

Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES,
AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, &c.

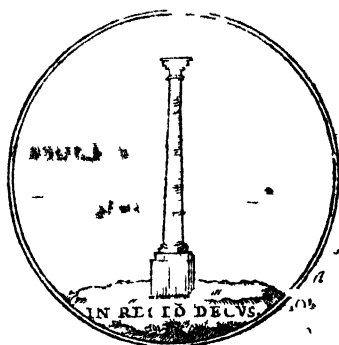
WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

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M D C C X L V I I .

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

V O L. IV.

B O O K I.

The ASIATIC History to the Time of
ALEXANDER the Great.

C H A P. VII. S E C T. VIII.

*The History of the Jews under the Judges; or,
from the Death of Joshua, to Saul their first
King.*

THIS degenerated epoch is prefaced by the sacred historian, in more places than one, with words to this effect; *In those days there was no King in Israel; but every man did what was good in his own eyes; and is indeed filled with little else than the most horrid apostasies and idolatries on the Israelites side, and with the most severe punishments inflicted on them by God on the other; to say nothing of some transactions mentioned in the five last chapters of that book; though, in point of time, belonging rather to the beginning of it, during the time of its*

anarchy and confusion; which plainly prove them to have sunk into the most shameful degree of irreligion and depravity. Who succeeded *Joshua* as head of the *Israelitish* nation, the text no-where informs us; and it is most likely, that they fell into a kind of aristocracy, in which the heads of every tribe were the governors of them: but, whether these chose one from amongst them to command over the rest, is what cannot be affirmed with any certainty; only *Josephus* intimates as if *Othniel* had been the first judge, though the sacred penman seems to give that honour to his father-in-law *Caleb* the then chief of the house of *Judah*, from whom it passed afterwards to that worthy son-in-law, as the sequel will shew.

Judah's
war.

Year of
the flood
905.
Bef. Chr.
1443.

WE have observed already, that, at the death of *Joshua*, a great part of *Canaan* remained still unconquered, so that they could not, without pursuing their conquest, secure the possession of what they had. The tribe of *Judah* was appointed by the oracle to begin the war; *Caleb*, the son of *Jephunneh*, famous for his bravery and faithfulness, in the report he made of the land of *Canaan*^a, was head of that tribe, and engaged that of *Simeon*, with which his own was interwoven, to join forces with him against the king of *Bezek* ^b. We have seen elsewhere the fate of that insolent petty prince ^c. As for *Caleb*, he set himself immediately about the conquest of *Jerusalem*, which had been retaken by the *Jebusites* from the tribe of *Benjamin*, and soon after took and burnt it to the ground; the besieged retiring into the fortress of *Zion* ^d. After this, he turned his forces toward the south, against the cities of *Hebron*, or *Kirjath-arba*, and *Debir*, called also *Kirjath-sepher*, which were then inhabited by the gigantic sons of *Anak*. These had been formerly promised to him by *Moses*, as a reward of his faithfulness, and yielded to him accordingly by *Joshua*, a little before his death ^e. *Caleb*, however, who was then above fourscore and five years of age, tho' still strong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhaust his strength too far in the siege of those strong places, and therefore proposed his daughter *Achsah* as a reward to the man that took *Kirjath-sepher*; and it was not long before it was gained by *Othniel*, a man of valour, and of his own

^a Vid. Num. xiii. 6, & 30. xiv. 6, & alib. & seqq.

^c Vid. vol. ii. p. 208.

^d Judg. i. 8.

^b Jud. i. 4.

^e Josi.

xv. 13, & seqq.

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family (A), whose conduct and bravery, upon this occasion, raised him soon after to the dignity of judge.

WHILST *Caleb*, and his new son-in-law, were employed in enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes were doing the same in their several lots; but wholly neglected the express order of their lawgiver, and, instead of extirpating them, contented themselves with laying their under tribute: this proved the source of all their misfortunes, and of those many slaveries that ensued: for the oppressed *Canaanites* did, at least in appearance, so patiently submit to their yoke, that they became less cautious, and were by degrees so far ensnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract affinities with them. These unhappy intermarriages soon reconciled them to the worship of *Hy*,

(A) The text calls him the son of *Kenaz*, brother to *Caleb* (1); so that it is not easy to determine, whether he, or his father, was *Caleb's* brother. The Septuagint and Vulgate have taken it in the first sense; but it is plain, he was not his brother by the father's side, because the one is called the son of *ephunneh*, and the other the son of *Kenaz*: neither can they be supposed to be uterine brothers; because, in such a case, the law of *Moses* would not have permitted the one to have given his daughter to the other. The disparity of age is another proof of it: *Caleb* was then above 85 years of age; *Othniel* therefore must be supposed much younger, to have married his daughter, who was an heiress. Neither could he have married her, if his father *Kenaz* had been *Caleb's* brother; because the marriage of an aunt is likewise forbidden by the *Mosaic* law. It is therefore more

reasonable to suppose, that *Caleb* and *Kenaz* were first-cousins, when the original doth call them brothers; in which case *Othniel* and *Ahlah* might lawfully marry. *St. Austin*, and after him *Vatablus*, affirm *Othniel* to have been, not only a great warrior, but also a learned doctor of the law (2), and so doubly eager for the conquest of a place which was the seat of learning at that time (3). The *Jews* tell us wonders of the beauty of *Caleb's* daughter. However, her husband was not so well satisfied with her and her portion, but he prevailed upon her to sue for an addition to it; which she accordingly did; and, upon her complaining of the drought and barrenness of the south high lands, which her father had given her, she obtained those of the valleys beneath, which were better watered, and consequently more fertile. This happened in *Josua's* time (4).

(1) *Josb.* xv. 17. *Judg.* i. 13. *sup. vol. ii. pag. 486, sub not.*

(2) *Vid. Vatabl. in loc.* (3) *I. l.*

(4) *Vide Josb. & Jud. ubi sup.*

Astaroth, and other gods of *Canaan*, and provoked *God* to forsake them, which gave their enemies an opportunity of regaining their liberties, and of oppressing them in their turns.

It was during this time of apostasy and confusion, that *Micah*, a wealthy man, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, is supposed to have erected that idol in his house, which was soon after taken from him by the *Danites*, and set up at *Dan* (A). The story, giving us a lively idea of the monstrous absurdities of the religion of those times, and of the degeneracy of the *Israelites*, who could so soon give into them, cannot well be omitted.

