεσθωσι) 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 ελεσθη) 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, 636 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, נָבָא 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 fulfill;" and in the third, "to finish." 2. The phrase χρονος ουκ εσται ετη, is rendered, "time shall be no longer," as if it denoted the end of the world; which is refuted by the next verse. The phrase, ουκ ετη, 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, οταν μελλυ σαλπιζων, 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, xvi. 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 trum-pets. 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, κατ, greatly perplexes the sense, and has created infinite embarrassment to editors and translators. Instead of κατ τελεσθη, or rather, και ετελεσθη, (Griesbach,) several of the ancient versions, attending more to the sense than the idiom, render, as if it were τελεσθησηται, 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 ingeni-ously supported by Middleton, p. 664. He justly considers, και ετελεσθη, as a Hebrew idiom, in which the και changes the tense: corresponding to the ους conversium praeteriti, and illustrates it by example, Judges iv. 8, in Barak's answer to Deborah's invitation.

"If thou wilt go (יִהְלָה) with me, I will go:" (רִהְלָה) literally, "and I went") but if thou wilt not go (יִהְלָהּ) with me, I will not go, (רִהְלָהּ). Here, the Septuagint renders the idiom, πορευσόμαι; and the corresponding future, ου πορευσό-μαι, 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.

* — μινυναδιος γαρ εμελλεν

Εσσευθεν, ηγη γαρ οι επωρμυνε μοριζον ημαρ
Παλλας Αθηναιη υπο Πηλεωα βιρφι.  

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.——Jeremiah.
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 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 Caesars." 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. Alex. Add. 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 superstitious 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 empire, 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 sororum.

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 pauc a 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, (δανομος, 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, ἡδονή, like γυναικεῖς, 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 οἰκος, εὐφυλία, "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 discomfited 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 Mahazzim, 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 Mahazzim, 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 invocate
the blessed Virgin: O thou virgin mother of God, thou impreg-
nable wall, thou fortress of salvation, (Psalm xxviii. 8,) we call
upon thee, that thou wouldest frustrate the devices of our ene-
mies, 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 ever-
more, 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 Abu-beker, 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 Bugdat 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, Ortoeur 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 Caminiec in Poland. These dates remarkably correspond to the prophetical term of their conquests, for three hundred and ninety-one years and fifteen days*, from

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* "A year... A month... A day... An hour, the 24th of 360 days..."
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 mouths 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 rebufke, 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 Athietical 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, 110, 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 lie 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, Girondic, or Country Faction, in 1794; who were not long after overpowered themselves by the Robespieric, 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’Ierimaos, 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 Anti-Christ*, 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 1260 prophetic days, corresponds to 1278 Julian years, which he thus proves, p. 7—10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;A time&quot;</th>
<th>360</th>
<th>365</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;times&quot;</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;times&quot;</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>1095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Half a time&quot;</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years and half</td>
<td>1260</td>
<td>1278</td>
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Here, the Julian year 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 Julian years, above 1260 prophetic years.

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 5½ supernumerary days; in order to regulate the true seasons of celebrating the grand Festivals of the Passover, Palilia, Nenruz, &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. 303.

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 Caesars, on the compulsory but formal surrender of the imperial crown and government of the Germanic body, by the Emperor of Austria, August 6th, 1806; and now wears the iron crown, andields the iron sceptre of the Caesars, 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 Fesch, 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 engraved 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 Feltrè, "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 Hoste 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 phenomenon 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, Villedel, &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 phenomenon 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 Caesars. "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-

* Horrifícis juxta tonat Ætna ruinís.—
Attollitque globos flammarum, et sidera lambit:
Interdum scoipulos, avulsaque viscera montis,
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras,
Cum gemitug lomerat, fundoque exæstual 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 Lœuf, 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 persecution of the witnesses ....... Rev. xi. 7—11.
2. The destruction of their persecutors, and repentance of the surviving remnant....... xi. 13. xvi. 19.

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 selfsame 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.

the [Holy] city, reached for 1600 stadia in extent, and up to the horse bridles in depth, Rev. xiv. 14—16.

Walmsley, 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 hyperbolical, 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 node 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 Hymn 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. xiv. 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 symbolic wilderness, ver. 6.

Before the commencement of this period, the Dragon and his angels were dethroned, and cast down from the plentitude of their power in the Roman empire, the symbolic 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, Deut. 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 (εκτελεσθη) on the sea shore, to view the wild beasts, or persecuting powers, as they arose in succession.

1. 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 suckcloth; 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 Μοχυτετς or Μοχυτετς, by the Greek historians, Zonaras and Cedrenus.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
M, & A, & O, & M, & E, & T, & I, & \Sigma, \\
40, & 1, & 70, & 40, & 5, & 300, & 10, & 200. = 666.
\end{array}
\]

This surely is preferable to the other irrelevant guesses of "Latinus," "Romiith," "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 carcases 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 carcases, for three days and half, and [the persecutors] shall not suffer their carcases 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. Bengelius and Wesley .......................... 1836
2. Anonymous ................................. 1843
3. Faber, &c. ................................. 1866
4. Wood and Hales ............................. 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

5. Bishop Newton ........................................ { A.D.
                                    1966
                                    6. Lowman ........................................ 1987
                                    2016
                                    7. Sir Isaac Newton, or, says he, "some other epoch,
                                      which time will discover," p. 122 ............
                                      2132
                                      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. 663, 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. 533, and counting from thence 1260 years, they will also end in the same year, 1843.——But this concurrence is more spacious 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. 163; 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 shown 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 ἐξαιρων,) "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 τῆς πλατείας, Rev. xi. 7, and το δικαστήριον, 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, αγορά.

† 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-
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 encreased 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, tailors, carpenters, weavers, excommunicated clergy-men, &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 reproposed 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 intermarriages 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!"

* 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 surrender 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 Mas-eres: 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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, xxii, 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 injoined 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. xliv. 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,

Ασκος βαπτιζω, δυναί δε τοι ου θεμις εστι.
"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."

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"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.
APPENDIX.

"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. The Seed of the Woman, ........... \{ Gen. iii. 15; Gal. iv. 4; 1 Tim. ii. 15; Rev. xii. 5. \\
Psal. xxi. 10, xxxv. 14, lxix. 8, lxxxvi. 16, cxvi. 16; Prov. xxx. 19; \\
II. Born of the Virgin ................. \{ 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, xxii. 6; \\
Matt. i. 1; John viii. 56; Acts iii. 25; \\
Gen. xvii. 19, xxi. 12, lxvi. 4; \\
VI. Of the line of Isaac, ............... \{ Rom. ix. 7; Gal. iv. 23—28; Heb. xi. 18. \\
Gen. xxviii. 4—14; Exod. iv. 22; \\
Num. xxiv. 7—17; Ps. cxxxv. 4, \\
&c. Isa. xli. 8, xlix. 6; Jer. xiv. 18. \\
—Luke i. 68, ii. 30; Acts xxviii. 20. \\
Gen. xl. 10; 1 Chron. v. 2; \\
VII. Of Jacob, or Israel, .............. \{ Micah v. 2.—Matt. ii. 6; Heb. vii. 14; Rev. v. 5. \\
2 Sam. vii. 12—15; 1 Chron. xvii. \\
11—14; Ps. lxvi. 4—36, cxxix. \\
10—17; 2 Chron. vi. 42; Isa. ix. 4, \\
xi. 1, lv. 3, 4; Jer. xxvii. 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. xxxi. 16. \\
VIII. Of the tribe of Judah, ........... \{ Micah v. 2.—Matt. ii. 6; Luke ii. \\
14; John vii. 42. \\
Gen. iii. 15; Ps. xxii. 1—18, xxxi. \\
13, lxxxix. 38—45; Isa. liii. 1—12; \\
Dan. ix. 26; Zech. xiii. 6, 7; Matt. \\
xvi. 31; Luke xxiv. 26; John i. 29; \\
Acts vii. 32—35, xxvi. 23; Wisd. ii. \\
12—20. \\
Numb. xxi. 9; Ps. xvi. 10, xxii. \\
16, xxxi. 22, xlix. 15; Isa. liii. 8, 9; \\
Dan. ix. 26.—John iii. 14, viii. 28, \\
xi. 32, 33; Matt. xx. 19, xxvi. 2; \\
1 Cor. xv. 3; Col. ii. 15; Phil. ii. 8. \\
IX. Of the house of David, ............ \{ Isa. liii. 9.—Matt. xxi. 12; Mark \\
xiv. 8; John xii. 7, xix. 40; 1 Cor. \\
xv. 4. \\
X. Born at Bethlehem, the city of \\
David, .................................. \\
XI. His passion, or sufferings, ........ \\
XII. His death on the Cross, .......... \\
XIII. His interment and embalmment, .......
XIV. His resurrection the third day,

Ps. xvi. 10, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxiii. 24; Jonah i. 17.—Matt. xii. 40, xvi. 4, xxvii. 63; John ii. 19;
Acts ii. 27—31, xiii. 35; 1 Cor. xv. 4.
Ps. viii. 5, 6, xlvii. 5, lxviii. 18,
ex. 1.—Acts i. 11, ii. 33; John xx.
17; Eph. iv. 8—10; Heb. i. 3, ii. 6;
Rev. xii. 5.

XV. His ascension into Heaven,

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.

XVI. His second appearance at the
Regeneration *

* 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 Caesar, (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 Cumaei venit jam carminis Ætas,
Magnus ab integro saecorum nascitur ordo,
Jam nova progenies sæculo 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 PATRIS virtutibus orbem.
Aggredere, O, magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,
CHARA DEUM soboles, MAGNUM JOVIS INCREMENTUM,
Aspice, venturo latantur ut omnia sæculo!

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; 
Matt. xiii. 25.—Mark i. 1; Luke i. 35; 
Rom. i. 4; 1 John iv. 14; Rev. i. 5, 6. 

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. 

Deut. xxxiii. 8; Ps. xvi. 10, lxxviii. 
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. 

II. The Son of Man, .......... 

Zech. ix. 9; Jer. xxiii. 5; Isa. xli. 
2; Ps. xxxiv. 19, 21.—Luke i. 17; 
Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14; 1 John 
ii. 1, 29; James v. 6; Wisd. ii. 
12–21. 

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, 

VII. The Oracle of the Lord, or of God, 

VIII. The Redeemer or Saviour, 

IX. The Lamb of God, 

X. The Mediator, Intercessor, or Advocate, 

XI. Shiloh, the Apostle, 

XII. The High Priest, 

XIII. The Prophet like Moses, 

"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 ostentations of his good qualities, but desiring rather to be good than to seem so. In fine, the recompense which the just One, so disposed, (οὐτώς διακειμένος ὁ δίκαιος) as I said, shall receive from the world is this: he shall be scourged, tortured, bound, deprived of his eyes, (μαστιγωσται, στρεμβλωσται, δεθησται, εκκαυθησται τῷ φθαλμῷ,) and at length, having suffered all sorts of evils, he shall be crucified, (ανασχυνδεθησται,) 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 Shiboleth, or Siboleth, occurs Judg. xii. 6.)—The Gypsies came originally from Chaldea, to Egypt and Europe.
APPENDIX.

XIV. The Leader of Chief Captain, .................................

\{ Josh. v. 14, 1 Chron. v. 2, Isa. iv. 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, lxvii. 1, lxxix. 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. xlii. 13, Isa. xlv. 3, Ezek. viii. 4; —Matt. xv. 31, xxiii. 37, John xx. 28. \\

XV. The Messiah, Christ, King of Israel, .................................

\{ \\
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, ex. 1, Dan. vii. 13, xvi. 14, Matt. xxviii. 18, John iii. 35, xiii. 3, 1 Cor. xv. 25, Ephes. i. 20—22, Col. iii. 1, Rev. xix. 16. \\

XVI. The God of Israel, ........................................................


XVII. The Lord of Hosts, or the Lord, ......................................

\{ \\

XVIII. King of kings and Lord of lords, ...................................

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 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 OBViate THE CAVILS OF
SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM HALES, D.D.
RECTOR OF KILLESANDRA, IN IRELAND; AND
FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL
LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD,
AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

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

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

In deference to the judgment, and even to the prejudices of some esteemed friends, he has readily retracted some new renderings of the original Scriptures, to which they objected. Such as Θεος, "A God," for God; Αγνωστός Θεός, "the unknowable God," for the unknown God; "Legitimate Son," for only Son; "only genuine," for only begotten; "became inspired," for was in the spirit; ετ, "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

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 (ὡμοουσίως) 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 ἐντερέσαι προντίδες, 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.
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 Advertisements) 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 correcter 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. 1736; 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. *Kemmel’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 1733, 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.


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 Wyttenbach has lately published an improved edition in Germany. Of the Lives, Bryan’s is the best Greek edition, 5 vols. 4to. 1724. The Langhones, father and son, have given an excellent English Translation of the Lives, with critical Notes, 6 vols. 8vo. 1770.


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.


12. Lucian. His works contain a good deal of Antiquarian information. The best edition is by Hemsterhusius, 4 vols. quarto, 1743.


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 Loudon edition omits several valuable Dissertations in the larger.
riety, and compass of research, will allow it to be compendious.


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. English and French.

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


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

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

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

30. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; last neat edition, 9 vols. 8vo. 1809. This great and elaborate work, collected principally from the Byzantine historians, (Vol. IX. p. 176, note,) contains a rich and valuable fund of information, and many ingenious remarks, in a monotonous and artificial style. But he was unhappily tinctured 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 panegyrick 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.


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

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

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

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

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

* This great Orientalist is a fortunate exception to the lot of several of his literary brethren. He, indeed, received the most splendid reward of his industry. He was invited to Italy, by Ferdinand II. Duke of Tuscany, who entertained him with that striking magnificence, which always distinguished the race of the Medici. After the death of Ferdinand, that great statesman, the illustrious Colbert, recalled him to Paris, where he enjoyed the fruits of his labour, and spent the remainder of his days in an easy and honourable retirement. But this is a rare example: the princes of Europe have not often imitated Ferdinand; nor their prime ministers, Colbert!
Profane History are to the full as abstruse, and intricate, as the mysteries of Revelation; and whoever attempts to
belot and the Supplement, folio, 1705. This mine of Oriental learning cannot be too highly praised for its well wrought, curious, valuable and entertaining mass of edlevaldite information.

II. ANTIQUARIAN POETS.


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.


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

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

51. Maundrell'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.

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 Demon'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.
63. Carwthien'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*.

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

Θησαυρον γλωσσης Ασκραίως ειπεν αριστον,
Πασων δ' Ελλαδικη γλωσσα αριστη εφυ.
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

ΔΑΣ ό με θησαυρος θησαυρος απηνευε, αριστος
Παισιν εων ιτεροις, εστι κακιστος εμοι.

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

Thesauri, momento, alii ditantique beantque,
Et faciunt Caesarum qui prius Ierus erat:
At Thesaurus me hic ex diviti reedit egenum,
Et facilt ui juxteme ruga senilis aret.
Sed mihi opum levis est, levis est factura juventae,
Judicio haeu levis est si labor iste tuo.

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

Never will any scholar undervalue, or count "his labour slight," by which himself has been, or his posterity may be, benefited, to the latest ages!

In his dignified, though modest and respectful Dedication, to the first princes and potentates of Europe, the emperor Maximilian II. the French king, Charles IX. Queen Elizabeth of England, the Electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburgh, and the University of Frankfort, he freely and frankly claims their patronage, for enlightening the minds of their subjects, and their students: concluding,

Sint Maccenates, non decurrent, Placie, 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, Caesar,
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 equire genius,
Germanos ergo, hic Galloque 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 mellifecatis, 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.


2. LATIN.

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


3. ORIENTAL.

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

---

At me, cujus opes tandem 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, Gaule, and English will enrich,
While all my treasured store, this has consumed!
But yours it is, me to remunerate;
So may your kingdoms flourish!"

Miserable remunerators were they!——-

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

VOL. IV.
This chronological system sketches a general outline of the fortunes of the three primitive families of Noah's

rately, without knowing something of them all." The admirable arrangement of this Lexicon affords the best help to trace the analogy of the Oriental languages, all issuing from one parent stock.

73. Meninski's Dictionary of the Asiatic Languages, the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The author of this stupendous work shared also the fate of 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 expense of employing and supporting a number of writers and printers, and of raising a new press for the Oriental characters."

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

Though the proposed edition of Meninski failed, the design was carried on, in part, by Richardson, the learned Orientalist, and friend of Jones, who first published an Arabic and English Grammar, 4to. 1776, on the model of the Persian; and a Persian, 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 monstrance, which perhaps might have suggested that excellent institution of Hertford College, near London, for the cultivation of the Asiatic languages.

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

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

75. Golius' Arabic and Latin Lexicon, Elzevir, folio, 1653. The best single Arabic Lexicon extant; its author, vir excellentissimus, omnisque literaturae, tam Orientalis quam Occidentalis, 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 Heracleidae, 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

a 2
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 Apocrypha, and with the corresponding parts of the History of the Jews, Syrians, Persians, Parthians, Saracens, and Turks, given in the course of the work; so that the candid and intelligent reader will find reason not to blame, but rather to approve, the omission.
to separate, after Noah's death, from the original settlement, at the foot of Mount Ararat, in Armenia and Assyria, and diverged from thence, in every direction, continuing their migrations, from thence, some earlier, others later, during the course of four centuries, and upwards. It has been the object of this work to follow his general outline, and confirm his important conclusions, establishing the veracity of the Mosaic History, by a fuller induction of particulars than was consistent with the scheme of his popular discourses. These discourses are contained in the first four, and most valuable, volumes of the Asiatic Researches; and have been since collected, in the magnificent edition of his works, published by Lord Teignmouth, his friend and successor.

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

The unknown and fabulous times, as distinguished from the historical, by that great chronologer Varro, furnish "a choice of difficulties" to the chronologer, the antiquary, and the historian. We remark in the extravagant Gods, Demigods, and Heroes of the remotest antiquity, a strange confusion of names and titles. Frequently, the same names denote different persons, at different times; and as frequently, the same
persons, the same times, and the same events are disguised under different names, fables, and fictions. Thus, Κρόνος, 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 Μίνως τοῦ Διὸς ταφος, "the tomb of Minos, the Son of Jove," but in process of time, the first part being obliterated, there only remained Δως 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 Ἀeschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, &c. will be found to vanish before closer translation; and these historical writers reconciled to each other, to the Oriental historians, and to Holy Writ; greatly to the benefit of sacred and profane literature; by removing a mass of rubbish, that has hitherto produced much doubt and scepticism in history and antiquities, discouraged the scientific study of both, and reared up mischievous obstacles and impediments to the progress of literature in general, both sacred and profane.

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

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

In tracing the characters of the most distinguished sages, worthies, statesmen and warriors of antiquity, such as the illustrious 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 Zerdusht, the Persian Manes, and the Arab, Mahomet; the last especially, the father of Islamism, or the founder of the Saracen empire. His character, indeed, and the spirit of Islamism, or the real genius of his motley religion, deserved to be traced with more than ordinary care, on account of the extraordinary revolution he introduced, and the rapid and astonishing progress of their arms, and propagation of their religion, by the Khalifs, his successors, over the fairest regions of the globe.

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

ΚΟΡΑΣ, ΟΜ, ΠΑΣΑ: ΚΑΝΣΑ, ΟΜ, ΠΑΣΗ:*

Glory to God in the highest; On earth peace; Good will toward men. Amen.

* See the Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 165.

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

ANTEDILUVIAN GENERATIONS, p. 1.

From Sanchoniatho.                     Moses.   B.C.
1. Protagonus and Aeon.................. Adam and Eve.................. 5411
2. Genos and Genea...................... Cain and his wife.............. 5281
3. Phos, Pur, Phlox..................... Enoch......................... 5091
4. Cassios, Libanos..................... Irad................................ 4901
5. Memramos, Usous...................... Methujael...................... 4731
6. Agrius, Halieus...................... Methuasael..................... 4566
7. Chrysor, Hephaistos.................. Lanech............................ 4404
8. Technites, Geinos................... Jabal, Jubal, Tubal Cain..... 4239

II. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTY, p. 8.

CHALDEAN KINGS.

From Berosus.                     S.        Y.       B.C.
1. Alorus, a Babylonian................. 10       100..... 4355
2. Alasparus, or Alaparus.............. 3        30..... 4255
3. Amelon, of Pantibilla................ 13       130..... 4225
4. Ammonon, of Chaldea.................. 12       120..... 4095
5. Megalarus, of Pantibilla............. 18       180..... 3975
6. Daonius, a Shepherd of Pantibilla... 10       100..... 3795
7. Euedoreschus, of Pantibilla......... 18       180..... 3695
8. Amenpsimus, a Chaldean of Larancha.. 10       100..... 3515
9. Otiartes, the same................... 8        80..... 3415
10. Xisuthrus, his son................... 18       180..... 3335

The Deluge................................ 120      1200..... 3155
## Postdiluvian Dynasties

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

From Syncellus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nimrod, Ninus I. or Belus I</td>
<td>98, 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evechous, or Chosma Belus</td>
<td>7, 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Porus</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>2448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nechubus</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>2413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Abius</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>2370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Oniballus</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>2322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Zinzirus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td>2282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Dynasty ........................................ 317 ... 2237

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

**Pishdadian Kings.**

From Mirkhond, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kairumarath, or Keyomarras</td>
<td>(560) 40</td>
<td></td>
<td>2190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siamek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kairumarath again</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td></td>
<td>(200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hushang, called Pischad, or Chedorlaomer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>2130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tahmuras</td>
<td></td>
<td>(700) 30</td>
<td>2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Giamschid, or Giemschid</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dahac, Zohak, or Zoak</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1000) 30</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aphridan, Phridun, or Pheridun</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Manugiahr, called Phirouz</td>
<td>(500) 120</td>
<td></td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nodar</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Apheresiab, or Afrasiab</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Zoab, Zoub, or Zab</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gershab, or Gershasp</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Dynasty ........................................ 529 ... 1661

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

From Ctesias.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mithraeus, or Ninus II</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tautanes, or Teutamus</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

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

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

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

From Scripture and Ptolomy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Babylonian Kings</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nabonassar</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadius</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinzirus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jugaeus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Mardok, Empad, or Me-
| rodach Baladan   | 12   | 721|
| Sardanapalus I   | 1700 | 710|
| Revolt of Medes and Ba-
| bylonians         | 710  | 709|
| Babylon regained  | 680  | 699|
| II. Invasion of Judea, and |
| Captivity of Manasseh | 674  | 692|
| Ninus III        | 667  | 688|
| Nabuchadonosor  | 658  | 680|
| Defeat of Arphaxad, or |
| Phraortes the Mede | 641  | 647|

B.C.
1. King of Nineveh ........ 821
Jonah’s prophecy ........ 800
2. Pul, or Belus II ...... 790
   I. Invasion of Israel ... 770
3. Tiglathpilesar .......... 747
   II. Invasion of Israel ... 740
4. Shalmanassar .......... 726
   III. Invasion of Israel... 722
   Samaria taken .......... 719
5. Sennacherib ............. 714
   I. Invasion of Judah ... 711
   — revolts from Assyria 710
   — writes to Hezekiah ...
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or |
   Sardanapalus I ........ 710
   Revolt of Medes and Ba-
   bylonians ................ 710
   Babylon regained ........ 680
   II. Invasion of Judea, and |
   Captivity of Manasseh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Babylonian Kings</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arcianus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Interregnum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belibus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apronadius</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regibelus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misessimordak</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asaradin, or Esarhaddon</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saosdutchin ...... 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chyniladon .......... 22</td>
<td>647</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY

**III. Invasion of Judea**

- Nabopolassar, or Labynetus I. ▶
- Nineveh taken ▶

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>Nabopolassar or Laby-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>netus I. ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>606</td>
<td>Nineveh taken ▶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*From Scripture, Berosus, and Ptolomy.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>606</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nineveh taken ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>604</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nabopolassar, Boktanser, or Nebuchadnezzar ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>596</td>
<td></td>
<td>subdues Elam, or Persia ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>561</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ilverodam, or Evilmerodach ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>558</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Niricassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>553</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nabonadius, or Labynetus II. appointed by Cyax-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ares, or Darius the Mede ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>536</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Babylon taken ▶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*KAIANIAN KINGS. PART I.*

*From Herodotus, Ctesias, Mirkhond, &c.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>Median Revolt and Interregnum ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>Dejoces, or Arteus ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>Phraortes, or Artyines, or Arphaxad ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>Cyaxares I, or Astibaras, or Kaikobad,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or Ahasuerus ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>first siege of Nineveh, and Scythian Invasion ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>Scythian expulsion ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>Lydian war ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>Eclipse of Thales ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>Astyages, Astyigas, or Aspadas, or Kaikaus ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>Cyaxares II. or Fraiborz, or Darius the Mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>succeeds Belshazzar at Babylon, and ap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>points Nabonadius prefect there ▶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accession of Kai Chosru, or Cyrus the Persian ▶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOL. IV.
### VII. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 228 YEARS, p. 89.

**KAUMAN KINGS. PART II.**

From *Herodotus, Mirkhond, &c.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years in Power</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cyrus, or Kai Chosru</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>in Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Babylon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Cambyses, or Lohorasp</td>
<td>7, 5m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Smerdis Magus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Darius, son of Hystasp, or Gushasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Darius, son of Hystasp</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Xerxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ardshir Dirazdest, or Bahaman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Artaxerxes</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Darius Nothus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Artaxerxes Muemon</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Ochus, or Darab I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ochus, or Darab I</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Arogus, or Arses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Darius Codomannus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Conquered by Alexander, or Ascander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Antiochus Soter</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Seleucus Callinicus</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conquered by *Alexander, or Ascander.* 228

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

From *Arrian, &c. Mirkhond, &c.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years in Power</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Alexander the Great</td>
<td>8 (332)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Philip Arideus</td>
<td>6 (324)</td>
<td>First division of the Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Alexander ægus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Seleucus Nicator</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Second division of the Provinces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Era of Seleucidæ</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Final partition of the Empire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Antiochus Soter</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Antiochus Theos</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Seleucus Callinicus</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Parthian Dynasty* 102
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Arsaces, or Arshak, or Aschek</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Arsaces II. or Aschek II.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Priapatus, or Schabour, or Padeshahi Buzurk</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Phraates, or Baharam, or Firouz</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mithridates</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Phraates II. or Firouz II.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Artabanus, or Ardevan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Pacorus</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Phraates III. or Khosrou</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Orodès, Mithridates</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orodès again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Phraates IV. or Khosrou II.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Orodès II.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Vonones, or Narses.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Artabanus II. or Ardevan II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tiridates</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artabanus again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Gotarzès, Meherdates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vonones II.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Vologeses</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Artabanus III.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Pacorus II.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Chosroes</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Vologeses II.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Vologeses III.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Artabanus IV. or Ardevan III.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Sassanian Kings.**

From Agathias, &c. Mirkhond, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Artaxares, or Ardschir ben Babek</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sapor, or Schahour</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hormizdas, or Hormuz</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Vararanes, Varanes, or Baharam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Vararanes II. or Baharam II.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Narses, or Narsi</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Misdates, or Hormouz</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sapor II. or Schabour Doulaktaf</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Artaxerxes, or Ardeschir</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sapor III. or Schabour ben Schabour</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Vararanes IV. or Kerman Schah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Isdигertes, or Jezdegerd Al Athim</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Vararanes V. or Baharam Gour</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Vararanes VI. or Jezdegerd ben Baharam</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Peroz, or Firouz</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Valens, or Balasch ben Firouz</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Cavad, or Cobad</td>
<td>Zambad</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Chosroes, or Nouschirvan</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Hormizdas II. or Hormuz ben Nouschirvan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Chosroes II. or Khosru Perviz</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Siroes, or Schirouich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Ardesir, or Ardeschir ben Schirouich (2 m.)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Sarbaras, or Scheheriar (1, 1 m.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Hormizdas, or Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Saracen Dynasty.**

|   | 411 |  | 636 |

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

From Abulfaragi, Abulfeda, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mahomet's Hegira, or flight</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>HEG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Al Mostanser</td>
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<td>1226</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>Al Mostasem</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1242</td>
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</table>

End of the Dynasty 636 1258 656

### XII. TURKISH DYNASTY, p. 366.

From Herbelot, Knolles, Playfair, &c.

#### OTTOMAN SULTANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sultan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Othoman, or Othman</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Orchan</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Amurath</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bajazet</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mahomet</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Amurath II.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mahomet II. the Great</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bajazet II.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Selim</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Solyman the Magnificent</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Selim II.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Amurath III.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1574</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mahomet III.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1595</td>
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SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY

14. Achmet ...................................................... 14 ... 1603
15. Mustapha ................................................... 1 ... 1617
   { Othman II ............................................. 4 ... 1618
16. Mustapha again ........................................... 1 ... 1622
17. Amurath IV, or Murat ................................. 26 ... 1623
18. Mahomet IV ................................................. 36 ... 1649
19. Achmet II ................................................... 8 ... 1687
20. Mustapha II ................................................ 8 ... 1695
21. Achmet III .................................................. 27 ... 1703
22. Mahomet V .................................................. 24 ... 1730
23. Othman III ................................................... 3 ... 1754
24. Mustapha III ............................................... ... 1757
 &c.

II. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY, p. 400.

I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 416.

Primary Gods, 2256 years.

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

II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 417.

Demigods and Heroes, 743 years.

1. Noah and his sons ............................................. 524 ... 3155
2. Misraim and his successors ............................... 201 ... 2613

End of the Heroic age ........................................... 743 ... 2412

III. EGYPTIANS, p. 418.

First Dynasty, 253 years, p. 418.

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

### Second Dynasty, Shepherd Kings, 260 years, p. 418.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bayon, Byon, or Bahya</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Apachnes, Pachuan, or Rucma</td>
<td>37 7m.</td>
<td>2096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First pyramid begun, about</td>
<td></td>
<td>2095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abraham visits Egypt.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Apophes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Janias, or Sethos</td>
<td>50 1 m.</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Assis, or Aseth</td>
<td>49 2 m.</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Expulsion of the Shepherds</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>260 10 m.</td>
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</table>

### Third Dynasty, Natives, 251 years, p. 418.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Alisphragmuthosis, &amp;c.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Governor of Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob's family settle in Goshen</td>
<td></td>
<td>1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph's death</td>
<td></td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Queen Nitocris</td>
<td></td>
<td>1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Exode of the Israelites</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>251</td>
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### Fourth Dynasty, 340 years, p. 418.

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Amosis, Tethmosis, or Thummosis</td>
<td>25, 4 m.</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chebron</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Amenophis I</td>
<td>20, 7 m.</td>
<td>1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ameness</td>
<td>21, 9 m.</td>
<td>1589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mephres</td>
<td>12, 9 m.</td>
<td>1567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Misphragmuthosis</td>
<td>25, 10 m.</td>
<td>1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Thmosis, or Tethmosis</td>
<td>9, 8 m.</td>
<td>1528</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Amenophis II</td>
<td>30, 5 m.</td>
<td>1518</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Orus, or Horus</td>
<td>36, 5 m.</td>
<td>1488</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Acencheres</td>
<td>12, 1 m.</td>
<td>1452</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Rathosis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1440</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Acencheres I</td>
<td>12, 5 m.</td>
<td>1431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Acencheres II</td>
<td>20, 3 m.</td>
<td>1418</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Armais, or Harmais</td>
<td>4, 1 m.</td>
<td>1398</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ramesses</td>
<td>1, 4 m.</td>
<td>1394</td>
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SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

16. Harmesses ........................................... y. 66, 2 m. 1393
17. Amenophis III. or Mæris ................................. y. 19, 6 m. 1327

Death of Mæris ........................................... 340, 7 m. 1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 years, p. 419.

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

His death .................................................. 342 ... 966

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 years, p. 419.

A chasm ...................................................... 151 ... 966
1. Bocchoris, or Asychis .................................... 44 ... 815
2. Anysis .................................................. 2 ... 771
3. Sabacon, Soa, or So .................................... 50 ... 769
Anysis again .............................................. 6 ... 719
4. Sebecon, or Sethon ....................................... 713
Sennacherib invades Egypt ............................... 711

Death of Sethon ........................................... 293 ... 673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 years, p. 419.

12 Contemporary kings .................................. 15 ... 673
2. Psammeticus ............................................ 39 ... 658
3. Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho ............................. 16 ... 619
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
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<th>Y.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nekus kills Josiah, and takes Cadytis or Jerusalem...</td>
<td>608</td>
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<td>Psammis</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apries, or Pharao Hophra</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amasis</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solon’s visit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cyrus conquers Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psammenitus. I. Revolt of Egypt</td>
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</table>

Eighth Dynasty, Persian kings, 112 years, p. 420.

1. Cambyses reduces Egypt
   I. Persian Administration
   - 38 | 525 |
2. Darius Hystaspes. II. Revolt
   - 3 | 487 |
3. Xerxes reduces Egypt
   II. Persian Administration
   - 24 | 484 |
4. Artaxerxes Longimanus. III. Revolt
   - 4 | 460 |
   - reduces Egypt
   III. Persian Administration
   - 43 | 456 |
   - Herodotus visits Egypt | | 448 |
5. Darius Nothus. IV. Revolt
   - 112 | 413 |

Ninth Dynasty, Natives, 81 years, p. 420.

1. Amyrtæus | 6 | 413 |
2. Pausiris | 6 | 407 |
3. Psammaticus II | 6 | 401 |
4. Nephereus | 6 | 395 |
5. Acoris | 14 | 389 |
6. Nectanebis | 12 | 375 |
7. Tachus, or Teos | 2 | 363 |
8. Nectanebus | 11 | 361 |
   Ochus reduces Egypt
   IV. Persian Administration
   - 18 | 350 |
   - Alexander conquers Egypt | | 332 |

Tenth Dynasty, Macedo-Grecians, 302 years.

This 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.
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 gulf of time, incongruous in themselves, and unconnected with each other, oppressed and smothered almost beneath successive accumulations of poetic fiction, philosophizing allegory, and recondite mysticism. See Vol. I. p. 266, 267.

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

Sanchoniatho, according to Porphyry, flourished about a century before the Trojan war; and among other historical materials consulted the records of Jerombaal, priest of the god Lëvω †; and dedicated his work to Abibalus †, king of Berytus in Phœ-
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 ἀρχηγὸς πολυμαθῆς καὶ πολυπραγμον, “a very learned and inquisitive person.” Eusebius. Preparat. 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.**

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<td>Cain and his Wife</td>
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<td>Lamach</td>
<td>Jabal, Juba and Tubal Cain</td>
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&c. And Gideon was self-appointed priest of the God Iew, (the Phœnician pronunciation of the Hebrew Iaw, יָאָו, or Iahow, 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 Porpyry, 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 Origins Sacra, 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 αών, “living.” They are supposed to have been both mortals, be-gotten of the Wind Kolpiac, and his wife Baau, signifying night. According to Aristotle, Εγκολπιας is “a wind issuing from cav erns,” (εκ κολπιων;) and it resembles the SPIRIT OF GOD which “brooded upon the face of the waters;” while the term Baau is plainly the Hebrew בָּה וּ, Bhu, or Bha, 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 for bidden fruit. Gen. iii. 6.

2. The second pair strongly resemble Cain and his sister wife, by change of kindred letters, from the Hebrew ק, Kain, and its feminine קינ, Kainah. Both are said to have been the off spring 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 באל שלמה, a Phœnician variation of the Hebrew באל שמיים, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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 180 years old at the birth of his first born Cain, and according to the Jewish apocryphal book, called the little Genesis, that Cain was 190 years old at the birth of his son Enoch; and that the remaining generations of both lines were equal in length respectively.

3. The third generation were said to have found out the art of kindling fire, by rubbing dry sticks together, and to have taught it to mankind. This was intimated in their names, Φως, light, Πυρ, fire, and Φλόγα, 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. Chryson, 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 ὄιον, Di, mici, "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 Τέχνης, "artist," the other Γενος αὐτοχθων, "Native son of Earth." They found that 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 Mosaic 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 Apostle, Lib. VI. p. 205.

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

Sanchoniatho continues his idolatrous system, in the person of Agrotes, whom he represents as having a statue and a shrine in Phoenicia, 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 Ελιονν ψιστος, “the most high God,” and Βηροθ, 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 Αμυνων, denoting “the race of Ham,” and Μαγους, “Magician,” famous in Egypt. Exod. vii. 11. These are represented as the immediate offspring of the Αλντας, “Wanderers,” and Τιμαντος, “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 Astronomical predictions, that the Athenians erected a statue to him with a golden tongue, in the Gymnasium.

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

The following list of Chaldean kings who reigned before the deluge, from Berosus, is compiled from the varying accounts of
**Analysis of Apollodorus, B.C. 144, Polyhistor, B.C. 88, Abydenus, B.C. 60, and Africanus, A.D. 220, in Syncellus Chronographia, p. 36; given from thence by Jackson, in his Chronology, Vol. I. p. 198, 199, &c.**

**Chaldean Dynasty.**

1. Alorus, a Babylonian .................. 10 .. 100 .. 4355
2. Alusparus, or Alaparus .................. 3 .. 30 .. 4255
3. Amilon, of Pantibibla .................. 13 .. 130 .. 4225
4. Ammenon, of Chaldea .................. 12 .. 120 .. 4205
5. Megalarus, of Pantibibla .................. 18 .. 180 .. 3975
6. Daonus, a shepherd of Pantibibla ........... 10 .. 100 .. 3795
7. Euedoreschus, of Pantibibla ........... 18 .. 180 .. 3695
8. Amempsinus, a Chaldean of Laranclia ........... 10 .. 100 .. 3515
9. Otiartes, the same .................. 8 .. 80 .. 3415
10. Xisuthrus, his Son, in whose reign .................. 18 .. 180 .. 3335
   The great Deluge happened. .................. 120 .. 1200 .. 3155

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

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

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

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

And this is confirmed by the remarkable analogy of their names. Chrysor was probably חָרִישׂ אוֹר, Hhoresh Aur, or Or, "Artificer of light, or of fire." And Alorus, stript of its Greek termination, בָּלָס, אֵל אֵוָר, or Or, "God of light, or of fire;" which are plainly synonymous titles. בָּלָס, Aur, Ur, or Or, is immediately applied to the Sun, by Job, xxxi. 26, reprobing 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 miscusious 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-

† 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 sufferers, 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 Ἰατρα Dagg, "a fish,") with a human head, and hands; 1 Sam. v. 2—4, among the Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, Phoenicians and Philistines*, in after ages; evidently founded on this primeval tradition. See Vol. II. p. 297, note, of this work.

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

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

Vivitur ex rapto: non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer a genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est;
Vincta jacet pietas, et virgo, cede madentes,
Ultima Coelestum, terras Astraea reliquit.

— Sed et illa propago
Contemptrix Superum, saevaeque avidissima cedis,
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 Sippare, the city of the Sun, mentioned afterwards, near the Euphrates, between Babylon and Nineveh, probably the Sepharvaim of Scripture, where the Sun was worshipped, 2 Kings xvii. 24—31. Others were of Larancha, in Chaldea; and only the last Xisuthrus succeeded his father Otiartes, in the regal government. Thus does Berosus furnish a valuable supplement to the short Mosaic account of the Giants.

The following account of the deluge, is furnished by Polyhister, 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 Sippare, the city of the Sun, [from the Chaldee, סיפרא, Sipkra, or Sippare, 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 Sippârê, 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 Sippârê, built many cities, erected temples, and rebuilt Babylon."

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

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

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

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

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

6. In the Saturn of Berosus, we have the true 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 ποτις, η ρ', αγάθος περ εων, ύπερπλον ειτεν, 
Ει μ' όμοιμον εοντα βια αεικονα καθεξει.
Τρεις γαρ τ' εκ Κρονου ειμεν αιδηφοι, οις τεκε Ρειν, 
Ζενς και Εγω, τριτατος δ' Αιδης ενεφοιν ανασονων.
Τριβα δε παντα ειδασσαι, ικαστος δ' εμομο τιμης.
Ηντι Εγων ελαξον πολιν αλα ναιμεν αιει, 
Παλλομενων, Αιδης δ' ειλαξη ζοφων ηρεοντα.
Ζενς δ' ειλαξι ουρανον εφυν εν αιθερι και νεφελαι.
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 Phænecia; 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 Phænecian 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 γαρ θεσφατον εστιν θειν δ' εγω ους αλεγιζω
Χωροεινης, ονδε' ει κε τα νειατα περαθ' ικησι
Γανες και ποντουι, ιν' Ιαπετος τε Κρονος τε
Ημεσοι, οντ' ανγης υπεριωνος ηελιοιο
Τερποντ', ουν' ανεμοιω βαθως δε τε ταρταρος αμφως.

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

ILIAD viii. 478—481.

Οι περι μερτεροι εισι θεοι, Κρονον αμφως εοντες.
"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 cæstera texerat æquor,  
Cum consorte tori, parēva rate, vectus adhaesit,  
Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorat,  
Fatidicamque Themim, quæ tunc oracula tenebat.  
Non illo, melior quisquam, nec amantior aqui,  
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 disject, nimbisque Aquilone remotis,  
Et caelo 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 to strangers, nor showed mercy to suppliants. In return for which the great calamity befell them. Immediately the earth discharged much water [from the abyss, or fountains of the great deep, then broken up, Gen. vii. 11.] And great rains fell [from the clouds; when the windows of heaven were opened, Gen. vii. 11.] And the swollen rivers descended, and the sea rose to a great height, until the whole
ferring to other countries, and to later ages, the circumstances of the general deluge, from the usual propensity of mankind to signalize their own countries, and their own ancestors. It is thus excellently explained by an ingenious French Scavant, Bailly, sur l'Atlantide, p. 28.

"When a nation, either in a body, or by colonies, changes its habituation, 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 Babylon, 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 Casyumers; 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.

The foundation of his kingdom is dated by the excellent Armenian annalist, Abulfaragi, in the seventyeth year of Ren, 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 Periplus 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. η Νινος, "the city of Ninus," or of Nin, "a son," which seems to have been his original name, until parodied into αθή Νιμρόδ, "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 Λ, or Λα, 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 Afri-canus, (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.

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<th>Y.</th>
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<td>1. Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus †, or Maha Bala</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Evechous, or Chosma Belus</td>
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<td>6</td>
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* Xenophon's fifth encampment from the Zabates, in his famous retreat, must have been near, or beside Nineveh, which strengthens this conjecture; though neither he, nor Alexander, who passed so near it in his way to the field of battle at Arbela, take the least notice of its ruins. Tacitus notices a city, called Nineveh, in this quarter, in the reign of Claudius.

† ORIENTAL TITLES.

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

These titles are either simple or compounded: and it is the province of skilful etymological analysis, founded on the nature and genius of Oriental languages, to resolve the compound titles into their constituent or elementary parts, carefully tracing their variations through the several kindred dialects of the east and west, all branching off from the primeval language, when it came to be corrupted at the Confusion of Tongues;
3. Porus
4. Nechubus
5. Abius
6. Oniballus
7. Zinzirus

Interregnum

End of the Interregnum

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<th>No.</th>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Nechubus</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Oniballus</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Zinzirus</td>
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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, 

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 acute or shriller pronunciation. 3. By retrenchment of radical letters or syllables, and by addition of servile, the former usually at the beginning or middle of the titles, the latter at the end.

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

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

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

3. אָסָר (Assur) "Assyria," whence Assar, Asar, Ezar, Osor, and Ser.*

4. חָזָר (Nabi) "Prophet;" whence Nabu, Nebo, or Nebu.

5. דֹּלֶם, or Phoenician, דֹּל (Sar) "a chief, Lord, or great," דֹּלֶם (Sarnim) "chiefs or Lords.

Whence Czer, and דֹּל (Hasar) "the chief," or Asar, Esar, in composition.

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

7. קָטָר (Chur) "a furnace;" Khur, "the sun," in Persic. Whence שָׁנָר (Chorus, not Chores) 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. מֶלֶךְ (Melech) "king;" whence Malek, and Malka, in Persic

The following seem to be pure Persic:


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-danapali-us; Shalman-Assar, Nabon-assar, Nabu-ol-assar, Nebu-chadh-ezzar, or Nebu-chad-nessor, or Nabu-chad-onosor, or Bo-chat-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 Ku-ασάρης, 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, Arloch, king of Ellasar, or Arabia: Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, or

anases, "כלאש", Darius (not Dariavesh) and Darab *, Schah Abbas, Mithraeus, or Mithridates, &c.

Sometimes we find decompounded 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 Goin, or the mingled nations of Cæle Syria and Galilee, against the five kings of the Pentapolis, Bera, king of Sodom, Birsha, king of Gomorrah, Shinab, king of Admah, Shemebar, king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, afterwards called Zoar, who had rebelled* from the king of

* WAR OF THE GODS AND GIANTS.


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

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

1. Horace, so well acquainted with Hesiod's Theogony, (see Vol I. p. 245, note,) has circumstantially described the Gods and Giants engaged in this war; or the chieftains of Elam and Sodom. The four confederate kings of Elam, who came from the upper regions of the North, are represented by Jove and his associate Gods, Pallas, Juno, and Apollo; with Vulcan, the forger of thunderbolts, who originally was the same with Jove himself. The five rebel kings of Canaan, or the South, are represented by the Giant-brothers, Typhoeus, Mimas, Porphyiron, Rhæcus, 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 Asphalitic lake, sixteen years after, B.C. 2054. Gen. xix. 24, 25.

____ Scimus, ut ìmpios
Titanas, immanemque turmam,
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum; et Urbes, regnaque tristia [Tartari]
Imperio regit, unus, æquo.
Magnum, illa, terrem intulerat Jovi,
Fidens, Juventus horrida, brachiis;
Fratesque, tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympos:
Sed quid Typhoeus, et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyiron statu,
Quid Rhæcus, evulsiisque truncis
Enceladus, jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent ruentes!—Hinc, avidus stetit
Vulcanus; hinc, matrona Juno, et
Nunquam humeris posituras arcum—
Delius et Patareus Apollo.

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 Typhoeus, 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, Týphoëus, from τύφος, 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.

**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," (γηγενεῖς) or produced from the slime, and hatched by the Sun's heat; like the σειρεῖοι αὐτοχθόνοι, or "native son of earth," of Sanchoniatho. With these, he joins in Tartars, their relations, the two Aloiæ, (αλωίεις) or "field born," who aptly denote the two young Canaanites, of Hebron, Aner and Eschol, who assisted Abraham, their neighbour, in the war of Sodom; and were therefore embarked in the same cause with the five Giants, and involved in the same poetic doom.

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

**Aeneid**. vi. 580.

In thus shifting the bed of Typhoeus 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 Typhoeus, 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 Ithmian 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. **Aeneid**. viii. 410.

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 eensure them.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

25 captives, B.C. 2070, until they were rescued by Abraham, his servants, and two young neighbours of Mamre; his associates,

'Ossa de μη πεφιλήκε
Ζευς, στυγνοί βοῶν
Περιέων αἴοντα,
Γαν τε, καὶ ποντὸν κατ' αμαμακετον'
'Oc τ΄ εν αινῷ Ταρταρῷ κεν-
tαι, θεων πολεμοῦς,
Τυφώς ἵκατοντακαρανός τοῦ ποτε
Κληκιων θρεψεν πολυω-
νυμον αντρων νων γε μαν
Ται θ' ύπερ Κυμας ἀλειρκες αχθαί
Σικελία τ' αυτω πιεζε
Στέρνα λαχναεντα' Κιων
Δ' ουρανα συνεχει
Νίφοσσ' Αιτνα, πανετες
Χιωνος αξιας τιβηνα.

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

PYTH. I. 25.

6. This "Pierian lay," referred to by Pindar, is given by Ovid, in his Metamorphoses. One of the Pierides, who had challenged the Muses, chose for her subject, the war of the Gods and Giants; in which she magnified the exploits of the latter, and deprecated the former. She sung how the Gods were terrified, and put to flight by Typhon, 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] que se certare professa est,
Bella canit Superum; falsaque in honore Gigantes
Ponit, et extenuat Magnorum facta Deorum.
Emissumque [canit] imā de sede, Typho̱ca, terrae,
Caelibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugae, donec fessos Ægyptia tellus
Cepherit, et septem discretus in ostia Nīlus.
"Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typho̱ēa †, narrat,

* "Even the demons believe and tremble," (δαμονα—φρισσουσι) James ii. 19.
This parallel passage supplies the substantive, δαμονα, understood in Pindar, agreeing with ὅσσα. The demons, in Jewish and Grecian Mythology, were supposed to be the spirits of dead men, good or bad. The latter are marked by μη πεφιληκε Ζευς. See Vol. III. p. 104, note, and Vol. III. p. 520.
† Ovid, in his Fasti, ii. 461, identifies Typhon, 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 develope 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 recurvís
Nunc quoque formatus, Libys est cum cornibus Ammon)
Delius, in corvo; proles Semeliea, capro;
Fele, soror Phæbi; niveâ Saturnia, vacâ;
Piscæ Venus latuit; Cyllenius ibidis alis."  

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.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

I. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 529 YEARS.

1. Kaiumarath, or Keiomarras, (560) .................. 40 .... 2190
Siamek
Kaiumarath again. ........................................ 30 .... 2150
2. Hushang, or Houschenk, called Pischdad, or Che-
dorlaomer .................................................. 50 .... 2120
3. Tahmuras ........................................... (700) ........ 30 .... 2070
4. Giamschid, or Giemschid ................................. 30 .... 2040
5. Dahak, Zahak, or Zoak .... (1000) .................... 30 .... 2010
6. Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun ......................... 120 .... 1980
7. Manuqiahr, called Phirouz (500) .................... 120 .... 1860
8. Nodar .................................................. 7 .... 1740
9. Apherasiab, or Afrasiab. ................................. 12 .... 1733
10. Zoab, Zab, or Zoub ................................... 30 .... 1721
11. Gershab, or Gershasp. .................................. 30 .... 1691

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 Chedorlaomer, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

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 Kaimurarath 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 Bulch, &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, Siannek, who was slain shortly after in battle. This obliged Kaimurarath 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 Kaimurarath, (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 Kaimurarath, contrary to the history; for Hushang was the son of Siannek.

HUSHANG, SURNAMED PISCHIDAD.

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

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

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

*ANCIENT PERSIAN MYTHOLOGY.*

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

The fabulous ages of Asiatic mythology stretch far beyond the creation of man. The world is supposed to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation; who were successively annihilated, or banished, for disobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eastern romance, entitled Caherman Nameh, 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 millenarian 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 Dices 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 Name; and the kings of Shahsevan in the Caherman Name.

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 Dices; 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 Efer, the Esheker, or Eshechah, 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 juz and nim chehr, 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 Mothur 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 Dices. But the Peris, submitting thereto, became thenceforward the friends and protectors of the human race. Hares, with his chief followers, was cursed by God, and doomed to a long period of torment in the infernal regions. On his fall his name was changed into Iba, "the refractory;" Eblis, "the desperate;" and Sheitan, "the proud," among the Arabians.

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

* The Tarikh Montekheb, and other oriental histories, suppose that this was Soliman ben Daoud, "the son of David;" but the earlier work of the Tahmuras Name, says he was the Prasadamate king. And the Kaimarath Name 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 name of Ferdousi* the celebrated Rostam, several ages after, slew, in fierce combat, the dive Arzshenk, who had escaped from the chains of Tahmuras, and fought with a human body, and head of a bull, and afterwards he killed the Dive Sepid, or "white Dive." And Gershab, the last king of the Pishdadian dynasty, wounded the Dive Munheras with an arrow in the mouth; and Sohrab, the son of Rostam, afterwards slew him, after he had assumed various forms; first, the head of a hog; next, a head with two faces, of a lion on one side, and of a wild boar on the other.

These Peris and Dives, the friends and foes of mankind, and all the machinery of their conflicts, seem to have furnished the ground-work of the prevalent notions of good and bad demons, of gods and giants, that pervade the whole of eastern and western romance. We find them in Jewish, Indian, Greekian, 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 *Sleivian* of the Arabs, correspond to " *Beelzebub*, the prince of *Demons*," to whom the *Scribes* and *Pharisæes* compared *Christ*. And our Lord refuted them upon their own principles; " when the strong (ο  σιγνωστορος) armeth, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when the stronger (ο σιγνωστορος) 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 *Ippogrifo*, mounted on which, *Astolfo* took his flight to heaven; and the *magick* ring of *Bradamante*, in the *Orlando Furioso* of *Ariosto*; the various enchantments of *Armanda* 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 *Camelot*, 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 *Shakespeare*, &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*, *Simargh*, *Rakshe*, or *Ouranobad*, &c. For the terms it substitutes, *Angels*, *Devils*, *Genies*, *Giants*, *Afrises*, *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 *Kavianian*. 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*, " *Divil*, or *Devil*." *Peri*, " *Fairy*;" *Pader*, " *πατηρ*, pater," or *Phader*, " *Father*;" *Mader*, " *μητηρ*; *mater*," 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 Damascend, 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 confrater gods; as shewn in the preceding note. This seems to leave scarcely a doubt of the identity of Chedorlaomer and Hushang; and therefore tends to remove the veil that has hitherto been spread over the chronology of the romantic accounts of the oriental historians.

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

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

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

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

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

GIEMSCHEID.

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

These are advantageous specimens of the primitive religion of the Persians, before it was corrupted by the errors of Zabism 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 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 matrass, 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 Diódorus 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 κρέφος Θεός, "the hidden God," thus represented by the darkness of the cave; could not possibly denote the Sun; to which the term was misapplied in after ages, by the worshippers of the solar light. See the original passages; Cudworth's Intellect. System, p. 285, 286.

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

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

"The hoary Parthian seers, who watched by night,
The eternal fire in Mithras' mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that primæval light,
Which to your 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. xxii. 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, Praepar. Evangel. Lib. I. cap. ult. p. 42.

'Ὁ Θεός εὖ τε κεφαλὴν εὖνων ἱερακός′ οὐτος εὖν ὁ πρωτός, ἀρθαρτος, αἰώς, αγενήσος, αμήρος, ανομοιοτάτος, ἦνοχος παντός καλὸν, ἀειροδοκητός, αγαθῶν αγαθοτάτος, φρονίμων φρονιμωτάτος· εὐτίκες καὶ πατήρ εὐνοίας καὶ δικαίωσις, αὐτοδιδάκτος, φυσικός, καὶ τελείος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ θεόν φύσικον μοῦνος εὐρέθη.

"The God is [represented] having a hawk's head. He is the First, Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Invisible, 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-

Unhrihible, 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, ἐστὶν ἔχων, indicates representation; for otherwise it would be ἐχεῖν, “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 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 Aharinum, or Ahriman, and by the Greeks, Ἄριμανος, Ἀριμάννιος: 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, ἀριμάννιος. This compound term corresponds to the scriptural phrase, “the foul spirit,” Mark ix. 25; or, to the old English, “the foul fiend.” And their religion is thus explained by Ibn Shahna, a Mahometan Arab.

“The religion of the Persians is very ancient, and the proficients therein are called Keiomarsians, (or followers of Kaimmarath.) They state, that there is an eternal Being, whom they call Yezdan, meaning thereby God: and another, created from darkness, whom they call Ahreman, denoting the Devil. They maintain, that God the Creator, created both light and darkness; and that He is alone, and 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.

“This 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. xiv. 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
rence 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 Kaimurath, 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, דוער אורות, Aurim Hasdei; and corresponding to the scriptural phrase, "the Father of Lights." Jan. i. 17. See Jackson, Vol. III. p. 302, 371.


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 Manugiahr, asserted the right of Feridoun, to divide his dominions as he pleased.

The Turkish historians derive their name, Turks, from Turk, the eldest son of Japheth, their ancestor; who seems to be the Tiras of Scripture. Gen. x. 2. But the account of the Persian historians seems more probable. For Amurath, the first Ottoman Emperor, seems to have assumed the title of the first Pischdadian monarch, Kai-Umarath; and his successors, especially after they got the upper-hand of the Persians, were proud to add to their titles, that of Afrasiab, the grandson of Tur; both to mark their nobility and their 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 Faybur, which is still retained by the Porcelain China ware, in the Levant, corruptly called farfouri. To his second, Kai-sar, or Caesar, still assumed by the emperor of the West; and to his youngest, Schah, the leading title of the Persian Monarch, at this day.

MANUGIAHR, OR MANUGEHER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

See Hyde, p. 156—158.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ZAB.

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

GERSCASP.

He was a prince of great merit, and deserved a better fate than he met. Afrasiab, disregarding the former treaty with Zalzer, took advantage of the disorders of the kingdom, to invade it, a third time; and, in a pitched battle, defeated the Persians, and slew their king. With him the Pischdadian Dynasty ended, by the general consent of the Persian historians; though Khondemir supposes, that it ended with his predecessor, Zab.
This Persian Dynasty differed widely from its predecessor, the Assyrian; that was founded in rebellion against God, and usurpation against man: this, in piety and virtue, and the willing consent of its constituent provinces, and it was rightly termed 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 Croesus, king of Lydia; nor a syllable of Cambyses, or of that frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magnus, and the succession of Darius Hystaspis by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassinations recorded by Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Platea 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, Kv-αχσωρος, Cyaxares. 2. Kai-chosru, dropping the prefixed title Kai, leaves the remainder analogous to Χοσρα Churos, or Κοσρος, by only reversing the three last letters, Χορσρ. (See the foregoing note on Oriental titles.) 3. Gustasp is plainly Hystaspes, by interchange of gutturals. 4. Ardashir has little analogy to Artaxerxes, but his epithet, Dirazdest, signifies μακαπο-χεμπ, longimanus, or "long-handed." 5. The two last Darabs correspond to Darius Ochus and Codomannus. Three of the Grecian kings, indeed, Xerxes, Darius Notius, and Artaxerxes Mucmon, 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 Notius, and Artaxerxes Mucmon. 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 themselves, likewise, to their 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 other 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 Mugi. 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 יִנְנֵי, Churos, (not Chorash,) 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 Kiresh) who lived in the reign of Ardeshir Dirazdeh, and was appointed by him Deputy Governor of Babylon, in the room of the son of Bakhtunasar, (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 Babylonian captivity began B.C. 458, near the end of the reign of Lohorash, by whose orders Nabocodnassar conquered Syria, Palestine, and other western districts. P. 90—93.

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

1. His first supposed date of the proclamation, B.C. 315, is deduced from the alleged date of the Jewish larger Chronicle, [or Seder Olam Rabbah,] 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 Samarians near twenty years. But B.C. 331 + 34 + 20 = B.C. 385.—His second date, B.C. 368 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 Ardashir. But B.C. 331 + 13 + 12 + 30 + 2 = B.C. 368. And from this supposed date of the proclamation, again he counts upwards, thirty-eight years more for Ardashir, and about thirty for the reign of Kishtash, or Gushtasp, and the two last of Lohorash, till the commencement of the seventy years captivity. But B.C. 368 + 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. 343, 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 lie 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 Ardashir, instead of the sovereign of the Median, Persian, and Babylonian empire; and he degrades the mighty and haughty Nebuchadnessar to the same dependant state, acting as general under Lohorash, 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 Joddaa, 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. 363, 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.

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<td>1.</td>
<td>Kai kobad, or Cyaxares</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Gushtasp, Kishtasp, or Darius Hystaspes</td>
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<td>Ardschir, Bahaman, or Artaxerxes I</td>
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<td>Queen Homai</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Darab I, or Darius I, Ochus</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Darab II, or Darius II, Codomannus</td>
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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 *Kainumarath* 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 *Kainumarath*, 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 Conconerus, 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 Conconerus, 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 Spathæus, the fifteenth in the list. But the accession of Cecrops, in B.C. 1592, according to the Parian Chronicle, (see Vol. I. p. 112) fell on the 25th year of Spathæus, 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.

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SECTION III.

II. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 431 YEARS.

25. Mithæus, or Ninus II. ........................................ 37 .... 1252
26. Tautanes, or Teutamus ........................................ 32 .... 1215
27. Teutæus .......................................................... 44 .... 1183
28. Thineæus .......................................................... 30 .... 1139
29. Dercylus ............................................................. 40 .... 1109
30. Eupolis, or Empuchnes .......................................... 38 .... 1069
31. Laosthenes .......................................................... 45 .... 1031
32. Pertaiades .......................................................... 30 .... 986
33. Ophrææus ............................................................ 21 .... 956
34. Epecheres, or Ofratanes ......................................... 52 .... 935
35. Açraganes, or Açrazapes ......................................... 42 .... 883
36. Thonus Concolerus ................................................ 20 .... 841

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

The first prince in this table might have been surnamed Mithæus, 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 Diódoros and Cyril; noticed in the text.


VOL. IV.  E
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 Niyas, 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 counting 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. 1. § 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 ܢܝܢܘܐ, Ninuah, or ܢܘܘܢܐ, "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 Mithraeus, B.C. 1252, critically cor-

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

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

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

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

Upon both accounts, therefore, we may reasonably infer, that Diodorus had a considerable leaning toward the shorter period, though he did not openly venture to oppose the prevailing authority of Ctesias, who wrote later than Herodotus.
responds, in time, to Ninus II. For Ninus might have finished his conquests, B.C. 1230, according to Herodotus and Appian, in the twenty-second year of his reign, according to Ctesias.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 215 YEARS. | BABYLONIAN KINGS.
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<th>B.C.</th>
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<td>III. Invasion of Judah, by Holofernes</td>
<td>11. Asaradin, or Esarhaddon } 13 680</td>
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<td>Nineveh taken ............ * 606</td>
<td>13. Chyneladon ............... 22 647</td>
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<td>15. Menes taken by the Babylonians and } * 606</td>
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<td>Medes .........................</td>
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* The destruction of Nineveh, B.C. 606, forms a fundamental date in Profane Chronology, both upwards and downwards; upon which depends the adjustment of the antecedent periods of Assyrian and Babylonian Chronology, and also of the subsequent periods of Babylonian, Median, and Persian Chronology; and by its connexion with the Eclipse of Thales, (determined chiefly from thence, to B.C. 603) of Lydian and Græcian Chronology also.

This date is not specified in the Canon of Ptolomy, but may be collected from thence, and from a fragment of Berosus, cited by Josephus, Ant. 10, 11, 1; which states, that Nebuchadnezzar, (whom both Berosus and Ptolomy call Nabokolassar) having heard of his father's death, during his own expedition into Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Egypt, left his army and captives to the care of his friends, and hastened across the desert, with a small party, to Babylon, in order to take possession of the kingdom. The accession of Nebuchadnezzar is dated by the Canon in B.C. 604; but his father, Nabopolassar, died earlier, or in the Julian year before, B.C. 605, the date of the Babylonish captivity; as we have seen, Vol. II. p. 439 of this work. The capture of Nineveh, therefore, must have taken place in the year before his death, or not later than B.C. 606. *Herodatus* also mentions the capture of Nineveh among the last events of the reign of Cyzazaes 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 xxii. 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, its capital, by the Babylonians and Medes, that same year; but the siege lasted two years, according to Dio- rus 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. xliv. 2—26.

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

* Jackson antedates Belus II. supposing that the celestial observations at Babylon, 1903 years before Alexander visited it in B.C. 330, were made B.C. 2233, at the Observatory, built by him. Vol. I. p. 242, 267. They might have been made still earlier; even from the days of Nimrod, or Belus I.
broke out in Syria and Palestine; having been invited by Ahaz, king of Judah, to assist him against Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Damascus, who had confederated to dethrone Ahaz, and the family of David, and to substitute the son of Tabeal. They invaded Judea, and besieged Ahaz in Jerusalem, but could not take the city. During the siege a gracious sign of deliverance to Ahaz, and of stability to the house of David, was offered to him, from the Lord, by Isaiah the prophet; which Ahaz incredulously refused, trusting to the king of Assyria. Tiglath-pilesar 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 Phoenicia, 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 Azotos, 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 prefects, or viceroys, under the king of Assyria.

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

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

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

* Instead of Behohim, “among the thorns,” according to the present Masorete text, the Syriac and Arabic versions seem to have read Behaim, “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 Ptolemy, 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. Athenaeus 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:

Φθιψωσιν ἡθη χρησθ' ὀμιλλαί 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.
ANALYSIS OF

ridicule the hope of another life, is subversive of sound morality, as well as religion.

3. 

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

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

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

NINUS III.

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

NABUCHADONOSOR.

Nabuchadonosor succeeded Ninus. His accession to the empire is dated B.C. 658, seventeen years before the defeat of Arphaxad, or Phraortes, king of the Medes, B.C. 641, as determined in the ensuing rectification of Median Chronology, Judith i. 1—15. In the twelfth year of his reign, B.C. 646, Nabuchadonosor declared war against Arphaxad, and summoned all the states of his mighty empire to his aid. But the western and southern provinces of Cilicia, 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 Ragan, or Rages, in their own territories; took Arphaxad prisoner, and slew him the
same day; stormed *Ecbatana*, his capital, which he had strongly fortified; demolished its towers, and spoiled its palaces; and then returned triumphant to *Nineveh*; where he feasted his various troops, for 120 days, or four months. This decisive battle was fought about November or December, near the close of the year B.C. 641. Compare Judith i. 16; with ii. 1.

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

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

After he had spent "*a full month*" in the plain of *Esdraelon*, on the confines of *Judea*, waiting to collect the carriages of his army, *Holofernes* encamped in the valley over against *Bethulia*, the key to the hill country of *Judea*, with an army encreased 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 townsman 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 Nineveh was appointed to scourge Samaria and Jerusalem, for their backslidings; a Galilean prophet, Jonah, was sent with a divine commission to warn that "exceeding great and corrupt city," the mistress of the Gentile world, at that time, and soon after, of the Holy Land also, that unless she repented, "ere forty days, Nineveh should be overthrown." The Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah, and the threatened judgment was deferred. For "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he said he would do unto them, and He did it not." Jonah iii. 1—10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

And her final desolation is thus described:

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

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

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SECTION IV.

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

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* 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 Abrodates, 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.
"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 Zimrij, 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

* תַּשָּׁךְ, Sheshach, here, and afterwards, Jer. li. 41, denoting Babylon, is most naturally derived from נְשָׁךְ, the abridgment of נְשָׁךְ: "who," in composition, and נְשָׁךְ, "to drink," whence סֵאכָּס, secular, "a butler," or "cupbearer," in Persic. Cyroped. I. And the season called סֵאכָּס, and סֵאכָּס אֹמְרָת, "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. Б. 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 proude Chaldeans, shall become as Sodom and Go-
morrah, 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 ban-
quetting houses: for her time draweth nigh, and her days shall not be prolonged.” Isa. xiii. 17—22.

6. Isaiah introduces an elegiac ode, or funerai 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 rrouzeth 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 destruc-
tion.

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

Description critically corresponds throughout. For, 1. He was remarkable for his oppression of the Jews. Isaiah, immediately after, ver. 29, describing this dynasty, calls Nebuchadnezzar, the father, "a serpent;" Evilmerodach, the son, "a cockatrice;" and Belshazzar, the grandson, "a fiery flying serpent," the worst of all.

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION V.

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN CHRONOLOGY.

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

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

SECOND KAIAINIAN DYNASTY. Part I.

MEDIAN KINGS. 159 Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median revolt, and interregnum</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Deioces, or Artæus</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Phraortes, or Artynes, or Arphazad</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cyaxares I. or Astibaras, or Kai kobad, or Ahasuerus</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— first siege of Nineveh, and Scythian invasion</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Scythian expulsion</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Lydian war, and second siege of Nineveh</td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Nineveh taken</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Lydian war ended with Thales' eclipse</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Astyages, Astyigas, or Aspadas, or Kai kaus</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEDIAN KINGS. 159 Years—continued.

5. Cyaxares II. or Fraiborz, or Darius the Mede 13 .. 566

— succeeds Belshazzar at Babylon, and appoints Nabonadius prefect there... 2

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 Ἀσχύλης, Ἡροδότος, Ctesias, Xenophon, Mirkhond, &c. with each other, and with Holy Writ; following the last principally, in the adjustment of the chronology, as our surest and safest guide.

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

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

HERODOTUS.  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arbianes, and interregnum... }</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Arteus.........</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Artynes ........</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Astibaras.......</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Astyigas, or Aspadas (35)</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cyrus the Persian 156 .. 554  
Cyrus the Persian 159 .. 551
Herodotus has not expressly given the length of the interregnum; but he has furnished the data: He reckons the Scythian dominion in Media, 28 years, and the whole length of the Median dynasty, 128 years more; or 156 years in all; but the reigns of the four kings, Dejoces, Phraortes, &c. amount to 150 years; which being subtracted from 156 years, leaves six years for the interregnum alone.

The difference of the names of those kings in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Mirkhond, might originate from the difference of their proper names before their accession, from their titles after. But the sameness of the persons may fairly be collected from the sameness of their reigns. Hence Phraortes and Artynes, &c. and the last, Astyages and 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 Eschylus, by Mirkhond, and the Persian writers; and by the apocryphal author of Bel and the Dragon, ver. 1. See Vol. II. p. 466, 468, note. There it was attempted to be accounted for, from the greater celebrity of his nephew, son-in-law, and successor, Cyrus, which eclipsed his reign; during which, Cyaxares was nominally, but Cyrus really, king; by "that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones."

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

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

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

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

DEJOCES.

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

The first act of his government was the requisition of a life guard, to secure his person and maintain his dignity; the next, to build himself a strong and magnificent palace; and afterwards to build the royal city of Ecbatana, which Major Rennel places on, or near the scite of Hamadan, in al Jebal. It was
fortified with seven 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 "Achmetha," or Ecbatana, the capital, became the established place of public records, in after ages. Ezra vi. 2.