The story of Micah. MICAH felt a remorse for having wronged a covetous and superstitious mother of 1100 pieces of silver, for which she had bestowed some severe curses upon him. She conceived such joy at his restoring them to her, that she resolved to contribute the greatest part of it to what she called a religious use, such as might prove an equivalent blessing to him for the curses he had extorted from her.

Year of the flood 936.
Bef. Chr. 1412.

1412.

Accordingly, with part of that silver, she and her son purchased two idols, one molten, and the other carved; and, with the rest, built a chapel to set them up in, together with some *teraphim*, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the house^h. To this they added an ephod, or priestly garment, with which *Micah* installed his son to the priestly office of his new gods. Soon after, a young indigent *Levite*, wandering that way, was hired, as a more proper person for that office, than his own son.

MICAH thought himself highly blessed; and that nothing could hinder him from the favour of *God*ⁱ; when the *Danites*, who found themselves too streightened in

^h De his vide vol. iii. p. 282, (B). ⁱ Jud. xvii. pass. vide ver. ult.

(A) The story of it is indeed related at the end of the book of the *Judges*; from whence some have concluded, that it happened after *Samsun's* death (1); whilst others place it about the latter end of *Joshua's* life (2); but the far greater part, between *Caleb's* death, and *Othniel's* being chosen judge (3). Till that time, the idolatrous *Israelites* seem to

have contented themselves with the idols of the *Canaanites*, without setting up any of their own. *Micah* was the first we read of that took it into his head to outdo them, not only by erecting this, but by consecrating an apartment of his house to it, and procuring a wandering *Levite* to officiate to it.

(1) Vide Seder Holam, Sejar. & al. in loc.

(2) Masius, de Lyræ

Riber. & al.

(3) Vide Conn. a Lapid. Græc. Usser. Mynst. Calmet. & al.

their

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their own tribe, sent out some spies to seek for a new habitation. These chanced to come that way; and, having consulted the *Levite* about the success of their journey, and received a favourable answer, went directly to *Laiſh*, a considerable town, whose rich inhabitants, like those of *Zidon*, lived in a careless security, without magistrates, soldiery, or strength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful news; upon which the *Danites* of *Zorah* and *Eſhtaal* armed 600 of their men; and these, with their five spies at their head, marched immediately toward *Laiſh*. In their way, the spies acquainted them with *Micah's* having a young *Levite* there, named *Jonathan*, the son of *Gershom*, from whose mouth they had received a promise of success in this expedition. The *Danites*, therefore, instead of reproofing *Micah* for his apostasy, entered by main force, took away the idols, *teraphim*, and *ephod*, and forced the young priest to go along with them to *Laiſh*. *Micah* followed them, and made loud complaints, that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life^k; all the answer they gave him was, that his outcries might cost him his life, and that it was his safest way to go home quietly. They soon arrived at *Laiſh*, took and destroyed it, with its inhabitants; and, having built a new city, and called it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor^l, they set up their idols there, and retained young *Jonathan* and his sons to be their priests. The *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and some *Hebrew* rabbies, call him the grandson of *Moses*; but the original, the grandson of *Manasseh*^m. As for the idol, the text says, that it continued there till the captivity of the land; and, what that means, we have shewn in a former noteⁿ.

DURING these years of anarchy, the inhabitants of *Gibeah* in the tribe of *Benjamin* were guilty of so horrid a breach of hospitality towards a wandering *Levite*, as proved the cause of much bloodshed, and was like to have occasioned the ruin of that whole tribe. The *Levite* was bringing his eloped concubine home, and was come to that place towards sun-set. After he had waited some time in vain for somebody to lodge him that night, an old man, coming from his work, who was a sojourner there, at last invited him to his house. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when a band of profligate young fellows surrounded the house, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded the stranger to be sacrificed to their brutish

^k Judg. xviii. 24.

^l De hoc vid. vol. ii. p. 457, & (T).

^m Judg. xxiii. 30.

ⁿ Vol. iii. p. 239, & seq. & (Q).

A bloody war against Benjamin. Year of the flood 942. Bef. Chr. 1406.

lust, which they made no difficulty to express in the plainest terms. This gives one reason to believe, that it was an unusual thing among them. The *Levite* found no way of saving himself, but by delivering up his concubine to them; and, on the next morning, found her dead at the threshold of the door, whether of shame, or of the grievous abuse she had suffered that night. It was in vain to complain of this cruelty in such an abandoned place; he took, therefore, the dead body with him, and brought it to his own house; where he divided it into twelve pieces, and sent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the occasion of it. The surpris'd tribes assembled from all parts of *Israel* to *Mizpeh*, to the number of 400,000 fighting men; and there the *Levite* gave them a farther account of the injury, but cunningly concealed his cowardice, in sacrificing her to his own safetyⁿ. The whole people had scarce read his story out, when they rose up as one man, and resolv'd not to return to their respective homes, till they had punish'd the authors of that unheard-of action with the most severe severity; and sent deputies to the heads of the tribe of *Benjamin*, to demand the delivery of the profligate *Gibeathites*: but that haughty tribe, instead of complying with their request, armed 25000 of their best warriors, besides 700 of the inhabitants of *Gibeath*, to go out against them. This unexpected stubbornness made them vow to take a fuller revenge on the tribe of *Benjamin*. They consulted the LORD, which of the tribes should go against them; and were answered, by the mouth of *Phineas*, the then high-priest, that *Judah* should go first. They gave them battle accordingly on the next morning, not doubting of a complete victory; but it prov'd quite otherwise; for *Judah* was repuls'd, with the loss of 22,000 men. They were again repuls'd, with almost the same loss, in a second onset; but, upon applying to God with fasting and prayer, they obtained at length a favourable answer; and the high-priest promised them, that the LORD would, on the next onset, deliver the *Benjamites* into their hands. This answer inspir'd them with fresh courage and policy; upon which a stratagem was put in execution, which had its desired effect. They divided themselves into three bodies, one of which should lie in ambush, and be ready to enter in, and set fire to the city, as soon as the men were sallied out; another body was to make a sham assault, on purpose to draw them

ⁿ Jud. xx. 5, & seqq.

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out of the place in pursuit of them; whilst the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of *Baal-tamar*, and ready to fall upon them. The children of *Benjamin* gave easily into the snare; and, finding themselves unwarily surpris'd in their pursuit by the main body, were thinking to retreat into the town; when, upon turning themselves about, they saw it all in flames, and were so dishearten'd at the sight, that they were all cut off, to the number of 25,000. About six hundred saved themselves by flight, and went and fortified themselves upon the tops of the rocks of *Rimmon*, and there abode four months, that is, till they were called down by the other tribes in an amicable manner.