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 Chashod, "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 son 2
Fixt firm the empire; for his temperate soul
Breathed prudence. Cyrus third 3, 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,
Artaphernes and his confederate chiefs
Crushed in his palace. Maraphis 6 assumed
The sceptre. After him Artaphernes 7.
```

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1 Cyaxares. 2 Astyages. 3 Cyrus. 4 Cambyses. 5 Smerdis Magus. 6 Maraphis. 7 Artaphernes.
Me\(n\) 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\(g\) 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.\(^7\)

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, \textit{the day became night} \(^8\); 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

\(^7\) Darius Hystaspes. \(^8\) 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 executions, 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 Thysteian 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 meditation of Labynetus I. or Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in behalf of his ally, Cyaxares, to conclude a match between Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, and Argyenis, 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 morá, 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 Argyenis only two years before his accession, yet Herodotus calls him γεζων, "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 kchosrau; for I shall then only doubt that the Kchosrau of Ferdausi was the Cyrus of the first Greek romance, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze and Louis the Fourteenth were one and the same king." Sixth Discourse on the Persians. Asiat. Research. Vol. II. p. 45. 8vo.
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. I. § 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. I. § 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 quiequid Graecia mendax
Audet in Historia. Sat. x. 173.
This prince succeeded his father, Astyages, at the age of forty-nine years. Being naturally of an easy, indolent disposition, and fond of his amusements, he left the burden of military affairs, and the care of the government, to Cyrus, his nephew and son-in-law, who married his only daughter, and was therefore doubly entitled to succeed him.

Xenophon notices this marriage as taking place after the conquest of Babylon, Cyropaed. B. S. 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.

KAIA NIAN DYNASTY. PART II.

PERSIAN KINGS. 228 YEARS.

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

CYRUS, OR KAI CHOSRU.

The birth, successive reigns, and death of this illustrious prince, the founder of the Persian monarchy, equally celebrated in sacred and profane history, form the most important epochs in the whole range of Ancient Chronology: since thereon depend, in great measure, the adjustment of the dates of the antecedent and subsequent periods; and the entire harmony almost,

* Agathias, a Greek historian of high character, who consulted the Persian records, states, that from the first year of the reign of Cyrus, the ancient Persian empire subsisted 228 years.
of sacred with profane history. They require, therefore, to be determined with peculiar care and attention. * See Vol. I. p. 269, of this work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Xenophon* traces the pedigree of *Cyrus* up to *Perses*, who gave name to the country. And *Herodotus* notices his ancestors, *Achemenes*, the father of *Teispes*, the father of *Cambyses*, the father of *Cyrus*. B. vii. § 11. Hence it appears, that even during the Median and Assyrian dominations, the Persians

* *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 *Cyropaedia* perhaps is superior to any work whatever, either of *Plato* or *Aristotle.*" Bishop *Huntingford's Greek Exercises*, p. 202; 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 *Cyropedia*, B. i. p. 14—44.

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

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

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

* See a more particular account, Vol. II. p. 460, of this work.
† This was the year that *Cyrus* succeeded to the throne of *Persia*. *Xenophon* has assigned to *Cambyses* a long conversation with his son *Cyrus*, previous to his setting out on the expedition, containing much military and political information. *Cyroped.* 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.

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

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

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

* That Cyaxares was dead, and Cyrus in full possession of the Median crown, in the ensuing Lydian war, may be collected from Xenophon himself: when Croesus was taken prisoner in Sardis, he "hailed Cyrus, χαίρε, ο ὡδε ποτα, as sovereign." And he disposed of the treasures of Croesus, as a sovereign, Cyropaed. B. vii. p. 383, 398, 481,
duced several provinces. Alarmed at his progress, Cræsus at length renewed hostilities; and, assembling his forces, crossed the river Halys, which formed the boundary of the Lydian and Median dominions, invaded Cappadocia, in Syria, ravaged the country, and took Pteria, the capital city, not far from Sinope. Thither Cyrus speedily marched to meet him, and a bloody battle was fought, but without any decided advantage on either side, if we believe Herodotus. However, Cræsus finding that his army was inferior in number, and yet that Cyrus did not seem disposed to renew the engagement next day, retreated without molestation, to Sardis, determined to apply for assistance to his confederates, Amasis, king of Egypt, the Lacedemonians, and Labynetus, (or Nabonadius,) king of Babylon, with whom he made an offensive and defensive alliance. Herod. B. l. § 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. Cyropaed. 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 Thybarra, 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 Crœsus 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 Crœsus 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 Crœsus; and that Crœsus 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 Crœsus, 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 Crœsus, on account of his piety, from being burned alive." Such are the different motives assigned by Herodotus. Nor is it likely, that Crœsus 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.
† Εἰς ὦν ἔμαινον ρωστια 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 Croesus, 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 Croesus, with whom he was connected by affinity, on account of the marriage of Croesus, 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 Croesus, 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 Khrosta. 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. Khrosta gave orders to his generals, Fraibor, 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 Khrosta, 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.

Khrosta 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 Khrosta.

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 Croesus. It also contributes further to identify the persons of Khrosta 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 *Craesus* 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 *Cyprus*. *Herodotus* viewed *Cyprus* with aversion, as the enslaver of his country †. And this antipathy biassed an

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* 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 *Cyprus*. This was the cause and origin of many wars to *Cyprus." — Lib. i. c. 7.

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

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

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

But this is an unfounded charge: the verb, *ελαμβάνον*, implies peaceable, not violent possession. It is so used in the *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, *יָדַּר, 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—οποιο) a Median queen (μηδα 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 *Lydiamis*; 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 descripions 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 Lohrasp, 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 ΞΟΘΡ ΚΑΙ ΧΓΕΜΩΝ.

“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, (Ιαβον, 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 יאוה, Ιαω, was derived the Phoenician pronunciation Ιενω, and from thence, the Greek Zeuς. 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 calleth 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, Phoenicians, 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 at each end." See the foregoing prophecies of Jeremiah respecting the capture of Babylon.

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

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

6. Sardis and Babylon, taken by Cyrus, were the wealthiest cities in the world. Croesus 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 126,224,000l. 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* scymitar. 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 *Cyprus*, as he more plainly told the impious *Belshazzar*, Dan. v. 26, 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—6, under the last king *Codomannus*, the fourth from *Darius* *Nothus*, as afterwards more distinctly explained, Dan. xi. 1—4. *Cyprus*, therefore, decidedly addresses the short-lived conqueror, *O man, whoever thou art*, &c.

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

"Unus *Pellaeo* Juvenal non sufficit orbis; *Æstuat*, infelix, angusto limite Mundi; Ut Gyara clausus scopulis, parvâque *Scirpho*; Cum tamen a *figulis munitam* intraverit urbem, Sarcophago contentus erit.—*Mors sola fatetur* Quantula sint hominum corpascula!"

"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." Cyropaed. B. viii. p. 508.

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

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

13
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 Persians, 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 Passagarde 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. Agron, and 20 kings after .......................... 505} ... 1223
22d. Candaules ........................................... 3} ... 718

II. DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADÆ. 170 years.

1. Gyges .................................................... 38 ... 718
2. Ardyes ................................................... 49 ... 680
3. Sadyattes ............................................... 12 ... 631
4. Alyattes ................................................ 57 ... 619
   Eclipse of Thales ....................................... 603
5. Cræsus .................................................. 14 ... 562
   — His conversation with Solon. ....................... 552
   — Conquered by Cyrus ................................. 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 Alcaeus, 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 Me- rodach 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 AEsop, 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 ἰκιστα, η ὡς ἰδιστα, "as little, or as pleasantly as possible:" Solon replied adroitly, ὡς ἰκιστα, η ὡς αἰστα, "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. 633, 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 younger 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.**

*Croesus* 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.

*Croesus* 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;

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

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

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

ΣΑΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΩΝ, 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. Cyropaæd. 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 Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidaæ, 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:

Οἰδα δ' εγὼ ψαμμον ἐριθμον καὶ μετρά θαλάσσης,  
Καὶ κώφον συνιημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεντος ακούω,  
Οἶμη μ' ἐς φρένας ἠλιθε κραταιρινου χελώνης  
'Εψομενης εν χαλκω ἀμ' ἀφεινοι κρεσσιν,  
'Ηι χαλκος μεν ὑπεστρωται, χαλκον δ' επιεσται.
The Oracle of the hero Amphiaraus, gave nearly the same answer. Crœsus 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 Crœsus 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, Ἀλων ἐιράσει, μεγαλὴν ἀρχὴν καταλύσει:
"By crossing the Halys, Crœsus will destroy a great empire."

After a munificent donation to the inhabitants of Delphi, of two stater of gold to each, the over-curious Crœsus 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 Crœsus, 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 ἡμιοιός βασιλεὺς Μῆδαις γενηται,
Καὶ τοτε, Λυδὲ ποῦδαρε, πολυφὴσσα παρ᾽ Ἑρμον
Φευγείν μὴ ἐμείναι, μὴδ' αἰείσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

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

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

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, lecit, or παρεσται, licebit; as παρεστι στεναν, "there is cause to lament," Euripides, παρεστη χαιρειν, "there is cause to rejoice," Aristophanes. And also παρα, and παρ', are used for παρεστι, as παρ' εμοι γε και αλλοι, "others also assist me," Homer. παρα δ' εργα βοσοι, Hesiod. This verbal use of it seems to be required by the infinitives following, φευγειν, μενειν, ειναι, which want a governing indicative verb. The grammatical construction seems to be, τοτε, Λυδη πολεισβε, παρεσται [σοι] φευγειν πολυφηφια Ερμον. "Then, soft-footed Lydian, thou shalt have cause to fly the piddly 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, controlling 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 Polykrates, which Herodotus details at length. He represents that cruel and ambitious tyrant of Samos, as uniformly fortunate in all his undertakings. This excited his attention and anxiety of his friend and ally, Amasis, king of Egypt; who warned

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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 Croesus mistook the last, which was meant of a figurative, not a real mile. Croesus, however, acquiescing in these reasons, acknowledged that the fault was his own, not the god's. § 90, 91. And Xenophon further adds, that "Croesus 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 inviokness of the Deity, (το Θεὸν ὁς εἰς φόλονοιον) 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, (μεθέλει) that it was impossible for one man to deliver another from his destiny, (ἐκ τον μελλόντος προτήματος) 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 Orcetes, 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 Croesus; 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 Croesus, that in an evil day he first should speak; so exactly verified by the event; and the experimental test of the boiled lamb and tortoise in a brazen vessel; the failure of other Oracles to answer which, seems to confirm the account of the two, that succeeded‡; and surely these two, of Apollo, at Delphi, in the territory of Phocis; and of Amphiaraus, in that of Bœotia, 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, Αἰαῖδε, Ῥωμαίοις νικήσεις ὁ πρῶτος; 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 fuisse, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populiurum atque regum, nisi omnis atas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experita. Jamdie, idem non factit. Ut igitur nunc, minore gloriam est, quia minus oraculorum veritate excellit; sic tum, nisi summam veritatem, in tantâ gloriam non fuisse.

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

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

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

† *Deaumes autem Grammatici dictos aiunt, quasi, δαμονες, id est, peritos, ac rerum scios. Lactant. Lib. 2. c. 14.

Hos autem putant Deos esse: sciant illi quidem futura multa, sed non omnia; quippe quibus penitus consilium Dei scire non licet. Et ideo solent responsa in ambiguus exitus temperare. *Augustin.* Lib. 3. De Civitate, c. 17, sub finem.

‡ *Deaumes vero, que praemonstrare creduntur, versutâ calliditate prædicunt.* Quæst. apud Athanas. 99, p. 370.

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 Ἰδαίος, Ἀμοῦς, "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 preternatural 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 Croesus, &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 Cumean Sibyl, "priestess of the sun and moon," or of Apollo and Diana, who came from the country of Babylon, or Chaldea, about the time of the Trojan war; like Balaam, was affected with extraordinary agitations, while under the overpowering influence of the oracular afflatus.

At Phæbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
Bacchatur Vates, magnus si pectore posit
Excussisse Deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corvi domans, fingitque premendo."

Æneid. vi. 77.

Plutarch speaks of a Pythian priestess, who being placed upon the tripod, or sacred stool, to receive the divine afflatus, began to swell and foam at the mouth, and was thrown into such an extreme rage and transport, that she terrified not only the consultants, but the priests themselves, who ran away and left her: and so violent was the paroxysm, that she died shortly after. Some say, that a dragon used to wind himself about the tripod. Others, that the Pythia once was killed by him. Potter's Antiq. Vol. I. p. 278.

* See this new translation, given Vol. II. p. 326.
in his pious and lowly language, "by the Gods, and by me, as far as in me lieth." And to his younger, 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 Nitetis, the daughter of the former king, Apries, instead of his own. This imposition, when discovered, provoked Cambyses, to commence hostilities against Egypt. But Apries was put to death by Amasis and his rebellious subjects, B.C. 569, forty years before the accession of Cambyses, when Nitetis must have been an old woman.

He states next, from the Egyptians, that Nitetis was rather the concubine of Cyrus; who had by her, Cambyses. This, Herodotus himself refutes, from the Persian usage; because no bastard could succeed to the throne of Persia, while a legitimate heir was alive; but that Cambyses was unquestionably legitimate.

He relates a third account, that the queen, mother of Cambyses, was jealous of Nitetis, and complained in his presence, how Cyrus neglected her and her children, and bestowed all his kindness on this Egyptian concubine; whereupon, Cambyses, then but ten years old, suddenly exclaimed, "Mother, as soon as I come to manhood, I will overturn Egypt."

This, Herodotus himself disapproves: and surely it is built upon a gross misrepresentation of Cyrus, and of fact: he did not conquer Egypt so early; and he was remarkable for his continence; and seems to have had "a wife" only, and no concubines. See a former note.

It is rather extraordinary, that Beloe, in his note, should adopt this last, as "much the most likely to be true." Vol. ii. p. 137.

† In Oriental Geography, Syria was called Shamah, "the left hand," or western; and Arabia, Yemen, "the right hand," or eastern, to a spectator, fronting the north. So Homer:  

Eis' επ' δεξι' ωσι, προς ή μω τ' ηνιον τε  
Eis' επ' αριστερα τοιε, ποτι ξοφον ηροευτα.  

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, Kaδων, Kadytis, as it is called by Herodotus. B. II. § 139, III. § 5.) Herbelot. Art. Lohorasp.

The Persians writers confounded this Persian invasion with the earlier Babylonian of Nebuchadnezzar, whom Khondemir held to be Gudarz. Others reckoned Gudarz to be Kiresh, or Cyrus, as the Tarik Montekheb and Lebtarikh.

To secure a safe passage through the great desert, between Palestine and Egypt, Cambyses, by the advice of Phanes, a Greek refugee from Amasis, made a treaty with the king of Arabia, to furnish his army with water, on the way; which he did, in camel skins. On arriving at the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, Cambyses found Psammenitus, the son and successor of Amasis (who had died before the Persians arrived) encamped with his army. An engagement ensued, in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Egyptians fled, and were pursued by the Persians to Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt; which was soon reduced by the Persians, and Psammenitus taken, after a reign of six months, B.C. 525, and soon after put to death, for fomenting rebellion, by Cambyses *. B. III. § 4—15.

After the rapid conquest of Egypt, Cambyses designed to invade the Carthaginians by sea; the Ammonians of Libya, and Macrobian Ethiopians of Abyssinia by land. But he was disappointed and baffled in all these schemes of conquest, or of plunder. The Phoenicians, in his service, refused to fight against the Carthaginians, their descendants. A detachment of 50,000 men, sent against the Ammonians, whose temple was prodigiously rich, perished in the sands; and the main body of his army, led by himself against the Ethiopians, whose gold he coveted, were almost famished in the deserts, having been compelled to draw lots, and kill and eat every tenth man, to satisfy the hunger of the rest. Whereupon Cambyses retreated to Memphis, with the shattered remainder of his troops. This disastrous expedition may be dated B.C. 524.

* The indignities said to be offered by Cambyses to the embalmed body of Amasis, are most improbable, originating, as it seems, from the foregoing tale of his daughter, and from the hatred of the Egyptians to the memory of Cambyses. They were no less revolting to the Persians, as being impious, unmanly, and impolitic. This outrage is clearly distinguishable from those he committed afterwards, when he was deranged.
The remainder of Cambyses' reign was a tissue of the most extravagant cruelties, and excesses of every kind, committed against the Egyptians, the Persians, and his own family. He slew the magistrates of Memphis at his return, for suffering public rejoicings on finding their new divinity Apis; and wounded their calf god in the thigh, with his dagger, and commanded the priests to be scourged. He grew jealous of his brother Smerdis, because he was the only Persian able to bend the Ethiopian bow, sent him home to Persia, and soon after, on account of a dream portending the advancement of Smerdis to the throne, had him put to death by Prexaspes; he married two of his own sisters, and killed the younger by a kick on the belly when pregnant, for lamenting the death of her brother Smerdis. He shot the son of Prexaspes, his cup-bearer, through the heart, with an arrow, to prove that he was neither drunk nor mad. He at another time commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be buried alive, without the smallest provocation. And when Croesus ventured, as his father's friend, to remonstrate on the probable consequences to himself, like Saul, he snatched his bow to shoot Croesus with an arrow, who escaped by a precipitate flight. He then instantly ordered Croesus to be put to death; but the officers having delayed the execution, he expressed great joy at finding that Croesus 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 outrageous 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 Δαυίδου,) foretold, in vision, should rise up against me," by whom he seemed to understand with Plato, μεγατος Δαυίδου, "THE SUPREME GOD." For Cambyses clearly was neither a Polytheist nor Idolater. B. III. § 65.

SMERDIS MAGUS.

This impostor reigned unmolested about seven months, when he was slain, with his brother, in a conspiracy formed by seven Persian nobles of the first rank and consequence in the state. His broken reign added to seven years and five months of Cambyses', completed the eight years assigned to the latter in Plotomy'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 ᾨβαρες." 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. ᾨσχυλος, 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 Intaphernes; then Darius, the third, who was possessed of superior abilities, and spirit of enterprize, (in which even Herodotus represents him as exceeding the rest, and compelling them to a prompt execution of their plan by the threat of informing against them, if they delayed); he was also of the Achemenian®, or royal line; and his father, Hystaspes, was go-

* Darius, the son of Hystaspes, reckoned among his ancestors Arsamis, Arinmis, Teispus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispus, Achemenes. Herod. B. VII. § 11.
Vemor of Persia, the first province of the empire; and he had served in the Egyptian wars, under Cambyses. Upon all these accounts, therefore, when the government came to his turn, he naturally and easily contrived to retain the possession of it for himself, and to transmit it to his family.

That he was indeed the most likely candidate for the crown appears also from Herodotus. His merit excited the jealousy of Cyrus himself, who, shortly before his death, expressed his suspicions to Hydaspes, the father, that Darius, then a youth about twenty, was engaged in some treasonable designs. B. I. § 209, 210. And while Darius served in Egypt he was evidently considered as a rising nobleman by Syloson the exile, brother of Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, who made a present of a scarlet cloak to Darius when he wanted to buy it; and afterwards was liberally rewarded for his generosity when Darius came to the throne, and gratified his patriotic request, "to save his country" from the usurpers that succeeded Polycrates, B. III. § 139, 140, for he sent an army, under the command of Otanes, one of the seven, to put Syloson in possession of Samos; which was effected, but not without the destruction of most of the inhabitants. § 149.

During this Samian expedition the Babylonians revolted, having taken advantage of the confusion of the times during the Magian usurpation, to provide, without being noticed, or opposed, against a siege. And in order to prevent famine they took the strange and unnatural resolution of strangling all their women and children, except their mothers and one female of each man's family, whom he liked best, to bake their bread, which was anciently the women's employment. B. III. § 150. See B. VII. § 187.

How signally did they fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah against Babylon! "These two things shall suddenly come upon thee in one day, childlessness and widowhood*; they shall fully come upon thee, notwithstanding the multitude of thy services, and the strength of thy enchantments." Isa. xlvii. 9.

Darius besieged Babylon about the fifth year of his reign, and was derided by the insolence, and baffled by the vigilance of the enemy, for a year and seven months. At length, in the

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* 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 & Ασιας Ταναις δια μεσον ωριζει.  Dionys.

"Tanais Europam et Asian medius interfuit."  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 Taurus, 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 un navigable, either from the failure of the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, which supplied them with water; or from the stoppage of their outlet at the head of the Red Sea, by the drifting sands of the desert, and by the operation of the tides. See Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 464.

He also employed Scylax, and other able navigators, on a voyage of discovery down the river Indus to its mouth. From
thence they coasted westwards, along the Persian 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 Periplus, or Carthaginian voyage of commerce and discovery along the western coasts of Africa, where they established settlements; probably not long after the Egyptian expedition. And both these voyages might have given rise to the ensuing, in the reign of Xerxes, under the conduct of Sataspes, a Persian nobleman, who, for offering violence to a virgin, the daughter of the famous Zopyrus, was condemned to be crucified; but had his punishment commuted into the circumnavigation of Africa, setting out from Egypt westwards, and returning by the Red Sea, eastwards; contrary to the course of the Phœnician mariners. But after proceeding a great way southwards, along the western coast of Africa, he failed, and was forced to return, on account of the greater strength of the counter currents, in this direction, and the violence of the easterly monsoons, according to Major Rennel's ingenious conjecture, which utterly disabled him from proceeding. Xerxes, giving no credit to his excuses, inflicted on him the former sentence of crucifixion. See Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 715, 716.

The reality of this unsuccessful voyage of Sataspes is vouched by an anecdote noticed by Herodotus, from his own knowledge. "A eunuch of Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, where he was robbed of it by a native of the place, whose name, says Herodotus, I know, but forbear to mention." B. IV. § 43.

Proofs of the Phœnician circumnavigation of Africa shall be adduced in the ensuing analysis of Egyptian Chronology.

Darius established also, an excellent system of taxation
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

throughout his extensive empire. He divided it into twenty satrapies, or provinces, and regulated the proportion of tribute to be paid by each, in a curious original document furnished by Herodotus; affording internal evidence of his extensive knowledge of the geography of Asia, and of the correctness of his financial statement, by the congruity of the whole, when properly explained. Major Rennel has well developed the geographical part, in his sagacious commentary thereon, p. 229—316, and in his valuable Map of the Twenty Satrapies, the most authentic and complete that ever was framed of the ancient Persian empire.

We shall follow Rennel's masterly geographical arrangement of the western, middle, and eastern provinces of the empire, in preference to the irregular order of Herodotus; marking, however, his original numbers, for the ease of comparison.

I. WESTERN PROVINCES.

1. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans, and Pamphylians ............... 400
   These occupied an extent of 450 G. miles of sea coast in Asia Minor, from the Gulph of Adramyttium, and the Troade, on the north, round by Cnidus, to Cilicia, on the east.

2. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians ........................................ 500
   The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the 20 satrapies, was owing to the gold and silver mines of Lydia, and the gold sands of the river Pactolus. The riches of Cræsus were proverbial.

3. On the east side of the Hellespont, the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, the Paphlagonians, Maryandinians, and Syrians, [or Cappadocians] ........................................ 360

4. The Cilicians ............................................................ 500
   These four provinces composed the whole of Asia Minor.

5. Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the Isle of Cyprus; from the city of Posideum, on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, as far as Mount Casius and the Sirbonic lake, bordering on Egypt ........................................ 350

6. Egypt, and the Africans, bordering on Egypt, as far as Cyrene and Barca. ................................. 700
   This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake Meris, amounting to 240 talents per annum. Herod. B. II. § 149, (which was a perquisite to the
ANALYSIS OF S. Talents

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 Assyrina 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 Parycami and the Orthocorybatantes 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, Pausice, Pantimathi and Darite, } 200

[including Hyrcania] $\}$

11. (18) The Matieni, Suspirians, and Alarodians 200

The Suspirians 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 } 300

Mardians $\}$

This satrapy is a narrow stripe of land between the Armenian mountains of Caucasus and the Euxine Sea. It abounded in iron mines.

* It is remarkable, that the iron mines of the county of Leitrim, in the heart of Ireland, are called by the natives Arigna; which seems nearly allied to Argana, signifying probably "a mine."
III. EASTERN PROVINCES.

14. The Sangartians, Sarangeans [of Sigistan], the Thama-
naeus, Utians, and Mencians [of Carmania] with the
islands of the Red Sea (or Persian Gulph) to which
the king banished state-offenders.

The intermediate country of Persia proper, (whose
principal tribes were the Arteata, Persæ, Pasagardæ,
Maraphii, and Maspian) were not compelled to pay any
specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.

15. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians and Arians.

These occupied the mountainous tract between
Hyrcania, Margiana, Asia, and the desert of Chor-
sasmia.

16. The Sattagyrians, the Gandarii, Dacide, and As-
saryte of Margiana.

17. The Bactrians as far as Aglos.

Or from Balk to Kilan, or Ghilan.

18. The Sacce, and Caspii [or rather Caisians of Kashqur]


These were the Orite of Alexander and Nearchus;
and inhabited Haur, Makran, and other provinces in
the south east angle of Persia, towards India.

The sum total.

20. The Indians.

These inhabited the extensive provinces of Kabul,
Kandahar, and Scindia, west of the Indus; and the
Panjab, that rich stripe of coast east of the Indus.

They paid (600) 350 talents in gold ingots. Differing
in this respect from the other satrapies, whose pay-
ments were in silver talents.

* The geographical knowledge of Herodotus appears to have extended no farther east-
ward in Asia than the river Indus; but he reports several particulars of the nations
beyond it, partly true and partly false. He speaks of the Padei, as one of the most
eastern nations of India, who led a pastoral life, fed on raw flesh, and killed their dis-
eased friends; and regularly killed and ate the more aged persons among them. B. iii.

To these cannibals, Tibullus refers.

Impia nec saevis celebrans convivia mensis,
Ultima, vicinus Phoebi, tenet arva Padeus.

"Nor does the Padean, at savage boards partaking
Impious feasts, occupy, though near the sun,
The regions most remote."

Though Herodotus probably knew nothing of the Ganges, it is remarkable that in the
Padei, he has noticed the nations inhabiting its banks: for as Major Rennel acutely

VOL. IV.
The *Agen 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 *Babyloniann* 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 9080 *Euboic* talents; add to these, the 700 talents worth of corn supplied to the *Persian* garrisons in *Egypt*, and also 150 talents, the net produce of the fishery of the lake *Mœris*, amounting to 9880 talents; which added to the *Indian* revenue ‡, 4680 talents, gave 14560 in all.

observes, "the proper and Sanscrit name of that river is *Padda*, *Ganga* being only an apppellative: so that the *Padæi* correspond to the *Gangaride* of later Greek writers." *Rennel’s Herod.* p. 310.

• Instead of the present reading, τεσσαρακοντα και πεντακοσια και εινακισχιλια, 9340, the Sanscrit MSS. read, ογδοκοντα και οκτακοσια και εινακισχιλια, 9880, and in the margin, the numeral letters, OΩΠ, 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 13×360=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 *Maaris*, 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 *Arbuthnot*, 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, ἰππενες 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 recoined them with their own image and superscription.
of Sparta, recorded by Plutarch, was founded thereon: when this prince invaded Persia with a powerful army, having been suddenly recalled home, in the midst of conquest, by a bribe of thirty thousand gold darics, distributed by Timocrates, among the Grecian and Spartan demagogues, he complained, "I have been driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers*!"

Aryandes, the Persian prefect of Egypt, in imitation of his master, imprudently issued a similar silver coinage, called Aryandic, much admired for its purity. But Darius was so jealous of this invasion of his prerogative, though the impress was the same, that he put him to death. B. IV. § 166.

The amount of the revenue imposed on the Persian empire was remarkably moderate, for an empire scarcely inferior in extent to all Europe. For reckoning, with Arbuthnot, the Euboic or Attic talent at 193l. 15s., the whole amount of the 14560 talents was only 2,821,000l., short of three millions sterling. The richest province of Babylon, including Assyria and Mesopotamia, paid only 1000 talents, or 193,750l. sterling; and the fertile commercial province of Egypt was only taxed in money, 700 talents, or 135,625l. sterling.

The great moderation of this financial system will further appear from ancient and modern comparison.

In Solomon's days, independently of the great inland trade which he carried on in spices, Egyptian linen, yarn, horses, and chariots, with all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians, the influx of gold and silver, from his commercial voyages to Ophir, or Sofala, on the coast of 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 342l. 3s. 9d. for a Jewish silver talent, according to Arbuthnot, and a gold talent, 4108l. 17s. 9d. supposing, with Herodotus, gold to be only thirteen times the value, would amount to 2,736,494l., and if we add the silver, "which was as plenty as stones," the revenue of Solomon, from his comparatively small kingdom, equalled (at least occasionally) the fixed revenue of the vast Persian empire. See Vol. II. p. 362 of this work.

* Hence the opinion of Prideaux, that these Darics were coined by Darius the 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 226l. each, would give 452,000l.; and the 3,393,000 staters, at 1l. 5s. a piece, amounted to 3,841,250l., and both to above four millions sterling. *Xerxes* generously refused the present, and gave him in return for his hospitality and friendship, the 7,000 Daries 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 15⅓ to 1. P. 314, note. And *Arbuthnot*, in his book on weights, measures, and coins, reckoned silver at 5s. an ounce, and gold at 4l. that is as 5s. to 80s., or as 1 to 16. Now it is considerably higher, 20 per cent. above the paper currency. *1812.* See the *New Quarterly Review*, No. 1.

Not only the foregoing examples in the text, but the whole tenor of ancient history prove that the precious metals were in much greater plenty formerly than at present. The immense produce of the mines of *Asia* and *Africa*, and *Europe* also, for a length of time, only could supply the prodigious treasures plundered by *Alexander* and his successors, and afterwards by the *Romans* in their wars; whence, in the time of *Pompey* and *Julius Caesar*, the standard of gold to silver was so low as 9 to 1. Much of it disappeared, was buried, or lost, in the devastations of the *Huns*, *Goths*, and *Vandals* in the west, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the east. Nor has the waste been yet supplied by the new mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brazil*, in lieu of the diminution or failure of the old.
this was considerably short of the full amount of the Jewish tribute, Esth. vii. 4.

These instances of the prodigious wealth of provincial subjects, and even of captives, (for such were the Amalekites originally) are highly creditable to the liberality of the Persian government; which, upon the whole, appears to have been the least oppressive of the great ancient empires. The Jews, especially, were treated with much greater lenity and indulgence under the Persian sway than they had been before under the Babylonian, and afterwards under the Macedo-Grecian and the Roman.

After these important civil regulations, we learn from the oriental writers that Darius undertook to reform the corruptions that had gradually crept into the national religion, from the progress of the Zabian superstition, and adoration of fire, and of the other elements of nature; and from the prevalence of the notion of two independent principles, the good and the evil; which were all plainly referred to in the foregoing prophecies of Isaiah, respecting Cyrus. Cyrus himself had evidently been converted thereby, as we learn from his famous decree, acknowledging the supremacy of the Lord, the God of Israel, as the God of Heaven, Ezra i. 1—3; and Darius, in the second year of his reign, renewed this decree, in a similar strain, “that the Jews might offer sacrifices of sweet savour to the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and his sons,” Ezra vi. 10—12.

Mohammed Mustapha dates this reform of the national religion in the thirtieth year of Darius, who was assisted in this salutary work by his father Hystaspes, then Archimagus, or master of the Magi, in succession to the prophet Daniel, who held that high office from his appointment by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 569, Dan. ii. 48, till his death, after the third of Cyrus, B.C. 534, Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, for the long space of five and thirty years; and from his rank and residence at Susa, the capital, (from the time of Belshazzar, Dan. viii. 2.) must have been well known to Hystaspes, and probably to Darius himself; and his wisdom was proverbial all over the empire.*

* "Lo, thou art wiser than Daniel," Ezek. xxviii. 3. The fame of Lokman, the celebrated fabulist, (perhaps Esop,) 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 Aderbigeian, 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 Ar
gasp, 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 reli-
gion, has ascribed to him the foregoing Persian works. Both, however, appear to be
spurious.

The Saddar, 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 exhibi-
ting a faithful collection of his doctrines and precepts, of which the learned Hyde has
given an abridged translation, p. 429—433.

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 Zeratasht: 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 Gherata-
man, 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 ad-
duced, and many others, still more offensive.

Afterwards M. Anquetil du Perron, oriental interpreter to the king of France, pub-
lished 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 Nocosch, 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 ablu-
tion 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 Nocosch is completely van-
quished, and flies away toward the north.
Darius provoked Darius by the foundation of the Grecian war. For Darius first reduced Ionia, and then sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, with a great fleet and army, to invade Greece, B.C. 494. But his fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and his camp was surprised and stormed by the Thracians; so that he was forced to return with disgrace. Herod. B. VI. § 99; B. V. § 18—45.

Three years after, Darius sent a more powerful armament to renew the war, under the conduct of Datis, a Median, and Artaphernes, his own nephew, but they were defeated next year, B.C. 490, at Marathon, chiefly by the skill and valour of Miltiades, who, that day, commanded the Grecian little army, consisting of no more than nine thousand Athenians, and one thousand 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 Kadeshia, 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 Zerdvahht; 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 Eschylus, 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 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 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."* Pingré, the French Astronomer, represented it as "very considerable." See Larcher's note on B. VII. § 37, (64.) But Dr. Brinkley, Andrews' Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin, who kindly undertook the trouble of computing it, at my desire, found its quantity about 5 digits only, or less than a half eclipse. Still it was considerable enough to excite observation, and create alarm at Susa, especially *at the moment of their departure*; and might easily have been magnified into total, by vague tradition, at a time when eclipses were considered universally as portentous, and the doctrine of eclipses known but to few of the learned. *Xerxes* was alarmed, and consulted the *Magi* thereon; who "affirmed, that God prognosticated to the *Greeks* the *failure* of their cities [or states]: saying, that the *sun* was the prognosticator of the *Greeks*, but the *moon* of the *Persians*". With this futile exposition, *Xerxes* was overjoyed, and continued his march. B. VII. § 37.

After he crossed the river *Halys*, and arrived at Celaenae, *Pythius*, a noble Lydian, who lived there, entertained *Xerxes* and all his army with great magnificence: next to *Xerxes* himself, he was reckoned the richest of mankind. His splendid offer of all his wealth to the king, as a supply for the war, and the generosity of *Xerxes*, were noticed before. § 26—32.

At *Sardis* he wintered with his army; and his departure from thence, next spring, B.C. 480, § 37, was marked by an act of cruelty and ingratitude much more portentous than the eclipse.

p. 236, 237. But to this, there are insuperable objections. 1. It was too early in the season for *Xerxes* to march, in *winter*, not in *spring*. 2. It did not take place till the year after the war; which ended with the battles of *Platea* and *Mycene*, 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.

*Οι δὲ εφραζον ὡς Ἠλλησι προεκκυκεν ὁ θεὸς εκλειψεν τῶν πολέων λεγοντες ἡλιον ειναι Ἠλληνον προεκτορα, σεληνην δὲ, σεβον. 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, ἐσποτα) 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 "viceroy 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 nowhere 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 Lacedemonians at Thermopylae, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery, who did not escape by flight; and that, finally, he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks."

Here the outline of the history is preserved; nothing but the conclusion is false. And Xerxes might have circulated the false conclusion, among the Asiatic nations, to hide the disgrace of his real defeat and flight. Indeed, the silence of the modern Persian historians, is a tacit confession of the truth. They suppressed the whole reign of Xerxes as dishonourable to their nation.

† "Herodotus counts no less than twenty-nine nations from Scythia north to Ethiopia south, and from India east to Thrace and Libya west." Mitford.
inclosure, or pen, they introduced the myriads, in succession, until they got the whole number. B. VII. § 60.

The cavalry amounted to 80,000; the Arabians with their camels, and the Africans with their chariots, to 20,000 more. So that the Asiatic and African troops amounted to 1,800,000, exclusive of their train of attendants.

The western levies, raised in the maritime parts of Thrace, and the islands adjacent, amounted to 300,080: which gave the amount of the land forces 2,100,000 men. B. VII. § 60.

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 Saccë, (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 Peræ. 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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Herodot.</th>
<th>Diodor.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Phœnicians</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Egyptians</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Cyprians</td>
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<td>4. Cilicians</td>
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<td>5. Pamphylians</td>
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<td>6. Lycians</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>7. Dorians</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>8. Carians</td>
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<td>9. Ionians</td>
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<td>10. Islanders</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>11. Æolians</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>12. Hallopians</td>
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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, ἀνδρεῖς, are distinguished from the sailors, by the expression, ὄντος ἄλλως ὀμιλοῦ, "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 Παναθηναικός, stating the aggregate five millions in round numbers, and Plutarch concurs, for the most part. But Diodorus, Pliny, Aelian, 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 Lacedaemonians, at the Streights of Thermopylae, B. VII. § 210, 211. And after the sea fight of Salamis, we find that Mardonius formed his select army of 300,000 troops, out of the Persians, Medes, Sace, Bactrians, and Indians; beside the best of the auxiliaries, and the cavalry. B. VIII. § 113. But the immortal band of 10,000 Persians, who were the flower of the infantry, could not withstand the Grecian band at Thermopylae, nor the army of Mardonius at Platea. 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 chœnix, and 48 chœnixes to a medimnus, it would amount to 110,340 medimni. B. VII. § 187. If we reckon the chœnix 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 chœnix of water also, to each person, or 12 chœnixes 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 maga-
zines 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 distin-
guished 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 pro-
digious amount of the pay both of the army and fleet, which, at
the lowest rate of a Grecian foot soldier, two pence a day, as a
standard for the army of Xerxes, 5,283,220 men, Richardson
reckons "would exceed sixteen millions per annum, and the
extra contingencies for the fleet, mercenaries, &c. as much more,
or thirty-two millions the whole annual charge." Dissert. p. 313.
This seems to be both overrated and underrated; the daily
pay too little, and the number paid too much.

The pay of a Persian soldier was a daric per month, as we
learn from Xenophon, Anab. B. VII. or ten pence a day. This
was paid to the native troops and the army of the line. But
these, probably, did not exceed half a million, whose pay then,
for a month, would be 625,000l. or for a year, 7,500,000l. The
provincial troops and the irregulars, from the nature of feudal
tenure, might have been paid, in part at least, by their own
provinces. And upon this very stipulation, perhaps, their fixed
tribute, in time of peace, was rated so low. The servants and
retainers of the camp, who formed the great mass, probably got
little or no pay, but merely subsistence; or were paid by their
masters, for their own convenience. See B. VII. § 83.

The ability of Xerxes to pay his troops is greatly underrated
also by Richardson. "Though he could not have hoarded
much himself, and must have been at considerable expences in
transporting an army to Egypt," yet the treasures collected by
Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes were immense, as
Alexander of Macedon found; and probably the Egyptians were amerced, at least, to repay the full expenses 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 Euboea (or southward ;) and others, Thyssus, Cleone, Acrotha, Olo phyxus, and Dios." Pelop. War. B. IV. § 109.

This most accurate and faithful historian had also the best means of information, for he had an estate himself in the neighbourhood, and was superintendent of the Athenian gold mines at Philippi, in Thrace, and relates this about fifty years after the canal was made. Isocrates, Diodorus, and Strabo all speak of this canal also, as an undoubted and astonishing work. There seems nothing wanting therefore to confirm the veracity of Herodotus in this point.

MARCH OF XERXES.

Xerxes passed the Hellespont with his immense host of many men but few soldiers, B. VII. § 210, in all the pride and pomp of power; after scourging the sea, and flinging fetters into it, if we may credit the reports of Æschylus, Herodotus, &c. which are perhaps exaggerated. He spent a month at Doriscus, in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus, in reviewing and numbering his army and fleet. And thence marched southwards with his army, in three divisions, attended by his fleet, through Thrace and Macedonia. Several cities entertained him sumptuously on his route, and were greatly impoverished thereby. The Thracians expended four hundred talents of silver on a single banquet; and a witty citizen told the Abderites "they should bless heaven that Xerxes did not require two repasts in the day, or they would be completely ruined." B. VII. § 120.

The first information of this formidable invasion of Greece was conveyed to the Lacedemonians by Demaratus‡, the exiled

* Ἀπο τοῦ βασιλέως ἄδερφαματος. † Παρ' αυτῆς τὴν ἐρωτικα.
‡ Herodotus gives a full account of the fortunes and expulsion of Demaratus. B. VI. § 51, 61, 63—70. He was a favourite of Xerxes, for suggesting his plea to the crown, in preference of his elder brother, because his father, Darius Hystaspes, was king of Persia at his birth. B. VII. § 3.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY. 149

king of Sparta, whose patriotism rose superior to his private wrongs. By an ingenious stratagem he carved an account of the king's determination on two tablets of wood, and then covered the writing with wax, so that they appeared like blank tablets. When they were delivered from Susa, at Sparta, they puzzled the people exceedingly, till Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, sagaciously removed the wax, and read the writing underneath; and then the Lacedaemonians circulated the alarming intelligence through Greece. B. VII. § 239.

Xerxes proceeded without opposition through Achaia and Thessaly, till he reached the famous and important straits of Thermopylae, the key of Greece, while the Carnian and Olympic games were celebrating. This ascertains both the season of the year and the apathy and remissness of the Greeks; for the Olympic games began at the full moon next after the summer solstice. But surely the Greeks, after information of the approach of Xerxes, ought to have been otherwise employed, in preparing for the common defence. B. VII. 184, 201, 206.

At this time a furious Hellespontine wind, blowing from E. N. E. for three days together, raised such a hurricane, as wrecked on the coast, destroyed and sunk four hundred ships of war, besides an immense number of transports and provision vessels, at the promontory of Sepias. B. VII. § 188—191. From this exposed station they removed to Apheta, further southward. And the Grecian fleet of three hundred ships assembled in their neighbourhood, at Artemisium, the northern promontory of the island of Euboea, to oppose their passage southward. § 194.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

Through the general apathy and torpor of the Greeks, who continued to celebrate the customary games and festivals of the season, only a small band of 6,200 men*, was sent to guard the straits of Thermopylae against the Persian host, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta. His gallant defence for three days, against the flower of the Persian army, is well known, and need not be repeated here. On the fourth morning they

* Herodotus adds, that Leonidas detained four hundred Thebans against their will, who deserted him in the engagement. This is improbable. Diodorus and Pausanias both omit the Thebans.
were surrounded by a party sent across the mountains by a bye path, who came upon their rear; and after dismissing the rest of the little army, Leonidas, with 300 Spartans and 700 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spartans</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tegeatae</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantineans</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchomenians</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>Arcadians</td>
<td>1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corinthians</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phlyontians</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycaenians</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thespians</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebans</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phocceans</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opuntian Locrians</td>
<td>[1000]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 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 Thermopylae, (because in reality they would not stay themselves upon a forlorn hope,) he kept the Thespian 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 Artaces, a prime favourite, and superintendent of the canal at Athens, is thus described, ετυμβοχου δε πασα η στρατια. "The whole army heaped his tomb." B. VII. § 117.

The barrow raised by Agamemnon and the Grecian army in honour of their countrymen who fell at Troy, is thus described by Homer.

Αμφ' αυτοις ἐπετειγα, μεγαν καὶ αμφονα τιμβον
Χεναμεν Άργιων ιρος στρατος αιχιητων,
"The Lacedaemonians, O stranger, tell,  
That here, obeying their sacred laws*, we fell." § 228.

After his dear bought victory at Thermopylae, verifying Demaratus' previous information to Xerxes of the determined spirit of the Lacedaemonians, the king thought proper to consult him about the best mode of conducting the war against the Confederate states. 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†

Aktv επι προνχουση επι πλατει 'Ελληουσιων'  
Ως εν τιλεφανησ εκ ποντοφην ανδρασιν ευη  
Τοις οι νυν γεγαση, και οι μετοπισθεν εσουναι.  
"Over them, next, a great and faultless tomb  
The sacred corps of Argive warriors heap,  
On the wide Hellepont'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 ξεν', αγγελων Λακεδαιμονιων, οτι τρηνε  
Καιμεθα, τοις κενων ρημασι πειθομενοι.

The Spartan laws forbade them to fly from an enemy, under whatsoever disadvantage. They were called ρηματα, and the code itself Ρηβα, 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 Lacedemon, before. But they are by no means inconsistent: he might now despair of the Gracian cause, from the strange neglect, and apathy, with which they treated his information; from the secession of many of the states, the Thessalians, Lesbians, &c. to the enemy; and from the disunion of the rest. And he might even wish for the paramount controlling authority of the Persian government, to repress those horrid violations of intestine faction, and civil discord, by which every Gracian 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 Gracian 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 Achemenæs, 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 Grecian, 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 Grecian confederates is thus detailed by Herodotus, B. VIII § 1, 2.

Athenians ..................... 127, with Platean marines,
Corinthians ..................... 40
Megareans ....................... 20
Chalcidians ..................... 20
Æginetae ......................... 18
Sicyonians ..................... 12
Lacedæmonians .................. 10
Epidaurians ..................... 8
Eretrians ......................... 7
Trozenians ...................... 5
Styrenians ...................... 2
Ceos ............................. 2

Frigates of 50 oars ............ 9

The commander in chief was Eurybiades; the Confederates refusing to serve under the Athenians, and threatening to disperse, unless they had a Spartan leader. Such were the jealousies, even at that crisis, which obstructed the public good! The Spartans, from their inattention to maritime affairs, were surely not so well qualified to command as the Athenians, who had above twelve times their number of ships. But the Athenians wisely gave up their just precedence, for the welfare of Greece. Herod. B. VIII. 1—3. And their commander, Themistocles, still more wisely, bribed the Spartan admiral, and Adimantus the Corinthian, to keep the fleet at Artemisium, for the protection of Euboea, out of a sum of money, (thirty talents) which, by his advice, the Eubœans 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 Gracian fleet." B. VIII. § 1—13.

Though the Persians suffered more severely indeed, yet the Gracians 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 Salamin, (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.

* GREEK 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.

"Unfortunate suppliants! Why sit ye at my shrine?—
Quit your abodes, and round your city’s lofty cliffs,
Fly to the ends of the earth. Your country all,
Head, foot, and middle, quakes in every part,
Exposed to devastation: fire, and fierce Mars,
Driving his Syrian chariot, shall soon destroy
Your towers and sheep-folds; the consuming flames
Shall burn the temples of the immortal gods,