THIS victory did only what the fury of the other tribes, which did not cool till they had burnt down all these cities and villages, and killed all the inhabitants, with ut distinction; and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then, indeed, that they began to reflect, with some remorse, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loss of one of the tribes. They went up to *Shiloh* again, and, having been inform'd, that the six hundred, who were escap'd from the slaughter, were still upon the rocks of *Rimmon*, they intreated God to direct them how to recall them peaceably, and to restore the lost tribe by their means. There was indeed one main impediment to it, namely, a rash oath they had made at *Mizpeh*, that none of them should give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itself, might have been dissolv'd by the high-priest, who was there present; but, whether their conscience was become more tender, they bethought themselves of another expedient, which would answer their end, tho' it was scarcely so justifiable as the breach of such an oath would have been, tho' they had had no *Phinehas* to have absolv'd them from it. They caus'd a strict search to be made in their muster-rolls, whether any of the tribes had fail'd to come to the camp at *Mizpeh*; and found, that the inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead*, belonging to the half-tribe of *Manasseh*, on the other side *Jordan*, had not come to the general assembly. One would expect therefore, that, as they had had no share in the oath with the other tribes, they would only have oblig'd them to furnish those six hundred men with wives; but they went a more cruel way to work, and sent twelve thousand armed men, with orders to destroy all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. These soon went and executed this bloody command,

mand, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaining men of *Benjamin*. There were still two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of *Jabesh*; however, rather than break their oaths for their sakes, they be- thought themselves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give them of their own accord. The men took their ad- vice, and lay *perdu* in the vineyards about *Shiloh*; and, when the young damsels came out of it with tabrets and dances, from some solemn feast, as is supposed, every man seized upon one of them, and took them home, whilst the rest of the tribes returned also every man to his habitation o. These 600 men soon restored the lost tribe to its former valour and strength, which ever after conti- nued attached to that of *Judah*, and gave the second judge and first king to *Israel* (B).

Othniel,
the first
judge

THE first slavery which their defection brought upon them, was under *Sulshar ispathim*, king of *Mesopota- mia*, who held them in subjection about eight years; at the end of which, the warlike *Othniel* found means to

o Jud. xix. & xx. per tot.

(P) By these two instances, the reader may judge into what degree of degeneracy the whole nation was fallen, in that little interval between the death of *Caleb*, and that of his son-in-law's being chosen judge. What is still more surprising is, that the presence of one good man in authority should be able to put a stop to such a vehement propen- sity to idolatry, which, im- mediately after his death, could not be contained within any bounds, but broke out like a torrent with double force. Yet this was the case of the *Israel- ites*, during all the time of their judges; the same that delivered them from thraldom, freed them also from idolatry;

and he was no sooner dead, than their innocence and obe- dience were at an end, though their peace and happiness were sure to end with it: thus every epoch is only an alternate succes- sion of sinning and repentance, of servitude and deliverance. What those nations were which they suffered to live amongst them, and by whom they were so often corrupted, en- flaved, and delivered from by turns, we have already seen in the history of *Canaan* (4), to which we shall refer the reader once for all, to avoid, as much as the series of this history will permit, all unnecessary repetitions.

(4, V. de sup. vol. ii. p 209.

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raise an army against him, with which he gained a signal Year of victory, and freed *Israel* from the yoke of that potent prince. The text gives us no further account of that war, which could not but be much to the *Hebrew* general's honour, considering the strength of his enemy. All that it adds is, that his success obtained them a peace, which lasted forty years; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer P. This victory happened about thirty-eight years after *Joshua's* death; as for that of *Othniel*, it is not easy to fix it 9.

Soon after it, they fell again under servitude to the *Ehud*, *Moabites*; and, at the end of eighteen years, *Ehud* their second second judge, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to *Eglon* their king, freed them, by the death of that prince, whom he privately stabbed, whilst he was delivering a message from God to him; and, having escaped undiscovered, blew the trumpet, and raised a sufficient army, with which he shook off the *Moabish* yoke, and procured his people another forty years peace.

SHAMGAR, their third judge, delivered them from some small oppression which they suffered from the *Philistines*. The text gives us no further particulars about him, than that he slew six hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the *Latin* and *Greek* versions render it, with a ploughshare (B). How long he judged *Israel*, is not to be determined: he was succeeded by

¶ Jud. iii. 8, & seqq. 9 Vide annal. USHER sub a. m. 2599. ¶ Jud. iii. 12, & seqq. See vol. ii. p. 134. ¶ Jud. iii. ver. ult. See vol. ii. p. 133, & seqq. Ibid. p. 231.

(B) The word is מלמד הבכר *malmad habakar*, which signifies any instrument by which oxen are broke to labour. We shall take notice in the sequel, that the *Philistines* were more careful than any other nation to strip the *Jews* of all their weapons of war, whenever they had them in subjection; and if this was the case at present, it is likely that expression means only such rustical instruments as he and his men could lay their hands on. But as the

text mentions nothing of any previous servitude, it is probable, that the deliverance here spoken of, was only from some incursion of the *Philistines*, perhaps in ploughing-time, when they thought they might be more easily surprised, but in which they were repulsed with loss, by the vigilance and bravery of their then judge. The reader may see what we have said farther on this head, in a former volume (5).

(5) Vol. ii. p. 231, (S).

120

Deborah,
Jtb.
Judge.Year of
the flood1263.
Bef. Chr.

1285.

THE prophetess *Deborah*, soon after the smart of a fourth servitude, worse and longer than any of the three former, had brought them to a sense of their sins and ingratitude. *Israel* was for every market; and, as ready as they were to sell themselves to some new crimes, so was Providence to sell them to new lords. The text takes notice, that, after the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes; and GOD, to punish them for it, raised up a more powerful adversary against them, *Jabin* king of *Canaan*, whose strength, besides a numerous army, and a valiant general, consisted in an incredible number of iron chariots †, whereby he held them in severe subjection twenty years: yet, when their cries and repentance had obtained a promise of a speedy deliverance, lest they should arrogate to themselves any share in the glory of their future victory, two women are chosen to be the main instruments of it, and *Israel* completes what *Deborah* had concerted; and *Barak*, at the head of ten thousand men, defeated *Sisera* and his numerous army, though strengthened with nine hundred chariots of iron †; and the land of *Israel*, from a dismal solitude w, began to resume its former fertility and splendor. We have given an account of this famous action in a former chapter †, which gave occasion to that noble song of deliverance, which *Deborah* composed immediately after it, and which procured them a respite of forty years x.