† Athens was built in a circular form, round the Acropolis, or Citadel. Herodotus compared it, in size and shape, to Ecbatane, the metropolis of Media. B. I. § 158. See this volume, p. 79.
Their superstitious practice of *serpent divination* co-operated with the Oracle, to make them abandon *Athens*. A great ser-

Which now, streaming with sweat, shivering with fear,
All stand; while from their highest roofs, the gore
Now trickles, sad presage of inevitable woe:
Go from my shrine, for ills prepare your mind."

2. Appalled at this terrible response, they besought a milder, or that they would stay, and die there. It was thus given. B. VII. § 141.

"*Pallas*, in vain, the fixed decree of *Jove*,
With much entreaty, and with anxious care,
Deprecates: of adamant almost, is my reply.
When all the rest is lost, within the bounds
Of *Cecrops' hilly land*, and of *Citheron'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

* Citharon, a mountain in *Boeotia*, famous for the orgies of *Bacchus*; it bounded *Attica.*

Qualis, commotis excita sacris,
Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Citheron. Virg. Æn. v. 301.
pent was kept in the temple of the Acropolis, or citadel, as the animal emblem of the goddess of wisdom, Athene, (or Neith reversed) who was established as their tutelar divinity, by Erechtheus, about B.C. 1399. See Vol. III. p. 524, 525, of this work. To this serpent, monthly oblations were regularly made, of a cake sweetened with honey. But at this time, the serpent, who usually eat the cake, left it untouched. When this omen was signified by the priestess to the people, they were eager to quit the devoted city, judging that even the goddess had forsaken it; and therefore, embarking without delay, they sailed to join the combined fleet at Salamis. B. VIII. § 41.

*Herodotus* pays a just tribute of applause to the Athenians, as "the saviours of Greece." For if they, dreading the impending exact posture of the Persian fleet, when hemming in the Grecian, at Salamis; and that auspicious day, which gave liberty to Greece. B. VIII. § 77.

``Whene'er the invader 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.""

Aρτεμίς is properly Diana; but here the epithet, χρυσασορον, "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 ευρυστα, "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 Peloponnnesians at the Isthmus, if the king had been master of the sea? The Lacedaemonians 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 Lacedaemonians, &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, (μηδε ζωντων et προθυμως.) B. VII. § 138, 139.

If we consider the period in which Herodotus wrote these reflections, when the Lacedaemonians 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 Thermopylae, 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 Cyrsilus, a citizen, advised the people to remain in the city, and receive Xerxes. But the men, indignantly, stoned him to death; and the women, his wife; as traitors to their country. Pro corona.

From Attica, Xerxes detached a part of his army into Phocis, where they ravaged the country, and plundered and destroyed towns and temples. The temple of Apollo, at Delphi, the principal, and the richest of them all, escaped most wonderfully. Xerxes, who was as well informed of its immense treasures, and especially the offerings of 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 Ace-ratus, 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 *.

**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. 1. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Triremes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lacedemonians</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Corinthians</td>
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<td>Sicyonians</td>
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<td>Hermionians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megareans</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambraciotœ</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leucadians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Peninsula.

| Continent. |
|------------|-----------|
|            |           |

fifty oared vessels, or frigates. The Athenians alone furnished 180 ships, nearly half the fleet. B. VIII. § 43—48.

The Persian army was stationed along the coast of Attica, and the fleet, off Phalerum. The number of both had been recruited, after their losses, by sea and land, at Sepias, Artemisium, and Thermopylae, by reinforcements of the Medizing Greeks, now declaring for the king, the Melians, Dorians, Locrians, &c. and the islanders, the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, &c.; for the farther the Persian advanced into Greece, the more nations followed him, according to the honest testimony of Herodotus. The Parians, who in the former invasion, had sided with the Persians, and were become proverbial for treachery, now staid behind at 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,

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Islanders</th>
<th>Frigates of Fifty Oars.</th>
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<td>Aeginetæ</td>
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<td>Chaleidians</td>
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<td>Styreans</td>
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<td>Crotoniates and others</td>
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<td>Athenians</td>
<td>180</td>
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<td>378</td>
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Just before the battle, they were joined by two triremes more of the Tenians, and of Lemnos, making the whole amount 380 ships*. B. VIII. § 82.

* Æschylus, in his Persæ, reckons the Grecian fleet at 300; in round numbers. 337, 338. Herodotus is more exact.
that if they left Salamis, they would separate, each to their own homes, or that they would fight to great disadvantage in the open seas, urged the Spartan admiral, Eurybiades, to stay; for that otherwise they would lose the islands of Salamis and Aegina, and the town of Megara, on the main, where their families and effects were deposited; and would also forego the peculiar advantage of fighting the mighty Persian Armada, with their small force, in the narrow seas. He reminded them also, that Salamis was the scene of naval victory, promised by the Oracle.

Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthian squadron, here interrupted Themistocles, as disqualified to speak in that council, not having either city or country, at present. But Themistocles severely inveighed against him and the Corinthians, declaring, that while the Athenians had a fleet of 200 vessels fully equipped, and more than a match for all the rest of the confederates, they did not want a city and country greater than theirs *. And he then threatened Eurybiades, the Spartan commander-in-chief, that unless he complied, the Athenians would take on board their families, and carry them to Siris in Italy, which belonged to them of old, and was also signified by the Pythian Oracle, as the site of their new settlement. "And then," concluded he, "when the Peloponnesians are deprived of such auxiliaries,

* The poet Alceus, 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.

Οὐ λῦθοι, οὐδὲ ξυλά, οὐδὲ
Τείχεα τεκτονων αἱ πόλεις οἰσιν;
Αλλ’ ὅπου ποτ’ αν ὦσι ανδρεῖς,
Αὐτοὺς σωζειν ἦκοτες,
Εὔπαιρθα, τεῖχη καὶ πόλεις.

"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 Lacedaemonians, 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 Lacedaemonians, however brave, furnished few displays of national spirit, or enlarged patriotism, after Leonidas. Herodotus has concisely, but strongly, marked that duplicity which was the distinguishing trait of their character. "The Athenians (at the battle of Platea) kept their station quietly, when sent for; knowing the genius of the Lacedaemonians, 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 federates 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, Æginetans, 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 priey 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 יִּבְשָׁבִים, 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.

† Æschylus, who fought in this battle himself, has given a minute and animated description of it, in his fine Tragedy of the Persians. He thus describes the signal for engaging, given throughout the Grecian fleet:

"Advance, ye sons of Greece, from thraldom save
Your country, save your wves, your children save,
The temples of your gods, the sacred tombs
Where rest your honoured ancestors: this day,
The common cause of all demands your valour."

—How strikingly does this resemble the gallant Nelson's, at Trafalgar.—"England expects that every man will do his duty."—It is the finest comment thereon.

He thus appositely compares the Persian fleet, thronged in confusion, and broken through by the Grecian squadrons:

"Onward rush
The Greeks, amidst the ruins of the fleet,
(As through a shoal of fish, caught in the net)
Spreading destruction!"

—And it was thus Nelson and Collingwood broke through the enemies' line.

Indeed, as well remarked by Mitford, "his poetical sketch of this great transaction, is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent of any, that passed to posterity." Hist. Greece, chap. ix. § 5. Æschylus has been fortunate in his translator, Potter; who is among the few entitled to the rare praise of elegant, spirited, yet faithful translation in verse. Too many versifiers adopt that mode, to cover their ignorance, by loose paraphrase; which otherwise would be sooner exposed, by attempting the more difficult task of close and critical translation in prose.
The engagement was desperate, for the Persians fought in the presence of the king, who beheld it, on an elevated throne, placed on the shore. Queen Artemisia had a narrow escape; her galley was pursued by an Athenian, commanded by the brother of the poet Eschylus, and would inevitably have been taken, had she not, with great presence of mind, turned suddenly upon one of her own side, a Calyndian vessel, which happened to lie in her way, (with the commander of which she was also on ill terms,) attacked, and sunk it, with all the crew. Deceived by this stratagem, the Grecian, either thinking that she was of his own side, or had now deserted the barbarians, quitted the pursuit; and Xerxes, who beheld it, exclaimed, "My men are become women, and the women, men!" B. VIII. § 71—86. The taunt, however, was not true of the Persians; they fought with great resolution, and were chiefly overcome by local disadvantages. The Grecians lost forty ships; the Persians, two hundred, beside several that were taken.

This memorable battle was fought on the 20th of the Attic month Boedromion, according to Plutarch, corresponding to the 15th of September, B.C. 480; and therefore, on the sixth day of the Eleusinian rites *, on which the procession of the Mystic

* THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

These rites were introduced into Attica, from Egypt, about B.C. 1399, by Erechtheus, the principal founder of the popular religion, along with the worship of Neith, "the Goddess of Wisdom," at Sais; whence Ἀθηνή, reversed, the tutelar goddess of Athens. See Vol. III. p. 524, of this work.

This was the most celebrated, and the most solemn, of all the Grecian festivals. Hence it is often called μυστήρια, "the mysteries," singly, by way of eminence. And so superstitiously careful were they to conceal its sacred rites, that if any of the initiated divulged them, or if a stranger happened to be present thereat, they were put to death, as impious and profane offenders. Hence the solemn warning, Ἐκας εὐπρεπής, ἀσύμπαθος, ἄρα, "If thou beest good, let not this people profit." 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, יאכ, Iah, or Iac, strongly aspirated, and stript of its Greek termination, α. 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 Iaô?" (—The God of Israel, יאכ, Iahoh.)

Orphœ μεν δεδως τα χρυς μηπευθά κευδέων.
Εν δ' απαγε παυρη συνιει και νους αλασκανον' Φραζει τον παντον άπατον θεον αμεν' Ιαω:
Χειματι μεν τ' ΑΙΗΝ', Δια δ' εαρος αγρομενου
ΗΕΙΟΝ ει θερεις' Μιτοπωρον δ' αβρον ΙΑΧΧΟΝ [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," [Iaô.]

Macrobi. Saturnal. Lib. i. 18.

Thus explained by Orpheus:

Εις ΖΕΥΣ, εις 'ΑΔΗΣ, εις ΠΑΙΟΣ, εις ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.

"One Dis, one Pluto, one Sun, one Bacchus."

Here the last term, Διονυσος, (signifying, according to Macrobius, Δioς 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 Iaô, (as in the present text of Macrobius,) but Iacchus, the primitive name, of which Bacchus was a corruption. All these inferior gods, therefore, were expounded to signify only the energies or emanations of the one supreme God, under different names, in the various physical functions of his providence. The earlier Greeks represented Iacchus as the son of Jove and Δημη-της, "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 θασονοχος, "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 Tubereneles, as we may collect from the Baptist herald's description of the true Iacchus, Christ, "whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his threshing floor.

Herodotus has recorded a most signal prodigy, which happened on that day, shortly before the battle began, which also is copied by Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles.

and gather the wheat into his granary, (heaven;) but burn the chaff with unquenchable fire,” (in hell;) Matt. iii. 12 *. See Vol. ii. p. 335 of this work.

In the ἄναυσκα, or “festival of the wine-press,” corresponding to this, the torch-bearer cried out to the people, Καλέστε Θεόν, “Call ye upon God;” and they answered Σμελμό: Ιαχές, πλοῦτονσοτα. Here the term Σμελμό: scarcely admits a grammatical or intelligible construction; but, connected with the Hebrew Ιαχές, or Iach, may it not easily denote ἵππος, Shema-li, “Hearken to me,” as in Levit. xxvi. 21, and in numberless places? This will give consistency to the people’s response, individually: “Hearken to me, O Iah, thou giver of wealth;” an epiteth exactly corresponding to the bounteous Iacchus of the Clarician 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 Simile,” Lib. XXXIX. cap. 12, which Crevier, in his note, ignorantly turned into Stimula.

And this conjecture is supported by the number of Hebrew words and phrases used in the celebration of these mysteries, which were totally unknown to the commentators, such as ἦν οἱ Σαβαω: a corruption of Ιεω: Σαβαωθ, “Lord of Hosts;” or IO, Δεσσωτοια: “Sovereign, Lord;” ελευν Ιου, a corruption of Haeleu-Iah, “Praise ye the Lord;” where Ιεω: is the Phoenician pronunciation of Ιω; and IO and Iou Greecian 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 their 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  seins,” 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 Σμελμό: and the Latin Simile, preserve the Iota subscriptum, corresponding to the last Hebrew letter, Iod, and prove the identity of all three, Shema-li, Σμελμό:, and Simile.
‡ From the Hebrew וǧ, Aum, or Aōn, or Chaldee ฏ, Hōn, both signifying “being, substance,” were evidently derived the most ancient and universal titles of the supreme Βeing, from the rising to the setting sun; the Egyptian and Phoenician Aum, Οm, or On, Gen. xii. 45—50; Josh. vii. 2; Ezek. xxx. 17; the Greek άνω, and in the neuter άν; the Chinese ῥ, or ῥ; the Hindu and Eleusinian Aum or Om; and the Irish Omh; which was well explained by Orpheus, Αυτοφύνς, “self-begotten,” though mis-applied to the sun in the progress of idolatry.

The
"Dioecus, an Athenian exile in repute among the Persians, who happened to be in company with Demaratus, the exiled

PREME BEING; and Paeslia, he thinks, the obsolete Latin word Piz, signifying "change of fortune." Asiat. Research, Vol. V. p. 300. But the last is more naturally the identical Latin Pax, or "Peace," which was used in solemn salutations, "Peace be with you." And the whole may correspond to that sublime doxology, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth Peace, good will toward men." Luke ii. 14.

3. After they entered the mystic temple at Eleusis, they first washed their hands in holy water, in token of purification, and then the sacred mysteries were read to them by 'O τερώμα, "the priest of the altar," out of a book called πετρωμά, from πέτρα, a stone,) which was composed of two stone tablets, fitly joined together, to be their future rule of conduct. "The initiated were required," says Porphyry, "to 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, יahu, 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 Ceresis sacrum
Vulgarit arcana, sub isdem
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 Posteri!———
Euno! (evus) recenti mens tripudat metu,
Pleoque Bacchi pectore, turbidum
Laetatur. Euno! parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyroso.———
Tu flectis annes, tu, mare barbarum!———
Te vidit, insons Cerberus, aureo
Cornu decorum.———
Quo me, Bacche, rapitis tui
Plethum! quae nemora, aut quos agor in specus,

Velox,
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 incutated, 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 μυσταὶ, "Mystics," or Novices, from their imperfect views; in the higher, εὐπόρται, "inspectors," and τελειοὶ, "perfect" as adepts, admitted to full and perfect knowledge. Paul, so conversant in the heathen religion and philosophy, finelly 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, (τελειας) were no ordinary persons; for in reality, thereby was enigmatically signified (αὐτούς ὑπήρχοντες) of old, that whoever was not initiated in the lower, and not perfected in the higher mysteries, (αὐτητος καὶ αὐταλπνος) should go to Hades, and there lie in mire; but whoever had been both purified and perfected, (κεκαθαρμενοι τε καὶ 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 incutated 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 Aeneas 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,
(To Ληνας) Io LENÆE! sequi Deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

Here we descrie 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 Thyrus, 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 Posteri, 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? Diceans 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."

AENEID. VI. 620.

The greater mysteries were more select, and confined to fewer: containing ἀπορρήτα, "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. 136, 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. § 6—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.


* Ὄιον το φθιγγόμενον.
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. Dicceus, the son of Theocydès, related this, and appealed to Demaratus and other witnesses.” B. VIII. § 65.

This prodigy, so credibly attested, (and Herodotus himself might have heard it from the original witnesses,) bears a most remarkable reference to the foregoing Oracles, and to the Eleusinian mysteries. Such signs and wonders surely, might reasonably have proceeded from the God of Truth himself, “the Patriarchal God,” the “Lord of Hosts,” and “their Sovereign Lord,” whom their Oracles and their mysteries still confessed, and invoked, with more zeal than knowledge, amidst the corruptions of their popular religion; and who might graciously interfere himself, to support the spirits of the oppressed Greeks, that they might indeed “praise the Lord,” more devoutly for their marvellous deliverance; and also to chastize and punish the impiety and presumption, the sacrilege and aggression of that “son of violence,” and those servile “sons of women,” who aided and abetted his enormities. And the Greeks accordingly, piously ascribed this victory to heaven, as we learn from various documents; from the admirable speech of Themistocles, especially, dissuading the Athenians from pursuing the remnant of the Persian fleet, for the present; but rather to profit by the favourable respite now given them, and attend to their domestic concerns.

“I have observed myself, Athenians, in many instances, and I have heard, in many more, that men driven to desperation, after being conquered, have fought again, and retrieved their former cowardice. Let us then, after finding deliverance for our-

* Τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς Ακολούθες, ἐν ταυτὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἦκαχαζοῦσι. See the preceding note on the Eleusinian mysteries.
selves and for Greece, by repulsing such a cloud* of men, not pursue a flying enemy. Nor have we wrought this deliverance ourselves; but rather the Gods and Heroes, jealous lest a single man should reign over both Asia and Europe. One, who is impious and injurious; who makes no distinction between things sacred and profane, burning and throwing down the images of the Gods; who even scourged, and flung fetters into the sea! Let us rather, improving the present favourable juncture, remain in Greece, and mind ourselves and our families; and let each of us rebuild his house, and industriously attend to husbandry, after he shall have completely expelled the barbarian. And then, at the commencement of spring, we may sail to invade the Hellespont and Ionia.” B. VIII. § 109.

FLIGHT OF XERXES.

After the decisive battle of Salamis, Xerxes sent the remnant of his fleet to the Hellespont, to secure that retreat, which he now meditated, and to protect his bridge. B. VIII. § 107. And with a view to procure supplies of provisions in a friendly country, he sent forward his forces towards Baotia; 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 Lacedaemonians, 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.

11 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, Ethiopia, 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. Απαγων της στρατιάς ουδεν μηρος, ὡς εσπαί. 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.
Ammytas, king of Macedon, their friend, to treat with them, who thus addressed them, in the presence of the Lacedaemonian 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 (μεδίσαντες), to enslave Greece! Many and cogent reasons forbid us to do this, even if we were so disposed; the first and greatest is, the temples and statues of the Gods, burnt and reduced to ashes, which we are bound to avenge to the uttermost, rather than compromise with the perpetrator. In the next place, the

* Alexander afterwards visited them in kindness, and in secrecy, the night before the battle of Plataea, to apprize the Athenians of the intended attack.
Grecian commonwealth, all of the same blood and same language, having common altars and sacrifices of the Gods, and similar customs, which it would not well become Athenians to betray. Know therefore now, if ye knew it not before, that whilst one of the Athenians shall survive, we never will compromise with Xerxes. We admire your forethought with respect to us, now that our houses and harvests are destroyed, in offering to entertain our families, and we thank you abundantly; but we shall seek to procure subsistence without burthening you. In the present posture of affairs, only send forth an army with all possible speed; for the barbarian, we conclude, will not long delay to invade our territories, so soon as he shall hear the account of our utter refusal to comply with his proposals. Now is the season, therefore, for you to march into Boeotia, and assist us, by diverting his attention to that quarter before he arrives in Attica.” B. VIII. § 144.

They judged rightly, for as soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander, on his return, the fixed resolutions of the Athenians, setting out from Thessaly, he led his army directly towards Athens, collecting troops in whatever places he passed through. On his way through Boeotia, the traitorous Thebans advised him to halt, and encamp in their country, as the most convenient; and that, by so doing, he might reduce all Greece, without a battle, merely by bribing the leading men in the several states. This would split Greece into factions. And then, said they, you may easily reduce, at first, the disaffected, and then the factious.

Fortunately for Greece, this artful and mischievous counsel was overruled, by his vehement desire to take Athens a second time, and his vanity, wishing to shew the king at Sardis, by fire signals, stationed through the islands, that he was in possession of Athens. Accordingly, Mardonius entered the city, which he found deserted, in the tenth month after it had been taken by the king. B. IX. § 1—3.

So long as the Athenians expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their succour, they remained in Attica; but when they found that the allies postponed their levies and delayed to march, and that the enemy was already in Boeotia, on his way, they removed all their effects to Salamis, and sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of their tardiness, their breach of promise, and desertion of the common cause, in not opposing
the enemy in Boeotia, but suffering him to advance into Attica; and next, to require that they would speedily send an army to their assistance, in order that they might oppose him in Attica; recommending the Thriasian plain as the fittest to give him battle. But the Peloponnesians, having now finished their fortified wall at the Isthmus, were careless about the matter; and while celebrating the Hyacinthian games*, after the summer solstice, they put off their answer to the Athenian deputies for ten days. When at length, fearing that the Athenians, exasperated, would realize their threat of quiting 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 Lacedaemonians, 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 Muri-chides, 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 Muri-chides 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 Lace-
demonian band had marched toward the Isthmus, and fearing to
be attacked by the confederates in Attica, which was disadvan-
tageous for his cavalry, and if defeated by them, to be intercepted
in the narrow passes, retired into Bœotia, after he had wreaked
his vengeance on Attica, which he had spared so long as the
negociation lasted. He burned the city, and razed to the ground
all the remaining houses, walls and temples, which Xerxes had
left. And when he reached the Theban territory, which was
friendly and convenient for his cavalry, in which his chief
strength lay, he fortified a large camp near the river Asopus, for
a place of refuge, in case of defeat. B. IX. § 13—15.

These defensive and precautionary measures were not calcul-
lated to raise the spirits of the Persians; and the following
remarkable anecdote, shewing the despondency of the more
intelligent among them, respecting the issue of the campaign, is
told by Herodotus.

"While the Barbarians were employed in this work, Attag-
inus, 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,
man of the first consideration at Orchomenos. He said, that
he had been invited, with fifty Thebans, by Attaginus, to this
supper. At table, they chequered, a Persian and a Theban
reclining on every couch. After supper, while they were drink-
ing freely, the Persian, his associate, asked him in Greek, what
countryman he was? And when he answered, An Orchomenian,
the Persian proceeded thus: Since you and I share the same
table, and the same libations, I wish to leave you a memorial
of my sentiments; that being forewarned, you may have an
opportunity of consulting your own interest. Do you see these
Persians at supper, and the army which we left encamped on
the banks of the river? Of all these, in a very short space of
time, you will see very few* surviving. Saying this, the Per-

* 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."

**Darins.** 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 Boeotia's fields.
There, Misery waits to crush them with the load
Of heaviest ills, in vengeance for their proud
And impious daring; for where'er they held
Through Greece their march, they feared not to profane
The statues of their Gods, their hallowed shrines
Emblazon, o'erturned their altars, and in ruins,
Rent from their firm foundations, to the ground
Level'd 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 monads,
Piled o'er the dead, to late posterity
Shall give this silent record to men's eyes,
That proud aspiring thoughts but ill beseech
Weak mortals! For Oppression, where it springs,
Puts forth the blade of Vengeance, and its fruit
Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe.

Behold this vengeance, and remember, Greece!
Remember, Athens! Henceforth, let not Pride,
Her present state disdaining, strive to grasp
Another's; and her treasured happiness
Shed on the ground! Such insolent attempts
Awake the vengeance of offended Jove." Potter's translation.

The fine concluding admonition to Greece, and to Athens in particular, the most determined foe of Persia, contained the soundest political counsel to the Athenians, when this play was acted, eight years after the battle of 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 Platea.

A few days after this entertainment, furnished Mardonius
with a striking specimen of Grecian spirit. Among his auxilia-
ries, he was joined by a body of a thousand Phoceans, rather
from necessity than inclination. Either suspecting their fide-
licity, which the Thessalians in his service had maligned, or else
to prove their courage, Mardonius ordered them to be surrounded
by his cavalry, who came on, menacing with their weapons, as
if ready to destroy them. But the Phocean commander ex-
horted his men "to die like heroes, and shew those barbarians, that
the men, whose death they meditated, were Grecians." Accord-
ingly, the Phoceans faced about every way, and closed
their ranks in column. Upon which, the Persian cavalry
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 Boeotia, 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 Platea, not far from Thebes. B.
IX. § 19—25.
Their army consisted of 110,000 men *, the flower of which, were the Lacedaemonians, Tegeatae, and Athenians. The Persians amounted to 300,000 men, beside 50,000 Grecians, who joined them, voluntarily, like the Thebans, or by compulsion, as the Phoceans, Thessalians, and indeed most of the rest. B. IX. § 28—32.

These two armies remained in their posts for ten days, encamped on each side of the river Asopus, neither caring to cross it, and begin the engagement. On the eleventh, it took place; and the Persians were completely defeated, chiefly by the deter-

* Herodotus gives the number of the confederates in their order of battle, at Platea, beginning from the right wing to the left; and the corresponding order of the enemy. B. IX. § 28—32.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Military Unit</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lacedaemonians</td>
<td>10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tegeatae</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>600</td>
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<td>3000</td>
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<td>Lepreatae</td>
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<td>Athenians</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thespians without arms</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>
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 Platea was fought in the second year of the 75th Olympiad, when Xanthippus was Archon of Athens, B.C. 479; according to Diodorus Siculus, B. XI. chap. 3; and on the third or fourth day of the month Boedromion, according to Plutarch, in his lives of Camillus and Aristides, corresponding to the 28th or 29th of August, near a twelvemonth after the battle of Salamis.

Lycurgus, in his oration against Leocrates, has preserved the copy of an oath taken by the Grecian confederates before the battle of Platea, which strongly marks the national character.

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders alive or dead; I will grant burial to all the confederates slain in battle; after having gained the victory over the Barba-

* The greater part of the Greeks deserted the night before the battle, from the confederate army, in order to escape the enemy’s cavalry, which had annoyed them greatly; and, retiring about 20 stadia towards Platea, they encamped near the temple of Juno, opposite to the city. Next day, however, hearing that the battle was fought, and Pan- sanias and the Lacedæmonians victorious, the Corinthians, Megarians, and Phliasians, hurried towards the field of battle, in disorder; but were attacked by the Theban cavalry, who covered the retreat (or rather flight) of the enemy, and slew six hundred of these renegado Greeks, driving the rest toward mount Citharon. 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 Boeotia. Herodotus, as usual, attributes this to divine interposition; but Diodorus and Polygenus, more naturally, to an ingenious stratagem of the Grecian commanders, to animate their troops. Accordingly, the Grecians boldly stormed the rampart, put most of the Persians to the sword, burnt the ships, and got an immense booty. Masistes, the brother of Xerxes, having railed at Artayntes, the Persian commander-in-chief, for having behaved worse than a woman in the engagement; the latter, provoked at this, (the bitterest taunt among the Persians) drew his scimitar to kill Masistes. But he was saved by a Halicarnassian, who happened to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and flung him on the ground. Both here, and at Salamis therefore, was the oracle of "the sons of women," fulfilled.

Another curious coincidence in the battles of Platea and Mycale, is remarked by Herodotus. Both were fought in the neighbourhood of the sacred precincts or pales of the Eleusinian Ceres †, who had temples at both places. When the Persians

* The Persians had incautiously parted with their best ships and seamen, the Phoenician; 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 Equinoctial storms should set in. B. IX. § 96.
† Plutarch observes, that Pausanias, and the Grecian confederates at Platea, con-
were routed at Platea, 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 Aeschylus. 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 Platea 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 Citharon, to Pan, and the nymphs Sphragitides, (from σφραγίς, "a seal," intimating a sacred silence); if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcletes, Leucion, Pisander, Damocrates, Hyspinon, Actaeon, 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 Arimnestus, the general of the Plateans, 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 Huscia, at the foot of Mount Citharon, the ground about which was favourable for their infantry, and disadvantageous for the enemies' cavalry. They found also the chapel of the hero Androcletes, quite covered with thick bushes and trees, in the same place. That nothing might be wanting to fulfil the Oracle, the Plateans, 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 "Ceere's hilly land, as extending to Citharon."

This generosity of the Plateans was afterwards, in their adversity, remembered and rewarded by Alexander the Great; who, when he had conquered Asia, ordered the walls of Platea to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald, at the Olympic games, "That the king granted this favour to the Plateans, 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 Lacedemonians, (these two leading and noblest states of Greece) the former especially, to such astonishing exertions and sacrifices in their country’s cause; and enabled them to withstand and overcome the combined efforts of a cloud of foreign enemies and domestic traitors. While their most instructive historian, Herodotus, points out with great precision, the peculiar and contradistinguishing evils and defects of despotic and federal states. What calamities did the wild ambition of Xerxes inflict on his passive herd of Asiatic and African slaves? driven, and frequently goaded like oxen, to the slaughter; while the more intelligent and sagacious among his counsellors, had only to lament and rue the obstinacy and infatuation of their leaders. On the other hand, Greece was split and weakened by intestine divisions and factions; and the mutual jealousies of the leading states, of Sparta and Athens, these champions for national freedom, and of Thebes and Argos, the chief Medizing states, flung the

* See Major Rennell’s patriotic and animated exhortation to Britons, to persevere in our present internecine war with the military despot of France. Geography of Herodotus, p. 319—323.
apple of discord among them, as soon as ever they were freed from the terror of a foreign enemy; and at length brought on the Peloponnesian war, more ruinous than the foreign; which ended in their virtual subjection to the Persian sway, by the venality and corruption of their demagogues; and at length bowed their necks to the Macedonian, and afterwards to the Roman yoke.

The defeat of the Persian forces at Mycale, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, drove Xerxes from that city, where he had resided since his return from Greece; and he retired with disgrace and dismay to Susa, his capital. His route was marked by plunder and devastation through Asia. He pillaged and destroyed all the Grecian temples in his way; he did not respect even the ancient and venerable temple of Belus, at Babylon, but carried off from thence a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, the work probably of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. 1; and slew the high-priest, who endeavoured to prevent the sacrilege. B. I. § 183.

THE END OF XERXES.

The remainder of the reign of this impious son of violence, (as he was rightly described in the Grecian Oracles) was disastrous in the highest degree, clouded by the most horrid and unnatural debaucheries and cruelties, raging through and ravaging his own household and his own family; and equalling, if not exceeding, the gloomiest Thyestean tragedy. He first fell in love with the wife of his own brother, Masisles, 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 Saco 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 Aspasias 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, Pena, claudio.—Hor. Od. II. 2, 31.
before it was ripe for execution, about seven months after his father's death. Next he defeated his brother, after a two years' war, and obtained quiet possession of the throne.

In the third year of his reign he gave public entertainments and rejoicings at Susa; and by advice of his sycophant council deposed his queen Vashti for contumacy, because she modestly refused to expose her beauty at a public banquet, to his guests, when flushed with wine. Esth. c. i. and ii.

Gravis poena pro culpâ levî, 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 Judæa, 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 Achemenes*, 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 Achemenes, 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 Achemenes, 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 Amyrteus, 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 Amyrteus in the fens. Cimon defeated Artabazus, the Persian admiral, took 100 of his ships, and destroyed many more; pursued the rest to Cilicia, and by stratagem, landing his men, as if Persians, next surprized and defeated Megabyzus, at Eurymedon, with an army of 300,000 men, and returned to Cyprus, with a double triumph. Plutarch in Cimon, and Diodor. B. XI. chap. 13.

PEACE WITH ATHENS.

This double defeat induced Artaxerxes to seek an accommodation with the Athenians, to which, after their losses, they were equally well disposed. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Susa, amongst whom was Callias; and on the Persian side, Artabanes and Megabyzus were sent to Athens. Peace was concluded on terms humiliating to the Persian monarch. 1. That all the Greek cities in Asia Minor should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no Persian governor of the provinces should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. And 3. That no Persian ships of war should sail between the Cyanean rocks, at the northern extremity of the
Thracian Bosporus, and the Chelidonian Isles, near the southern promontory of Lycia; thus excluding the Persians from the entire Ægean sea, and that part of the Mediterranean bordering upon Asia Minor. This peace *, so glorious for the little Athenian states, established the independence of the Grecian colonies on the Asiatic coast; and was at length, after some delay, concluded B.C. 449, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, thirty years after the victories of Platea and Mycale, and forty years after the first Persian invasion of Greece. It is remarkable, that as the foundation of the liberties of the Grecian states was laid by the illustrious Miltiades, in the victory of Marathon, so were they perfected by the victories of his more illustrious son, Cimon. Herod. B. VII. § 151. Diodor. B. XII. chap. 1. Plutarch. Cimon.

NEHEMIAH’S COMMISSION.

In his twentieth year, Nehemiah was sent to rebuild the walls and city of Jerusalem. The motives that induced Artaxerxes to this measure, are noticed in the second Volume, p. 484—486, of this work.

* The existence of this treaty, so humiliating to Persia, is questioned by Mitford, on the grounds that it was never observed; that it is unnoticed by Thucydides, and virtually contradicted by Plato; and that Plutarch and Diodorus, who record it, disagree, about 20 years, in its date; the former dating it immediately after the battle of Eurymedon; the latter, in the fourth year of the 82d Olympiad. Hist. of Greece, chap. xii. § 3, last note.

But these grounds seem rather insufficient: for,

1. Thucydides, in his short preliminary abstract of the affairs of Greece, might have passed over this treaty, because it was not faithfully observed, on the side of Persia, and was therefore of no avail: besides, he wrote his history of the Peloponnesian war near its close, when Athens was in a state of depression, after the ruinous Sicilian war, and dreaded the junction of the Persians with their enemies the Lacedaemonians; he might therefore be afraid of giving umbrage to Persia, by recording her disgrace.

2. Plato only says that “Greece owed its tranquillity to the prosecution of the war by the Athenians far from home, in Cyprus and Egypt.” (Menexen.) But this foreign war occasioned the treaty, which Plato therefore rather implies.

3. It was the boast of Isocrates, that no Persian ships, nor troops, shewed themselves within the prescribed limits of the treaty, at least for some time, during the depression of the Persians, as Mitford himself notices.

4. The peace of Antalcidas, afterwards, B.C. 387, formally rescinded the first article of the freedom of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, by declaring they should be subject to the king of Persia; which would otherwise be superfluous.

5. The variations of Plutarch and Diodorus, as to the precise time, do not invalidate their positive testimony as to the fact.
No sooner were the Grecian states freed from the Persian war, than dissention and discord raged among themselves. The Athenians, by artfully fortifying their city, and getting from the Lacedaemonians the command at sea, which they exercised themselves with much insolence and oppression, excited the jealousy and indignation of the rest. The leading states of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, indeed, could not brook the naval superiority and growing power of Athens; and twenty years before the peace with Persia, the Lacedaemonians determined to make war on the Athenians, expecting to be joined by the rest, either from their resentments, or their fears, when Sparta herself was overwhelmed by an earthquake, B.C. 469, and twenty thousand citizens perished in this dreadful disaster. This was followed by the revolt of the oppressed Helots and Messenians, who endeavoured to shake off their cruel yoke, and carried on a ruinous intestine war, for ten years, before they were reduced. Thucyd. B. I. § 100, 101.

The Boeotian states also revolted and shook off the authority of Thebes, in which they were assisted by the Athenians, who, by the decisive victory of Tanagra, B.C. 456, confirmed the liberties of Boeotia; and in like manner, Argos lost her dependent states in the Peninsula, Mycene, Epidaurus, and Troæne. Diodor. B. XI. Thucyd. B. I.

At length, the general oppressive system of the Athenian policy armed the Confederates against her in the Peloponnnesian war, which commenced B.C. 431, and lasted 27 years, ending in the ruin of the Athenian dominion; so well described by Thucydides, who was employed therein himself. It broke out in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, whose assistance was sought by both parties; but he wisely declined to assist either, thinking it better to let them worry each other, and exhaust themselves. They applied to him afresh, not long before his death; but he put them off again. Thucyd. B. II. and IV.

This prince was surnamed by the Persian writers, Bahaman, signifying “kind, or beneficent.” His favourite maxim was, that “the gates of a king should never be shut.” Of this, he gave a signal instance in the hospitable asylum which he generously afforded to the illustrious exile, Themistocles, who had done so much mischief to Persia, and for whose head he had offered a reward of 200 talents, near 40,000l. on his accession to the
throno. When banished from Greece, and every part of Europe, by the unrelenting persecution of the Lacedaemonians, he boldly threw himself upon the mercy of the Persian monarch, who received him graciously, gave him the 200 talents formerly offered as a reward, "since he brought himself, and was therefore entitled to it, as a debt," took him into his royal favour, and for his maintenance, assigned him the government of Magnesia, which brought him 50 talents yearly, for his bread; Lampsacus for his wine; and Myus for his meat. In the enjoyment of this affluence, he used to say humorously to his children, We should have been undone, if we had not been undone! And the strongest inducement afterwards held out by any Persian king to a Greek, to enter into his service, was, that "he should live with him, as did Themistocles with Artaxerxes*." Thucyd. B. I. § 135—138.

Of true religion he gave also a specimen early in his reign, when he sent Ezra to Judea, with ample commission to establish the law of God and the law of the king in the western provinces; and for beautifying the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, and providing for regular sacrifices there, "lest there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons." Ezr. vii. 21—27. Artaxerxes was happy in two such master-counsellors as Ezra and Nehemiah.

We cannot therefore listen to the Persian historians who defame his memory, by the absurd and inconsistent tale, that he married his own daughter, Homai, when he was old; that at his death he left her with child, and appointed her posthumous son to be his successor, in exclusion of his adult son, Xerxes by Queen Esther; that Homai, ambitious to secure the crown for herself, most unnaturally exposed her new-born infant, richly dressed, in a little ark, on the river Gihon; that the child was saved by a poor dyer, who called him Darab, (from dar a "wooden vessel," and ab "water,") and reared him as his own son; that at length, he was accidentally discovered and acknowledged by his mother, who resigned the crown to him, after she had held it thirty years. See Herbelot, in Homai, Bahaman, and Darab.

* Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Eusebius, &c. refer this transaction to the reign of Xerxes; but the testimony of Thucydides, a contemporary historian, greatly outweighs theirs, and is more probable in itself. For Artaxerxes had it in view, by his means, to reduce Greece; whereas Xerxes gave up all such views, in hopeless despair.
But other respectable historians, the Tarik Cozideh, or Montekheb, &c. pass over Homai unnoticed in the dynasty of the Kaianians; which is an evident proof that they disbelieved and rejected the whole story. The exposure of Darab strongly resembles the exposure of Cyrus.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Besides Xerxes, his only legitimate son, Artaxerxes left seventeen sons by his concubines, among whom were Sogdianus, Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes succeeded his father, but after he had reigned 45 days, was assassinated by Sogdianus, who usurped the throne. But Ochus, coming with a powerful army from Hyrcania, of which he was governor, to revenge his brother's death, Sogdianus submitted, and was smothered in ashes. This cruel and novel death was invented by Ochus, to destroy his brother without breach of his oath, for he had sworn not to kill him by sword, poison, or hunger. The two short reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus, amounting to only eight months, are omitted in Ptolomy's Canon, but their amount is included in the last year of Artaxerxes, according to his usage. Ochus assumed the title of Darius, usually called Nothus, "bastard," to distinguish him from the other princes of the same title. Diodorus, B. XII.

His reign proved turbulent and unfortunate. His own brother Arsites, born of the same mother, first rebelled against him, but was decoyed into a surrender, and smothered in ashes. Afterwards he was harassed with rebellions, in Media and the northern part of his dominions, which he suppressed. The Egyptians also revolted in the South, about B.C. 414, drove the Persians out of the country, and retained their independence during this and the succeeding reign. Euseb. Chronicon.

His hatred of the Athenians led him to deviate from his father's wise policy, which was, to foment divisions among the Grecian states, and to assist the weaker against the stronger, so as to prevent them from uniting against the Persians. He therefore commissioned his younger son Cyrus, governor of Asia Minor, to assist the Lacedaemonians with large subsidies, against the Athenians; and enabled Lysander, their artful general, who had wormed himself into the favour of the young prince, by flattering his ambitious views, to finish the Pelopon-
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nesian war, with the overthrow of the Athenians, and demolition of their fortifications, about the time of his father’s death, B.C. 404. For which, the Lacedemonians 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. Athenaeus, 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 (διαβάλλει) 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 διαβάλλειν ψευδώς, “to accuse falsely,” and εὐλαβον τας διαβολας καὶ ψευδεῖς ὁσι.
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 Lacedaemonians, 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 Lacedaemonians in particular, Artaxerxes sent Tissaphernes to make war upon their dependencies. To oppose whom, they sent Thimbro, B.C. 399, and afterwards Dercyllidas, B.C. 398; and lastly Agesilaus their king, B.C. 396, whose rapid conquests threatened the empire itself; when Artaxerxes, recurring to his grandfather’s wise policy, sent 300,000 gold archers to drive Agesilaus out of Asia, and recall him to the defence of his own country, against the Thebans, and other states, who were bribed and subsidized to attack Laconia.

Following up this system, by the advice of Conon the Athenian, he raised Athens from her depression, to counterbalance the power of Sparta; he rebuilt the city, which had formerly been destroyed by the Persians; he repaired her fortifications, which had been demolished by the Lacedaemonians, 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.
ANALYSIS OF

... 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?
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 Cappadoceia, who gave him much trouble, 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. 341, the fifteenth of his reign, he sent some of his trustiest ministers on an embassy to Philip, under pretence of offering him the friendship and alliance of the great king, but in reality to spy out his strength, his resources, and his designs. The young Alexander, then a boy of twelve years old, in his father's absence, entertained the ambassadors, and gained upon them greatly by his politeness and good sense. He asked them no childish or trifling questions, but enquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia: he desired to be informed of the character of their king, and how he treated his enemies; and wherein the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were surprised, and counted the famed shrewdness of Philip as nothing compared with the vivacity and lofty enterprising genius of his son, and said to each other, "This boy indeed will be a great king; ours is a rich one!" Plutarch, in Alexander. How early did this conversation unfold the latent ambition of Alexander, and his premeditated design of invading Asia from his childhood! And how remarkably did the observation of the Persians accord with the Scripture characters of both kings, of the "goat and the ram!" Dan. viii. 5—7, xi. 2, 3.

Ochus, at length, was poisoned by Bagoas, in revenge for all the calamities he had brought upon Egypt. And this powerful minister destroyed all the rest of his family, except Arses, the youngest son, whom he raised to the throne, allowing him the name of king, while he retained all the authority.

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: ὁστι ἐκείνοις θαυμα-ζειν, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινοτητα μηδὲν ἤγεισθαι, προς τὴν του παις ὁμοίην, καὶ μεγαλοπραγμόσινιν — ὃς ὁ παῖς οὗτος, βασιλείς μεγας, ὁ δὲ ἠμε-τέρος, πλουσίως! The unusual compound, μεγαλοπραγμόσινη, 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 Lektarikh, the Tarik Montekheb, &c. to cover the disgrace of the conquest of Persia, by Alexander. That by Darab I, they meant Ochus, whose history they metamorphosed, is evident from the Schah Name, which records exploits of Darab, consonant to those of Ochus. "That after his accession to the throne, on his mother Homai's resignation, he made war on his neighbours, and extended the limits of his empire on every side; insomuch, that his power exceeded that of all his predecessors."

Thus do the Persian historians, even in their departure from the Greek, bear undesigned testimony to the veracity of the latter, and convict themselves of intentional misrepresentation.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, or DARAB II.

This prince was a collateral branch of the royal family. His grandfather was the brother of Darius Nothus. Only one of his sons, Ostanes, escaped the massacre of the family, by the ruthless Ochus. Ostanes married Sisygambis, his own sister, by whom he had Codomannus. During the reign of Ochus, this young man lived in obscurity, and supported himself as an astanda, or courier, by carrying the royal dispatches. At length he signalized his valour, in killing a Cadusian champion, who had defied the whole Persian army to single combat. For this gallant exploit, he was rewarded by Ochus, with the important
government of Armenia: and upon the murder of Arses and his family, was advanced to the throne, by Bagoas. But finding that Bagoas meant to dispatch him likewise, he caught the traitor in his own trap, and made him swallow the poison he had prepared for Codomannus.

Darius (for he assumed that name) when settled on the throne, enjoyed singular advantages. He had no competitors nor opponents; for the royal family, and the principal nobility, had been destroyed by Bagoas and Nothus; the empire was fully settled and established; and he was “far richer” than his predecessors, “the three last kings;” because he was possessed of the vast additional treasures procured by the plunders of his predecessor, Ochus, after the reduction of Egypt and the other revolted provinces. And his personal bravery, and acknowledged merits, made him admired and respected, universally, throughout the empire.

Darius ascended the throne, B.C. 335, shortly before the assassination of Philip of Macedon, near the end of that same year; and, as Alexander complained, by Persian instigation, and bribery of the assassins; who made it one of his public grievances, seemingly not without sufficient grounds; for this charge of Alexander’s is recorded by the accurate and judicious Arrian, and adopted by Quintus Curtius*. And surely, Ba-

* Arrian has given the letter of Alexander to Darius; of which this is an extract, B. II. ch. 14.

"Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece, and did us mischief, without any provocation. I, when elected general of the Greeks, to punish the Persians, crossed over into Asia, to repel your underhand aggressions; for ye aided the Persianians, 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 prescribe 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 επιτηδεα) "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 Olympiaca, 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 μεγάλοπραγμοσύνη, "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. xl. 8, 4.

The credibility of this vision has been questioned; because it is not noticed by any Heathen historians, but by a Jewish, only. Their silence, however, is not sufficient to invalidate his positive testimony, for reasons assigned in Vol. ii. p. 532—534, of this work.

A very remarkable circumstance is recorded by Plutarch, as happening on the day of his birth, which was the sixth of Hecatombaeon, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad; or July 1, B.C. 356. The temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was maliciously burnt, that same day, by Erostratus. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign, which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran through the city, beating their faces, and crying, "This day hath brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia!"

This testimony of the Heathen historian may tend to corroborate the foregoing, of the Jewish. The Magi, or Persian Priesthood, must have been well acquainted with the prophecies of their venerable Archimagus, Daniel; especially those which predicted the downfall of the Persian empire, by the Macedonian, under the significant emblems of the Ram and Goat; and even Cyrus, in his signal epitaph at Pasagardae, 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. Ὑπαρ καὶ Δίος ἐστίν. "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;
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. Ar- rian, 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 Graneicus, 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 op- posed 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, imperatorial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment.

Φιλιππός Αριστοτέλει χαρειν.

Ἰσθί μοι γεγονοτά υἱόν πολλήν ουν τοις θεοίς χαρίν εχω, ου χ ο verbosity επι τη γενεσιν του πατός, ὡς επι τη κατα την σην ἡλικιαν αυτον γεγονεναι ἐλπίζω γιαρ αυτον ὑπο σου τραφεντα και παιδευεντα, αξιον εσσαθαι και ἠμών, κα της των πραγμάτων διαδόχησ.

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 Alex. 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 hasted 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."
ANALYSIS OF 

SIEGE OF TYRE.

For the present, however, he did not follow Darius; but, steady to his original plan, of reducing all the maritime provinces first, he marched in the spring of B.C. 332, into 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 repopulate 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 stands; and what appears ridiculous enough, a flock of crows sent to pilot him in the right track, where the marks were defaced!

The contrary ominous persuasion of his own downfall, de-

* Ἀλήθεια, 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.

1. Alexander the Great .................. 8 (332) 331
2. Philip Arideus ...................... 6 (324) 323
First Partition of the Provinces ......... .... 323
3. Alexander Ægus .................... 5 .... 317
4. Seleucus Nicator ................... 32 .... 312
Second Partition of the Provinces ....... .... 310
Final Partition of the Empire ............ .... 301
5. Antiochus Soter ................... 19 .... 280
6. Antiochus Theos .................... 15 .... 261
7. Seleucus Callinicus ................. 17 .... 246

Parthian 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-Grecian 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, l. 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 Croesus, transported thither by Cyrus. All these treasures, and a vast quantity of precious goods and rich furniture, and equipage, Alexander transported from thence to Susa, which loaded no less than ten thousand pair of mules, and five thousand camels, according to Plutarch. At Ecbatana, where Cambyses deposited his treasures, if we may credit Diodorus, the amount was not less than 180,000 talents.