THE ungrateful *Israelites*, having by that time forgot this signal deliverance, were plagued with a fresh bondage, and which, compared with that under *Jabin*, might be called freedom. Under the last, *Deborah* was allowed to judge *Israel* in the face of the sun; but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to seek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and, if they find time and convenience to sow, their enemies pour in upon them, and reap the fruit of their labours v. Under this miserable bondage they were groaning, when GOD first sent a prophet, to convince them how justly they suffered this hard *Midianitish* bondage z; after which he made choice of a proper person to undertake their deliverance. *Gideon* was privately threshing his corn, to save it from becoming a prey either to

† Judg. iv. 1. v. 8.

‡ Ibid. ver. 18, & seqq.

§ ch. v. ver. 6, & 7.

¶ See before, vol. ii. p. 211, & seqq.

* Jud. v. ver. ult.

y Ibid. vi. 3, & seqq.

z Ibid. ver. 8,

& seqq.

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Midian or *Amalek*, when the angel of LORD saluted him with the title of the valiant saviour of his people, and convinced him by repeated miracles, that *Israel*, whom he now looked upon as forsaken by GOD, should be speedily and miraculously restored to their wished-for freedom, by his means. *Gideon*, on the one hand, was too experienced a warrior, and too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to think that such a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of flesh; and, on the other, he was so far from expecting such a supernatural assistance, that he seemed even to doubt of the truth of all those wonders, which GOD had brought in favour of them^a. At length, to confirm his wavering faith, he obtained leave of the heavenly messenger to go and fetch a sacrifice, and to offer it at his feet; which he had no sooner done, but, upon the angel's touching it with the end of his staff, a miraculous fire arose out of the rock on which it was laid, and consumed the whole sacrifice; immediately after which, the angel vanished out of his sight. *Gideon* was filled with surprize and drawn at the thoughts of the Divine Presence, which he had beheld: but GOD was pleased to dissipate his fears; in memory of which, he reared an altar upon the place, and called it *Jehovah-shalom*^b.

● ON that very night, the LORD commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed task with the destruction of the altar and grove of *Baal*, the fatal source of *Israel's* defection and punishment; and to expiate their crime by the sacrifice of a bullock of seven years, in the place where they had served that *Midianitish* deity. *Gideon* was not only eager to obey, but set about it that very night, by the help of ten of his servants, whom he called to the work. On the next morning the whole city came to *Josab's* house, and, in an insolent manner, demanded that he should deliver up his son to be put to death, for his sacrilege against *Baal*; but the grave old man soon made them sensible of their absurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour against his son, who got the surname of *Jerubbaal* by it, that is, *Let Baal look to himself*.

HE was soon after assured, by a repeated miracle, of gaining, with an handful of men, a complete victory over the combined armies of the enemy; for GOD, who designed to take away all occasion, both from them and the

^a Judg vi. 13.

^b Ver. 24.

ungrateful *Jews*, to attribute the success to their number or valour, commanded *Gideon* to make a proclamation through his army, and to disband all that were faint-hearted; upon which, 22000 of his dastardly troops were immediately dismissed. *Gideon* by this time thought, probably, that his army was sufficiently reduced; when he was again commanded to lead it to the water-side, and there separate those, who went down upon their knees to drink, from those who lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but three hundred of the latter, and *God* promised him the victory by them, and ordered the rest to be sent away. We have already given an account of his stratagem and success against the confederate army, by which the *Israelites* gained, with their freedom, an immense quantity of the richest spoil, to which we refer our readers.

GIDEON, resolving to make the best advantage of this victory, summoned several tribes to pursue the enemy, and to secure the fords of *Beth-barah* and *Jordan*; and the cowardly 22000, who dared not look the enemy in the face, began now to take courage, when they saw them flying, and to pursue them one way, whilst himself, and his 300 men, went after another party flying another way. These last passed *Jordan*; and, by that time *Gideon* and his men were come to *Succoth*, they found themselves so faint and tired, that he was forced to send to demand some refreshment for them out of that city, that he might continue his pursuit after the princes of *Midian*, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*; but he had the mortification to be denied by the inhabitants, who sent him word, that it would be time enough for him to exact such a supply of provision, when he brought those two princes prisoners with him. *Gideon* contented himself, for the present, with threatening to punish the insolent *Succothites* in the severest manner; and continued his journey with his men, faint as they were, till he came to *Penuel*, where he again sent the same message, and received the same repulse, that he had done at *Succoth*. Whether the desire of revenge, or his hearing that the two princes, he was in pursuit of, were in the neighbourhood of *Korkor* with 15000 men, the poor remains of an army of 120,000, inspired him with fresh vigour, he stopped not his pace till he was come upon them unawares, and had secured the two princes, and routed the rest of their men.

^c See before, vol. ii. p. 159, & seqq.

In the mean time the *Ephraimites* had overtaken and slain *Orish* and *Zeeb*, two other princes of *Midian*, and brought their heads to *Gideon*, as he was returning from *Korker* with his two royal prisoners; and, whether their success had made them arrogant, or whether they envied their judge's glory, they accosted him with an insolent demand, Why he had not summoned their tribe to the war against *Midian*? *Gideon*, instead of repressing their ill-timed arrogance, contented himself at present with extolling their achievement above his own, telling them, that the gleanings of *Ephraim's* laurels vastly outweighed the vintage of his own tribe; and, having pacified them with this soothing answer, went to discharge his resentment against those who had more richly deserved it, the cities of *Succoth* and *Penuel*. In his way to *Succoth*, he met with a youth of that place, who gave him the names of seventy-seven of its chief magistrates and Elders; and when he was entered into the city, after having reproved the inhabitants for their brutal insolence, he caused those seventy-seven men to undergo a severe correction, as a deterrent to the rest; and at the same time he commanded those of *Penuel* to be all put to the sword, and their tower to be demolished to the ground. He then examined his two prisoners, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, concerning some men whom they had slain at mount *Tabor*; and, understanding, by the description they gave of them, that they were his own brethren, he set aside all thoughts of mercy towards them, and put them to death on the spot.

THE *Israelites*, being thus delivered from their cruel slavery, and loaden with the spoils of their enemies, began to think they could not shew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor secure their new-gotten freedom, more effectually, than by offering to settle the supreme authority upon him and his posterity; and *Gideon*, who had threecore and ten sons by several wives, might easily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been so lately convinced, that their greatest security chiefly depended upon their obedience to their Divine Protector: he therefore advised them not to put their confidence in their own strength, or in their general's valour, but in GOD; and to make sure of his protection, by a stricter obedience to his laws. But he soon sullied his glory, by an action no ways answerable to that piety and modesty he had shewn

* Jud. viii. 1, & seqq.