The plunder which Alexander found also in the Persian camps at Issus, and Damascus, and Arbela, and afterwards from the assassins of Darius, was very great, at least amounting to 25,000 talents more. The sums here specified, amounted to 445,000 talents; which rated at the Babylonish talent, 226l. would give 90,570,000l.; and if to this, we add the untold treasures at Babylon, and the precious furniture at Susa and Persepolis, amounting to as much more at least, the whole value will not probably be over-rated at 200 millions sterling ‡. Besides this amazing booty, Alexander came into possession of a fixed yearly revenue of 300,000 talents § or near 68 millions, according to Justin. How accurately therefore did the Scripture of Truth, delivered in the first year of Darius the Mede, B.C. 553, above 220 years before the catastrophe, describe Darius

* The common Attic talent, in Troy weight was 56lb. 11 oz.
† Pliny states, that a pound weight of the double-dyed Tyrian purple, sold at Rome, in the days of Augustus, for a hundred crowns. At this rate, the value of a talent weight would have been 5600 crowns, or 1400l. sterling; and 5000 talents, seven millions sterling.
‡ At Alexander's death there were found in the royal treasury only 50,000 talents; he had expended or lavishd 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 Notthus, 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; whence 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
(2,712l.) to the first man that should scale the rock, and so on in proportion to the last of ten, whom he promised 300 darics, (375l.) 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 Parætace, 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 Ren nel marks in his map of the thirty satrapies, that its course was changed A.D. 1640.
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 Punjab, nearer their sources, and to avoid the deserts that lie to the southward.

By a stroke of the most refined and daring policy, seeing his army much encumbered with baggage, on the very morning before they set out, he set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends, and then ordered all the baggage of his army to be destroyed likewise. Struck with the magnanimity and prudence of this prompt measure, few were displeased, and many received it with acclamations of applause. This extraordinary proof of his ascendancy over his troops inspired him with fresh confidence in the success of the expedition.

In sixteen days he marched from the Oxus to the Indus, and required hostages and cavalry from the tribes through whose territories he passed. He then crossed that great river, probably on a bridge of boats, at Taxila, and found a ready submission from Taxilus, the king, whose dominions he restored and augmented, and who in return furnished him with seven thousand Indian horse.

Major Rennel, in his Memoir of the Map of Hindostan, supposes that Taxila was the site of modern Attock, the pass from Cabul and Candahar to India.

The army crossed the Indus about the summer solstice, a season when the rivers are swollen by the melted snows from Paropamisus and Cashmire. Trusting to this, Porus, a warlike prince, resolved to dispute the passage of the Hydaspes, or Shantron, with a great army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. But Alexander out-generalled him, and crossed the river by stratagem, on skins and boats, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. When Porus was brought into his presence, Alexander asked what he wished to have done for him? He an-
quered, "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; Nicea, 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 Seltlege, 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

* ὄτι, βασιλικως, μοι χρησθαι, ὥ 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.
shrink 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 Hindostan, and unmoved by his remonstrances, soothe and sullenness, for several days together. At length, the entreaties of his friends, and the cries and tears of the soldiers, forced him to relinquish the ambitious measure, and return. And his army thanked him, that he who was invincible, should suffer himself to be overcome. Andracottus, who afterwards reigned there, and had seen Alexander in his youth, thought that he might have made himself master of the whole country; so much was the reigning prince despised and detested.

INDIAN BRAHMENS.

There were two descriptions of Indians, to whom Alexander shewed no mercy, the Military casts, and the Brahmens. The former, because they hired themselves to the native princes to fight their battles and garrison their towns, and opposed him gallantly; the latter, because they branded with infamy the princes who submitted to him, as traitors to their country, and stirred up the rest to assert their common liberties against this lawless and unprovoked invader. Having, at one time, granted an honourable capitulation to one of these cities, after a brave defence, he massacred the Mercenaries on their way home, as if not included among the citizens, in order to deter the rest from fighting against him: and he hanged many of the Brahmens in the course of the expedition. He once took ten, who were reputed the wisest and ablest of this class, and had done him infinite mischief, by fomenting revolts. To make trial of their skill, he proposed to them the hardest questions, declaring that the man who answered worst, should be executed first, and the rest in order; and he appointed the eldest to be judge.

He asked the first, Which were most numerous, the living or the dead? He answered, The living, for the dead no longer exist. According to Strabo, “the Indian Brahmens hold the present state of life an embryo only; but death, a birth unto the real life, and the happy to the seekers of wisdom.” B. XV.

* Νομίζειν μεν γὰρ δὴ τὸν εὐθαδέ βίον ὡς αὖ ακμὴν κυμένων εἰμιν, τὸν δὲ Θα-νατον γενεσιν εἰς τὸν οὐτως βίον, καὶ τὸν εὐδαιμον τοις φιλοσοφησαι.
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 *Kaως,* instead of *Kaως.*

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 *kalpa,* or a thousand *mahā yugas,* and a *mahā 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,
thou shalt die first. Not so, replied the sage, except you choose to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should suffer first.

Struck with their ingenuity and subtlety, 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 Brahmins. 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. 703.

**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 *aeromatie*, 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 *aeromatie* parts of science. Wherein shall we differ from others, if the sublimier 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 *,” (τούτων ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΟΤΟΥΗΣ), 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 Oxydracte.

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


† 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 Pasargâde, 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 Persian kings, averse to commerce, had impeded the navigation of the great rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and Eulai, or Chal- aspes; he formed a basin 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 internmarriages 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 Hephæston, saying that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, likewise, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other general officers, internmarried 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 Nearclus, that he meditated to sail in person, with a great fleet, to circumnavigate the coasts of Arabia, and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean, by the pillars of Hercules; thus emulating the Phoenician voyage, in Pharaoh Necho's days.

† Ω βαρβάρε Ζερξη, και ανοητη, και ματην πολλα περι την 'Ελλησποντιων πονηθες γεφυραν ούτως εμφρονες Βασιλεως Ασιων Ευρωπη συναιπτουσι, ου ξυλος, ουδε σχεδιας, ουδε αφυγος και ασυμπαθης δεσμος, αλλ ερωτι νομιμως, και γαμως σωφρος, και κοινωνιας παιων, τα γενη συναιπτουτες. Plutarch. De fortuna Alexandri.
He assumed the manners of the Persians, wishing not to mortify the Persians, while he made them adopt the manners of the Greeks. For this reason it was, that he marked so much respect for the wife and the mother of Darius, and that he shewed so much continence. What conqueror but himself was lamented by all the peoples whom he had reduced? What usurper but himself had his death bewailed with tears by the family whose throne he overthrew? [Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, starved herself for grief.] This is a trait in his life, of which no other conqueror* that we read of in history could boast.

"Alexander, who sought to unite the two nations, designed to plant in Persia a great number of Grecian colonies. He built an infinity of towns†, and so well cemented all the parts of this new empire, that in all the troubles and confusions of the most frightful civil wars, (during which, the Greeks, as we may say, annihilated themselves,) not a single province of Persia revolted.

"In order not to exhaust Greece and Macedon, he sent to Alexandria, a colony of Jews, allowing them to retain their own laws and customs. It mattered not to him, what were their manners, provided they were faithful to him.

"He not only left the conquered peoples their own customs and laws, but often the same kings and governors that he found among them. He put Macedonians at the head of the troops, and Natives at the head of the government, chusing rather to run the risk of partial insurrections, which sometimes happened to him, than of a general revolt.

"The kings of Persia destroyed the temples of the Grecians, Babylonians and Egyptians: on the contrary, he rebuilt them. There were few nations that submitted to him, upon whose altars he did not offer sacrifices. He seemed to conquer, only to be the monarch of each nation in particular, and the first citizen of every town.

"The Romans conquered all, to destroy all: he wished to conquer all, to preserve all: and whatever countries he traversed, his first ideas, his first designs were always to do something that might augment its power and prosperity. The first means of

* Montesquieu forgot Cyrus the Great, with whom we may justly say, no other conqueror was worthy to be compared, beloved by God and man.
† Diodorus and Plutarch reckoned that Alexander founded no less than seventy cities, in the most important stations, which he garrisoned, to secure the conquered provinces.
promoting these ends, he found in the grandeur of his genius; the second, in his frugality and private economy; the third, in his immense prodigality in great matters. His hand was shut to private expences, it was opened to public expences. Was it necessary to regulate his household? he was then a Macedonian. Was it necessary to pay the debts of his soldiers, to share his conquests with the Greeks, to make the fortune of every man in his army? he was then Alexander.

"He committed two bad actions: he burned Persepolis* and he killed Clitus; but he rendered those actions famous by his repentance: insomuch that the world forgot his crimes, to remember his respect for virtue; so that they were considered rather as misfortunes than faults; so that posterity found the beauty of his mind closely connected with his extravagances and weaknesses; so that it was necessary indeed to complain of him, but impossible to hate him.

"If we compare him with Caesar; when Caesar wished to imitate the kings of Asia, he disobliged the Romans, from a motive of mere ostentation; when Alexander wished to imitate the kings of Asia, he did a thing which entered into the plan of his conquest."

MUTINY AT OPIS.

To this masterly apology and 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. Caule 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 recompense 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 Sace, overthrowing the Uxians, Arachotians and Drangae, and acquiring the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Hyrcanians, as far as the Caspian sea; crossing the Caucasus, at the Caspian gates, and passing the rivers Oxus and Tanais, and even the river Indus, which was never passed by any other but Bacchus; and after crossing the Hydaspes and Acesines, and if ye had not been loth, the Hyphasis too; and navigating through both the mouths of the Indus to the ocean; and marching through the Gedrosian desert, which none ever passed with an army before, and acquiring Carmania, in the way; and after his fleet had sailed round from India to Persia, he was brought back indeed by you in triumph, to Susa; but that you left him, and went home, giving him up to the care of the conquered barbarians! These accounts, perhaps, will gain you glory with men, and sanctity with gods: Depart!"

Having thus said, he sprang hastily from the tribunal, and passing by to the palace, he neither dressed himself, nor appeared to any of his companions. Nor did he appear the next day. On the third he called in the chiefs of the Persians, and distributed among them the commissions of the ranks, and only such of them as he had made relations (by marriages) he allowed to kiss him.

The Macedonians, struck at the instant with his upbraiding speech, remained there in silence, at the tribunal, nor did any one attend the king at his departure, except his friends and body guards. The multitude who remained were at a loss what to do or say, and yet were not willing to depart themselves. But when they were told of the king's proceedings in regard of the Persians and Medes, how that the commissions were given away to the Persians, and the Barbarian army marshalled into companies, and the Persian guard called by Macedonian titles, "the foot-company, the Argyraspides, the horse company, and the king's guard, they could no longer contain themselves; but running together to the palace, they threw down their arms before the gates, as suppliants to the king, and standing before the gates, they cried aloud, begging to be admitted; that they were ready to give up the authors of the tumult, and beginners of the clamour, and that they would not quit the gates, day nor night, until Alexander should have some compassion on them.
When he was told this, he hastily came out to them, and seeing their dejection, and hearing the cries and groans of the multitude, he shed tears himself. He then received them into full favour again, and dismissed them, shouting and singing _peans_ as they returned to the camp."

I having given this most interesting speech entire, as an admirable and authentic outline of _Philip's_ and _Alexander's_ history; and also a lively specimen of his extraordinary powers of plain, close, and impressive reasoning; of governing the passions, and conciliating the affections of his troops. It would have been spoiled by abridgment.

**VISIT TO BABYLON.**

_Alexander's_ last visit was to _Babylon_. He had been warned by the Chaldaean priests*, not to visit that city, or at least not to enter it on the eastern side. But the marshes prohibited his approach on the western side. His friend _Calanus_, the Indian philosopher, who weary of life, had burned himself on a pile, in _Persia_, at their last interview, told _Alexander_ that "they should meet again at Babylon." He might have heard, perhaps, of _Darius Codomannus'_ dream, and the interpretation of the _Magi_. _Alexander_ therefore, entered that city with strong forebodings of his fate; and he who had so often employed _superstition_ as an engine of state policy, when he represented himself as the son of _Amun_, now fell a prey to it himself. " _Superstition_, like water, always flowing to the depressed and low grounds, filled _Alexander_ with dejection and fear," according to _Plutarch's_ imagery. Perhaps to conciliate the _Babylonian_ god, and avert his anger, he engaged in that fatal project of rebuilding the temple of _Belus_, recorded by _Arrian_, B. VII. § 17, and by _Josephus_, Contr. Apion. B. I. § 22. He knew not, alas! those sacred prophecies of _Daniel_ (well known to the _Magi_), foretelling his early doom, and the desolation of _Babylon_. See Vol. II. p. 533, and the present Vol. p. 67.

Here, _Alexander_, as Doctor _G. Fordyce_ has observed, appears to have died of an irregular _semitertian_ fever, caught by surveying the marshes adjoining the river _Euphrates_, to 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 in a continued carousal of two days.

Thus was cut off in the prime of life, and in all the pride of conquest, Alexander the Great, after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned in all, twelve years and eight months from his father Philip's death. "When he was strong, the great horn of the western goat was broken!" Dan. viii. 8.

What he achieved in the short compass of his reign, is altogether astonishing. When asked once, by what means he had effected such wonderful things, he answered, μηδεν αναβαλλομενον. "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 straights 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 ουδε εμοιε εξω του Θεου φυναν αν δοκει ανηρ, ουδενι αλλοι ανθρωπων εικων.
sea. In his tablets were found memorandums for building new cities in Europe and Asia; peopling the former with Asiatics, the latter with Europeans. The vast and capacious mind of this mighty conqueror, was likely indeed to have produced a grand revolution in the state and manners of the ancient world, by promoting general intercourse among the several branches of his mighty empire; but Providence, to shew the vanity of human projects, checked his ambitious career, hitherto shalt thou go, and no further! and to humble his inordinate pride, and impious arrogance, soon mingled him with the dust!

He seems to have had a strong presentiment of the ensuing dissentions and convulsions after his death, kindled by the 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 ARIDEUS, AND ALEXANDER AEGUS.

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 Arideus, 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 Aegus), 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 Peucetes; 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 Aridaeus, after a nominal reign of six years and six months, and wreaked her vengeance on the family and adherents of Antipater, B.C. 317. But her cruelties were soon retaliated on herself. Cassander, who had a powerful party in Macedon, came that same year with an army, besieged Olympias in Pydna, took the city, and put her to death. He then confined the young king, Alexander Aegus, 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 Aegus; 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 Aegus; and also her sister Drypetis, the widow of Hephaestion, 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 Borsine, the widow of Memnon, the Rhodian, from Pergamus, where they had resided in privacy, proposed him as king to the Macedonians. This so alarmed Cassander, that he came to a compromise with the base Polysperchon, to share the government between them, and so seduced him to destroy Hercules and his mother, the ensuing year, B.C. 309. On the death of Hercules, "the generals put on crowns."

Thus was "the posterity of Alexander" all extirpated in the course of fourteen years from his death, and "his kingdom plucked up, and given to others," by a righteous retaliation,
that he whose sword had made many parents childless, should leave his children and all his family "to perish by the sword!"

SELEUCUS NICATOR.

Although Seleucus was excluded by the second partition treaty, B.C. 310, from the government of Babylonia, allotted to him by the first, in B.C. 323, and Antigonus, his competitor, elected in his room, yet his reign is dated by the oriental historians two years before, from B.C. 312, when he retook Babylon from Antigonus, and established his interest there upon such a solid foundation, that it could no more be shaken. It was not, however, till the celebrated battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, in which Antigonus was slain by the other confederate generals, that his title was acknowledged, on the third and final partition of the empire, when Ptolemy was established in Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coele Syria, and Palestine; Cassander in Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus in Thrace, Bithynia, and the adjacent districts on the Hellespont and Bosporus; and Seleucus in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. To this last partition, Daniel's prophecies of the division of Alexander's empire among his four generals, seem to have alluded, Dan. viii. 8, xi. 4.

Seleucus was reckoned by Appian, "the greatest king after Alexander," B. VII. § 22, and is so represented in prophecy; Dan. xi. 5. See Vol. II. p. 537, of this work. He first conquered Antigonus, and seized his provinces of Syria and Asia Minor; he at last conquered Lysimachus, king of Thrace, who had previously annexed Macedon to his dominions; so that he united three of the kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was split, and was thence styled Nicator, "Conqueror," while Ptolemy, the wisest, retained the fourth, Egypt and its dependencies.

Seleucus built Antioch, the capital of Syria, on the river Orontes; and three other cities of note, Seleucia, Apamia, and Laodicea, in the same province; which in his time was divided into three parts, Upper Syria, Coele Syria, and Palestine Syria. The maritime coast of the two latter, was called Phœnicia. Afterwards he built Seleucia, about forty miles above Babylon, on the western side of the Tigris, opposite to the modern city of Bagdad, and made it the capital of the eastern provinces. He
built a great number of cities besides, and adopted Alexander's policy of planting the Jews in many of them, with ample privileges. He was beloved by his subjects for his justice and mildness, and remarkably fond of his children; of which he gave a signal proof, in resigning his favourite queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, who was desperately in love with her, to save his life, and with her the provinces of Upper Asia, of which they were crowned king and queen. Appian, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus.

Seleucus did not long enjoy his victory over Lysimachus; seven months after, as he was marching into Macedon, to take possession of that kingdom, he was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, a refugee from Egypt, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours, and intended to have restored to his father's kingdom, who had disinhernited 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.

ASHKANIAN KINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>194</td>
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</table>

Persian 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 praetors, 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 Achemenide, 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 Daæe before the revolt of Parthia. After he assumed the crown of Parthia, he reduced Hyrcania and some other neighbouring provinces, and was slain at last, after seven years' reign, according to Khondemir, in a battle with Ariathres IV. king of Cappadocia.

Hence this dynasty is called the Aschkanian by the Oriental writers. Some of them divide it into two parts, of twelve kings, whom they distinguish by the name of Aschkanians; and of eight more, by that of Aschyanides. But Khondemir judiciously unites them, as only forming one intermediate dynasty, between
the Macedo-Grecian and the fourth dynasty of Persian kings, called Sassanian, or Khosronian. In reality, this may be considered as a Persian dynasty, and the third; because Persia and Parthia were contiguous provinces of the empire, and are usually confounded by the Greek and Latin historians and poets; as Media and Persia were by them, and by the Oriental writers themselves, in the second or Kaianian dynasty.

His son, Arsaces II. carried on a war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, who at length relinquished to him the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting him to recover the rest.

Priapatius, his son, succeeded him, and left his crown to his eldest son Phraates, who reduced the Mardi, and other Median tribes.

MITHRIDATES, or FIROUZ,

Was the brother of the last king, to whom he left the crown, on account of his extraordinary merit, in preference to his own children. He reduced the Bactrians, Persians, Medes, Elamites, and extended his dominions into India, even beyond Alexander's conquests. He defeated and took prisoner, Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, B.C. 144, and got possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. So that he was master of all the provinces between the Euphrates and the Ganges. His reign is usually considered as the summit of Parthian grandeur; and he excelled not less as a statesman and legislator, than as a warrior. Diodor. Excerpt. Valesii, p. 361.

Phraates II. succeeded him, and was invaded immediately after, by Antiochus Sidetes, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius from captivity. Sidetes was at first successful, and stripped Phraates of all the conquests in the late reign, and confined him to the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom; but he surprized the Syrians, and destroyed their whole army, B.C. 130. Afterwards, in a war with his Scythian auxiliaries, he was deserted by the Greek mercenaries of Sidetes, whom he had ill treated, but released and taken into his service, and slain.

His uncle Artabanus took possession of the crown, but was slain also, not many days after, by a Scythian tribe of the Thogarians. Justin.
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 Praetor, about B.C. 93, who had been sent by the Roman Senate to reinstate Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, after he had been dethroned by Tigranes, king of Armenia. Sylla, assuming the middle seat of honour at the audience, placed Ariobarzanes on his right hand, and the Parthian ambassador on his left. This compliance on the part of the Parthian, so offended Pacorus, that he beheaded the ambassador, on his return home, for degrading the majesty of the Parthian monarch to a Roman praetor. However, he renewed the alliance with Lucullus, B.C. 69.

He was succeeded by his son Phraates III. who at first espoused the cause of Tigranes, son of Tigranes the Great, against his father; but upon the approach of Pompey, about B.C. 66, he thought proper to renew with him the alliance which his father had made at first with Sylla, and afterwards with Lucullus. He was murdered by his own sons, Orodes and Mithridates.

ORODES

First took possession of the throne as the elder brother, but was driven out by his younger. But Mithridates, for his cruelties, was driven out, and Orodes restored, who besieged his brother in Seleucia, and having forced him to surrender, cruelly put him to death, and was himself an eye-witness of his execution.

Soon after he was invaded, unexpectedly, in a time of profound peace, by the Roman pro-consul Crassus, B.C. 54, through motives of the most sordid avarice. When Crassus landed in Galatia, he found Dejotarus, the king, who was advanced in years, employed in building a new city; and he sarcastically remarked, King, you begin full late to build a city, at the twelfth hour of the day; Dejotarus retorted, And you, general, are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians. Whose equestrian warfare required all the vigour and agility of youth. Plutarch.
After plundering the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had spared, of upwards of ten thousand talents, or above two millions sterling, in violation of his solemn promise, he marched through Syria to invade Mesopotamia. There he was met by ambassadors from Orodes, complaining of his unprovoked aggression. Crassus, without alledging any excuse, said that they should have his answer at Seleucia. But the chief of the embassy said, *You shall sooner see hair growing here, shewing the palm of his hand, than be master of Seleucia!* Florus.

The issue of this unjust war was most disastrous. In the next campaign, B.C. 53, Crassus, his son, and the greatest part of his army, were destroyed at Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, by the policy of the Surenas, or generalissimo of the Parthian troops. And Dion Cassius, an experienced soldier himself, as well as judicious historian, observes, that the Roman army were either ignorant of what ought to be done, or unable to execute it; adding, that “they seemed to be blinded and persecuted by some Divinity, who disabled them from using either their understandings or their bodies.” This Divinity was unquestionably the TRUE GOD, though unknown to Dion, who thus revenged the sacrilegious plunder and profanation of his holy temple.

Orodes, soon after, most ungratefully, put to death the Surenas who had gained him this great victory, thinking he was become too powerful; for which he was punished in turn. He invaded Syria unsuccessfully, which was saved by the bravery of Cassius, who escaped the slaughter at Carrhae, with a remnant of the Romans; and by the consummate generalship of Ventidius, the lieutenant of Anthony, who in B.C. 38, entirely defeated the Parthian army, slew Pacorus, the king’s son, and fully revenged the death of Crassus and the Roman army, fourteen years before, and on the same day of the year. Orodes, not long after, was barbarously murdered by Phraates, the eldest, and most wicked of his sons, with whom he shared the regal power; but who stifled his father in his bed, and dispatched all his brothers, thirty in number, and cruelly destroyed the nobility, not sparing even his own eldest son, for fear the discontented Parthians should place him on the throne!
LYSIS

This monster of cruelty was contemporary with Herod the Great, whom he resembled in this trait of his character. He had given an asylum at Seleucia to the venerable and unfortunate Hyrcanus, king of Judea, in his exile; and when Herod sent an embassy to Phraates, to permit Hyrcanus to return to Jerusalem, the Parthian king dissuaded Hyrcanus from going home, but in vain; where he was sacrificed some time after, to the wicked policy of the 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.

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SECTION X.

IV. PERSIAN DYNASTY. 411 Years.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Y.M.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Artaxares, or Ardschir ben Babek</td>
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<td>225</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sapor, or Schabour</td>
<td>31</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Hormisdas, or Hormouz</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Vararanes, or Baharam</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Vararanes II. or Baharam II.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Narses, or Narsi</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Misdates, or Hormouz</td>
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<td>10.</td>
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<td>Vararanes V. or Baharam Gour</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Vararanes VI. or Jezdeyerd ben Baharam</td>
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This table is constructed by combining together the two tables in the *Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 324, and p. 373, folio. The former, containing the names and reigns of the Persian kings, according to the Byzantine historians, *Procopius, Agathias, &c.*, the latter, according to the Persian historians, *Mirkhond, &c.* "which," *Gibbon* remarks, "are preposterously separated." Vol. IV. p. 283. To this is added a correct chronology of the period. The discordant number of reigns in both tables is harmonized, by retrenching two reigns in the former, namely, *Vararanes III.* of only four days, and *Bornarin*, of seven months, which have no correspondences in the latter; and likewise five reigns in the latter, that have no correspondences in the former. The redundant chronology of the latter is by this means reduced to an equality with that of the former, by a few slight corrections.

The commencement of the dynasty is critically determined, on the joint authority of *Abulfaragi* and *Agathias*. *Abulfaragi* (p. 80) reckons that *Artaxares* defeated the *Parthians* three years after the accession of the Roman emperor, *Alexander Severus*. But A.D. 222 + 3 = A.D. 225. *Agathias* also (B. II. p. 63,) dates it in the 538th year* of the era of *Seleucus*. But 537 — A.D. 312 = A.D. 225, as before.

The end of the dynasty is reckoned from the decisive battle of *Cadessia*, A.D. 636, in which *Jezdegerd* was defeated by the *Saracens*. The correct amount therefore of the whole period is 411 years †.

* Instead of the 538th year, the present text of *Abulfaragi* dates it in the 542d year. And this error is adopted by the *Universal History*, reckoning the commencement A.D. 230, as observed before. Such is the carelessness of the Oriental writers, that *Eutychius* dates it as high as the tenth year of *Commodus*, A.D. 190; and *Moses Chorenensis* so low as the reign of *Philip*, A.D. 243. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* represents the *Arsacid* 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*.
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 Babekan, 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. Therupon, 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. Arsachel 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 Manichean heresy*.

* MANICHÆISM.

The founder of this sect or heresy of the Manicheans, 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 Hormisidas, 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 Manicheans 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 Manicheans for their arrogance and lofty pretensions.

Mani pretended to be an Apostle* of Jesus Christ, and a prophet illuminated by the Holy Spirit, to reform all religions, and to reveal those truths which our Saviour had not thought proper to communicate to his first disciples. This was his imposture or enthusiasm; and in this, he was imitated by his successor Mahomet.

By virtue of his divine mission, he chose twelve Apostles and seventy disciples, whom he sent forth into all parts, to preach his doctrines. He boasted of a perfect knowledge of all things, and of having banished mysteries from religion. And the celebrated Augustine, who had been seduced into this heresy in his youth, but opposed it strenuously in his age, confesses that his chief motive for adopting it, was the hope of understanding everything by demonstration, and of knowing God by the sole light of reason.—"But the world by wisdom knew not God." 1 Cor. i. 21.

Hence, Mani rejected the Old, and professed to reform the New Testament. He

* Mani began his epistles thus: Mani, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the Saints with me, unto Marcellus, my dear son, grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"—like another Paul.
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, Docete and Encratiotes, 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 Manichaean Bishop, in his controversy with Augustine, states it thus:

"We worship one and the same Deity (name) 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. 3] who, since he is two-fold himself, as the same Apostle acknowledges, calling him the power of God, and the wisdom of God, (1 Cor. i. 24) we believe that his power resides in the sun, and his wisdom in the moon; and that the third majesty, the Holy Spirit, has the air for his seat and residence." There, they are supposed to remain, to execute the orders of the Father, till the consummation of the world, which shall be destroyed by fire.—In the latter part of this system, which is pure magism, and not remote from the Egyptian theology, we have a curious specimen of their mode of wresting Scripture (1 Cor. i. 24) to favour their philosophy, from its proper sense of the grand mystery of "Christ crucified, to Jews a stumbling block, to Pagans (Greek or Persian) foolishness;" but to believers in the atonement, "the power of God and the wisdom of God, unto salvation." 1 Cor. i. 21—25; Rom. i. 16; Coloss. ii. 2, 3.

To account for the origin of evil, without ascribing it to God, the Persians, Chaldeans, Indians, and the early Christian heretic, Basilides, who first introduced it into the Chris-
the following anecdote: Having built the city of Hormouz, or Ormus, on the Persian 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 pestilential 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; I 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. xliv. 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 re-dressed and rectified in the future, when "He will judge the world in righteousness by that man for whom he ordained the judgment; whereof He hath given assurance to all, by raising him from the dead, bodily." Acts xvii. 31; Job xix. 25; Ps. l. 1; Matt. xiii. 24—30; John v. 22—29; Matt. xxv. 31—46; 1 Cor. i. 42—44.

Mani held a transmigration of souls after death; that they passed successively through different bodies; that such as were not sufficiently purged, in a certain number of these revolutions, were delivered to the demons of the air, to be tormented and tamed by them; that after this severe discipline, they traversed the regions of matter, and entered into the watery element of the moon, and contribute to her increase of light, by their luminous nature, when coming; and that the moon when filled with these bright spirits, at her full, transmits them to the sun, and thereby occasion her decrease, or wane, till the new, by their departure; and that the sun, by his purifying fire, sends them refined to heaven, which the Manichaeans called the pillar of glory. Mani was not the inventor of these absurd and fantastical notions; which are attributed to him by Augustine, Arce-laus, Titus of Bostra, and others, who attest their prevalence among his sect.

II. The religious worship and morality of these heretics, however, was better, by far, than their theology and physiology.

When Augustine reproached the Manichaeans with being no other than Pagan schismatics, who had separated themselves from the body of the Gentiles, but still retained their idolatry and superstitions: Faustus, his opponent, replied, "The Pagans think that God is to be served by altars, temples, images, and victims: I differ widely from them, in this respect also; for I think that I am myself, (if I be found worthy) a reasonable temple of God: I receive Christ his Son as a living image of the living God; I consider his altar, a mind imbued with good dispositions and discipline; the honours and sacrifices acceptable to the Deity, as consisting in prayers alone, prayers pure and simple. How then can I be deemed a Pagan schismatic?"

This, indeed, affords an advantageous specimen of Manichaean 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 mercantile, 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 agape, 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 calendae, 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 Manicheans 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. 363—545, it is no wonder that the Manicheans 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 Manicheans! 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 SCHABOUR DOULAKTAF.

When this great prince came of age, he resolved to revenge the injuries of the Arabs during his nonage, and put their king to

* Others say, that he got this title from breaking the shoulder or collar bones of the inhabitants of Yemen, to prevent them from bearing arms. But so singular a punishment may well be questioned. It is unexampled, we believe, in history.
death, and treated the inhabitants of Yemen with great cruelty; having been advised by his astrologers, that some one of their nation would, in future, subvert the Persian empire. But Malek ben Nasser, an ancestor of Mahomet, their ambassador, remonstrated with Sapor, either that the prediction might be false, and should not be minded, or that, if true, his cruelties would only provoke the Arabs to retaliate. Reflecting on this, the king altered his conduct, and treated the Arabs so kindly, that they called him Doulaknaf, "on the wings;" or their Protector; from the eagles carrying their young on their wings. This also was a title of the tutelar God of Israel, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; and of Jesus Christ, Matt. xxiii. 37.

Sapor was at continual variance with the Romans; but during the reign of Constantine the Great, durst not wage open war with them. He opposed them, however, underhand, and more effectually, by stirring up the barbarian tribes, residing on their frontiers, to ravage and harass the Roman provinces. Wishing to learn the true state of the Roman affairs, he went himself in the disguise of an ambassador to Constantinople, but was suspected, and imprisoned there. At length he escaped by the assistance of a lady of the court, whom he had corrupted, and fled, disguised, through Media, where he was hospitably entertained at a hermitage, whence called Schabouran; and afterwards built a city near the hermitage, called Casvin, 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 dissentions 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 Isdegertes, who accepted the trust, and maintained the peace of the Roman empire during the minority of the young prince. Cedrenus relates the same, with the additional circumstance, that Arcadius, in his will, bequeathed the Persian king a great sum of money for his trouble. And all the Greek writers own that Isdegertes during his reign for 21 years, lived in the utmost harmony with Theodosius. These positive testimonies greatly outweigh the doubts of Agathias as to the fact of the guardianship, who lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the Persians; and they fully vindicate the character of this illustrious prince from the calumnies of the Persian priesthood, who practised several pious frauds upon the king, for which he ordered the Magi to be decimated, allowed the Christians to build churches throughout his dominions, and repealed the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors, as we learn from Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. VII. c. 8.

The Persian historians relate, that Jezdegerd was killed by the kick of a vicious horse; and that the Magi, through hatred to him, set up Kesra, a nobleman, in opposition to his son Baharam Gour, who was then abroad, educating by an Arab prince.

VARANES V. OR BAHARAM GOUR, OR JUR.

This young prince, (who derived his surname from his fondness for hunting the jur, or "wild ass";) by the assistance of the Arabs, raised an army to recover his crown; while the Persian nobility, persisting in their rebellion, resolved to support the king they had chosen. To prevent the effusion of blood, a proposal was made by Baharam, that the crown of Persia should be placed on a cushion between two hungry lions, shut up in a particular place, and that the prince who should take it away should wear it. Which being done, Baharam said to his competitor: Kesra, advance courageously, and take away the crown. Kesra replied: I am already in possession of the throne; it is your business, who pretend thereto, to fetch the crown from the place where it is. Baharam, without reply or hesitation, instantly flung himself, though unarmed, upon the lions, with the fury and impetuosity of a tiger; killed them both with his own
hands; and tearing the crown, as it were, from their fangs, put it upon his head, and appeared thus before the lords, who flocked from all quarters to see so extraordinary a spectacle. *Kesra* himself was the first to embrace him, and to adjudge him worthy of the crown which he had now gained by his valour.

Soon after his election, *Baharam* was invaded by the *Kha-rcan*, or *Kaikhan*, "the great king" of *Turan*, or *Turkistan*, with an immense army. *Baharam*, unable to oppose the enemy in the field, appointed his brother, *Narsi*, regent in his absence, and retired with a chosen troop, of only a thousand horse, into *Armenia*: so that the *Turks*, thinking that he had abdicated the crown, advanced in disorder, and without discipline, to the sure conquest, as they thought, of the whole country. But *Baharam*, fetching a compass round by the coast of the *Caspian* Sea, gained the important pass of *Khuaresme*, in the rear of the *Turks*; fell upon them unawares at night, without guards, buried in wine and sleep, destroyed their army, and killed the *Khan* in his tent; and pursued the fugitives to the river *Gihon*, the boundary of the two empires; and after so complete a victory, returned triumphant into his own dominions.

The roving disposition of *Baharam*, which he had contracted from his education among the *Arabs*, led him to the romantic project of quitting his kingdom, now in full peace, and seeking adventures as a private knight, in *India*; where he offered his services to a king of that country. His first exploit was the killing a wild elephant, which had done prodigious mischief, and destroyed all the hunters sent against him. But *Baharam* pierced him with an arrow, in the head, which entered up to the feathers, and slew him. He next defeated a neighbouring prince, who had rebelled against the king; for which service, the king made him his *prime vizier*, and gave him his daughter in marriage, with an immense dower.

Finding, however, that his father-in-law, jealous of his high reputation, altered his behaviour toward him, he disclosed his rank to him, and returned with his wife and his wealth to his own dominions, after an absence of two years.

After his return, he reduced the kingdom of *Yemen*, or *Arabia*, and all its dependencies; and he renewed the persecution against the *Christians*, provoked at the unwarrantable zeal of *Abdas*, the Persian prelate, who burned a fire temple to the ground; and when gently reproved by the king, who had a
great personal respect for him, refused to rebuild it, according to his command. At the instigation of the Magi, the king put Abdas to death, and demolished the churches, and confiscated the estates of the nobility who would not recant.

This brought on a war with Theodosius; for multitudes of the Christians in Persia sought refuge in the Roman dominions, where they were hospitably received; and Varanes had refused to send back some miners lent by Theodosius, to his father Isdegertes, to work anew some neglected gold and silver mines in Persia. After various reverses of fortune on both sides, a peace was concluded, and Varanes not only desisted from persecuting the Christians, but treated them favourably; struck with the generosity of Acases, the bishop of Amida, and his clergy, who sold all their consecrated plate of gold and silver vessels, to maintain seven thousand Persian prisoners, taken early in the war by the Romans; and sent them all home at the conclusion of the war, with money to defray their expenses 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 Balasch; who, during his short reign, submitted quietly to the dominion of the Haiathelites.

CAVADES, OR COBAD.

This prince succeeded his brother Valens, and was of a martial and enterprising disposition; but rather superstitious. In the tenth year of his reign, appeared Mazdek, an 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, Giami, Megidi, &c. the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in Persia. He approached, indeed, the nearest to Cyrus the Great, or Kai Khosru. He was happy in his genius and talents, and still more so in their cultivation. The dawn of his government disclosed an auspicious presage of an excellent reign; whose long meridian splendour increased the prosperity of his kingdom. Though naturally of the mildest disposition, he began his reign with an act of severity. He caused Mazdek, that licentious and lawless false prophet, to be apprehended, and sentenced him to death; declaring his determined resolution to extirpate the followers of this pestilent heresy, for the good of the state. The impostor pleaded against the sentence: "Providence, O king, ordained thee to rule over us, to protect, not to destroy." "True, thou son of corruption," said Nouschirvan, "but rememberest thou not, how thou once didst impudently demand permission of Cobad, my father, to lie with my mother! and how thy followers have plundered my subjects! I seek not therefore to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself, and to protect the people committed by Providence to my care." After the execution of their chief, the king published a decree, that his followers should either restore their plunder to the owners, or be capitally punished, as robbers. They willingly accepted the alternative, to save their lives: and thus, by this wise and temperate procedure, the peace and properties of the people were secured against the outrages of these profligate fanatics, with little bloodshed.

Nouschirvan next disgraced the public officers who had been obnoxious to the people in the last reign. One of these was reduced to poverty; and notwithstanding the king's prohibition, that they should not appear at court on the king's birth day, he slipped in among the crowd, waited at the royal table, and stole a gold plate, which he hid in his bosom, unperceived by all but the king. When the plate was missing, the chief butler made
a great stir about it; but the king stopped him, saying, *The thief will not restore it again; and the person who saw him will not inform against him.* On the next 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 vail of their misrepresentations; while the amplifications of the Persian historians run into the opposite extreme.

Chosroes extended and improved his empire on every side. It reached from Syria, and the Mediterranean sea, to the river Indus, eastwards; and from the Sihon and Jaxartes, to the frontiers of Egypt, southwards. He built his splendid capital city of Madain, on the Tigris, about a day's journey from Bagdat; and adorned it with a stately and sumptuous palace, called Thak Khosrou, "the dome of Khosru," from its magnificent cupola; in the vault of which he deposited his immense treasures. So solid and durable was its construction, that when the Caliph Almanzor ordered it to be pulled down, in order to employ the materials in building the citadel of Bagdat, he was forced to abandon the attempt, on account of the greatness of the expence and labour, and to leave most part of the palace undemolished. Upon which, a Persian poet wrote the following distich.

"See here the reward of an excellent work;
All consuming Time still spares the palace of Chosru.*"

He completed also the famous wall of Gog and Magog, to prevent the irruptions of the Scythian and Tartar tribes into Iran, begun by an ancient prince, called Askander.

For the better and speedier administration of justice, throughout his vast dominions, he divided the empire into four districts. The first included the frontier provinces toward Tartary and India; the second, Parthia, and the provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea; the third, Persia, and the provinces between it and the Persian Gulf; and the fourth, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia. Over each district, he appointed one of the

* Instead of the simplicity of this elegant distich, thus closely translated from Herbelot, the Universal History gives the following inflated paraphrase, Vol. IV. p. 393, fol.

"Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy:
Nor rage, nor time, can thy designs destroy!"
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 Homaioun Nameh, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which he had translated into Persic. And so scrupulous was he to set a good example himself, that when his attendants had taken a quantity of salt from a neighbouring village, to season some venison which he had taken in hunting, he ordered them to pay for it immediately, observing to his vizir, This is a small matter in itself, but great, as it regards me; a king ought always to be just, because he is a pattern for his subjects; and if he swerves in trifles, they will become dissolute. If I cannot make my people just in the smallest things, I can at least shew them that it is possible to be so. Hence his justice became proverbial. Mahomet himself boasted, that he was born in the reign of Malek al adel, "the just king."

The wisdom of his prime vizir, called Buzurge mihir, "the well beloved," is also celebrated by the Persian writers. One day in council, when others had spoken much, Nonschirvan 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.

Nonschirvan, notwithstanding his goodness, was exposed to domestic troubles. He had a favourite son by a Christian wife, Nonschizad, 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 through 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 hec ulterior, 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, abuse 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 risk 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 risk 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. Wearyed with the repeated remonstrances of his preceptor, and troublesome morning visits, the young prince employed some of his idle companions to waylay Buzurge one
morning, who robbed him, and left him quite naked. Hormisdas then bantering him on his disaster, said, *You see the mischief of early rising! This occasioned your being robbed and stripped thus. You mistake, prince, said he, the robbers rose earlier than I, and therefore they succeeded. Ah! my dear prince, vigilance is a copy of the divine activity [which neither slumbers nor sleeps], the source of virtue and true pleasure, and the key to victory in all things.*

Rise then betimes, that the sun of fortune may shed his early beams upon your head, and the fresh morning air [brace your body and] dispose your mind to receive those celestial influences which may render you a blessing to the world*.

In the beginning of his reign, while Hormisdas was guided by his excellent tutor, whom he appointed prime vizier, he promised to surpass even Nouschirvan himself. He treated Buzurge with so much deference, that he would not wear the tiara in his presence: and when the adulation of some of his courtiers thought this extraordinary, more than was due even to a father, "You say right, my friends," answered the young king, "I owe more to him than to my father: the life and kingdom I received from Nouschirvan, will expire in a few years; but the fame I shall acquire by following the instructions of Buzurge, will survive to the latest ages."

But three years after, when age and infirmities had induced the venerable vizier to retire from public business and from the court, Hormisdas, alas! fell a prey to the adulation and sycophancy of younger and false counsellors, neglecting his wise father's admonitions; and he involved himself and his empire in the greatest calamities. He grew superstitious, suspicious, and cruel. By the instigation of soothsayers and diviners, who got an ascendancy over him, he banished his most faithful judges and counsellors, and put to death multitudes of his best subjects for imputed disaffection or treason; and even his faithful preceptor himself! he affronted the Roman emperor Tiberius, who sent ambassadors to renew the last peace made with his father, treated them disdainfully, and required a sum of money as a tribute for granting it, which involved him in a war with the

* What a fine paraphrase is this of the homely proverb—

"Early to bed, and early to rise,
Will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."
Romans westward; while the frontier provinces of India eastward, and Arabia southward, threw off the Persian yoke, and set up princes of their own. We may date this general revolt, A.D. 584; and to crown all, the Kaikhan of Turkistan northward, invaded Persia with a mighty army. Now, for the first time, the Turks were noticed by the Roman historians, about A.D. 585.

When his general, Varamus, or Baharam, had defeated the Turks, by stratagem, with great slaughter, he was employed next against the Romans; but being worsted, Hormisdas sent him a woman's garment, in contempt, and threatened to decimate his troops, which so provoked both, that they revolted, imprisoned him, and elected his son Chosroes king, although Hormisdas made a long and vehement speech to dissuade the nobles in council from electing Chosroes, who was prone to vice of every kind, and regardless of the public good; and as he predicted, would perpetuate that tyranny which they were so anxious to avoid, recommending to them his younger son Hormisdas, as fitter to reign over them. But his remonstrances were vain; their leaders massacred the unhappy prince, whom he preferred, in his presence; blinded the old king himself with a hot iron, that he might never resume the throne, and soon after he was murdered either by his unnatural son and successor, or by his own brothers.

CHOSROES II. OR CHOSRU PARVIZ.

This prince early in his reign gave a remarkable instance of superstitious credulity, in a letter to Gregory, Bishop of Antioch, preserved by Theophylact, Lib. IV. cap. 6.

"I, Chosroes, son of Hormisdas, king of kings, &c. having heard that the famous martyr Sergius, granted to every one who sought his aid, their petitions, did, on the seventh day of January, in the first year of my reign, invoke him to grant me victory against Zadespras; promising that if that rebel was either killed or taken by my troops, that I would give to his church a golden cross enriched with jewels: and accordingly on the ninth day of February, the head of Zadespras was brought to me by a party of horse, which I dispatched against him.

"To give, therefore, the most public testimony of my gratitude and thankfulness to the saint, for granting my petition,
I send to his church that cross, and also another, formerly given by the emperor Justinian, and taken away by my grandfather Chosroes, the son of Cavades, which I found deposited among my treasures."

The writers of the Universal History, in relating this anecdote, accuse him of hypocrisy, because he afterwards persecuted the Christians. But the letter carries with it such internal marks of sincerity, at that time, both by his public acknowledgement and his offerings, that it cannot reasonably be impeached by any subsequent change of conduct, owing to change of circumstances. It proves unquestionably, that the profession of Christianity was then become popular in the Persian dominions, otherwise the king would neither have made, nor performed openly, such a vow to a Christian saint. Among the Magi themselves, we can well conceive, that there were many believers, from the accomplishment of the prophecies concerning Christ, of their great Archimagus Daniel, and from the spread of 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 Phoenicia, with fire and sword; in his twentieth year his generals wasted Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon, burning cities and destroying the inhabitants, without respect to age or sex. Nor did his devastation of the Roman provinces cease with the death of the usurper Phocas, and accession of Heraclius, A.D. 610, fully evincing the falsehood of his pretext, and his monstrous ingratitude to the Romans. The next year he took Apamea and Edessa, and blockaded Antioch, and so totally defeated the Roman army which came to its relief, that scarcely a man was left to mourn the death of his companions. The year following he took Caesarea, 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 desired and long-delayed chastisement, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he was totally defeated in a bloody battle, in which no less than fifty thousand prisoners were taken, whom Heraclius, not being able to maintain, generously restored to their liberty, by a striking contrast with the cruelty of his implacable enemy, which gained him great reputation and applause in Persia, and contributed not a little to the ruthless tyrant's downfall.

Chosroes made prodigious efforts to retrieve his affairs. He plundered the Christian churches, and throughout his dominions he drained the provinces to raise fresh armies to oppose Heraclius, who in no wise elated by success, but preserving the strictest discipline, and the full confidence of his troops, defeated them as soon as they appeared in the field, and proceeded so rapidly in his conquests, that the haughty and cruel tyrant was forced to fly to Ctesiphon first, and then to Seleucia, with his wives and concubines, leaving his magnificent and superb palace, in the hundred vaults of which he had deposited his ill-gotten treasures, and amassed more riches than any of his predecessors. On one of these vaults was an inscription, "Windfalls," containing the treasures, jewels, &c. of his benefactor the emperor Maurice's family, which in their distress they had put on board two or three vessels, to take them to a place of secu-