† Ver. 13, ad 17.

‡ Ver. 18,

See before, vol. ii. p. 160.

in his refusal, by asking of them, as an acknowledgement of his late services, what golden ear-rings they had got from their enemies; so that a garment, being spread upon the ground, was presently covered with those ornaments, amounting to 1700 shekels, or 850 ounces of gold, besides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the same metal (F), and some purple and other costly garments, of which they had stripped the confederate princes. With these the *Jewish* general caused an ephod, or, as most interpreters think, an idol, or perhaps rather a trophy, to be made, which he set up in his own city *Ophrah*; and the text adds, that it proved a snare both to him, and to his house, because it became the occasion of a new kind of idolatry to the Israelites. As for *Gideon*, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged *Israel* forty years, during which none of their enemies dared to molest them; and, as to the *Midianites*, they received so total an overthrow from him, that they never made any attempt against *Israel* from that time. *Gideon* died in a good old age, and was buried with his ancestors (H); but the *Israelites*, whom he left in a peaceful and flourishing condition, forgetting both *GOD* and him in a very little time, adopted *Baalim*, and other new gods, and repayed *Gideon's* services with the blackest ingratitude. He had left,

Year of
the flood
1112.
Bef. Christ
1236.

(F) We need not wonder at this great quantity of golden plunder, if we remember, that all those eastern nations were fond of such ornaments; and that the *Midianites*, in particular, not only wore them themselves, but decked the necks of their camels with them, of which they brought vast droves into the field (16).

(H) *Gideon*, being also surnamed *Jerubbaal*, is supposed to be the *Jerombal* whom *Sanchoniatho* makes priest of the god *Jao*: But that author's work is now so universally cried down, as written on purpose to discredit the sacred

books of the *Jews*, that we shall lay no other stress upon this conjecture, than that it proves, that the author, whoever he was, had got some knowledge of the *Jewish* writings, and did intermix their history with the antiquities and fables of the *Phœnicians* (17).

Jerubbaal is by *David* called *Jerubosheth* (18), because, by that time, *Baal's* name was had in such horror by the *Jews*, that, in all the names that ended with it, they substituted that of *Bosheth*, which signifies shame; as *Ish-bosheth* for *Ish-baal*, and the like.

(16) Vid. *Jud.* vi. 12, & *sup.* vol. ii. p. 159, & *seq.* (17) De *Sanchon. vid. Ant. Vandal. Dupin biblist. ext. Dodwell dissert. Fabric. bibl. Græ. Cumberlanq. & journal de Trévoux, Jan. 1714. & al.* (18) 2 *Sam.* xi. 21.

besides his other children by his wives, a natural son by a concubine^h; and he it was who succeeded his father by the most horrid treachery, even by the destruction of his whole race.

His name was *Abimelech*, a man of a base and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The first step he took, after his father's death, was to go to inspire the *Shechemites* with some strange jealousies against the sons of *Gideon*. He was indeed so far from being able to bribe them with gifts, that he wanted to be assisted by them with money; and therefore artfully asked them at first, whether they thought it better for *Israel* to have one master, or seventy, and whether it were more for the interest of the *Shechemites* to have their city, or that of *Ophrah*, to be the seat of the supreme judge? By these and such-like insinuations, he obtained from them a sum of seventy shekels of gold, out of the treasury of *Baal-berith* (I), with which he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the vilest enterprise, and led them directly to *Ophrah*, where, having surprised his brethren, the seventy sons of *Gideon*, he murdered them all, except the youngest, upon the spot. This unnatural parricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all who had the least grateful remembrance of *Gideon*, brought all the *Shechemites*, and those of *Millo*, into his interest, who went and proclaimed him king, in some conspicuous part of the plain of *Shechem* (K), in hopes that all the rest of the nation would follow their example.

IN

^h Judg viii. ad fin.

(I) We have formerly spoken of this deity (20), and shall only add from the history before us, that *Baal berith* might signify the god that presided over contracts, covenants, and oaths, and punished the breakers of them. It is certain, that the binding the former by the latter, was not only a very ancient custom, but also the greatest security that could be insisted upon by the parties; which could only be owing to the received notion, that the Deity, which was so solemnly

called as a witness to them, was bound in justice to punish the breach of them. Hence came the *Jupiter the witness*, or the *faithful*, of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

(K) The *Hebrews* translate the word *altn*, here used, a plain, instead of an oak; and we find, that there was both an oak, and a statue or monument; and that the latter was erected by *Joshua*, a little before his death, in memory of the new covenant, which the *Israelites* had made with *God* at that

(20) See vol. ii. p. 126, & seq. & note.

IN the interim *Jotham*, the only surviving son of *Gideon*, took that opportunity to get upon mount *Gerizzim*, which was near the place of this tumultuous assembly; and, being within their hearing, and out of their reach, made use of the following pathetic apologue, to dissuade them from their rash and unjust enterprize ⁱ: *The trees, once upon a time, assembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which answered, that it could by no means divest itself of its oil and fatness, so acceptable to GOD and men, to reign over them; they then invited the fig-tree, which also refused them, on account of its sweetness; the vine, being applied to, preferred her juice, which affords gladness to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length, the bramble, being invited to accept of that dignity, answered, that, if they really meant to make him king over them, they should come and shelter themselves under its shadow; if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.*

His design was plainly to insinuate, that the happiness of a private life was so far preferable to the cares that attend on the supreme authority, that the person, who exchanged the one for the other, must either do it from a generous desire of serving his country, or from a base one to enslave it. Some interpreters suppose, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alluded to *Othniel*, *Deborah*, and *Gideon*, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refused to have it intailed on their posterity ^k; but, whether it be so or not, it is plain, from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor *Abimelech*, who was so far from being able to protect the *Shechemites*, that he must

ⁱ Judg. ix. ver. 7. ad 21.

^k N. DE LYR. & al.

place (27); so that the story seems to be thus circumstantially recorded, to aggravate the crime of the *Shechemites*, in chusing so remarkable and sacred a spot of ground, to be the scene of their treacherous assembly, and unlawful election.

As for the house of *Millo*, which joined with the *Sheche-*

mites, it is supposed to have been all the kindred of *Abimelech's* mother, whom *Joseph* calls *Druma* (22); and *Millo* himself is supposed to have been her father. The Septuagint and Vulgate render it the city of *Millo*; but we do not read of any city of that name in all the land of *Palestine*.

(21) *Josh.* xxiv. 20.

(22) *Ant.* l. v. c. 9.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

unavoidably prove the occasion of a bloody war, which, like a consuming fire, would end in their utter ruin: For, added he, *I appeal to you, whether your choice of Abimelech, preferably to any of the sons of Gideon, your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or just; or rather, indeed, whether the murdering of all his children, for the sake of the son of a slave, be not an instance of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude? if you think it is not, I wish you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity; but, if it is, may he prove a curse to Shechem and Millo, and you to him (L).*

AFTER this bold and severe speech, *Jotham* fled to *Beer*, a city in the tribe of *Judah*, not far from *Sebub*, or *Jerusalem*, where he continued all the time of his reign, which, according to his prediction, proved both thorny and short-lived; for, besides his mortification, in not being acknowledged by any of the tribes, the text says, that GOD caused a spirit of jealousy to be sown be-

(L) We cannot forbear observing here, that this is the first instance we have of this way of speaking by parables. We do not, indeed, take upon us to attribute the invention of it to the *Hebrews*, because we do not know how far they might have been used by other nations, since *Moses* takes notice of those who recorded the overthrow of *Sihon*, and of his metropolis, in proverbs, and *Balaam* uttering his prophecies in some such proverbial speeches (20). But if we may judge of them by the short specimen he has given us of them, they will appear vastly inferior in elegance and energy to this of *Jotham*, and others, which were used by the *Jews*; so that these may be justly said, at least, to have been the improvers of this parabolic way. But, be that as it will, nothing

is more palpable than the vanity of the *Greeks*, who boast themselves the authors of it, when it was in a greater perfection among the *Jews*, before they were civilized from the lowest degree of ignorance and barbarity, than ever they raised it to, after they had arrived to the greatest pitch of polite learning; an evident proof of which we have not only in this speech of *Jotham*, but in that excellent one, by which the prophet *Nathan* made *David* pronounce a severe sentence against himself, for a crime, which it would have been dangerous so much as to have mentioned in any other way (23). We find it also frequently used, not by prophets only, but by courtiers, politicians, and soldiers (24), in the Old Testament, and by our SAVIOUR in the New.

(22) *Vide Num. xxi. 27, & seqq. xxiii. 7, & seqq.* (23) *2 Sam. xii. 1, & seqq.* (24) *Ibid. xiv. 1, & seqq. 1 Kings xx. 38, & seqq. xxii. 19, & alib.*

Abimelech, ^{judge.} between the *Shechemites* and him, which ended in a full resolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God suffered him to escape for the present, that he might shortly become the instrument of a more severe chastisement against them. *Gaal*, informed of the hatred which they had conceived against their new-made king, came to *Shechem*, with a full design to blow it into an open rupture; but *Zebul*, whom *Abimelech* had intrusted with the government of that city, a fit servant for such a master, failed not to acquaint him with it, whilst, in outward appearance, he sided with *Gaal* and his party. At length, after several bickerings on both sides, upon *Abimelech's* entering the town, the frightened inhabitants retired into the temple of *Baal-berith*, as into a sanctuary, where they were soon made sensible, to their cost, what a god they had preferred to that of *Israel*. *Abimelech* commanded a party of men to follow his steps into the next wood, where every one, after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and, having piled them round the temple, and set fire to them, they were all smothered to death, being about a thousand men and women. He then caused the city and tower to be razed to the ground, and to be strewed with salt; and thus was the first part of *Jotham's* prophecy fulfilled, and the fire from the bramble burnt up the towers of *Lebanon*.

THE next part followed soon after, and *Abimelech*, flushed with his success, marched against *Thebez*, a city of *Judah*, which had also taken up arms against him, and there met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conquest. The citizens, repulsed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a stone, which, lighting upon his head, delivered her people from his fury. *Abimelech*, finding death approaching, and being more ashamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own parricides and tyranny, chose rather to die a second death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and commanded his servant *Zebul* to dispatch him, which he immediately did¹. *Abimelech* was the only one that usurped and abused that dignity, which he held about three years; after which God made choice of a more worthy one to succeed him.

¹ Judg. ix. per tot.

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TOLA, the son of Puab, the son of Dodo of the tribe of Issachar. The text mentions nothing particularly of him, except that he dwelt at Shamir upon mount Ephraim, where he was buried, after he had judged Israel twenty-three years ^m.

He was succeeded by Fair, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of Manasseh which dwelt on the other side Jordan, and possessed a vast territory in the land of Gilead, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty sons; whence they were called Havoth, or hamlets of Fair ⁿ. He judged Israel twenty years, and was buried in the city of Canon in the same land. The text adds, as a then mark of their wealth and greatness, that they all rode upon asses colts; which is likewise observed of several others in the same book ^o.

Year of the flood 1138. Bef. Chr. 1210.

THE ungrateful Israelites returned, soon after, to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought a fifth thralldom upon them of eighteen years under the Philistines and Ammonites. Here they had recourse again to prayer and repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to those deities they had adopted, for deliverance. This answer, and the pressing danger they were in from the Ammonites, who had already passed the Jordan, and were going to fall upon Judah and Benjamin ^p, obliged them to put away all their strange gods, and to serve the LORD in earnest; upon which GOD was pleased to give them a promise, that they should be speedily delivered. They assembled at Mizpeh, to stop the career of the children of Ammon; but as GOD had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they were forced to send an invitation to the valiant Jephthah to accept of the command, and, with it, of the place of judge or general during his life.

JEPHTHAH was the son of Gilead, but by a concubine, Jephthah. for which reason he had been thrust out by his other brethren, and forced to retire into the land of Tob (N), where

^m Jud. x. 1, 2. ⁿ Ibid. ver. 3. vid. & Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14. ^o Vid Judg. v. 10. ^p Ibid. x. 9.

(N) This land is on the inhabitants Tobinians, or Tubinians, in the first and second books of the Maccabees (34). As for Jephthah's brethren dri-

(34) 1 Macc. v. 13. 2 Macc. xii. 17.