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.

Jezdegerd, on the loss of this decisive battle, retired into
Khorasan, and by the help of the two other eastern provinces of
Kerman, or Carmania, and Segestan, which adhered to him,
kept up a desultory warfare with the Saracens as long as he
lived, they not being at leisure to pursue him into those remote
parts. But at length, after he had possessed the royal title
nineteen years, in an attempt to recover one of his few remain-
ing fortresses, Merou, on the river Oxus, or Gihon, which had
revolted to the Turks, he was defeated by the rebels; and en-
deavouring to pass the river in a fisherman's boat, to whom he
offered a bracelet of jewels for ferrying him over, the stupid
boatman refused to take more or less than his stated fare, five
farthings, and while they were disputing, a party of the rebel
horse coming up, and knowing Jezdegerd, killed him, A.D. 652.

So rapid a declension as this, in the space of twenty years,
from A.D. 614, when the Persian empire was at its height, and
larger than it had been since the days of Alexander the Great,
to A.D. 636, appears astonishing at first sight, and is quite un-
exampled in history *. But Chosrou Parviz, by his rapacity
and his cruelties, alienated the affections of his generals from
his family, while his rage for war had drained the country of its
ablest defenders, and left it wasted and distracted, an easy prey
to the ferocious and needy Saracens.

SECTION XI.

SARACEN DYNASTY. 636 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mahomet's Hegira, or flight</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Abubeker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Omar</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Othman</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ali</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Al Hasan</td>
<td>5m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The kingdom of Israel arrived to its greatest splendour, in the reign of Jeroboam II.
It declined rapidly from thence, and was destroyed in 74 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Moawiya, or Moavias</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Yazid, or Jesid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Moawia II</td>
<td></td>
<td>20d.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Merwan</td>
<td>7m</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>11. Abdalmalek</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Al Walid, or Valid</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Solomon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Omar II</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Yazid or Jesid II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>101</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Heshain</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Al Walid or Valid II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Yazid or Jesid III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>126</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Ibrahim</td>
<td>70d.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Merwan II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Abul Abbas or Al Saffah</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Al Mansur, or Abu Jaufar</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. Al Mohdi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>158</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Al Hadi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>169</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Harun, or Aaron Al Raschid</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>170</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Al Amin</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>808</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Al Mamun</td>
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<td>813</td>
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<td>28. Al Motasem</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>218</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Al Wathek, or Vathik</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>227</td>
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<td>30. Al Motawakkel</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>232</td>
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<td>31. Al Montaser</td>
<td>6m</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Al Mostain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>862</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. Al Motaz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>866</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Al Mohtadi</td>
<td>11m</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>255</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Al Motamed</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>256</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Al Motaded</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Al Mochtaphi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>289</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. Al Moktader</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>295</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. Al Kaher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Al Radi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>321</td>
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<tr>
<td>41. Al Mottaki</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>329</td>
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<tr>
<td>42. Al Mostakphi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Al Moti</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>334</td>
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<tr>
<td>44. Al Tai</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Al Kader</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>381</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Al Kayen</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>422</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Al Moktadi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Al Mostader</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>487</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. Al Mostasheed</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Al Rashid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Al Moktafi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The chronology of this period is collected from Abulfaragi’s accurate annals of the ninth dynasty; which he reckons by the Lunar years of the Hegira, or celebrated era of Mahomet’s flight from Mecca to Medina, commencing July 16, A.D. 622, the second day of the new moon, when she became visible (See Abulfeda’s life of Mahomet, p. 53.) and reduced from Lunar to Solar calendar years *

The use of the Lunar year in computation was appointed by Mahomet, rejecting intercalations. He alludes thereto in the Koran, sur. 10. ver. 6. “God made the sun for brightness and the moon for light; and He disposed them into stations, that ye might know the number of the years.” These “stations” are the twelve solar constellations of the Zodiac, and the 28 Lunar, called 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. Muharram ........... 30 30 7. Rajan................ 30 207
2. Saphar .............. 29 59 8. Shaaban .............. 29 236
3. Rabia I............. 30 89 9. Ramadan ............. 30 266

This Lunar year of 354 days falling short 11 days of the

* The reigns of the Caliphs, in Abulfaragi, are computed according to the years of the Hegira, and their amounts necessarily differ from the amounts in this table, which are accommodated to the Calendar years. We have followed the chronology of Abulfaragi, in preference to that of Eutychius in his annals.
Solar or Calendar year of 365 days, is moveable, or runs through all the seasons, \( \frac{365}{11} = 33\frac{2}{11} \) 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 \( 18 + \frac{2}{3} = 20 \), which subtracted, leaves 636; to which, adding 621, the result is A.D. 1257, instead of A.D. 1258.

Beveridge in his chronology, Lib. I. cap. 17. has given accurate rules for reducing not only the years, but the months, days, and "feriae, or week days of the current years of the Hegira, to calendar time; by the help of which was constructed a large useful table, in Playfair's Chronology, p. 304—309.

The use of this table of the years, &c. of the Hegira, may be thus illustrated.

Al Januabi, an Arab historian, relates that Mahomet Khan took Constantinople, in the 857th year of the Hegira, on the 20th day of Joma I. the third day of the week, or Tuesday. See Pococke's Supplement to his Latin translation of Abulfaragi, p. 47. But by Playfair's table, this year of the Hegira began A.D. 1453, Jan. 12, on the sixth day of the week, or Friday. And by the foregoing table of Arabian months, the
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 ferie, 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, Ησαύ χρόνοι ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ γενέσεως χιλιοὶ πετρακόσιοι πεντηκοντά τρεῖς, μαίω εἰκοστὴ εὐνατῃ, ἡμέρα τρίτῃ. "It was 1453 years from Christ's nativity, on the 29th of May, the third day of the week."

Such a minute coincidence between the Mahometan and Christian historians, respecting this important date, is highly gratifying; and affords an instance of the great ingenuity and accuracy of the chronological rules and tables in question; which is more level to ordinary capacities, than the long and complicated calculation, by which Beveridge comes to the same conclusion, p. 119—127.

**MAHOMET, or MOHAMMED*.**

This famous founder of Islamism†, and of the Saracen dynasty, was born at Mecca, in the 881st year of the era of Alexander, or Seleucus‡; 881—B.C. 312 = A.D. 569; and 53 years before the era of the Hegira, A.D. 622—53 = A.D. 569. Vid. Abulfed. Vita Mohammed. p. 2, 50. The concurrence of these computations with Abulfaragi, p. 103, dating his death

* The *life of Mahomet* has been written by Prideaux, and by the authors of the Modern Universal History, in their history of the Arabs, Vol. I. 8vo. at considerable length. Savary, to his French translation of the Koran, has prefixed an abridgment of the *life of Mahomet*, collected principally from Abulfeda, his best Arabian historian, Gagnier's edition, published with learned notes, 1723. Oxford: folio. According to Savary, (who resided a good while in Egypt and Arabia), this word is pronounced by the Arabs, Mahammed; it signifies "celebrated or glorious," like its Hebrew root, מַהֲמָד, Mahmad, rendered, εὐθεία, by the Septuagint, Isa. lixiv. 11.

† The word *Islamism* comes from the Arabic root *Isam*, 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 *Meslemaun*, "consecrated." Savary.

‡ Instead of the correct number 881, given by Abulfeda, we read erroneously, in the present text of Abulfaragi, 392, p. 101. and in Eutychius' annals, 333, p. 227. tom. II. who misdates the Hegira, A.D. 614.
ten years after the Hegira, A.D. 632, when he was 63 years old, gives his birth as before, A.D. 632—63=A.D. 569; and leaves not a doubt, that this was the precise year of his birth *. His father Abdallah died about the time he was born, or shortly before, and left him in his grandfather's care, Abdal Motalleb, a prince of the Koreishites, the most noble tribe among the Arabs, and high priest of the temple of Mecca. On the seventh day after his birth, his grandfather named him Mohammed; (signifying "celebrated, or glorious") and when his assembled friends observed, that none of his family was called by that name, "I wish," said the old man, "that God may glorify him in heaven, whom he hath created upon earth." Abulfeda, p. 2.

When Mahomet was eight years old, his grandfather died, and consigned him to the care of Abu Taleb, his eldest son; who bred him a merchant, and took him at twelve or thirteen years of age into Syria, on a commercial journey to Bosra. There they were entertained at a Christian monastery, by a Nestorian monk, called Boheira, and by the Christians Sergius, who told Abu Taleb, that his nephew would prove a very extraordinary person.

Mahomet at the age of five-and-twenty, A.D. 594, married Khadijah, a rich and noble widow, who had been twice married, of his own tribe, in whose service he had been employed as a factor to conduct her mercantile concerns, which she had considerably improved by commerce. And he so recommended himself by his fine person, address, and diligence in her service, that she married him, and gave him the disposal of her fortune. This match gave him affluence and influence †. Abulfaragi and Abulfeda reckon that Khadijah was forty years old at the time of this marriage; but Mahomet was passionately fond of her, and they had eight children, nor did he take any other wife during her life-time. It is unlikely, therefore, that she was so old, as probably to be past child-bearing in that warm climate, where women are sooner ripe. The account of Maracci indeed is more probable, that she died twenty-four years after, in her


† After Khadijah's death, Mahomet married Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, with whom he got a large fortune; and still a larger with the widow Hafsa, daughter of Omar. This increase of wealth increased his influence.
49th year; and therefore was only five and twenty at her marriage, the same age as Mahomet.

The long chasm in Mahomet's history, of twelve years, from his marriage, till he began to fabricate his imposture, in A.D. 606, in a cave at mount Hara, about three miles from Mecca, to which he usually retired during the month of Ramadan, may consistently be filled up by the pursuit of his mercantile concerns, and successive journeys to Syria, and in informing himself in the Jewish and Christian tenets, and sects or heresies that then divided the eastern and western world.

MAHOMET'S MISSION.

At length, in A.D. 609, when he was full forty years old, like Moses, he disclosed his prophetic mission at first to a favourable hearer, his own wife, Khadijah, and told her how the angel Gabriel, or the Holy Spirit, had appeared to him in glory, and declared that God sent him as an Apostle to reform the world, and gave him the Koran* as a divine law, to complete all antecedent revelations. The night of this revelation, near the end of Ramadan, was called Al Kadr, "the divine decree," and is celebrated in the Koran, chap. 97.

Although the Koran was supposed to be given or shewn entire to Mahomet on this night, he most artfully communicated it, by piecemeal, to his followers occasionally, and as best suited his purposes.

Before this night, Mahomet pretended to be illiterate, not knowing how to read, and that he was then miraculously instructed: when Gabriel gave him the book, and said "Read,"

* The word Koran signifies, with the prefix 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, quae non aliquid veri permisceat. Augustine. This is a just description of the Koran, which blends truth with falsehood.
Mahomet answered, "I know not how?" Gabriel replied, according to Savary's translation:

"Read, in the name of God the Creator,
Who formed man, and joined the sexes;
Read in the name of the adorable God,
Who taught man the use of the pen,
Who infused into his soul the ray of science." Chap. 96.

Khadijah gained her husband an important proselyte in her uncle Waraka, a Christian, and well read in the Old and New Testament. He not only agreed with her, that "Mahomet would be the prophet of his own people," but swore that "he was the great prophet foretold by Moses, the son of Amram." He was a more probable assistant to Mahomet, in com-

*Mahomet is frequently styled in the Koran, "the illiterate prophet;;" but it is a mistake to suppose that he pretended to be illiterate, after the revelation of this night. That would be absurd; and it is strange that Professor White, among others, could countenance it. Sermons, p. 189. Mahomet only meant, that he had been illiterate, before that time: as proved by the very instances adduced by the professor in his notes, p. xxviii—xxx. He introduces God, saying to him: "Before the Koran, thou couldst not read any book. It was not written with thy hand, [but with the finger of God]: otherwise, the gainsayers would doubt of its truth." Chap. xxix. And Al Bochari relates, that in his treaty with the Meccans, when they objected to the diplomatic language of "Mahomet, the Apostle of God," Mahomet desired that title to be erased by the scribe; but Ali refusing, with an oath, Mahomet took the pen himself, and complaisantly wrote: "Mahomet, the son of Abdallah, agrees to these conditions," &c.

Abulfeda also relates, that in his last sickness, "he called for pen and ink, to write them a book that would keep them from error after his death, for ever."——The Arabian historians indeed both pretend, that he forgot his feigned ignorance, or that he raved. But it is unnecessary to suppose Mahomet a greater impostor than he really was. This is a justice we owe to his character. Folly did not enter into his composition. He frequently disputed with the Jews on the laws of Moses, and the religion of Abraham, and was too many for them in the Hebrew Scriptures. See Vol. III. p. 616.

The Koran was first written in the character called Kufic, and without points or vowels. A fragment of it, written on vellum, was brought from Egypt, by Mr. Greaves, which is still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.
posing his Koran, than Boheira, or Sergius the monk, or any other person, in a matter of such trust and delicacy.

He next gained over Abubeker, a rich and respectable citizen of Mecca, and, by his means, others of the first rank. This encouraged him to a more open profession of his mission. Having collected a numerous party of his relations of the Koreish tribe to an entertainment, he offered them the joys of this world, and the happiness of heaven, as his followers, in the name of God, and asked which of them would become his vizir, or prime minister? Which of them would become his brother, his deputy, and his Khalif, or successor? The rest of the guests remained silent, in surprize, when young Ali, that "son of thunder," then a boy about thirteen or fourteen years old, started up with indignation, and said, "I will be thy vizir, O prophet of God; I will break the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip up the belly, cut off the legs of thine enemies!"

This impetuosity of zeal did not displease Mahomet. He embraced Ali, and said in presence of his relations: "See here is my brother, my deputy, and my Khalif. Hearken to, and obey him!" The whole assembly, at this, burst into a fit of laughter, and turning their eyes toward Abu Talib, the father of Ali, exclaimed, "You are bound to receive orders from your son, and to obey him in future!"

This, however, did not discourage Mahomet; he proceeded with firmness in the execution of his schemes. He declaimed against Idolatry, and exhorted incessantly his relations and friends to embrace Islamism. This occasioned an alarm among the chiefs of the Koreishites; they requested Abu Talib to repress the fanatical zeal of his nephew, and threatened to take up arms against him, in defence of their established religion. This threat alarmed Abu Talib, and he endeavoured to prevail on Mahomet to desist; but he answered, steady to his purpose, "My uncle, though the Koreishites should arm against me the sun and the moon, the one on my right hand, the other on my left, I would not be shaken the more in my resolution." Abulfeda, p. 21.

Though the credit of Abu Talib screened his nephew in some measure, it could not prevent a public decree for the banish-
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. xcvii. 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 burdensome number, and sent him back to pray for a diminution; which God therefore reduced, on the prophet's intercession, to forty: and at length, after repeated intercessions, by Moses' desire, to five. And when Moses still thought five too much, and wanted Mahomet to go back again; he declined, saying, that he had interceded so often, that he was ashamed to trouble God any more. So he bade farewell to Abraham, and prayed for his salvation. (This is evidently a parody of Abraham's intercession for Sodom, Gen. xviii. 23—33.)

And when he proceeded further, [or returned to the Caaba] the crier called him [to prayers]. "Thus," concluded Mahomet, "did I bring with me the prescribed number of prayers; and lessened the burthen for my nation." Abulsed, 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 Thumdeans; 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, counteracted their plots." Chap. viii.

To baffle pursuit, Mahomet avoided the direct road to Medina, and turned aside to a cave in Mount Tor, southward of Mecca, where he remained three days; on the fourth, he set out for Medina, along the coast of the Red Sea, with all speed, but was overtaken on the way by a select party of horse, headed by his enemy Soraka. "O Apostle of God," exclaimed Abubeker, "behold our persecutor! Fear not," said he, "God is with us!" Then turning suddenly about, he shouted, Soraka! The horse, startled at this, or at his camel, stumbled, fell, and threw his rider, who was stunned by the fall, and instantly converted, by this prodigy, as he deemed it, so as to ask pardon, and 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 Othban, &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 exhorited 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 _Arilha_: 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." Jannabi, Libokar.

THE CAPTURE OF MECCA.

Mahomet had long wished for an opportunity of reducing this refractory city under his dominion; but a ten years' peace, which he could not refuse them, some time before, restrained him. He therefore gladly seized the pretext of some violence offered by the Koreishites to his allies the Chozaites, in which some of the latter were slain, to invade that city so suddenly, with an army of ten thousand men, that he was at their gates before they had learned his departure from Medina. There was no choice, but of immediate surrender, or utter destruction. The Koreishites chose the former, and submitted to the stronger religion of Islamism. His hostile uncle, Abu Sofian, at their head, pronounced the double profession of faith, in the one God, and his prophet. Mahomet entered the city in triumph, repeating with a loud voice the following passage of the Koran: "We have granted thee a signal victory. God hath pardoned thy sins, he hath completed his favours, and he will conduct thee in the path of justice. His protection is thy powerful shield," &c. Chap. xlviii.

He marched straightway to the temple, and his first care, (in imitation of Christ purging the temple of Jerusalem) was to throw down 360 idols, placed around its walls. He struck them with his cane, and said, "The truth hath appeared, 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 Elsafia, 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 forbad its reduction to the solar, by intercalary months. He also prohibited any alteration of the *four sacred* months, the first, seventh, eleventh and twelfth, during which it was not lawful to *make war*, which it had been customary among the *Arabs* to evade by changing. He allowed them, however, to *resist* the *Infidels* at all times, when attacked. Chap. ix.

* After Khadijah's death, Mahomet married fifteen wives, of whom nine survived him. He had eight children by Khadijah, four sons and four daughters, who all died before him, except Fatima. He had not any children by the rest, except a son, Ibrahim, by a concubine, Mary the Copt, who died shortly before him.
When the whole solemnity was over, Mahomet, as supreme Pontiff, or Iman, dismissed the people with a farewell, the last, he foretold, that he should give them. Whence this derived its name of the Farewell Pilgrimage. Abulfeda, p. 132.

THE DEATH OF MAHOMET.

Early in the eleventh year of the Hegira, A.D. 632, Mahomet fell sick, and lingered for thirteen days, according to Evtychius, during which he kept up the part he had acted through life, with perfect consistency. Notwithstanding the violence of his fever, and the sharpness of his pains, he planned another expedition into Syria, which he consigned to the command of Ocama, the son of Zaid, who had been slain in the former. And when he put the standard of Islamism into his hands, he said, "Take arms for the cause of God; fight valiantly the holy war; put the Idolaters to the edge of the sword."

When his only surviving daughter Fatima came to visit him, he made her sit down beside him, and whispered in her ear, "Gabriel usually appeared to me once a year before; but he has visited me twice this year. I shall see him no more till the moment of my departure from this world: That time is not far off; and I am rejoiced to go before you." Fatima melted into tears. Seeing this, he endeavoured to console her: "My daughter, why do you abandon yourself to sorrow? Ought you not rather to rejoice at being the Princess of the Faithful, the first of your nation?" Fatima smiled. She did not long survive her father. Abulfeda, p. 134.

The same day, notwithstanding his malady, he went to the mosque, leaning on the arms of Fadl and his son-in-law Ali; and there, like Moses, (Numb. xvi. 16) made public protestation, after prayer, of his innocence, to the people. "If I have scourged any man's back [unjustly] to, here is my back; let him inflict thereon an equal number of stripes. If I have injured any man's character, by reproach or calumny, let him injure mine likewise. If I have taken any man's money unjustly, here is my purse, let him take as much. Let none be afraid of incurring my hatred or enmity; for this is contrary to my dis- position 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 fierce 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 Mazaeeh 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 religious and sects. Among the native Arab tribes, the most prevalent was the Zabian Idolatry, from the days of Job. The Magian superstition was imported from Persia; there were also considerable colonies of Jews settled in Arabia, who had debased the Law of Moses by their vain traditions and Talmudic legends; and Christianity got an early footing there, even from the day of Pentecost, in which "Arabians" are noticed among the first-fruits of the Church; but it was corrupted, likewise, by the influx of Christian refugees from the persecutions of the Roman emperors and Persian kings, bringing with them their several heresies, among which, the Jacobite, introduced by Jacob, a Syrian, about the close of the sixth century, was the most prevalent. The Jacobites held the single nature of Jesus Christ, and denied the double, the divine, and human, as subsisting in his person.

Such an unconnected and divided state of the country, in respect of government and of religion, was highly favourable to Mahomet's innovations in both. Had the several powerful and independent tribes of that extensive peninsula been united and consolidated under one commonwealth, or monarchy, his daring project would have been crushed in embryo, by the vigorous arm
of the state; unlike Christianity, which had to contend with the united opposition of thrones and potentates, able and willing alike to persecute. Or had one common system of national faith prevailed in Arabia, the mass of the people would have joined the more intelligent Koreishites of Mecca, in resisting the subversion of their established religion.

This was clearly evinced by the fate of his competitors, who set up for prophets likewise. *Al Aswad, Mosailama, and Taliha.* The first, nicknamed Aihala, "the fickle," who apostatized from Islamism, in the space of four months, reduced great part of Yemen to his principles, and to his obedience; but was assassinated, by Mahomet's contrivance, on the very day he died himself. The second, whom he nicknamed "the liar," collected very numerous followers; but was defeated, the year after, by Khaled, in the first year of Abubekr's Caliphat, and the false prophet himself, and ten thousand of his troops, were slain in the field. And the third, having raised a considerable party, was routed by Khaled likewise; but renounced his errors, and returned to his allegiance, in the reign of Omar, the second Kaliph. *Elmacin.* Hist. Sar. p. 16.

These are curious and important facts. They tend to lessen our wonder at Mahomet's success, by shewing how ripe the Arabs, at that time, were for innovations in religion and government, and how zealously they 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 vindiously 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 concubination, 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.
ficent: 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 alluded 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. How fatally he deceived himself, the calmness and composure of his death declares, lie 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 optimum
  Pingue — nescit quem perdat, et alto
  Demersus, summi rarus non bullit in undi! Persius.

† Such as the histories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noach and Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Ishmael, Moses and Pharaoh, Saul, David and Solomon, Ezru, 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 Ocaadh 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 deter-
mined enemy to the new religion, became immediately one of 
the prophet's firmest and most powerful friends. The second 
chapter begins thus:

"There is no doubt respecting this book (the Koran) 
It is the rule of them that fear the Lord, 
Of them who believe its sublime truths, 
Who do pray, and pour into the bosom of the poor 
A portion of the goods we have given them; 
Of them, who believe the doctrine sent thee from heaven, 
And the Scriptures; who are firmly attached 
To the hope of the life to come: 
The Lord will be their guide, and happiness their lot."

The same chapter contains the following deservedly admired 
description of the attributes of the Deity. The Mahometans 
usually engrave it on the precious stones that ornament their 
dress:

"God is the only God, the living, and the eternal; 
Sleep approacheth Him not. 
He possesseth all things in heaven and upon the earth, 
Who can intercede with him without his will? 
He knoweth what hath been before the world, 
And what will be after. 
Men know nothing of his supreme Majesty, 
But what he is pleased to teach them. 
His lofty throne encompasseth heaven and earth. 
He supporteth them without labour. 
He is the great God, the most high God."

This is evidently a tissue from the Scriptures. 
The unity of the most high, or supreme God, is taught

* These advantageous specimens of the Koran, are given from Savary's French trans-
lation, Vol. I. p. 2—36. Sale's English is greatly inferior, in correctness and eleg-
ance. 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 announcement 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 Conquering 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

* Muracci, 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 Docetists, 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. Saviarv, Tom. II. p. 355, note.

† Instead of παράκλητος, "the advocate," or Holy Spirit, whom Christ promised to send to the Apostles, John xiv. 16; xvi. 7, these heretics substituted παρακλητος, "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 xvith and xeviith 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 merits; to which he assigns seven gates, chap. 15. The first Jezenna, for wicked Mussulmans; the second, Laddha, 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 rot 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 Infidels:

"They shall dwell in the midst of burning wind, and boiling water.
They shall be enveloped in clouds of thick smoke;
Which shall afford them neither coolness nor ease.
While abandoned on earth, to ebriety of pleasures,
And plunged into the blackest crimes,
They said, When death shall reduce us to bones
And dust, shall we again revive?
Shall our fathers also be restored to life?"
Tell them, *The first men and their posterity,*
*Shall be restored to life, they shall be assembled,*
*At the appointed time of the last day,*
*Then shall ye, who lived in error,*
*Who denied the Holy Faith,*
*Be fed with the fruit of the tree Zacoun;*
*Ye shall fill your bellies therewith,*
*Ye shall then drink draughts of boiling water,*
*With the eagerness of a thirsty camel.*
*This shall be their lot in the day of judgment!*

Chap. lvi.

Such are the minute, sensual, and grovelling descriptions of the rewards and punishments of a future state, borrowed from *Magian* and *Rabbinical* legends and fables, to be found in the *Koran*; so widely different from those general and undefined joys of heaven, which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive, where the sons of the resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like the angels of heaven;* where the intellectual pleasures of a future state are *neither meat nor drink,* but *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit;* where the *pure in heart* shall be admitted to the superlative delight of *seeing God as he is,* unveiled in all his peerless majesty and goodness. And *shall know his wonders of creating, redeeming, sanctifying love towards the sons of men,* not *partly,* but *perfectly,* even as *they are known to the Searcher of Hearts.*—But *the wicked shall be like the troubled sea,* whose waves cast *up mire and dirt.* *There shall be no peace for the wicked,* where *the worm dieth not,* and *the fire is not to be quenched!*—Their *minds* perhaps will be tortured more severely than their *bodies,* by the intolerable agonies of a guilty conscience, and all the unutterable horrors of hopeless despair, amidst the incessant reproaches and revilings of the suffering partners of their crimes and of their misery.

*Islamism* has been styled by several writers a *Christian heresy*; and its likeness, indeed, to *popery,* is striking in many of their leading features: their *blasphemy,* their *uncharitable-ness,* their *intolerance* of all other sects or religions, their *spirit of proselytism* by the *sword;* their *burthensome ritual* of stated *prayers, fasts,* and *pilgrimages;* and their excessive *superstition.* See Vol. III. p. 611, of this work. But it should rather

* Reland, Spanheim, Ricaut, Benson, Jortin, &c. See Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, p. 365—370.

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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.
accompanied with their signs. Last with horsemen, which chilled and deadened every tendency to speculative exertion and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrine of fixed fate or predestination. Hence the wide and unresisted spread of the plague at Constantinople, Cairo, &c.

In the prime and meridian of life, Mahomet maintained a fair character for sanctity and decorum. He was then an enthusiast. It was not till the wane, in his fiftieth year, that he deviated into those monstrous lusts and abominations that disgraced his latter years, as the fanatical founder of a new religion and empire. How appositely, therefore, is he described in symbolical prophecy, as "a fallen star," fallen from "heaven," from his high estate, like "Lucifer, son of the morning," who, with "the key of hypocrisy," "opened the door of the abyss," and from his own lowest hell, let out a thick smoke *, which darkened the sun and the atmosphere," a cloud of false and superstitious doctrines, which darkened the understandings of his deluded followers, and produced a swarm of "scorpion-like locusts, with stings in their tails," or "fanatical robbers," the Saracens; who, for five months, or one hundred and fifty lunar years, harassed, spoiled, or tormented the world, till the building of Bagdad, under the conduct of "the angel of the abyss, Abaddon," or their "destroying king;" deceiving chiefly the eastern world, Rev. ix. 1—11, by their means, and their successors, the "Turkish horsemen, with serpent's tails," for a long period of an hour, a day, a month, and a year, or 391 years and 15 days, ending with their conquests, in A.D. 1672. Rev. ix. 15—19.

* The Arabian historians Al Zamak, Beidawi, Yahia, and Jallal, relate a remarkable fact, and phenomenon, in Mahomet's time. The Meccans were visited with a famine, accompanied with a smoke which filled the atmosphere, so thick, that they could only hear, but not see each other. The Koran seems to take advantage of this, in the 44th chapter, entitled "Smoke, revealed at Mecca," and to represent it as a judgment for their disbelief; which is threatened to be renewed before the day of judgment, as one of the last signs.

"Erring in the waves of doubt, the Infidels mock our doctrine. Thou (Mahomet) shalt observe them in the day when a thick vail shall cover the firmament. They shall be enveloped therein. This shall be a dreadful plague. They shall say, O Lord, deliver us from this scourge! We hold the faith! How can they hold it? The true ambassador hath preached to them, but they have rejected him, and said, He is taught to speak [by some other person] or is possessed by a daemon! If we should mitigate the rigour of their pains, they will return to their infidelity!"
With the smoke of Islamism darkening the Patriarchal religion, which it professed to restore, how finely is contrasted that religion in its primitive state of glory and illumination, under the symbolical imagery of a chaste "matron arrayed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and a crown of twelve stars upon her head," aptly representing Jacob's family in Joseph's dream. Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.

In Egypt, her persecutions began, from the same Abaddon, under the different imagery of a great red dragon, or water serpent *, corresponding to the Egyptian crocodile, who continued his persecutions of the Patriarchal Church, improved by Moses, and perfected by Christ, that "male child" whom he persecuted from his birth to his ascension into heaven; and afterwards set up as his opponent, the gaudy harlot of the western world, sitting on many waters, or popery, to which "he gave his own power and authority," to blaspheme God, by her idolatries, and to persecute the Matron and her children, both in the east and west, by these two prime agents of false religion. Rev. xii. 1—17; xiii. 1—9; xvii. 1—18.

The propriety and consistency of this symbolical imagery throughout is admirable. See it more particularly explained in the last period of the third Volume of this work.

Bardesanes, a learned Syrian philosopher, about A.D. 180, represented Christianity in his time, as correcting the reigning vices of the world, wherever it prevailed. "In Parthia, the Christians, though Parthians, are not Polygamists; in Persia, though Persians, they do not marry their own daughters; in Bactria and Gaul, they do not violate the marriage bed. Wherever they reside, they resist the influence of corrupt laws and wicked customs." Euseb. Preæp. Evangel. Lib. VI. chap. 40.

This may lead us to correct an erroneous statement of Montesquieu, thus accounting for the more favourable reception of Islamism in the east than in the west.

"The law which permits only one wife, is conformable to the nature of the European, but not to the nature of the Asiatic

* The credulous Pontoppidan, Bishop of Norway, among other marvellous stories, mentions a prodigious sea snake, called the Cracken, which is the terror of the Norwegian fishermen. It sometimes suddenly rears its head out of the water as high as the mast of a ship, and then overlays their vessels, and carries them down with it, into the depths of the ocean! ——How finely illustrative is this of the destructive power of the great spiritual serpent, the Devil.
climate. It is for this reason, that Mohammedism found so easy an admission in Asia, and found such difficulty to extend itself in Europe; that Christianity hath maintained itself in Europe, and hath been destroyed in Asia; and that the Mahometans have made so much, and the Christians so little progress in China."

"In the time of Justinian, many philosophers, uneasy at the restraints laid upon them by Christian laws, retired into Persia to Chosroes. What induced them most, said Agathias, was, that polygamy was there permitted to men who did not abstain even from adultery." L'Esprit des Lois, xvi. 2; xvii. 6.

The reasoning here, is unsound and inconsistent. Polygamy, in the east, was an innovation upon the primitive law of marriage, enacted in Paradise, (Gen. ii. 24) and in obedience thereto, monogamy prevailed in the Antediluvian world, till the seventh generation, when Lamech is first recorded, as having two wives. From that time, lust and violence overspread the earth till the deluge. But the righteous Noah had but one wife; and afterwards Job, in the seventh generation, and Abraham in the tenth, until compelled to take a concubine, Hagar, by the impatience of his wife Sarah. Even Mahomet himself, that descendant of Hagar, lived soberly and virtuously with his first wife, for four and twenty years. The influence of climate therefore seems to be overrated by Montesquieu, in the first passage. And the testimony of Bardesanes, to the purity of the Asiatic Christians in his time, is decisive against him.

In the latter passage, Montesquieu contradicts, from experience, his hypothesis in the former. Surely the European philosophers of the Roman empire, in the reign of Justinian, were as prone to adultery, and the Gauls, in the time of Bardesanes, as even the Parthians, Persians, or Bactrians.

Christ, correcting the laxity of the law of Moses, revived the primitive law of marriage.

To what better cause then, are we to ascribe the rejection of Islamism in the west?

To the superior influence of the original Scriptures, which were more carefully searched and compared by the more intelligent Europeans, seeking rational evidence of the rational faith required of them, like the Bereans of old, and to the revival of pure and undefiled Christianity by the blessed Reformation, through a great part of Europe, which, by recur-
ring to the Scriptures, purged away a good part of the errors and corruptions of Popery, analogous to those of Islamism, and equally operated to the rejection of both. Even in Romish countries, the salutary influence of Protestantism has wrought a partial reform, and in some degree counteracted the genius of their religion.

But why has Islamism superseded Christianity in the east? —a melancholy truth, which we are forced to admit, with Montesquieu.

That the east was not at first more adverse to the reception of the Gospel than the west, is evident from its extensive propagation, from Judæa to India. But when it became gradually corrupted by the intermixture of Zabism, Magick, 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 superstititious 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 cast, 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.)

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**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 revenge his father Zaid’s death, and ravaged the imperial territories.

Next year, A.D. 633, Abübakr sent Khaled, with a powerful army, to invade Irak, or Babylonia, the southern region of Mesopotamia; who subdued the country, and compelled the inhabitants to pay a tribute of 70,000 pieces of money, the first tribute brought from foreign countries into the Khalif’s treasury at Medina. Eutychius, Annal. II. p. 259.

He also sent Yezid to continue the war in Syria, with these remarkable directions, “Destroy no old women nor children; cut down no palm trees nor fruit trees; burn no corn fields; kill no cattle except for your own use; slay no religious persons in the monasteries, nor injure their places of worship; but give no quarter to the synagogue of Satan, except they either embrace Islamism, or consent to pay tribute.” The former part of these directions was artfully framed to conciliate the Christians; the latter, to exterminate the Jews, who are called the “Synagogue of Satan.” Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9. These directions in general were framed in the true spirit of Mahomet’s revelation, on the success of Islamism in Abyssinia, noticed before, and seem to be recorded in the Apocalypse. Rev. ix. 3—5.

Khaled, on his triumphant return from Irak, having joined Yezid, they defeated the emperor Heraclius in a pitched battle near Damascus, with great slaughter and little loss, and reduced Damascus after a six months’ siege, A.D. 634.

This severe blow, the emperor Heraclius, in council, represented as a scourge from heaven upon his subjects, for their flagrant violation of the rules of the Gospel; while it was represented by the Mahometan generals, as an indication of the Divine favour in this religious war. Khaled himself was a gifted preacher, and could pray as well as fight. The following is a specimen of his talents, before the engagement: “Help us, O God, we beseech thee, against those wretches, who pray idolatrously, and rely upon another god (Christ) beside Thee! Help us, O God, who acknowledge thy unity, and maintain, that there is no God but Thou only, against these idolaters; for Mahomet, thy prophet’s sake.”—Then he shouted to his men,
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

Fight, fight! Paradise, Paradise! — Nothing could withstand these fanatics, determined on victory or martyrdom. Al Wakedi.

The powerful influence of their predestinarianism, or fatalism, strongly appears in his letter to Abubekr, stating the particulars of this great victory.

"O Emperor of the Faithful, we encountered the Grecian army, under the command of Werdan, who had sworn, by Christ, that he would either conquer or die. However, we fell upon them, calling upon God, and trusting in him, who supported us, and gave us a complete victory. As it was decreed that our enemies should be overcome, we slew them on all sides, to the number of 50,000 men, while our loss was no more than 474 men. I date this letter the 30th of the former Jornada, 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, \textit{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, \textit{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 Nnahomet's lawful successor; and accordingly, he served under the more merciful Abu Obeidah, on whom the Khalif conferred the chief command.

\textbf{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, Khuala*, sister of one of the generals, led the van to the charge. She was beat to the ground by a Greek, but was succoured by Wafeira, one of her female friends, who struck off his head at a blow. Animated by the heroism of their women, the Arabs became irresistible, and routed at length the Grecian army, with the loss, it is said, of 150,000 killed, and about 40,000 taken prisoners; while the Arabs lost only 4030 men, if we believe Abu Obeidah's letter to the Khalif, evidently diminishing his own loss, and exaggerating that of the enemy, according to their fashion. The Arabs called this the day of blinding; because the Christian archers blinded 700 of them, with their arrows, either of one or both eyes; and if so, the number of their slain must have greatly exceeded the representation. However this might be, the total abolition of the Emperor's power and authority from Syria, was the consequence of this victory.

The surprizing success of the Saracens over the Christians, though so much superior in number and discipline, was thus accounted for by a pious officer, to Heraclius: "The Greeks have been everywhere worsted by the Arabs, because they have for a long time walked unworthy of their Christian profession: they have corrupted their holy religion, injured and oppressed one another, been guilty of fornication, and fomented divisions and animosities among themselves." Theophanes Chronograph.

* This heroine was afterwards espoused by the caliph Ali.
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-

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* When the Arabs were dispirited at the superioritv of the Greeks, Ikrimah, the cousin of Khaled, to animate his men, cried out, Methinks I see one of the black-eyed maids of Paradise, so beautiful, that all men would die for love of her, could they but see her. She offers me a green silk handkerchief, and a cap enriched with jewels, and tells me she loves me. He then charged into the midst of the enemy, and met that death which he courted.
ing that he could not succeed by force, Abu Obeidah eked out the lion's skin with the fox's tail, and practised another stratagem. Early next morning, he broke up his camp, and retreated in great disorder. Deceived by this appearance of panic, the garrison sallied out to harass them, without due precaution; when the Arabs suddenly rallied, fell upon, and defeated them, and forced the city to surrender the same day.

CAPITULATION OF JERUSALEM.

Next year, A.D. 637, Jerusalem was besieged by Abu Obeidah; and, after a siege of four months, the Patriarch agreed to surrender it to the Khalif in person, if he would sign, with his own hand, the articles of capitulation for their security and protection. Accordingly, Omar came, and signed the articles, of which the principal were:

1. That the Christians should build no new churches, in the city or adjacent territory; and shall keep open the present, for the admission of Mussulmans, at all times.

2. That they should not prevent their children or relations from embracing Islamism, nor presume to read the Koran themselves.

3. That they should not erect crosses upon the churches, and should only toll, not ring, their bells.

4. That they should not wear the Arab dress, ride upon saddles, carry arms, nor use the names or salutations of the Mussulmans, nor the Arabic language in the engravings of their seals.

5. That they should pay a marked deference and respect to Mussulmans, and not sit in their presence; and should entertain Mussulman travellers (gratis) for three days.

6. That they should not sell wine, nor any of the intoxicating liquors.

7. That they should pay a capitation tax of two dinars each, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves as under the dominion of the Khalif in future.

These articles formed the basis of all the ensuing treaties made by Mahometan princes with their Christian subjects. They were most artfully framed, for the gradual extirpation of Christianity, by the disabilities and contemptuous restrictions imposed upon its professors.
Omar, not wishing to give offence, by taking possession of any of the Christian Churches for the Islam worship, modestly applied to the Patriarch for a piece of waste ground to erect a mosque at Jerusalem; and accordingly he built one, on the advantageous site of Solomon’s temple*, which was then covered with ordure, through the hatred of the Christians to the Jews; but Omar devoutly began to wipe it away with the skirt of his robe, and his example was followed by his principal officers.

The sordid and filthy attire of the Khalif himself, gave great offence to the Patriarch Sophronius, who, when he saw Omar entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, could not help exclaiming: This is of a truth the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place! Matt. xxiv. 12. From this, the Mussulmans pretended that the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar was foretold in prophecy, and that his name (consisting of three letters), his person, and his religion were described therein.

When the emperor Heraclius expressed surprize, why the Khalif Omar should appear in such mean and sordid attire, after he had plundered the Christians of so much wealth? 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 Maundrel thus notices it: “A finer place for an august building could not be found in the whole world, than this area.—In the middle of the area stands at present a mosque of an octagonal figure, supposed to be built upon the same ground, where anciently stood the Sanctum Sanctorum. It is neither eminent for its largeness nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation.” Travels, p. 107.

† Perhaps from their hypocrisy chiefly, Abaddon, the angel of the abyss, is represented as king of the Saracen locusts; Rev. ix. 11; for he was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and the father of lies. Gen. iv. 9; John viii. 44.
Omar sent Amru with an army to invade Egypt and Libya, the next year, A.D. 638. He first besieged Mesr, or the ancient capital of Memphis; and after a siege of seven months, took it at last by the treachery of the Coptic governor, Mohawkus, 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. 648, 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 Adarbighian, 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, alleging 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

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* 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.

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her bridle. And when her camel was at length ham-stringed, the carriage in which she sat, resembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows, with which it was transfixed. The superior generalship of Ali, and his veteran troops, prevailed. Both Telha and Zobeir, who violated the oath of allegiance they had taken to him, lost their lives, and their more numerous army was routed. When Ayesha thus fell into the hands of the victors, Ali sent before him one of his officers, to see whether she was dead or alive. Accordingly, when he put his head into her carriage, she said, "Who are you?" He answered, "Your obedient brother." "No," said she, "but a rebel." "Sister," said he, "have you received any injury?" "What business is that of yours?" replied this haughty dame. Ali, then coming up, said, "What think you, Ayesha, of this work of God to you?" She answered, "O, Ali, you have conquered, be merciful!" He generously pardoned her, but ordered her to confine herself to her own house at Medina, and not to meddle any more in state affairs. And he sent her back under an escort of seventy women, in men's apparel; a circumstance noticed in the Tarik u Moslemim, which shews the military genius and services of the Arab women in their wars.

On the death of Ali, however, she recovered her influence; and when Moawiyah wished to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it necessary to secure her interest, by a present of bracelets, valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000l. sterling.

Moawiyah having now assumed the titles of Lawful Khalif and Prince of the Mussulmans, Ali marched to attack him, and his associate, the valiant Amru: and after a succession of engagements, at Seffein, near the close of the same year, A.D. 656, in which Ali had the advantage, and in the last action, was ready to storm their camp, he was circumvented by a stratagem of Amru's; who ordered his men to carry several copies of the Koran, stuck upon the points of their lances, towards their opponents, crying, This is the book which ought to decide our differences; this is the book of God, which prohibits the effusion of Mussulman blood! This coarse stratagem succeeded: Ali in vain remonstrated that Amru and Moawiyah had not the least regard to the Koran, which it was his object to support and enforce; he was compelled by the mutineers to retreat, and even to agree to leave the dispute between him and the rival
Khalif to a reference: and by the weakness of Ali's arbitrator, Abu Musa, and the art of Amru, on the other side, who persuaded his colleague to agree to the deposal of both Khalifs, and the election of a new one, as the best means of restoring the public peace, when Abu Musa had given his judgment to this effect, Amru assented to the deposal of Ali, but elected Moawiya, Khalif. This unfair award was in the year A.D. 657.

After the continuance of the civil war for three years, with much bloodshed, and various success, Ali was deserted by his own brother, 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, Moawiya, and Amru; and having poisoned their swords, took their different routes, to execute their purpose. The first, struck Moawiya 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 Haider, "the lion," and by the Persians, Shir Khoda, "the lion of God." Of the second, he gave many instances, in his hospitable asylum, to the princes of Persia, when exposed.

* Saphadius, an Arabic author, cited by Schultens, in his Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae, says, Arabes antiquitus non habebant quo gloriarentur, quam gladio, hospite, et eloquentia.
for sale; and forgiveness of his most inveterate enemies, *Ayesha*, &c. And his sayings, still preserved, exhibit great acuteness and sagacity, rectitude of judgment, and genuine piety. Of all which, the following may afford a favourable specimen.

1. One of his officers having once impudently asked him, "Why the reigns of *Abubekr* and *Omar* were so tranquil, and the reigns of *Othman* and *Ali* so turbulent?" with great readiness, he answered, "Because *Abubekr* and *Omar* were served by *Othman* and *me*; but *Othman* and *I*, by *you* and such as *you*.”

2. The following decision is creditable to his ingenuity:

Two travellers sat down to dine; the one had five loaves, the other, three. A stranger, passing by, asked leave to eat with them; and they hospitably agreed thereto. After dinner, the stranger laid down eight pieces of money for his fare, and departed. The owner of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other, who insisted on getting half. The case was brought before *Ali*, for his decision, and he gave the following judgment: "Let the owner of the five loaves take seven pieces of the money, and the other but one." And this was the exact proportion of what each had furnished for the stranger's entertainment. For dividing each loaf into three shares, the eight loaves gave twenty-four shares; and as they all fared alike, each person's proportion was a third of the whole, or eight shares. The stranger, therefore, ate seven shares of the five loaves, and only one share of the three loaves. And so, the Khalif divided the money between the owners. *Richardson's Dissertation*, p. 223.

3. The real freedom and independence produced by virtue and religion, were finely expressed in the following:

"Whosoever is desirous to be rich without goods, powerful without subjects, and a subject without a master, has only to quit the dominion of sin, and to serve God, and he will find these three things."

4. The power of prayer and intercession with God.

"God gave two mediators between God and Man, the prophet, who is departed; and prayer for the pardon of sins, which always abides with them."

*Ali* retained his veneration for *Mahomet* to the last; and yet he became, unhappily, the founder of a schism, which produced the most fatal effects among *Mussulmans*; and which he fore-
saw, and deprecated in the following terms: "Be careful never to separate yourselves from the communion of other Mussulmans. He that segregates 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 (πτατυμομενον) 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 Madagen. 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 patroles 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 alleged, "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 Sunnites. 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 Sunnites, held, that whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator, at the same time, is a liar.
The empire was soon after split into two powerful factions, of which one espoused the house of Ommiyah in Syria, the other the house of Hashem, or Ali, in Arabia. The Syrian Khalif, Abdalmalek, artfully substituted a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of the pilgrimage to Mecca; by the same policy which formerly prompted Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, to prevent the revolted tribes from attending the national worship at Jerusalem; and he ordered that holy relic, the stone steps, on which the Khalif Omar had knelt and prayed there, to be removed from the outside into the body of the mosque; as a counterbalance to the black stone at the Caaba.