Year of
the flood
1160
Bef. Christ
1108.

was
wov.

where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle persons, and signalized himself more by his valour than by his honesty; he therefore received their message with some mistrust, and did not accept of their offered dignity, till it was confirmed to him by an oath^a. As soon as he had put himself at their head, he sent an expostulatory message to the *Ammonites*^r; but, finding them more bent upon conquest than parly, he ran over the land of *Gilead* and *Manasseh*; and, having got a sufficient army, marched directly against them. Before he ventured to engage them, either his fear or superstition put a strange expedient into his head, to make a vow, that, if God would but bless him with an intire victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that came out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory and pleasure of the ensuing action. The *Ammonites* were indeed totally defeated, and the *Israelites* laden with their spoil; but his daughter, a virgin, and his only child, and, if we may credit the *Jews*, a person of exquisite beauty and virtue, proved the unhappy victim of his rash vow. The welcome news of her father's success had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him, with timbrels, and dances, and other expressions of filial joy: so that she proved the unhappy object upon which he cast his eyes, and which he had vowed to destroy. As soon as he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and disclosed the secret to her with most lively expressions of grief. She heard it with a constancy, which one would hardly have expected in a person of her tender years; and only begged for a respite of two months, during which she would retire with some of her companions into the mountains, to bewail her virginity. Her request being granted, she absented herself during that short space, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow^q; that is, according to the gene-

^a Ibid. xi. 10. ^r Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 143. ^s Judg. xi. per tot.

ving him out of the inheritance, he could not justly complain of it, because it had passed into a constant law ever since *Abraham's* time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to cast out the son of the concubine (35).

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rality of Jewish and Christian interpreters^r, he offered her up for a burnt-offering: from which came that custom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of *Israel* to go yearly to lament *Jephthab's* daughter four days in a year^s; or, according to others, he consecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity; so that those yearly visits were paid to her, as compliments of condolence for it, as she was the daughter of an *Israelitish* judge^t (O).

THIS

^r JOSEPH. antiq. l. vi. c. 9. Rabbin. fer. omn. Chald. paraph. JONATH. in loc. JUST. MART. AMBROS. de off. l. iii. c. 12. HIERON. cont. Jovinian. lib. i. & alib. AUGUST. qu. q. li. c. xlix. CHRYS. homil. xiv. ad pop. Antioch. THEODOR. qu. q. in Judic. xi. SERAR. SALIAN. GENE. RARD. CAJET. & al. mult. vid. & LUD. CAPEL. & D. CALMIT. dissertat. de rot. Jeph. ^s Judic. xi. ver. ult. ^t PAGNIN. ARB. MONTAN. TREMEL. MUNST. DRUS. GROT. N. DE LYR. & al. in loc. LE SCEN. essay on a new ver. ch. 7.

(O) It will be scarcely doubted, that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from this; especially if we remember, that the taking of *Troy* happened in *Jephthab's* time. There is indeed this difference, that some of the wiser heathen authors, who relate it, have introduced the goddess *Diana* interposing herself, to prevent so horrid a sacrifice being offered to her; whilst the far greater part of the Jews, even *Josephus*, *Philo*, and the *Chaldee* paraphrast, acknowledge *Jephthab* to have been suffered by God, by the high-priest, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the sole object of his present comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-

offering unto the LORD, who had so often declared his utter abhorrence against all such abominations, and rejected the *Canaanites* upon that very account. However, as what has been urged on both sides of the question, is too copious to give our reader even a short abstract of it, we chuse to refer them to those learned moderns who have written on that subject (36), while we content ourselves with justifying the latter sense, as far as the original will bear us out in it, in order to absolve the *Hebrew* judge from so horrid and unnatural a sacrifice, when the text expressly says, the Spirit of God came upon him about the time when he made this vow (37); rather than to fancy, with some of the fathers (38), that God suffered

(36) Vid. Pagnin. Montan. Munst. Vat. abl. Drus. Giut. Cleric. De 13r. Marian. Capel. Marham. Canon Egypt. sec. ix. §. 3. Saubert. de juri sic. c. 21. Sobed. de diis German. lib. ii. & al. mult.

(37) Jud. xi. 9.

(38) Vid. int. al. Chrysof. homil. ad pop. Antioch. xiv. Justin. Mart. Theodore. qu. in Judic. xx.

THIS de-r-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him from another quarter. He was scarce returned to his

him to offer up his daughter in the strictest sense, to deter men for the future from making any such rash vows. What has misled all the ancient fathers is, that the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* render the words of *Jephthah* *shall surely be the LORD's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering*; in the masculine; as if he had said, whatsoever, or what person soever, cometh forth; whereas the original is here undeterminate. Again, they did not know that the particle *ו* may be properly enough taken in the disjunctive sense, in stead of the conjunctive, *and*. This is what some judicious critics, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have since clearly shewn to be the right signification, both here and elsewhere (39). So that *Jephthah's* words should be rendered *shall surely be the LORD's, or (not and) I will offer it up for a burnt-offering*; that is, if it be a human creature, he or she shall be consecrated to the service of God, as some sort of *Nazarenes* were (40); or, if a beast, it shall be offered up for a burnt-offering, if it be fit for it, or, if not, exchanged for another that is so. We think therefore, with the learned men above-quoted, that the words ought rather to have been rendered thus: *Then the spirit of God came upon Jephthah—and he vowed a vow unto the*

LORD, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house, to meet me, when I return in peace,—shall surely be the LORD's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.—And Jephthah came to Mizpeh to his house, and his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, and she was his only child.—And, when he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, thou art one of those that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the LORD, and I cannot go back.—And she said unto him, If thou hast opened thy mouth to the LORD, do to me according to thy vow—only, let this thing be done for me; let me go and bewail my virginity two months.—And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned to her father, who did with her according to his vow, and she never knew man; (that is, she continued a virgin). And it became a statute or custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel came four days in the year תנוה, lethanoth to condole or converse with the daughter of Jephthah.

Here then *Jephthah's* vow is taken in the first sense, *shall be the LORD's*; that is, the vowed thing proving to be

[39] *Vide Jof. & Daw. Kimchi, R. Levi, Ben Gers. Solom. Ben Melech, & anc. Christ. sup. citat.* (40) *Vide sup. p. 65, & seqq.*

his own house, when the turbulent *Ephraimites* surrounded it, and, in a tumultuous manner, threatened to set it on fire, and to burn him and all he had, for having dared to

his only daughter, he consecrated her to the service of God. For this reason it is added, *וְרֵיָא לֹא יָדְעָה אִישׁ*, and she did not know man; that is, from that time to her death. For it would have been superfluous to have added that circumstance, if he had sacrificed her as soon as she came from bewailing her virginity. As for the verb *תָּנַח* *thanach*, which so many versions render to bewail, were it capable of another signification, yet would it not imply the bewailing of her death, but her being condemned to perpetual virginity, which was reckoned one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to an *Israelitish* maid. But it is plain, that it signifies also to condole, or converse with, to declare, or extol. In this last sense, the reader will find it used in the same book, *chap. v. ver. 11.* where it is said, that they *יִתְבַּחוּ* *jitbanu*, shall rehearse or extol the righteous acts of the LORD. So that here the *Israelitish* maids might go, either to condole her for being secluded from man, or to extol her piety and constancy in ratifying her father's vow.