In the Khalifate of Abdalmalek, in the year 76 of the Hegira, the dinars, or gold coins, and dirhems, or silver, were first struck with Arabic, instead of Greek inscriptions, and in the Cufic character, without heads. A dirhem, coined twelve years after, in the reign of the succeeding Khalif Al Walid, has this inscription in front, "There is only one God, who has no associate;" on the reverse, "God is one, eternal, unbegetting, and unbegotten." Round the former, "In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at Waset, in the year of the Hegira 88;" and round the latter, "Mahomet is the Apostle of God, sent to propagate the true religion, though it be opposed by the associators."—

This Khalif was more powerful than any of his predecessors. He reduced Arabia, conquered great part of India, and carried his arms westward from Africa into Spain; and what was more, he curbed the various sectaries throughout his dominions.

His son and 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 styled him Moflah 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

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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. Moslem, 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 Mummenin, "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 Aderbegan, 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 surprised 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 depre-

dations, 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 chamber-lain 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. Ibrahîm 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 Ibrahîm 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 Ibrahîm gave to Joseph for his ingenuity. But now a fresh obstacle arose. By the Mussulman law, no man can have any commerce with his brother's wife, or concubine, until she has been married again to a third person, and divorced by him. Joseph, however, suggested, that the Khalif might easily marry her to one of his slaves, who would repudiate her afterwards; which was immediately done. But the amorous slave did not chuse to part with his fair spouse, and would not, for any consideration, consent to a divorce. Here was a new and more embarrassing difficulty, for the Khalif, all despotic as he was, durst not compel him. But Joseph soon contrived a remedy. By the Mahometan law, no woman can be the wife of her own slave. He therefore desired the Khalif to make the lady a present of her new husband, which virtually dissolved the marriage. The Khalif, overjoyed to have the nuptial knot so readily untied, gave Joseph 10,000 dinars for his ingenuity, and the lady, who had received a considerable present from her royal lover, gave him 10,000 more. So the lawyer gained upon the whole 50,000 dinars, about 25,000l. by his casuistry.

How far Harûn 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 in-
formed, and accomplished person in the whole empire, and the
Khalif delighted in his conversation. He also took much plea-
sure 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, ac-
cording 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 Abulfarayi, 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 spight 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 unreenged,
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 incursions at his devotions, and gave a thousand dirhems to the poor. He preferred sacrifice before mercy, and gave the following inconsistent advice to his eldest son Al Amin, who complained of a person who had abused his mother Zobeide. "Forgive him, my son, this is worthy of a great and magnanimous prince. Or, if you wish to take revenge, treat his mother in the same way."

From his liberalities, however, to the learned, no Khalif was more highly praised by the oriental poets and historians. Like Augustus* by the western.

DECLENSION OF THE SARACEN EMPIRE.

We may date this from the 214th year of the Hegira, A.D. 829, when the remote provinces of the west, in Africa and Spain, grew independent of the Khalif. Ibrahim ebn Aqlab, had been sent as Emir, or governor thither, by Harun al Raschid, in the year of the Hegira 184. He conquered a large extent of territory, and assumed almost absolute power, which was enjoyed by his descendants about 112 years. In the 216th year Al Mamun suppressed two rebellions in Egypt.

In the 325th, many of the provinces revolted from the Khalif Al Radi, owing to the incapacity of the Khalifs and their visirs, and shook off the Saracen yoke, although this prince created a supreme Emir, under the title of Emir Al Omra, "Emir of Emirs," who was to have the sole management of the finances and of military affairs; but the evil was too far advanced to be redressed by such means, and the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Persia, Parthia, Karmania, Mazanderan, in the east †, were governed by their native princes, who retained only a spiritual allegiance to the Khalif, disclaiming his temporal dominion, and considering him as merely the chief Iman, or supreme pontiff

* Augustus was naturally cruel, until he had proscribed all his enemies: One day when sitting to enjoy the spectacle of a public execution, Mecenas his favourite, shocked at his behaviour, said, Surget 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,

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 ascendency over his fanatical followers, that they would execute his orders implicitly, regardless of death.

When the Sultan Malekshah Jelaeddin, 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 chieflain. 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 Mezanderan, 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 reverenced by all the Mussulman powers, and the Tartars were employed in their northern conquests. The Visir next persuaded him to send off his best officers to distant places, and then dispatched an express to Hulaku, to inform him how easily he might take the Khalif and his capital. Quitting Hamadan, the Tartars unexpectedly broke into the Babylonian Irak, and invested the city, with a powerful army, while the inhabitants were in perfect security, so that the oven was heated as usual every night and morning. And so careless and inattentive was the Khalif, that it was some time before he could be made sensible that his city was besieged. The city was taken by assault, at the end of four days*, and the wretched Khalif cruelly put to death. By order of the Tartar general, he was sewed up in a leathern bag, and dragged through the streets of the city, till he expired, according to Herbelot. But Abulfaragi simply states, that Hulaku put him, his surviving son, and six eunuchs, to death by night, but not until he left Bagdad, at his first encampment, on the fourteenth of the ensuing month, Saphar, p. 339. This is much more credible; for surely the Tartar general could have no provocation to torture a weak and silly prince, who made no resistance; and such a barbarous procedure would have given great offence to all the Mahometan powers of the east, had the supreme head of their church been treated with such unmerited indignity.

This Khalif was extremely covetous, and added greatly to the immense riches left by his ancestors. His pride was so great, that he was difficult of access even to the most powerful Mahometan princes. When he appeared in the city he wore a veil,

*Abulfaragi says, that the siege began on the twenty-second, and the walls were taken the twenty-sixth of the month Mubarram, p. 338. As he was a contemporary writer, and his family were plundered by the Tartars not long before, as he relates, p. 315, his account is more credible than Khondemir's, that the siege lasted two months.
to attract respect, looking down on the people as unworthy to behold his face. And such was their eagerness and curiosity, that the streets through which he passed were crowded, and the windows and balconies hired out at an extravagant price to spectators. When first apprized of the Mogul's intention of invading Irak, his council wrote in the following haughty strain to the informer: "Who is Hulaku, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war upon the house of Abbas? If Hulaku were a friend to peace, he would never have entered and ravaged the Khalif's territories. Let him return to Hamadan, and we will intercede with the commander of the faithful to forgive the enormity of his crime." This being shewn to the Mogul general, he only laughed at their weakness and simplicity.

Such was the end of the Khalifat, and downfall of this house. Its sagacious founder, Abul Abbas, is said to have foretold this catastrophe.—"By God, the Khalifat will continue in my family, until a conqueror shall come from Khorasan."

*BAGDAD TAKEN.*

The Tartars took the city by assault, pillaged it for seven days, and slew a multitude of the inhabitants. The treasures they got were immense; for it was the richest city in the universe, if Khondemir may be credited.

Bagdad remained in the possession of the Moguls till the partition of that mighty empire. Timur beg, or Tamerlane, took it in the year of the Hegira 795, A.D. 1392; and afterwards, a Turkish prince, Kara Joseph, in 815. A.D. 1412. His descendants were driven out by Uzun Hassan, another Turkish chieftain, in 875. A.D. 1470; until Shah Ismael, king of Persia, of the Soji race, took it 914. A.D. 1508. From that time it has proved a bone of contention between the Turks and Persians. Sultan Soliman, the magnificent, took it from the Persians in 941. A.D. 1534. It was soon retaken by Shah Abbas; then Sultan Amurath IV. retook it, in 1048. A.D. 1638. And since that time it has remained in the hands of the Turks till the present day. See Niebuhr, Tom. II. p. 252—266.

SECTION XIII.

RISE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

This mighty Mahometan empire succeeded the Saracen, and exceeded it in power and duration. Like the Roman empire, it rose from small and weak beginnings, to great extent and dominion, and still it subsists, though verging fast to ruin.

When the Mogul Tartars, united under that great conqueror, Genghiz Khan, with irresistible force swept away the feeblter 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 Ertoorul, or Orthogrul, engaged in the service of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium, the capital city of Carmania, and was rewarded with a settlement at Saguta, or Surgut, a small village and district, near Mount Tmolus, in the greater Phrygia; where he governed a clan of 400 families, under the protection of the Sultan, whom he assisted in his wars for fifty-two years. In A.D. 1281. He took the city of Kutahi, in Cilicia.

He was succeeded in A.D. 1289, by his eldest son Thaman, or Athaman, or Osman, afterwards called Othoman, or Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

Othoman was distinguished for his valour, address, and activity; and gradually enlarged the boundary of his little state, by continual inroads into the Christian provinces, on the verge of the Greek empire; and with the Turkish peasants, or freebooters, took several castles on the confines of Bithynia, while he artfully and regularly sent a fifth part of the spoils, as a tribute to the Sultan of Iconium, whose vassal he was, which ensured him that prince's favour and protection; with the rest, he encreased his forces, each ensuing campaign, by the acces-
sion of fresh volunteers; and now fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged. At length, he took the celebrated city of Nice, in Bithynia, about A.D. 1298, and sent as usual a fifth of the spoils to the Sultan of Iconium, who pleased at this homage, and his success in the holy war, against the Christians, granted him the title of royalty, and had prayers offered up for the prosperity of Sultan Othoman in the mosques throughout his dominions.

The new Sultan, however, prudently declined the title till the death of his patron, when he assumed the royal functions in 1299, and coined money in his own name, A.D. 1300, whence Knolles dates the commencement of his reign.

This was precisely the same year that Pope Boniface VIII. instituted his jubilee at Rome, and had the two swords (the temporal and spiritual) carried in state before him.

**TURKISH DYNASTY.**

**OTTOMAN SULTANS.**

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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Amurath</td>
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<td>Bajazet</td>
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<td>Othman III.</td>
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<td>Mustapha III.</td>
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&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 reflections 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 Selzueccian 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 Paleologus, 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, Slavonia, 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 Zelebi, "the noble," and thus introduced that wicked policy of fratricide, too frequently adopted by his successors, to rid themselves of rivals or competitors for the throne.

From his activity, he was called Ildefin, 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 Palaeologus, 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 desart 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 Coupole, or "statue of the cow," which discharges that mighty river, near Loddang, 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 Sivras, 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 Solymans 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 Boucicaut'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, caveoque, in modum fere inclusum, per omnum Asian circumtulit, egregium admirandumque spectaculum Fortunæ!—De varietate Fortunæ, published about
A.D. 1430. 3. Two Italian Chronicles, of the same, or earlier date, the *Chronicon Tarvisianum,* and *Annales Estenses,* both report the same. 4. *Arab Shah,* the contemporary of *Poggia,* 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, Ulag Beg), and subsisted till Abusa'id, 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 *Seji*, afterwards helped to complete that desolation, which the *Saracens* and *Moguls* began and continued, and to plunge that fairest quarter of the globe, the cradle of the arts and sciences, into its present gloomy state of ignorance and despotism!  

MAHOMET.

This prince was the youngest of the sons of *Bajazet*. He had been appointed governor of *Amasia*, and great part of *Cap-

* He was fond of the game of *Chess*, and could bear to be beat by a subject. The old game not being sufficiently elaborate for him, he enlarged it from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110, or 130 squares. But his new system expired with him.
padocia, not long before his father's captivity, when he was only fifteen years of age. With great gallantry he maintained his province against several of Tamerlane's generals, who came to take possession of it, until the Tartar's death.

When freed, by this event, from foreign enemies, he next turned his arms against his rival brothers. He first defeated Isa, and got possession of Prusa, the Turkish capital in Asia. Isa fled to his brother Solyman, who was in peaceable possession of Adrianople, and the Turkish dominions in Europe. Solyman sent Isa with a powerful army to attack Mahomet, but without success. He was routed in battle, and fled into Carmania, where he lived and died in obscurity.

To repair this disaster, Solyman himself crossed the Hellespont, to invade Mahomet's dominions. He took the castle of Prusa, by forging a letter from Mahomet, desiring the governor to surrender; and afterwards he defeated Mahomet in battle. Mahomet, therefore, to create a diversion, and find employment for Solyman at home, sent over his brother Musa, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Angora, and afterwards liberated by Tamerlane, and was now inactive with Mahomet, to invade Solyman's dominions in Europe. In this enterprise, Musa was assisted by the prince of Walachia, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was acknowledged king by the imperial city of Adrianople. This success necessarily recalled Solyman, who, by the emperor Emanuel's assistance, crossing over the Bosporus, with his army, marched to attack Musa, and at first gained an advantage; but Musa rallying, came upon his brother in the midst of his carousals, who could not be persuaded of his coming, but abused and insulted his officers; cutting off the beard of Eurenoses, one of his father's oldest and best captains, as the reward of his intelligence; which so provoked this veteran, that he instantly deserted with his detachment to Musa, and was followed by several other captains, detesting the intemperance and indiscretion of Solyman. And this prince, repenting too late of his dissolute folly, fled by night towards Constantinople, but was betrayed by his guide, and brought to Musa, who instantly ordered him to be strangled, A.D. 1405, after he had reigned six years and five months at Adrianople. And from this year, Knolles dates the accession of Mahomet, in which he recovered Prusa, and the rest of his Asiatic dominions.
Musa was no sooner established at Adrianople, than he displaced the officers that had been appointed by Solyman, and appointed his own creatures in their room. He also alienated the minds of the nobility, by his tyrannical government, and offended the Christian princes of Servia and Bulgaria, and even the emperor Emanuel, by demanding payment of their former tributes.

Taking advantage of his brother's misconduct, Mahomet, by the emperor's assistance, crossed the Bosphorus, 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 Bosphorus, 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 haec in tua fata ruis!

"Why hastest thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of such villainy shall to thyself redound;
For look, what mischief thou hast wrought shall turn to thee again;
Why dost thou therefore, foolish man, so hasten on thy pain?"

While Mahomet was thus contending with his brother in Europe, the Sultan of Carmania invaded his territories in Asia, took Prusa, the capital, and burnt it a second time, after it had been rebuilt. Next year, A.D. 1416, therefore, Mahomet returned, invaded Carmania, took several towns, defeated and took prisoners the sultan and his son, near Iconium, and reduced them to vassalage.

* "This event," says Gibbon, "suggested the pious allusion, that the law of Moses and Jesus (of Isa and Mousa) had been abrogated by the greater Mahomet."—The profane allusion, equally revolting to Christians and Jews, and gratifying to Mahometans, is perhaps his own.
After this success, Mahomet crossed back from Asia, imposed a tribute on the prince of Walachia, and repressed several insurrections. He built a great mosque and magnificent palace at Adrianople, which he made the seat of his government, and firmly established himself in Europe, without molestation from the great Christian powers of the west, who lost the fairest opportunity of driving the Turks out of Europe at least, during the civil wars of Mahomet with his brothers, by only occupying the straits of the Hellespont, or Gallipoli, with a confederate fleet. But the schism between the Greek and Romish Churches, which bred great acrimony between both, the factions and wars of France and England, and the commotions in Italy and Germany, prevented their salutary union against the common enemy of the Christian Faith. They enjoyed the precarious respite, without a thought of futurity, while Mahomet was consolidating the union of Romania and Anatolia, his European and Asiatic territories, so often rent asunder by the ambition of the Turkish princes, or of pretenders, and may therefore justly be accounted the second founder, or restorer of the Turkish empire, by his valour, policy, and perseverance. To secure the throne for his son Amurath, he put out the eyes of his nephew Orchan, the son of Solyman, but allowed him a princely revenue and establishment at Prusa.

In his last sickness, he desired his two visirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim*, to conceal his death, till his son’s arrival from Asia; which they did, for forty days, by the contrivance of bringing out the dead Sultan to the Janizaries, with a boy concealed under his robe, who lifted his hand to stroke his beard, according to his usual fashion, but as if too weak to speak.

**AMURATH II.**

The first years of his reign were employed in quelling insurrections raised by the two Mustaphas, the one an impostor, who called himself the son of Bajazet, the other, his own brother. In the last civil war, he hired Adorno, the Genoese governor, with seven stout 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 Boeotia, Phocis, Athens, Aetolia, and Epirus. He afterwards invaded Hungary, and besieged Belgrade, on the Danube, the key of that kingdom, but was forced to raise the siege, and retreat with great loss, chiefly by the skill and valour of that great general, Huniades, who fought several bloody battles with the Turks, and overthrew them; especially at the famous battle of Vascape, 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 overthrow from Huniades, in Hungary, and Scanderbeg, in Epirus, compelled the haughty Amurath to conclude a peace for ten years, with king Uladislaus, upon the terms of restoring Servia to the despot, relinquishing Moldavia and Bulgaria, promising not to molest the Hungarian territories during that term, and to pay 40,000 ducats for the ransom of Carambey, his bassa, taken prisoner. This was the most honourable peace hitherto made by any Christian prince with the Turks; and it was ratified by the most solemn oaths on both sides; the Christian plenipotentiaries swearing on the Holy Evangelists, and the Turkish, on the Koran, in A.D. 1444.

This peace enabled Amurath to turn his arms against the Sultan of Carmania, whose capital, Iconium, he besieged, and compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted, on his wife's entreaty, who was Amurath's sister, and on condition of his paying double tribute.

Wearied with continual wars and troubles, Amurath resigned
his kingdom to his son Mahomet, then a youth of fifteen years old, and appointed Cali Bassa, and Khosroes, a learned Mus- sulman Doctor, to be his chief counsellors and directors. He then retired himself to Magnesia, where he led a monastic life with some devout dervishes.

But several of the Christian powers were dissatisfied with the late peace, especially John Palæologus, emperor of Con- stantinople, and Pope Eugenius, whose legate, Cardinal Julian, solicited Uladislaus to take advantage of the abdication of Amu- rath, form a general confederacy of the Christian powers, and break that hasty peace, so prejudicial to the general cause of Christianity. And the legate, accordingly, gave formal absolu- tion for the breach of their oaths, to king Uladislaus, the despot of Servia, and Huniades, waywode of Transylvania, the prin- cipal parties concerned in making the treaty.

Roused from his cell, by their sudden and unprovoked inva- sion of his dominions, old Amurath resumed the reins of go- vernment at the solicitation of his people, and even of the young sultan himself, to oppose this formidable confederacy of the Christian powers. He raised a powerful army of sixty thousand men, crossed the Bosporus, and marched to attack the enemy at Varna, a city of Bulgaria, situate near the Euxine sea. Amu- rath in the center, opposed Uladislaus; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, opposed the despot of Servia, and Huniades in the right and left wings. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; in this crisis, Amurath was sore pressed by the Walachian and Transylvanian horse, and when he saw the crucifix displayed on their standards, he drew forth from his bosom the copy of the treaty, and holding it with uplifted hands and eyes to heaven, he suddenly invoked Christ:

Behold, thou crucified Christ, the treaty which thy Chris- tians have made in thy name, and broken, without provoca- tion! If thou be a God, avenge thy wrongs and mine, punish thy perjured people!

His prayer was heard. The impenetrable phalanx of his Janizaries bore down all opposition in the center, the perjured Uladislaus was slain by their spears, and a Turkish soldier pro- claimed, Hungarians, behold the head of your king! Ten thou- sand Christians fell in this disastrous battle; among them, the legate Julian, the promoter of the perjury; and Huniades him-
self, returning too late, from a rash and intemperate pursuit of
the wings, was overpowered, and with great difficulty escaped.
The loss of the Turks, however, was great, and Amurath re-
gretted a victory so dearly purchased. This bloody battle was
fought on the tenth of November, A.D. 1444.

After this fatal breach of faith, victory frequently deserted the
heretofore invincible Huniades. He was rather a valiant par-
tizan, than a consummate general, and his military life is che-
quered with a series of romantic exploits and escapes, as the
Chevalier Blanc, or "White Knight of Walachia," under
which title he is celebrated by Philip de Comines. In the great
battle of Cossava, A.D. 1448, he sustained another signal defeat,
after a resistance of three days, borne down by repeated assaults
of fresh Turkish squadrons, following the irresistible tactics of
Tamerlane.

Amurath, to his cost, engaged in a desultory warfare with
Scanderbeg, who set up the standard of revolt. By his prowess,
vigilance, activity and stratagems, he frequently defeated the
Turkish bassas sent against him, and at length Amurath him-
self, at the siege of Croya, the capital of Epirus, A.D. 1450,
who died a few months after of grief and vexation, rather than
of age and sickness, leaving as his dying advice to his son
Mahomet, Never to despise an enemy, be he ever so weak.

Amurath was a religious, just, and valiant prince, a good
king, and a great general. He was more observant of his pro-
mise than any of the Turkish emperors, and in his good faith
toward the garrison of Sjetigrade, he furnished a lesson and
example to his son Mahomet, who too frequently adopted the
Popish casuistry of not keeping faith with heretics; and his
first care, when he subdued any country, was to build mosques
and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year, he gave
a thousand pieces of gold to the family of the Prophet, and two
thousand five hundred to the religious at Mecca, Medina, and
Jerusalem. But he was peevish and choleric, either from natu-
ral moroseness, or soured by repeated defeats from those thun-
derbolts of war, Huniades and Scanderbeg. The most striking
feature of his character is the double abdication of the throne.
For after the battle of Varna, he returned to his monastery at
Magnesia, until reluctantly called again to the helm by his
whole divan, to appease, by his authority, the mutiny, and pre-
vent the rebellion of the Janizaries, who disdained the inexpe-
rience of the young Sultan, and plundered the city of Adrianople. Amurat, 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 Amurat 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 Amurat and his more powerful son, is given by Knolles. But the wisdom of his measures, and the final success of his arms, may well be questioned. The unequal contest, in which he was deserted and left alone by the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Venetians, who ought to have protected this barrier of Epirus against the Turks, only harassed and exhausted his native country; and he sunk, at last, under the colossal power of the Porte, as appears from his letter, soliciting a refuge in the ecclesiastical state, from Pope Pius II. and his dying, at last, a fugitive at Lissus, in the Venetian territory; as we learn from Spondanus, A.D. 1461—1467, and from the testimony of Phranza, a refugee in the neighbouring island of Corfu, after the capture of Constantinople. This judicious remark we owe to Gibbon.

From the commencement of his reign, Mahomet began to make preparations for the siege of Constantinople. He first retrenched many superfluous expences of his court, and introduced a more rigid economy; he displaced and punished several public peculators, and he curbed the insolence, and improved the discipline of the Janizaries; and by his unrelenting severity
and cruelty, he made himself alike terrible to his friends and his enemies.

His first aggression was to build a strong fortress on the European side of the Bosporus, about five miles from Constantinople, directly opposite to the castle which his grandfather had built on the Asiatic side. This gave him the command of the Streight, and enabled him to controul the commerce and intercept the provisions of the city; and when the emperor Constantine VIII. sent to remonstrate against the work, he at first coloured it with the pretext, that he only fulfilled a pious vow made by his father at the battle of Varna, to erect a fortress on the western shore.—But he soon pulled off the mask. "Return to your master," said he to the ambassadors, "Tell him, that the present Sultan differs widely from his predecessors; his resolutions surpass their wishes; and his performance, their resolutions. Return in safety now: the next who dares to come with remonstrances, shall be flayed alive!"

When his fortification was completed, he began to levy a tribute on the vessels of every nation that passed the streight. A Venetian ship refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosporus, was sunk with a shot from their cannon, the master was impaled, and the crew beheaded; and the historian Ducas beheld their bodies exposed to the wild beasts!

Next spring, when his immense preparations of every kind were in readiness, he invested Constantinople on the 6th of April, A.D. 1453, with a formidable army of 300,000 men, Europeans and Asiatics; including many soldiers of fortune, who were allured to his standard, by the hope of plunder, from Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. The Turkish armament, and their prodigious artillery, first employed in this siege, carrying stone bullets, some of a hundred pounds weight, and one, even of six hundred pounds *, are aptly described in the Apocalypse, by the innumerable lion-headed horsemen, vomiting fire, smoke, and brimstone from their mouths, (or gunpowder) to destroy "the third part of men," in Europe; "with serpents' tails," to propagate their heresy. Rev. ix. 16—19.

* A Turkish cannon, still more enormous, guards the entrance of the Dardanelles at present. If we believe Baron de Tott, with 330 pounds of gunpowder, it discharged a stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight, which at the distance of 600 yards, shivered into three fragments, traversed the streight, leaving the water in a foam, rose again, and rebounded from the opposite hill!! Vol. III. p. 85—89.
The emperor in his last message to Mahomet expressed the resignation and fortitude of a Christian soldier.

"Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to soften your heart, I should rejoice in the happy change. If he delivers the city into your hand, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall decide between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people."

To oppose this mighty armament, the emperor had only a garrison of six thousand Greeks, and three thousand Venetians and Genoese, and a few galleys and ships of war! He was left alone to maintain the unequal contest, by the listlessness and apathy of the powers of Christendom; the western states of France, Spain, and England, were involved in their endless wars and domestic quarrels; the Pope, Nicholas V. was provoked by the falsehood and the obstinacy with which the union of the Greek and Latin Churches was often fallaciously agreed to, by the Greek emperors, in their distress, or broken in their respite*; and when he was roused by their last acquiescence, to employ the resources of Italy, Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours! Even in his own capital, the intreaties and tears of the emperor could not prevail on the Byzantine nobility and the rich citizens to contribute their aid† and their money to the defence of the walls, and to the payment of the garrison, and supply of provisions, and repairs of the fortifications. They folded their arms, as if resistance was hopeless, they shut their purses, and hid their treasures, to preserve them for the enemy,

* The project of a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, was connected with that of a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel Turks, in the fourteenth general Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274. It was approved by the Council of Susa, in Armenia, A.D. 1307, and by the seventeenth general Council of Basil, A.D. 1431, and by the eighteenth, of Florence, A.D. 1439. It was rejected by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 1450; but subscribed to by the emperor Constantine, and the most obsequious of the clergy and laity, about six months before the destruction of the city. And the two nations joined in prayer and communion in the great church of St. Sophia, December 12, 1452. But it only kindled the torch of discord. The Latins were detested as heretics and infidels, and the Great Duke was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the Pope's tiara, or a Cardinal's hat! —He had his wish.

† Only 4070 citizens enrolled their names for the defence of the city, out of the population of 100,000 souls! The list was taken by Phranza, the emperor's secretary.
and the two factions, for, and against the union with the Church of Rome, were hotly disputing the point; one party attributing their calamities to their uniting, the other to their not uniting; when the Turks broke in, and settled the controversy by destroying or enslaving both *

Mahomet having sustained a more obstinate resistance from the besieged than he expected, and a great defeat of his fleet, from a few imperial and Genoese men of war, not more than five, who came with provisions for the supply of the city, in which, several of his ships, and twelve thousand of his men were destroyed; and dreading that these were only the forerunners of a more powerful squadron for the relief of the city, resolved at length to storm Constantinople, and the 29th of May was fixed on, from his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal day. To animate his troops, he promised them double pay, and he swore by the most solemn oath, by the immortal God, by the four hundred prophets, by Mahomet, by his father's soul, by his children, and by his sword, that he would give them the spoils of the city for three days.

At day-break, therefore, on the 29th of May, Mahomet began the general assault, on all sides of the city, with 250,000 Turks, beside 10,000 of his life guards, the sailors and the marines, both by land and sea. The strength and the ammunition of the garrison were exhausted by incessant attacks. A Turkish Janizary, of huge stature, Hassan, first scaled the walls, and the valiant Greeks were driven from them, or buried under overwhelming multitudes; the emperor, after performing all the duties of a general and a soldier, fell amidst the tumult, by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. About 2000 Christians were slain in the first irruption, and about 60,000 were sold, exchanged, or dispersed, by the captors, through the provinces of the Turkish empire, and the houses and churches, and public buildings and libraries, were all rifled and pillaged by the rapacious soldiery. Among the prisoners was the historian Phranza, the first chamberlain and principal secretary of the emperor, whose family was involved in the common lot of slavery, and his children fell victims to

* It is impossible not be forcibly struck with the present state of parties in a British Parliament, disputing for and against Catholic emancipation, while the great western Turk, *Ali Buonaparte*, is plotting their common slavery and destruction, by his arts and his arms. (1812.)
the lust of Mahomet himself, as he pathetically laments, after he had recovered his freedom.

Among these hapless victims was a fair Greek, Irene, of incomparable beauty and exquisite accomplishments, who captivated the ferocious conqueror himself, with no slight nor transient passion. During a twelvemonth, or more, Mars slept in Venus's lap. Mahomet spent his time in her bewitching society, and neglected the most urgent and important concerns of the state. At length, his first minister and prime favourite, Mustapha Bassa, who had been educated with him from his childhood, ventured, at the hazard of his life, to expostulate with his despotic master, upon the probable consequences of such infatuation.

"What avails the conquest of Constantinople, if you are enslaved yourself? Shake off those golden fetters in which the wily Greek has bound you so fast.—Subdue yourself, and resort again to arms. Your soldiers, if unemployed abroad, will create you trouble at home. Idleness engenders insolence, They say, already, that unless you lead them forth to war, for the glory and enlargement of the Ottoman empire, they will depose you, and set up one of your sons in your stead."

Mahomet felt the justice and the force of this honest and friendly remonstrance, without interruption or anger, and gloomily said, To-morrow, before the sun shall set, my people shall know whether I am able to bridle my affections or not. Order the divan to be assembled at that time, to await my determination.

That night the tyrant spent, as usual, with his mistress. Next day, he dined with her, and, in the evening, ordered his unsuspecting victim to dress and adorn herself with the utmost splendour and magnificence, graciously presented her with the richest jewels to heighten her charms, and then led her by the hand, like a Sultana, to the divan, assembled on the occasion. Then looking round upon the members, he said, Which of you would easily forego so rare a paragon of beauty, if possessed of such? Speak, and declare your sentiments freely, and without disguise. I give you full permission, on the word of a prince.

Dazzled by her charms, the whole divan were unanimous in

* 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 Aeneas, afterwards, when raised to the papacy, under the name of Pius II., vainly and inconsistently strove to rekindle a crusade against the Turks. In the council of Mantua, he excited some sparks of a false, or feeble enthusiasm; but when he appeared at Ancona, to embark in person, with the crusaders, he found there assembled only a few Greek pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband, with indulgencies and alms.

Mahomet sustained some interruption in his designs against the western powers, by his contest with Hassan, or Usun Cassames, who had subdued Persia, and required Mahomet not to invade or molest his ally, the emperor of 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 thraldom of Mahometan superstition and despotism, like the wretched remains of the Greek Churches in Europe and Asia. But praised be the Lord who did not give us over a prey unto the teeth of these lions with serpents’ stings in their tails! Who hath delivered us from such great jeopardy; and we trust will still deliver us, of the most favoured isles, in this last woe now inflicting upon Christendom! See the note, Vol. III. p. 642, of this work.

Under the successors of Mahomet the Great, the limits of the Turkish empire were considerably enlarged, from the Adriatic sea, eastward, in Dalmatia, Hungary, &c. Armenia, Persia, Syria, &c. in Egypt and the southern coast of the Mediterranean sea. It rose to its height, during the reign of Solyman the Magnificent; and since that time has been gradually declining. The continuance of this plague, in full vigour to harass and slay the European world, was predicted in the Apocalypse to be “an
hour, a day, a month, and a year," Rev. ix. 15, which by the most probable interpretation, denotes a period of 391 years and 15 days (more than double the duration of the Saracen plague of 150 years) commencing with the capture of the city of Kutalii 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 $26\frac{2}{3}$ 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 councillors and generals to advise and direct them.

2. The admirable constitution and discipline of their armies, which as standing armies kept up alike in peace and war, were generally an overmatch for the militia, or occasional levies of the Christian powers in the west, and the Mahometan in the east.

The institution of the Timariots and Azamoglans, were the two main pillars of their military government.

The Timariots were veteran soldiers, who for their services were rewarded with grants of lands, like the Beneficiarii of the Roman emperors, which they held under the crown, by feudal tenure, they and their heirs, on condition that they should furnish a horseman to serve in the sultan's wars, well armed, at their own cost. The number of these feudal grants increased with their dominions. The twelfth emperor, Amurath III. created 40,000 new Timariots in his Persian conquests alone, and they amounted in all, to 719,000 fighting men; of which 257,000 resided in Europe, and 462,000 in Asia and Africa. These, scattered through the empire, kept every part of it in
awe, being let fly, like falcons on their prey, against any disturbers of the public peace.

Besides the Timariot horse, who served without pay, and were called forth occasionally, they had a standing body of cavalry in pay, the Spahis, &c. who were remarkable for their discipline and attachment; and out of whom, the great officers of the state were chosen, and raised according to their merit and their services, the Sanzacs, visiers, bassas, and beglerbegs. The sultans employed also great bodies of light horse, called Acanzii, whom they hired from the Tartars in the east and the Walachians and Moldavians in the west, until the latter revolted with the Transylvanians.

From the Azamoglans, or children of Christians, who were collected every third year, as a tribute, about nine years old, and instructed in the Turkish language and religion, they culled out the most promising boys for strength, activity, and courage, to compose the Janizaries, and Spahis, or emperor's life guard, like the Praetorian 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 Agu, 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 dissentions 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.

3. 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.

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**SECTION XIV.**

**EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.**

*La Chronologie des Egyptiens est ce qu'il y a de plus difficile, et de plus epineux,*

*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 Mesraites, and the third Egyptians.

"The time of Vulcan [first of the Aurites] is not stated, because he shines night and day. Helius [the sun], the son of Vulcan, reigned 30,000 years. Then Saturn, and the rest of the twelve gods, reigned 3984 years. Then the demi-gods, who were eight, 217 years."
"After them, fifteen generations of the Cynic Cycle [or Mesraites] 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 Cyrannic 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyn.</th>
<th>Vulcam [the supreme God]</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I]</td>
<td>Helius [the Sun]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[II—XIII] Twelve Gods, Saturn, &amp;c.</td>
<td>3,984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[XIV] Eight Demigods</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyn.</th>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II Class. Mesraites, or Heroes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[XV]</td>
<td>Cynic Cycle</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>443 2674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| III. Class. Egyptians, or Men. |
| XVI. | Tanites, or Thinites | 8 (190) | 253 2231 |
| XVII. | Memphites | 6 (103) | 218 1978 |
| XVIII. | Memphites | 14 | 348 1760 |
| XIX. | Diospolites | 5 | 194 1412 |
| XX. | Diospolites | 8 | 228 1218 |
| XXI. | Tanites | 6 | 121 990 |
| XXII. | Tanites | 3 | 48 869 |
| XXIII. | Diospolites | 2 | 19 821 |
| XXIV. | Saites | 3 | 44 802 |
| XXV. | Ethiopians | 3 | 44 758 |
| XXVI. | Memphites | 7 | 177 714 |
| XXVII. | Persians | 5 | 124 537 |
| XXVIII. | Saites | 1 | 6 | 413 |
| XXIX. | [Tanites] | 5 | 39 407 |
| XXX. | Tanites | 1 | 18 368 |

**Persian conquest of Egypt** | 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.

D d 2
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*, "Ἡφαίστης ὁ τῶν θεῶν πατὴρ," "Hephaistos, the father of the Gods;" as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXII. c. 15. To him, as the eternal, no period is rightly assigned in the *Chronicle*.

Of the visible Gods, his offspring, the Sun, is the most glorious; the first object of the *Zabian Idolatry*, styled also *aur*, or "light," Job xxxi. 26. See Vol. II. p. 93, of this work. His reign is reckoned 30,000 years, reaching from the creation of this globe, to the creation of man; according to the ancient *Asiatic Mythology*. See this Volume, p. 30, note.


The eight Demi-gods of the fourteenth dynasty, and second class, represent *Noah* and his family, "the eight souls saved in the ark," under whose patriarchal regimen the *Silver Age* was governed, till the separation of the three great families. The date of the deluge in the Chronicle, B.C. 2891, differs not much from the *Samaritan* date. See Vol. I. p. 215.

The *Mesraites*, of the second class, were evidently *Mesraim*.

* 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 Aelian, σοφιας εις ακρον ελακτων 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFRICANUS</th>
<th>EUSEBIUS</th>
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<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>Tanites, or Thinites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Phænician Shepherds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>Bubastites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>Ethiopians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>Persians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>Mendesians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX.</td>
<td>Sebennytes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persian conquest .... 97 1868 350 91 1868 350

These two lists of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* differ from each other, and from the *old Chronicle*, in the number of reigns, 97 and 91; and in their respective lengths; but they remarkably agree in the amounts of the years, 1868, and consequently in their beginnings, B.C. 2218, only 13 years less than the *old Chronicle*, B.C. 2231.

III. CHRONICLE OF ERATOSTHENES.

This learned chronologer, librarian to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, at *Alexandria*, composed a list of 91 Theban, or *Egyptian* kings; agreeing in number, but differing in their *Coptic* names from those of the *Old Chronicle* and *Eusebius*; of which, a fragment of 38 reigns is preserved by *Synceillus*. 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.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

THEBAN KINGS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XV.</th>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
<th>XVI.</th>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Menes</td>
<td>62 2220</td>
<td>20. Apapus</td>
<td>100 1651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Athoth II</td>
<td>32 2099</td>
<td>22. Q. Nitocris</td>
<td>6 1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Diabies</td>
<td>19 2067</td>
<td>23. Myrteus</td>
<td>22 1544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pemphos</td>
<td>18 2048</td>
<td>24. Thyosimares</td>
<td>12 1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tægar</td>
<td>79 2030</td>
<td>25. Thinillus</td>
<td>8 1510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Stachius</td>
<td>6 1951</td>
<td>26. Semphracrates</td>
<td>18 1502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gosornies</td>
<td>30 1945</td>
<td>27. Chuthor</td>
<td>7 1484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>28. Meures</td>
<td>12 1477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Anophis</td>
<td>20 1889</td>
<td>30. Ancunius</td>
<td>60 1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sibirius</td>
<td>18 1869</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cnubus</td>
<td>22 1851</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rauosis</td>
<td>13 1829</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Biuris</td>
<td>10 1816</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Y. B.C.</td>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Y. B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Saophis</td>
<td>29 1806</td>
<td>31. Penteathrysis</td>
<td>42 1394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Moscheris</td>
<td>31 1750</td>
<td>33. Sisostichermes</td>
<td>55 1329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Musthis</td>
<td>33 1719</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pammus</td>
<td>35 1686</td>
<td>35. Siphoas</td>
<td>5 1321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>36.</td>
<td>14 1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>37. Pharon or Nilus</td>
<td>5 1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>38. Amurthaus</td>
<td>63 1207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chronology is determined from an incidental remark of Diccearchus, that from the time of Nilus, the 37th king, to the era of the Olympiads, was 436 years. His reign therefore began 436 + B.C. 776 = B.C. 1212. From which epoch, by counting upwards and downwards, the dates of the several reigns are determined. This gives the accession of Menes, the first, B.C. 2220, only two years more than Eusebius and Africanus; and is therefore an additional voucher for the foregoing emendation of their dynasties, by rejecting the fifteen surreptitious dynasties; thus shewing, that their genuine dynasties began at the same time nearly, with the list of Eratosthenes, whose "Theban kings" were evidently the same as their Egyptian kings. For all Egypt was originally called Thebes, from the name of its oldest city, as we learn from Herodotus, B. II. § 15.

This list of Eratosthenes is more valuable than those of Eusebius and Africanus; because some of the names of its kings are found in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus: such as Q. Nitocris, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DYN.</th>
<th>XV.</th>
<th>Mestraim</th>
<th>35 2613</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Curades</td>
<td>63 2578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Aristarchus</td>
<td>34 2515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Spanius</td>
<td>36 2481</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>72 2445</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Serapis</td>
<td>23 2373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sesonchosis</td>
<td>49 2350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Amenemes</td>
<td>29 2301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Anasis</td>
<td>2 2272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Acéphtheres</td>
<td>13 2270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Achoras</td>
<td>9 2257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Amyses</td>
<td>4 2248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Chamosis</td>
<td>12 2244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Amises</td>
<td>65 2232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>[Menes]</td>
<td>14 2167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Use</td>
<td>50 2153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Rhamesses</td>
<td>29 2103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhamessenes</td>
<td>15 2074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Thysimarus</td>
<td>31 2059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Rhamesseos</td>
<td>23 2028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Rhamessemeno</td>
<td>19 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Rhamessebaites</td>
<td>39 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Rhamesses</td>
<td>29 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Concharis</td>
<td>6 1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>[or Timaios]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Silites</td>
<td>19 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Baion</td>
<td>44 1893</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Apachnas</td>
<td>36 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Apophes</td>
<td>61 1813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Sethos</td>
<td>50 1752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Certus</td>
<td>29 1702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Asoth</td>
<td>24 1673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Amosis or</td>
<td>22 1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Chebron</td>
<td>13 1627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DYN.</th>
<th>XIX.</th>
<th>Amephe8</th>
<th>15 1614</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Amenes</td>
<td>1 1599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Misphragmuthosis</td>
<td>16 1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Misphres</td>
<td>23 1582</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Tuthmesis</td>
<td>39 1559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Amenophthis</td>
<td>34 1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Horus</td>
<td>48 1486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Acencheres</td>
<td>25 1433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Anthoris</td>
<td>29 1413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Cenchares</td>
<td>26 1384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Acheres, 8</td>
<td>30 1358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Armai...</td>
<td>9 1328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Rhamesses</td>
<td>68 1319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Amenophis,</td>
<td>8 1251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or Meris }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>[Certus, Ce...</td>
<td>20 1190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Thuiris</td>
<td>17 1243</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Necho (pos</td>
<td>19 1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Psamathus</td>
<td>13 1207</td>
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<td></td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>————</td>
<td>4 1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53.</td>
<td>[Certus, Ce...</td>
<td>20 1190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Rhampses, or</td>
<td>45 1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pheron }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Amenses</td>
<td>26 1125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Oehyras</td>
<td>14 1099</td>
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<td></td>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Amedes</td>
<td>27 1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Thuiris</td>
<td>50 1058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Athethis</td>
<td>28 1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Cencenes</td>
<td>39 980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Vennephes</td>
<td>42 941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Susakin, or</td>
<td>34 899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Susak, or Sesak }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Psuenus</td>
<td>25 865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Amenophis</td>
<td>9 840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Nephecheres</td>
<td>6 831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
<td>15 825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Mestrait, 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 substract 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 intimates, 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 anything 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. 63, 3, or B.C. 446, as we learn from Eusebius, Chronicon. We are warranted therefore to date his visit to Egypt, in the beginning of his travels, B.C. 448.
scarcely have been ignorant of, from his knowledge of Assyrian affairs. This would leave an interval of more than 500 years, between the death of Mæris and accession of Sethos, which would occupy fifteen reigns at least, supposing reigns equivalent to mean generations, and more, according to the correct standard. He has, indeed, expressed his sentiments on the Egyptian reports, in the following terms: "These things are related by the Egyptians, and if any one think them credible, he is at liberty: *as for me, I am obliged to write what I have heard.*" B. II. § 123. And near the end of his history, he enters the following general protest: "I am obliged to relate what is told, but *I am not obliged to believe every thing indiscriminately; which I desire may be understood in the whole course of this History.*" B. VII. § 152.

The censure therefore of Diodorus Siculus, is unfounded, that "Herodotus wilfully preferred extravagant tales and fictions to truth; wishing rather to amuse than instruct his readers." This vindication is due to the venerable Father of History.

### VI. Diodorus Siculus.

In the interval of time elapsed between Herodotus and Diodorus, of near 400 years, the Egyptian priests greatly enlarged their fabulous Chronology. This will most clearly appear from the following comparison of their respective Chronicles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herodotus</th>
<th>Diodorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Menes ..........</td>
<td>Menas, or Mæris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329 reigns</td>
<td>Gnephaclthus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52 reigns for 1400 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nitocris)</td>
<td>Busiris.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Busiris II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uchoreus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sesostris ......</td>
<td>Mæris, or Myris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 reigns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                    | Sesooosis, or Sesostris ......   | 33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERODOTUS</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>DIODORUS</th>
<th>Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Pheron</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Proteus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cetes, or Proteus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rhampsinitus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Remphis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

    7. Cheops....... 50        8. Cephrenes .... 56
    11. Anysis     |


    Anysis again.

    14. 12 Kings       |

    Psammeticus } 50        15. Nekus     |

    16. Psammis       |

    17. Apries....... 25        18. Amasis ..... 44

The forgeries of the Egyptian priests are obvious in the later Chronicle: to Diodorus they foisted in many reigns, after Moeris, 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 ere 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 immovable rock, against which the waves of *Infidelity* break themselves in vain." [Matt. vii. 24, 25.] Vol. II. p. 564.

"In fine, thoroughly convinced of all the truths taught by the Christian Religion, I have retrenched, or reformed, *all the notes* that might injure it. From some of these, consequences have been drawn, which I disapprove, and which are far from my thoughts; others indeed, I must frankly avow, for the acquittal of my conscience, contain matters, which, I find, upon maturer examination, and profounder researches, either *too slightly founded*, or *absolutely false*.

"The Truth cannot fail to gain by this avowal. To her alone, have I consecrated all my lucubrations. I am anxious to return to her, from the time that I thought I had discovered her better. May this homage, which I now render her, with the most heartfelt sincerity, procure me *absolution* from all the *errors* I might have incurred, and which I have sought to propagate!" Pref. p. xxxviii.

This open and candid confession and retractation of his former errors, is highly honourable to Larcher; and from a scholar of his celebrity, cannot fail to serve the cause of Truth and of Scripture, which are one and the same. It is therefore the more to be regretted, that he did not revise and correct his Scheme of *Egyptian Chronology*, according to *Herodotus*; which is not less at variance with that venerable Father of History, than with Holy Writ; and remains unaltered, with all its errors and imperfections, in the second, and in other respects improved edition of his work, 8vo. 1802. The first edition was published in 1786, 7 tomes, 8vo.

This Scheme is delivered and explained in a long and elaborate Essay on the Chronology of *Herodotus*, which occupies the greater part of the sixth volume, and therefore comes recommended, by specious and imposing authority, to the reader. The following will, I hope, be found a correct, and a clearer outline of his Scheme, Vol. VI. chap. i. § 10—13.

I Period.

The *Theocracy* established in Egypt.

The *High Priests* of the 8 most ancient Gods, govern the country.

N.B. We are ignorant when the reigns of both commenced.

II Period.

The *High Priests* of the 12 following Gods possess themselves of the government, and begin to reign, [17000 years before Amasis.] 17570

The *High Priests* of the Gods of the third order succeed them. First, the

High Priest of Osiris, [15000 years before Amasis.] 15570

The *High Priests* of Orus dispossess them.

III Period.

Y.

Menes, the first king Eratosth. 62 12356

329 kings [10870] 12294

Moris Vechietti 68 1424
ANALYSIS OF

I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

Primary Gods, 2236 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saturn, or Adam</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Generations, ending with the deluge</td>
<td>2236</td>
<td>5411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sesostris</th>
<th>44</th>
<th>1356</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pheron</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proteus</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris and Helen arrive in Egypt 20 years before B.C. 1270, Larcher's</td>
<td>1290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rhampsinitus</th>
<th>Manetho</th>
<th>66</th>
<th>1244</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheops</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cephrenus</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycerinus</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1072</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asychis</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1052</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anysis again, quitting the Isle of Elbo.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A chaun of 191 years</td>
<td>(241)</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaco, the Ethiopian</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sethos, priest of Vulcan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>713</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnYSIS</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnYSIS again, quitting the Isle of Elbo.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>Diodor.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 joint kings</td>
<td>Diodor.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammeticus alone</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necho</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammis</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apries</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amasis</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammenitus</td>
<td>Herodot.</td>
<td>6 m.</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses conquers Egypt</td>
<td>525</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amyrtæus retreats to the Isle of Elbo, 503 years after Anysis issued from thence</td>
<td>458</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Larcher prefaced 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 "clothet with the character of truth," did not the eternity, or vast antiquity of the
II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

Demigods and Heroes, 743 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Noah and his sons</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Misraim and his successors</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Heroic age | 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 Meris, 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 Vulcaen, 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 Amyrteus' flight to the sea, 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 Amyrteus and Anysis, is founded upon an arbitrary substitution of 500, instead of 300, the true correction of the false number 700, in the text of Herodotus, B. II. § 140, as proved here in the text. This is the fundamental error of Larcher's system, raising it in general 200 years higher than the truth.

4. The chasm of 241 years, which he notices, is unskilfully stated, too long, and misplaced: as including 50 years of Sabaco, by his own account, it should be reduced to 191 years; but this is too long: it was only 151 years, as proved here, in the text. And it followed Mycerinus, rather than Anysis. He reverses the order of Herodotus, in placing the restoration of Anysis, before Sabaco's reign. And he misrepresents Anysis as first expelled by an Ethiopian prince, (Bocchoris, or Asychis, whom he omits to name), whereas Herodotus expressly represents him as expelled by Sabaco.

5. From this accumulation of errors in excess, all his dates from Amyrteus upwards, to Meris, are too high; and from Meris 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 Semacherib's invasion, and the invasion of Cambyses, B.C. 525.

* Like the Epicurean Atheists of old. —Deos, nomine ponunt, re tolliant. As described by Cicero.
III. EGYPTIANS.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS.

Menes and his successors, &c. ending with Timaus, or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (y.)</th>
<th>B.C. (n.c.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>2412</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concharis.

SECOND DYNASTY, SHEPHERD KINGS, 260 YEARS.

1. Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada  19  2159
2. Baion, Bout, or Babya            44  2140
3. Apaches, Pachuan, or Rucma      37 7 m. 2096
   First pyramid begun about.
   Abraham visits Egypt about.
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 Thumamosis 25 4 m. 1648
2. Chebron                             13 1623
3. Amenophis 1                        20 7 m. 1610
4. Ameness                             21 9 m. 1589
5. Mephres                            12 9 m. 1567
6. Misphragmuthosis                   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 Meris, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1528</td>
<td>Thmosis, or Tethmosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1518</td>
<td>Amenophis II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1488</td>
<td>Orus, or Horus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1452</td>
<td>Acenchrhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440</td>
<td>Rathosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1431</td>
<td>Acencheres I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1398</td>
<td>Armais, or Harmais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1394</td>
<td>Ramesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1393</td>
<td>Harmesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327</td>
<td>Amenophis III, or Meris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1308</td>
<td>FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1308</td>
<td>Sethos, Sethosis, Sesostris, or Osymandes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1275</td>
<td>Rampses, or Pheron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1214</td>
<td>Cetes, or Proteus, or Ramesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1194</td>
<td>Paris and Helen driven to Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1183</td>
<td>Menelaus comes to Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1164</td>
<td>Amenophis IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1130</td>
<td>Fictitious expulsion of the Israelites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1082</td>
<td>Cheops, or Chemmis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1032</td>
<td>Cephrines, Cephres, or Sesak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>976</td>
<td>Mycerinus, or Cherinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>966</td>
<td>His death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>966</td>
<td>SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>815</td>
<td>Bocchoris, or Asychis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>771</td>
<td>Anysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>769</td>
<td>Sabacon or Soa, or So</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>719</td>
<td>Anysis again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>713</td>
<td>Sebecen, or Sethos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711</td>
<td>Sennacherib invades Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td>End of the period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673</td>
<td>SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668</td>
<td>Psammiticus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>619</td>
<td>Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>608</td>
<td>—— kills Josiah, and takes Cadytis or Jerusalem.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Death of Meris.
ANALYSIS OF

4. Psammis .................................................. 6 603
5. Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra .............................. 28 597
   Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt .................. 570
6. Amasis .................................................. 44 569
   Solon’s visit about ............................... 554
   Cyrus conquers Egypt ............................ 533
7. Psammenitus, I. Revolt of Egypt ................. 6 m. 525

148

EIGHTH DYNASTY, PERSIAN KINGS, 112 YEARS.

1. Cambyses reduces Egypt .............................. 38 525
   I. Persian Administration .......................... 38
2. Darius Hystaspes, II. Revolt of Egypt ........... 3 487
3. Xerxes reduces Egypt .............................. 24 484
   II. Persian Administration ........................ 24
4. Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. Revolt of Egypt .... 4 460
   III. Persian Administration ........................ 43
   Herodotus visits Egypt ............................ 448
5. Darius Nothus, IV. Revolt of Egypt .............. 112 413

NINTH DYNASTY, EGYPTIAN KINGS, 81 YEARS.

1. Amyrtaeus ............................................... 6 413
2. Pausiris ............................................... 6 407
3. Psammeticus, II ...................................... 6 401
4. Nephereus ............................................ 6 395
5. Acoris ............................................... 14 389
6. Nectanebis ........................................... 12 375
7. Tachus, or Taos ...................................... 2 363
8. Nectanebus ........................................... 11 361
   Ochus reduces Egypt ................................ 18 350
   IV. Persian Administration ........................ 350
   Alexander conquers Egypt ....................... 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 de-
lude. And this correction is warranted by the Oriental his-
torians. 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 Darmased, 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 daugh-
ter to one of his sons, and was saved himself, with Noah, in the

On the other hand, in the second period, I have encreased
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 Jos-
ephus, 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 Mis-
rain’s dynasty in the Old Chronicle, for 201 years; which, de-
ducted from its correct beginning, B.C. 2613, according to Syn-
cellus, 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 cor-
rect number, 2256.
the genuine account of Manetho, furnished by Josephus contra Apion. i. § 14, which sufficiently exposes the corruptions of Africanus and Eusebius, and leads us to regret the loss of Manetho's works.

The duration of the third dynasty is collected from Manetho and Scripture. The time of Queen Nitocris, noticed by Herodotus, is determined from Eratosthenes, corrected by the true time of Menes.

The fourth dynasty is given from the genuine fragment of Manetho, preserved by Josephus contra Apion. i. § 15.

The fifth dynasty is collected from Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus.

In the sixth dynasty, from Herodotus and Diodorus, a chasm is detected of 151 years, from its commencement B.C. 966, as deduced from the fifth, and the commencement of the reign of Bocchoris, B.C. 815, as reckoned upwards through the intermediate reigns, from the known reign of Sethos, the last, B.C. 713. The ten reigns may be supplied from the Catalogue of Synceillus, 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 Amyriteus, 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, _into_ H H, 700, and H H H, 300, for H, singly, denotes 100, but inclosed in a Greek Pi, _into_, 500. See Vol. I. p. 9, of this work. And
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

this critically corresponds with the Chronology; for, subtracting the flight of Amyrtaeus to the fens, B.C. 456, from the former flight of Anyssis, B.C. 769, the difference 313 years, well accords with the expression of Herodotus, "more than 300 years," and vouches both the correctness of the Chronology, and the truth of the emendation. Something more is required of Editors and Commentators of the Classics, than a mere knowledge of dead languages!

The seventh dynasty is taken chiefly from the authentic information of Herodotus, and also the eighth.

The ninth dynasty is collected chiefly from Diodorus Siculus.

MISRAIM.

Egypt was first inhabited by the family of Misraim, the second son of Ham, Gen. x. 6; whence it is usually styled, מִזְרַיִם, "The land of Misraim," Gen. xiii. 10, &c. and once, in the singular number, מֵאֵוָיו מֵאֶם, "the canals of Misor;" Isa. xix. 6, whence the Misor of Sanchoniathon, and Mers, 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. i. 11.

This family first settled in Upper Egypt, where they built the famous city of Thebes. See Vol. I. p. 377, 378, of this work. Thence, in process of time, they gradually spread into the Lower Egypt, or Delta, as its land became formed by the alluvions of the Nile.

MENES.

The Patriarchal regimen introduced with the family of Misor, subsisted till Menes, who, either by compulsion, or persuasion, first introduced regal government. He seems to have been a wise prince. To check the overflowings of the Nile, he turned its course into a more direct channel, and built the city of Memphis upon the former bed of the river. Until the time of Herodotus, the original embankment of the new channel formed by Menes was kept up and carefully repaired, even by the Persian government. He was also a religious prince: he founded the magnificent temple of 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 Saile nome, a city situated most conveniently on the north side of the Bubastic channel [of the Nile] which was called Avaris, [or Abaris *, "the pass"] in an ancient theological book, he rebuilt, and fortified it most strongly, and garrisoned it with two hundred and forty thousand soldiers. Hither he used to come in summer, to furnish them with corn and pay, and he carefully disciplined them, for a terror to foreigners. He died after he had reigned 19 years.

"The next, called Baen, reigned 44 years; and after him Apachnas, 36 years and 3 months; then Apophis, 61 years; and Janias, 50 years and 1 month; and after them, Assis, 49 years

* This was afterwards called Pelusium. See Vol. I. p. 375.
and 2 months. These six were their first kings, who were continually at war with the Egyptians, and wished of all things to eradicate them."

"Their whole nation was called \(\gamma \kappa \xi \omega \xi\), Uksos, that is 'Royal Shepherds;'; for \(\gamma \kappa\), in the sacred tongue, signifies 'king;' but \(\xi \omega \xi\), in the vulgar dialect, 'shepherd' or 'shepherds'. Some say they were Arabs."

In another copy, says Josephus, I find that the term '\(\gamma \kappa\)', when aspirated, signifies "captives" in the Egyptian language; whence \(\gamma \kappa \xi \omega \xi\), Huksos, "captive shepherds," a title applied to the Israelites afterwards, in the sacred books of the Egyptians, from their pastoral life, [Gen. xlvi. 32.] and from Joseph, their ancestor, styling himself a captive [Gen. xl. 15; xli. 12.] whom Manetho represented as descended from the Royal Shepherds.

"At length, the native Egyptian princes rebelled against these tyrants, and after a tedious warfare, drove them out of the rest of Egypt, and shut them up in Avaris, where they had collected all their cattle and plunder, and besieged them with an army of 480,000 men. But despairing of success, the Egyptians concluded a treaty with them, and they were suffered to depart unmolested from Egypt, with all their households, amounting to 240,000 souls, and their cattle. Accordingly, they crossed the desert, but being afraid to return home, on account of the Assyrian power, which then held Asia in subjection, they settled in the country of Judea, and there built Jerusalem."

In this curious fragment of Manetho, truth and falsehood are blended together. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabian shepherds, and their subsequent expulsion, in the reign of Assis, the sixth king of the Shepherd dynasty, are true; but they were not the ancestors of the Israelites, or "captive shepherds," nor did they settle in Judea, after their expulsion, but westward, along the coast of the Mediterranean, where they destroyed or subdued the natives, the "Avim," or "Avites," after "they came from Caphtor," or the Lower Egypt, Deut. ii. 23. And in allusion to their expulsion from thence, they are styled "the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor," Jer. xlvii. 4, preserving, in the name of their country, the remembrance of their origin; for Palestine, in the Sanscrit, or

* The Isthmus of Suez, in its name, records the pass by which these "shepherds" invaded Egypt, for Suez is evidently the Egyptian \(\Sigma \omega \xi\), or \(\Sigma \omega \epsilon\).
ANALYSIS OF

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 *Yadaras*, or "sacred race," and afterwards of the *Pali, Palli*, or "shepherds."

The *Yadaras* 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. *Eneid*. 3, 479—482.

Sylvano, fama est Veneres sarcasse Pelasgos,
Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucumque diemque;
Qui priami fines aliquando, habuere Latinos.

Lydia quondam

Gens, bello praclara, jugis insedit Etruscis.

Here, Sylvanus, is the same as Pales. *Georg*. 3, 1.
the western, by Homer, Iliad. i. 423; Odyssey. 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 Palestinian; the Palestinian arene, and Philistinae 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 *.

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, καλας, or καλανυς, whence καλανεμες Zevs, "black-clouded Jove," which is the exact rendering of To-sikor, 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 Parsus 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, Sapus, or whoever else was the founder of the great Pyramid, intended it only for his sepulchre, what occasion was there for such a narrow sloping entrance into it? or for the wall, as it is called, at the bottom of the gallery? or for the lower chamber, with a large niche or hole in the eastern wall of it? or for the long narrow cavities in the walls or sides of the large upper room, which likewise is incrusted all over with the finest granite marble? or for the two ante chambers, and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it?

"As the whole of the Egyptian theology was clothed in mysterious emblems and
From this Hindu record, we seem fully warranted to ascribe the building of the first and greatest pyramid to Apachnes, the third of the Shepherd kings, and of the rest, to his successors. And this is confirmed by the tradition of the native Egyptians, to Herodotus, that "they were built by one Philitis, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in these parts, and whose memory was held in such abhorrence, that the inhabitants would not even repeat their names." B. II. § 128. Here, the Egyptian tradition has fortunately retained the original title of the "Shepherds," in Philitis, so nearly allied to the Philistines; both derived from the Sanscrit, Pali, "Shepherd."

The whole time employed in building the first pyramid, according to Herodotus, was thirty-two years and a half, which ranges within the reign of Apachnes of 37 years, 7 months, according to Manetho. We may therefore date the commencement early in his reign, about B.C. 2095.

The three great pyramids, according to Pliny, were built in the space of seventy-eight years and four months; if therefore the first was built by the third king, Apachnes, the others must have been built by his successors, Apophes the Fourth, and Janias the Fifth, whose reigns were long enough for that purpose. At length, the Egyptians, wearied out with such long continued tyranny and insupportable labours, rebelled, and after a tedious and bloody warfare, expelled the Shepherds, under the sixth king, Assis, after they had enslaved Egypt 260 years.

The commencement and end of this dynasty is critically determined by that great chronologer, Josephus, from the Grecian Chronicles, in the following important passage:

"It is evident," says he, "that if the time be computed from figures, it seems reasonable to suppose, that all these turnings, apartments and secrets in architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose; and that the Deity, which was typified on the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within. No places could certainly have been more ingeniously contrived for these adyta, or secret chambers, which had so great a share in the Egyptian mysteries and initiations."

A variety of miscellaneous information, respecting the pyramids, from the most approved English and French travellers, is given in the notes of Beloe's Translation of Herodotus, Vol. I. p. 447—450; Vol. II. p. 41—48, and 131, 132. Second edit.

* "Part of the punishment annexed in France to high treason, and other enormous offences, was the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons."

But Beloe, to whom we owe this note, was mistaken in the next; supposing that "the Shepherds alluded to were probably the Israelites."
the aforesaid [260] years, the Shepherds, so called, and our [supposed] ancestors, emigrated from Egypt, and settled in this country [of Palestine] 393 years before Danaus came to Argos.

—Manetho then, has, from the Egyptian records, attested two points of the greatest moment to us; first, our arrival in Egypt from another quarter, (and next, our departure from thence *,) in times so ancient, as nearly to precede the Trojan times a thousand years." Contr. Apion. I. § 16.

First, the Shepherd invasion of Egypt was nearly 1000 years before the Trojan times, or destruction of Troy, B.C. 1183, about B.C. 2183: which rightly exceeds, by 24 years, the date here assigned, B.C. 2159.

Next, the departure of the Shepherds, or their expulsion from Egypt, was 393 years before Danaus came to Argos: But, by the Parian Chronicle, "Danaus and his daughters sailed from Egypt to Lindus in Rhodes," B.C. 1511; where they made some stay, for "they built a temple there, and sacrificed†," before they removed to Argos; supposing they remained there 5 years, they came to Argos about B.C. 1506; to which, adding 393 years, we get B.C. 1899, the precise date of the expulsion of the Shepherds.

From the invasion of the Shepherd kings to the expulsion of the Shepherd captives, or Israelites, (their supposed descendants) Manetho reckoned 511 years; Joseph. Contr. Apion. Lib. I. § 14; which is the correct amount of the second and third dynasties: for 260+251=511 years, and ascertains the time of 36 years, from the expulsion of the Shepherds till the settlement of Jacob's family in Goshen.

The visit of Abraham to Egypt, and the regency and death of Joseph, and settlement of Jacob’s family in Goshen, for 215 years, are noticed from the second volume of Sacred Chronology.

QUEEN NITOCRIS ‡.

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.

MÆRIS, 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 Abdallatiph 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 orgyae," or six hundred feet high, the half of which was covered by the water. These are noticed both by Herodotus and Diodorus; of whom, the former curious traveller appears to have seen them, for he mentions their height, "and on the top of each, there is a stone colossus, sitting upon a throne." They are not mentioned, however, by Strabo, that well-informed geographer; and are not to be seen at present. How such pyramids, equal in size, and, probably, solidity, to the Pyramids of Geeza, could have disappeared, since Herodotus and Diodorus, is wonderful. There is not perhaps a fact, in which testimony and observation are more at variance. The veracity of Herodotus, as to what he saw, is unimpeachable. Compare B. II. § 147—150.

The piety of 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 Ram seses, and Ram seses by Ramasses, 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 Aea, the capital of Colchis, for many generations. This Viceroy was the father of Aetes, 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 doubtfully, 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 Phoenix was a hieroglyphic, in which the Egyptians wrapped up the revolution of the first day of their Thoth, [or commencement of the year] till it came [round] again to its first place? Indeed Tacitus, with all his philosophy and unsparing condemnation and censure of others, seems to have been very indulgent to his own. Attend particularly to his discussions on Judicial Astrology, in the same book of the Annals.

"Excuse this long (and probably to you not very new) discussion," &c.

II. This curious and valuable communication, from its conciseness, requires illustration and explanation.

1. The periods noticed by Tacitus may be thus chronologically adjusted, according to the foregoing scheme.

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<td>1. Sesostris</td>
<td>1308</td>
<td>Y.</td>
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<td>2. Amasis</td>
<td>569 ({739)</td>
<td>Y.</td>
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<td>3. Ptolemy Euergetes</td>
<td>247 (322)</td>
<td>B.C.</td>
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<td>4. Anysis</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
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<td>4. Tiberius (20th)</td>
<td>34 (281)</td>
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From the accession of Sesostris to the accession of Ptolemy Euergetes, was 1061 years; which Tacitus, in round numbers, reckons 1000 years, including three appearances of the Phoenix, 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 Phoenix 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 Phoenix was indeed an Egyptian hieroglyphic, expressing the Canicular period of 1461 years. The same was veiled under a curious anagram, or astronomical riddle, by the Heliopolitan priests to Herodotus. See Vol. I. p. 39 of this work. Tacitus, accordingly, describes the Phoenix 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 Osmundes, which was another title of that illustrious prince.

3. The early Christians, adopting the fable of the Phoenix, 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 Phoenix, in the 20th of Tiberius, A.D. 34, when,
with his son, to be educated with him, and trained alike in the same rigid discipline of the public schools, that they might compose a band of companions, attached to his person, and qualified to fill the first civil and military departments of the state, as we learn from Diodorus.

During his father's life time, he reduced the Arabians, eastwards, and Libyans, westwards: and encouraged by these early successes, he formed the design of conquering the world, by conciliating the affections of his subjects, and availing himself of the services of the companions, trained to military service, and amounting to seventeen hundred.

His first expedition after he came to the crown, was against the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, southwards, whom he compelled to pay tribute. He then reduced the islands of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, with his fleet, and is said to have marched an army by land, as far as India*, eastwards, and penetrated even beyond the Ganges, according to Diodorus. He then turned his arms northwards, subdued the Assyrians and Medes of Upper Asia, and crossing over into Europe, ravaged the Scythians and Thracians, until he received a check at the river Tanais, and was in danger of losing his army from the difficulty of the passes, and the want of provisions; and so he returned home at length, in the ninth year of the expedition, B.C. 1299,

according to the opinion of some chronologers, Christ was crucified, and rose again from the dead. See Spanheim's Chronologia Sacra.

4. The story of the Phoenix is thus related by Clemens Romanus, the friend of St. Paul:

"Let us consider that extraordinary sign (σήματον), which happens in the Eastern regions, namely, in Arabia. There is a bird called the Phoenix, which is only begotten (μονογενῆς), 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 Abyssinia by Sethos, Sethosis, or Sesostris, which are evidently Greek descendants from the Hebrew, or Egyptian, Seth.

His brother Harmais, whom he had left behind, as regent, or viceroy in Egypt, during his former expedition, conspired to destroy Sesostris and all his family, at his return, at a banquet which he had provided for him, in Daphne, near Pelusium, by setting fire to the house. He lost two of his sons in the flames, but escaped himself, with four more; and as Herodotus relates, "punished his brother," or, we may presume, executed him, as he richly deserved. B. II. 107, 108.

This detects a gross chronological error of Manetho, in the fragment preserved by Josephus, namely, "That Sethosis was called Αὐγετός, 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 mina 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 the accounts of the ancient Egyptian sculptures, discovered amidst the ruins of the temples of Dendera, or Tentyra, and Esne, or Hemm, in Upper Egypt, by the French Scavenger, who accompanied Buonaparte in his atrocious invasion of that country, A.D. 1800; and said to be Zodiaces, 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 ingenuously remarked by Jackson, Vol. II. p. 396—402. To whose other titles, therefore, this of Osymanides 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 reprobing 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 Burokhart, (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 Henne, in particular, seems to me, to dispel every doubt that might remain upon the hypothesis which carries back, in an astonishing manner, the limits which prejudice has established to the age of the terrestrial globe." Gentleman's Magazine, February, 1805, p. 111.

But infidelity has her prejudices, no less than superstition. And it is by no means clear from their own reports; 1. That these sculptures were actually Zodiacs, designed to mark the positions of the Equinoxes and Solstices, when they were made; and 2. That these supposed positions are sufficiently ascertained, beyond all doubt, or suspicion of mistake.

1. In the disposition of the signs, at Dendera, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, follow in order from right to left; but the order of the other six, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, is reversed, from left to right. And from the intermixture of Grecian arts and mythology with Egyptian, the celebrated antiquary, Visconti, is of opinion, that the work was constructed during the reigns of the Ptolemies, and that the Solstice was in Leo; while Larcher, with equal grounds, concludes that it was in Libra. Here then, is a variation of three signs, Leo, Virgo, Libra; one sign making a difference of 2145 years in the computation. And which of the three antiquarians, Burokhart, Visconti, and Larcher, are we to prefer?

2. In the latter Zodiac at Henne, according to citizen Dupuis, the summer solstice was then in Capricorn; which could only occur at 14,000, or 15,000 years before the present age. Here is a wide difference of 5000 years between him and Burckhart!

3. There is a strong suspicion, that these sculptures were not designed for Zodiacs at all. For Larcher confesses that "the disposition of the signs is far from regular, and some of them are heaped upon each other." Supplement, Vol. II. p. 564—576, second edit.—If so, what becomes of the whole hypothesis?
ANALYSIS OF

frontier from the irruptions of the Syrians and Arabians, adopting the policy of the Shepherd kings.

He also made an equal division of the lands of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning a square piece of ground to each, and reserving to himself an annual rent from the tenants, with directions to his surveyors, to make proper abatements in the rent, if the river encroached on any man's land.

Such was Sesostris, one of the greatest and best among the heroes of antiquity, whose active genius and comprehensive mind was employed to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, though his ambition led him to harass the rest of the world. No wonder then, that his memory was so highly honoured in Egypt, even to remote ages. When Darius Hystaspes obtained the crown of Persia, he wanted to have his own statue placed above that of Sesostris, at Memphis. But the High Priest boldly protested against it, in council, declaring, that Darius had not yet exceeded the noble acts of Sesostris.

Far from resenting this freedom of speech, the king was so pleased, that he professed his intention to emulate Sesostris. Diodorus, B. I. chap. 4. And he seems to have adopted several of his wise regulations in finance and commerce.

RAMPSES, OR PHERON.

On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron succeeded to his throne. He undertook no military expedition, and by his indolence and inactivity, lost his father's remoter conquests. In his reign, the Assyrians shook off the Egyptian yoke, and not only recovered their liberty, but subdued Media and all the Upper Asia; as we learn from Constantine Manasses, citing ancient writers; and from Justin, that this was effected by Ninus II. Lib. I. 1, who began his reign about B.C. 1252, in the 23d year of Pheron, and completed his conquests B.C. 1230, in the 45th year of Pheron. This is a remarkable coincidence also, between the Egyptian and the Assyrian Chronology, confirming the present rectification of both, and demonstrating thereby, that Ctesias and his followers greatly overrated the duration of the Assyrian empire in Upper Asia.

This prince lost his sight for his impiety against the River God, in hurling a javelin into the Nile, when agitated by a sud-
den wind; and he recovered it ten years after, by a whimsical recipe, prescribed by the Oracle of Butos; which in the failure, so long, reflected no honour on the chastity of the Egyptian matrons. Herod. B. II. § 111.

The long reign of 61 years is assigned to Pheron, both by the genuine fragment of Manetho, and by Africanus.

CETES, OR PROTEUS.

The length of his reign is assumed, with Larcher, 50 years. It could not, indeed, have been much less, since he survived the destruction of Troy. Diodorus has fortunately preserved his Coptic name, Cetes; whence was formed the Greek κτίτων, 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 Phœncicia, 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.

FICTIONAL 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 Osarsiph, Osarsiph, is plainly a corrupt transposition of Σαρ-Ιω-ηηφ, Sar Joseph, or "Joseph the Lord," or Regent of Egypt, in whose administration Jacob's family settled in Goshen. The Hebrew, יושב, Σαρ, 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

* ὑποδιμας δὲ τον πρώτον δομον λιθου αθωπικου ποικιλου, τεσσαρακοντα ποιας.
demonstrates, that the second pyramid, at least, was cased, so far upwards, with granite; and not improbably, the first originally. And surely the labour and expense of such stupendous works could not have originated merely from ostentation; some motives of religion, or rather superstition, must have prompted the construction of these enormous masses of stone. Is it unreasonable then to suppose, that the subterraneous passages of the first pyramid were continued to the second, which might also have had its adyta, though totally inaccessible on the outside? And that these passages might perhaps have been continued to the third, in succession, the most costly of all, though rather smaller than the other two? The wonderful extent of the sacred caves, in the Isle of Elephanta, and at Ellore, render this supposition not altogether incredible. Both they, and the pyramids, were probably erected for similar purposes, and much about the same time, in very distant ages, of which the remembrance is effaced alike in India and in Egypt. In such cases, where conjecture itself is lost in uncertainty, analogy is our only safe guide. In opposition to the priests, Herodotus evidently adopted the rustic tradition of their very remote antiquity, far exceeding the times of Cheops and Cephrenes.

The reign of Cephrenes, so late as B.C. 1032, is corrected from a rectification of Syncellus, Catalogue, explained before. This date, combined with his long reign of 56 years, according to Herodotus, intimate, that he could be no other than the Sesak, or Susak of Scripture; now, for the first time, determined in the present system of Chronology, after having been so long misunderstood, from the days of Josephus, to those of Marsham and Newton.

MYCERINUS.

This prince was the son of Cheops, and succeeded his uncle Cephrenes, after a long reign of 56 years. He was therefore advanced in years when he came to the throne, and therefore did not probably reign more than ten years; though he reigned at least seven, from the Oracle predicting his death in that time. He was reckoned the builder of the third pyramid, which Herodotus represents as superior to the others, in costliness of materials, and excellence of workmanship, though inferior in size. It could not therefore possibly have been built by
him in so short a reign. And, indeed, Herodotus himself incidentally remarks, that Rhodope, the courtezan, who lived in the reign of Amasis, and to whom this pyramid was mistakenly attributed, "lived very many years * after the kings who built the three great pyramids." But from the accession of Amasis, B.C. 569, to the death of Mycerinus, about B.C. 966, was an interval of 397 years only; which falls short of "very many years." § 134.

After Mycerinus is inserted the long chasm of 151 years, noticed before.

**BOCCHORIS, OR ASYCHIS.**

Bocchoris, according to Diodorus, "excelled all his predecessors in wisdom or prudence." Though not expressly mentioned therefore by Herodotus, it is not likely he should be passed over; and we find him in Asychis; for Sabach, or Sabaco, according to both historians, was the successor to each.

**ANYsis.**

After he began to reign, Sabaco invaded Egypt, drove Anysis into the fens, and ruled himself for fifty years, till he resigned the throne, in obedience to an oracle, and returned to Abyssinia. Anysis then resumed the throne, till his death. The intricate chronology of his reign may be thus adjusted, analytically. Sethon, his successor, began to reign B.C. 713. But Sabaco quitted the throne of Egypt six years before, B.C. 719; when Shalmanasar took Damascus, after a three years' siege; 2 Kings xvii. 6. But Sabaco, or So, had encouraged Hoshea, king of Israel, to revolt, ver. 4, and was therefore probably apprehensive of an Assyrian war, which seems to be the true cause of his quitting Egypt. But his conquest of Egypt is dated by Africanus 22 years before the era of Nabonassar, or 22 + B.C. 747 = B.C. 769. Therefore the reign of Anysis began probably not sooner than two years before, B.C. 771.

This concurrence of Scripture and Africanus with Hero-

* ἔτεσὶ καρτα πολλοὶ ύστερον, "very many years after," as correctly rendered by Littlebury; or "un grand nombre des années, by Larcher; but Beloe incorrectly drops the intensive particle, καρτα, "very," and defectively renders, "many years," materially injuring the sense.


*Eis ehe tis òrêsw, evsebhs estw.*
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 Maeris, with its twelve courts, fifteen hundred chambers above, and as many more under ground; with an infinite variety of halls, and passages, and mazes; the roof and the walls, all incrusted with sculptured marble, and surrounded with pillars of white and polished stone. In the lower apartments (which he was not allowed to enter) were, he was told, the tombs, both of the kings who originally built the Labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. And the upper apartments, which he viewed, excited his admiration, as the greatest efforts of human art and industry, far superior in workmanship and expense to the pyramids, and to the most admired Grecian temples of Ephesus and Samos. § 148.

From this representation, it is impossible to conceive that the Labyrinth could have been constructed by these twelve kings, during their short reign of fifteen years. Several successions of kings must have been employed in such a prodigious work. And it is much more probable, that it was constructed by the Shepherd dynasty; who were idolaters, and worshipped the

* Here the Hebrew, "kingdom against kingdom," is correctly and critically rendered by the Septuagint version, νομος επι νομον. For νομος, a "district or province," is distinguished from νομος, "a law," by the accent, and is the technical term here employed by Herodotus.
 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 Effore, 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 Nito-críis drowned a number of the Egyptians, have been a part of this building, communicating with the Nile, or with the lake Maoris?

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 surprising 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 Azolus. § 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.

† Ἀγωναρος. 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 Phoenician 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 Phoenicians 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. 11. 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. xlv. 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,” (ευνόμων νομος) § 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 Longimannus, 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-contents, who rebelled, and dethroned Tachos, by his help, and set up in his room his kinsman Nectanebus, B.C. 361.

At length Darius Ochus, dissatisfied with the miscarriages of his lieutenants, invaded Egypt in person, with a great army, and reduced it totally, B.C. 350. Nectanebus fled, with all the treasure he could collect, into Abyssinia, and was no more heard of. He was the last native king of Egypt. Egypt was next subdued, without opposition, by Alexander the Great, B.C. 332; and afterwards by the Romans, B.C. 30. And has ever since continued, and will continue, the basest of the kingdoms, fulfilling prophecy, Ezek. xxix. 15; the just reward of their stupid idolatries and persevering abominations.
APPENDIX.

It now remains to discharge a promise, made in the preceding volume, p. 386, respecting

PRIMITIVE THEOLOGY, AND ITS CORRUPTIONS.

Auctoribus uti optimis in omnibus causis, et debet, et solet valere quam plurimum; et primum quidem, Omnī Antiquitate; quae, quo proprius aberat ab ortu, et divina progenie, hoc melius ea, fortasse, quae 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 Bhagavat, 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 σωφην λαχον η' αρ 'Εβραιοι,
ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΤΟ ΑΝΑΚΤΑ σιβαζομενοι ΘΕΟΝ ΑΥΤΟ.

"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 εξων, άμα και Μεσον, η' εί Τελευτήν
'Ως λαγος Αρχαιων, ως ήγουενς ειςεξεν,
Εκ ΘΕΟΘΕΝ γνωμασι λαζων κατα ειςλακα ζεσμον.

"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:

'Σευς ην, Σευς εστι, Σευς εισεται Ζευ μεγαλε Ζευ.

"Jove was, Jove is, Jove will be: O Great Jove!"

This title, Ζευς, was ultimately derived from the Hebrew, ΙΑΗΟΗ, 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, ΑΥΩ or ΟΝ; ΑΥΜ or ΟΜ, signifying "Being *", borrowed from the Chaldeans and Hebrews, those earliest depositories of the Divine Oracles, and Revelations to mankind; for "the world by wisdom, knew not

* For further authorities, see my Dissertations, p. 214—223.
God;” as an inspired Apostle declared to the Grecian philosophers, 1 Cor. i. 21, and the ancient inscription upon the altar at Athens, $\text{\textGamma\textOmega\textSigma\textOmega\iota\textTheta\textE\textOmega}$, 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."

Quin damus IdSuperis, de magna quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messalae lipsa propago:
Compositum jus, fasque Animi; sanctosque recessus
Mentis; et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Hæ 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 Mithr, 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 θεά, and θάνατος, "Health" and "Remedy," are the poetical daughters of Ἀσκαλώπις, who was either a distinguished Physician, or medical skill personified; and hence Χλωρίς, "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 Alexandria, in his *Admonition to the Gentiles*, p. 30, edit. 1616, has given the following lively description of the impurities of their *Polytheism* and *Mythology*:

> Τάντα ύμων τῆς ἡδυπαθείας τα αρχετυπα, αὕτα τῆς ὑβρεις αἰ Θεολογια, αὐτα των συμπρονενωτων ύμν Θεων αἰ ἐδασκαλια—Πανσκοι και γνίμαι κοραι, και μωρων εντάσεις τας γραφας απογυνουμενα⋯⋯'Ηταρίᾳκα ύμων τα ωτα, πεπρονεναισιν οφθαλμοι, αἱ φως μειονεναισιν. Ω βισαμενοι τον ανθρωπον, και το ένθεν του πλασματος ελεγχει απορίζετε!

> "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 Amum, "Truth," from the veracity of its responses, and therefore was originally dictated, we may be assured, by the God of Truth. Assyria and Chaldea were in the highest repute, in the earliest times, for their Diviners and Soothsayers; of this class, were the prophet Balaam, the Sibylline Priestesses, &c., who diffused the true lights of Revelation, far and near, through the Heathen world, in Syria, Asia Minor, Canaan, &c., as far as Italy. See Balaam's prophecies, Vol. II. p. 199—209; and the Cumaean Sibyl's, Vol. III. p. 655, note.

The most ancient Oracle of Greece was at Dodona, founded by Dodan, the son of Javan, or Iaon, or Ion, and the grandson of Japheth, or Japetus, who settled there with his family. Their Theology was pure, and their worship simple, as we learn from the curious account communicated to Herodotus by their priests. See Vol. III. p. 523, note. But in process of time, the Oracle degenerated, and basely sanctioned the introduction of Egyptian Polytheism, with the lascivious rites of the Lingam, or Priapus, &c. celebrated at Samothrace likewise; as we learn from the honest and candid report of Herodotus, who was ashamed of their impurities.

Next to this was probably the Oracle of Themis, or Justice, at Delphi, consulted by Denealton, 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 control 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 union with the learned Apostle:

Παρά μὲν τοινυν τοὺς ἀλλοὺς, εὐγενεία ὡρῶν παντιν ἀνθρώποις εὐφρασμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τα τοινυν αὐτοίς αἰκές τις ἵναις; ἡρῴς καὶ τιμωρία καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξεμπέτε τις αἰωνίως; συγγνωμή αὐτή της τιμωρίας. Φανησάτω τοινυν ταύτα παντα ὀνόμας, ὃν μονον εν τοῖς νομοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς νομίμοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπινους ἠθεῖς εἰορικές.
"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 ca vera videntur opiniones, quae honestae, quae laudabiles, quae gloriosae, quae in Senatu, quae apud populum, quae in omni caetu concilioque proferenda sint: ne id non pudet sentire, quod pudet 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 decent et pretium recte petit experiens vir.

"Either virtue is an empty name, or the man of enterprise
   Rightly seeks honour and reward."

Quid verum atque decent curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum,
    Virtutis verae 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 praedecta 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 Ορόφευς) 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 Ὡ ΛΟΓΟΣ, "THE ORACLE," (as Christ is actually styled, Luke vii. 30): and "Light inaccessıble" 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. Ὡ πατὴρ, "the Father," whom the Platonists reckoned, Αὐτὸ Οὐ, "Being itself;" and, according to Porphyry, Τ' αγαθὸν, "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. Ὡ Νοῦς, "the Mind," or Ὡ Λογος, "the Oracle," whom they represented as inferior to the
first; and whom Porphyry calls, "O Δημοσιογος, "the framer of the world," (to which, perhaps, John alludes, i. 2.) And 3. Ὄν ἔσχατον τοῦ 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, παντός Θεοτόκος, "the fountain of the Godhead;" and τοῦ τῆς ἡγεμονίας και αὐτοῦ παντός πάντην, "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 Ἀντροσφία, "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, ὅτε Νοῦς ἐστὶ γεννοστής τοῦ παντός αὐτοῦ, "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, ει αἰδιους εστιν ὁ νεός, ouk ἡν κτισμα, ει δε κτισμα τυγχανει, ouk ἡν 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 subtleties, 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 κελαυνεφής, “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 Athenæ, Minerva, or Pallas, of Homer and the Greeks, the immediate naturam, fuisse Creaturam. At qui naturæ filius est, signitur 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.

* Proximos Illi tamen occupavit
Pallas hones. 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, Phoenicia, 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 case 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 natura et auctum et retentum? Quam volumus licet, Patres Conscripti, ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pacos, nec artibus Grecos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu, Italos ipso ac Latinos; sed pietate ac religione: Atque hæc unà Sapientiæ, 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 world,” 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 tuli 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-

* Ἀληθευνοντες εις αγαπην. Ephes. iv. 15.
† Παραφηγα. 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 godly fellowship of the Prophets," and those venerable Fathers in Christ, "the glorious company of the Apostles," who both composed the foremost ranks of "the noble army of the Martyrs," in the Church Militant, from the earliest ages; I have faithfully and honestly endeavoured to point out to the public the present sickly and drooping state, or the utter extinction of Christianity in the four quarters of the world, and the alarming symptoms of the decay and approaching ruin of the Established Church in the British Isles, and I ventured to propose the most effectual remedies, to prevent their speedy downfall: namely, 1. To recur, once more, to the long neglected, and almost forgotten, fundamental principles of Protestantism, so necessary to check the luxuriant growth of Heresy and Schism, now waving through the land; by holding forth to imitation the wisdom and piety of our ancestors, at the Blessed Reformation, and at the Glorious Revolution, which emancipated those countries from the spiritual thraldom of the See of Rome. 2. To resist, by fair reason, argument, and by circulation of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, (rightly understood in spirit, and explained in letter,) the revival and re-establishment of that "worst of superstitions, and heaviest of all God's judgments, 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
and imperious necessity for concord and unanimity in our public councils, and for firmness and promptness in our public measures; all sects, and all parties, laudably forgetting their mutual animosities, and joining heart and hand against the common enemy, for the protection of their Religion and Liberties.

These considerations recoil with redoubled force, and with the keenest edge, when we consider the great national loss lately sustained, by the lamentable assassination of the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, the good, and the great, in the ante-chamber of the British House of Commons, on May 11, 1812. A loss, which is sorely felt already, and will perhaps daily, more and more; a loss, so hard to be replaced, as involving the rare assemblage of political wisdom, virtue, and integrity, and steady attachment to the genuine principles of the Constitution, in Church and State. Such, and so gifted, was “the Master-Counsellor in whom there was safety*,” while he steered the helm of the state!—Where, alas! shall we look for, and find such another “pilot to weather the storm,” in this most disastrous hurricane, which threatens the shipwreck of all we hold most dear and precious, as men, as citizens, and as Christians!

One source of comfort and consolation still remains, amid this ocean of ills, which may induce us to hope almost against hope, that the God who is still “worshipped in spirit and truth,” in the British Isles, that last asylum of the Faithful Witnesses, who is able to deliver us, and who hath delivered us, on so many signal occasions, will still deliver us from the perils that environ us. And that is, the latent fund of individual wisdom and worth, still subsisting, “in the home bred and native good sense of this people and country,”—in the British character,

"Not obvious, nor obtrusive, but retired,
The more desirable †"
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 sepulta, 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 Ceairs of his day: in his Oration, pro Sextio.

Duo genera semper in hac Civitate furunt eorum, qui versati in Republica, atque in eas se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus, alteri se populariores, alteri optimates, et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea que faciebant, queaque dieebant, Multitudini jucunda esse volebant, popularares; qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, Optimates habebantur.

Quid est igitur propositum his Reipublicae gubernatoribus, quod intueri, et quo cursum suum dirigere deberant? Id quod est præstantissimum, maximeque optabile omnibus sanis, et bonis et beatis: Cum dignitate otium.——


Harum rerum tot atque tantarum esse defensorum et patronum, magni animi est, magni ingenii, magnaeque constantiae: Et enim, in tanto Civium numero magna multitudo est eorum qui aut propter metum pænae, peccatorum suorum conseii, novos motus conversionesque Reipublicae querunt; aut qui, propter insanum quandum animi furorem discordis civium ac seditione pascentur; aut qui, propter implicationem rei familiaris, communi incendio malint quam suo delagrare. Quicumque 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 Democrates; the other, Aristocrates. Those who wished to render their words and actions pleasing to the multitude were accounted Democrates; 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 State 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 Patris depoposcerunt, enten-
dumque omni scientiâ ac diligentiâ, ut conservatis his quo paulo ante funda-
menta et membra esse dixi, tenere cursum possint, et capere Oti 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 intellextim semper, sed etiam præter ceteros senserim: Majoribus presidiis et copiis oppugnatar Respublica, quam defenditur; propter quod audaces homines et perditi nutu impelluntur, et ipsi etiam sponte suâ contra Rempublicam incitantur: boni, nescio quomodo, tardiores sunt, et principis rerum [novarum] neglectis, ad extremum, ipsa denique necessitate excitantur; et est nonnullum, cunctatione et tarditate, dum otium vol-
lunt etiam absque dignitate retinere, ipsi utrunque amittant!

creants can find abettors and leaders of their schemes and enormities, then tem-
pests are excited in the state: so that they who have assumed the helm of their coun-
try, 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 de-
sirable port of Tranquility and Dignity.

"Were I, Judges, to deny that this is a course either rugged, or arduous, or pe-
rilous, 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 Com-
monwealth is assailed by greater forces and resources than it is defended; because dar-
ing 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 unac-
countable fatality, are too tardy, and ne-
glecting 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 tranquility even with-
out 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:

Qui, 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!"

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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, deplore most fervently, from long tried experience, and no short, nor slight, nor confined observation of the disinterested kindness and hospitality of Englishmen) yet we fondly trust, that a gracious Zoar, or asylum for the faithful witnesses, "a little city of refuge," will be found, in their last and sorest trial, in "the street," or most populous region of the "tenth part," or province, of "the great city," or Roman empire, destined to be the last dreadful, and sanguinary, and public persecution and massacre of the Household of Faith, if we rightly understand Rev. xi. 7—10. See Vol. III. p. 640—642.

Dii patrii, quorum semper sub sumine 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 saith in secret, will, it is to be humbly hoped, "reward openly," such pious and patriotic prayers, by the preservation and protection of the community at large. It must indeed be difficult, nay impossible, to estimate the effect of such "still, small voiced" petitions and intercessions, even of a lowly and obscure individual*, until that day "when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed," and "the little causes of great events," published to men and Angels: but we are warranted by Holy Writ to consider as of much avail, before the throne of

* Perhaps, the self-approving haughty World,
That as she sweeps him with her rustling silks,
Scarcely deigns to notice him; or if she sees,
Deems him a cypher in the works of God;
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours,
Of which she little dreams: Perhaps, she owes
Her sunshine and her rain, her blooming spring,
And plenteous harvest, to the prayer he makes;
When 'Isaac like,' the solitary Saint,
'Walks forth to meditate at even tide,'
And thinks on her who thinks not for herself!
providential protection of her Guardian Powers, and avert the threatened destruction!

Grace, the fervent energetic prayer of a righteous man” [such as of Abraham for Sodom, and Elijah for Israel.]

“God forbid,” said the venerable prophet Samuel, upon a similar solemnity, to his ungrateful and revolting people—God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for you!—But I will teach you the good and right way: Only fear the Lord and serve Him in truth, with all your heart; for consider how great things He hath done for you!—But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.”

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FOUR VOLUMES:

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IN TENUI LABOR.—Virgil.
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Julian era, or reform of the Roman Calendar 45 B.C.
Herod the Great reigns in Judea .......... 37 B.C.
Romans subdue Egypt ........................ 30 B.C.
Augustus Caesar emperor .................... 1 B.C.

NATIVITY OF CHRIST .......................... 1 A.D.

Roman enrolment made in Herod's dominions 5 A.D.
Lunar eclipse before Herod's death, March 13 4 A.D.

VULGAR CHRISTIAN ERA, Jan. 1, U.C. 754, Julian 46

Roman assessment finished, Archelaus banished, and Judea made a Roman province 7 A.D.
Coponius first procurator ................. 7 A.D.
Tiberius associated in the empire with Augustus 12 A.D.
Pontius Pilate procurator .................. 25 A.D.
John Baptist's ministry begins ........... 26 A.D.

CHRIST'S BAPTISM ............................. 27 A.D.
— enters on his public ministry ........... 28 A.D.
— his transfiguration ...................... 29 A.D.
CHRIST'S CRUCIFIXION AND ASCENSION .... 31 A.D.
Christian Church founded at Pentecost .... 31 A.D.
Daniel's kingdom of the stone, first Apocalyptic seal 34 A.D.
Martyrdom of Stephen, first Jewish persecution 35 A.D.
Conversion of Paul the Apostle ........... 44 A.D.
Martyrdom of James, second Jewish persecution 49 A.D.
First Apostolic Council at Jerusalem ... 49 A.D.
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