There are but two things objected against this sense of the text: the first is, that the *Mosaic* law did not allow parents a power to oblige their children to a single life. But, be-

lides that the argument is much stronger against their power of sacrificing them to the flames, we find, that the children, when of age, might consent to the vow; and this seems to be the reason why the text adds that she readily consented. But it is plain, that every parent had a very great power, to impose severe and grating laws, not only on their children, but also on their posterity; as when the son of *Rehab* forbid all his descendants the drinking of wine, dwelling in houses, and the like (43).

The next thing that is objected is, that the grief which *Jephtah* expressed at the sight of his daughter, seems to imply some heavier fate, than a bare doom to perpetual virginity. But it ought to be remembered, that he thereby deprived an only child, and a dear one, of the greatest happiness of life; for such was marriage, especially when blessed with children, esteemed in *Israel*; and himself of all hopes of any posterity. Where is then the wonder, that he should use such expressions of grief, when his only child was condemned to such a reproachful and uncomfortable life, and himself excluded thereby from the prospect of having the *MESSIAH* to come of his seed (44)?

(42) *Judg. xi. 36. vid. & Num. xxx. pass.*

xxxv. 6, & Jegg.

(44) *Vide Lt Scene, & essay on a new vers. ch. 7. §. 9.*

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looked upon as a great blessing in *Israel*. He judged seven years², and was succeeded by

ELON, of the tribe of *Zebulun*, who judged *Israel* ten years³. He was buried in *Aijalon*, in his own tribe, and succeeded by

ABDON, who was the son of *Hillel*, of the tribe of *Abdon*, *Ephraim*, and native of *Pirathon*, in the mount of the *Amalekites*, in the same tribe, where he was buried, after having judged *Israel* eight years. He is recorded for his numerous issue, having left behind him forty sons and thirty grandsons, who rode on as many asses colts, after the manner of the great men in *Israel* (B). Year of the Flood. 1191. Before Christ 1157.

THIS sixth slavery began about the seventh month after *Eli* joined, in his own person, the dignity of judge to that of high priest. He was of the family of *Ithamar*, the younger branch of *Aaron's* house; and the high-priesthood had been translated into it from the elder one of *Eleazar* (P). It is indeed surprising that the people should

² Jud. xii. 8, & seqq. ³ *Ibid.* ver. 11. ^b *Ibid.* ver. 13, 14. ^c Vid. **USSER.** ann. sub A. M. 2848. and the chronolog. index at the end of our Bibles, year before Christ 1256.

(B) We read of no slavery, war, or defection, during the life of these three last judges; whether it were that the swords of *Gideon* and *Jephtah* had too far weakened their enemies, or that their own valour did both intimidate them, and kept the *Israelites* from running into those idolatries, which were attended with the loss of peace and liberty. The latter seems indeed the most probable, because we find, that, after the death of the last of these, they relapsed, and suffered an heavy yoke for forty years under the *Philistines* (41).

(P) This thralldom is computed by the chronologers cited

(41) *Judg.* xiii. 1.

(43) *I Chron.* vi. 4, 5, & 30.

above, not to have exceeded till seven months after *Eli's* death, when the ark was brought back from the land of the *Philistines*.

We have already spoken, in another place (42), of this translation of the high-priesthood, from the elder to the younger branch of *Aaron's* family. We need only take notice here, that though we find no mention of any other high-priest of the elder branch from *Joshua* to *Samson*, that is, during 300 years, except *Phinehas* the son of *Eleazar*; yet the book of the *Chronicles* mentions (43) three others, namely, *Abishua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*; called by *Josephus* (44),

(42) See before, vol. iii. p. 71. & not. (R).

(44) *Ant. lib.* v. c. ult.

should have continued so long free from defection during the lives of their lay judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of an high-priest. But *Eli* is particularly recorded for his indolence and remissness, especially towards his two sons, whom he suffered to run into the greatest excesses of debauchery and irreligion, to the great scandal of all *Israel*. However, he was the only ruler the *Israelites* had during this long thralldom; and seems to have been chosen by *God*, as the properest judge for them at that time; for, as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the first to withdraw their usual confidence in an arm of flesh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the severity of their thralldom had brought them to a better sense, *God* sent them a deliverer, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death.

Samson. HE was the miraculouſ son of old age and barrenness. Year of His birth and growths had been foretold by an angel, first the flood. to his mother, then to *Manoah* his father, a native of 1193. *Zorah* in the tribe of *Dan*, with a strict charge to the Bef. Chr. mother, that she should abtain both from wine and strong 1155. drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy; and that no razor should come on the child's head all his life, because he was to be a *Nazarite* from his birth. *Sarſon*, for that was the name which his parents gave him (Q), began to give some early marks of extraordinary

1 Sam. ii. 12, & seqq.

Abiezer, *Boccejaz*, and *Ozier*. It is uncertain how long any of them lived; but by the dignity being transferred to *Eli*, about the year before *CHRIST* 1156, it is reasonably supposed to have passed from *Uzzi* to him, rather than from his son *Meraioth*.

(Q) It is not easy to dive into the etymon of this name; that which comes nearest to it is still somewhat forced, being derived from *WDW ſhemeſh* the sun, and the feminine *Syriac*

pronoun {an their, their sun, which, as some pretend, prognosticated the rising of the *Hebrews*, and setting of the *Philistines* (45). *Josephus* says it signifies robust (46), a plain proof he knew nothing of *Hebrew*; but we have observed more than once, that there is little credit to be given to such far-fetch'd etymologies.

Our archbishop *Uſher* places *Samson's* birth in the second year of their thralldom; and gives this substantial reason for

(45) Vide vocabul. Hebr. & St. Philip. in vit. Samson. lib. v. c. 10.

(46) Ant.

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nary courage and strength; and the text says, that the Spirit of the LORD began to move him at times in the camp of the *Danites*, between *Zorah* and *Eshtaol*, the place of his abode.

How he plagued the *Philistines* during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, shorn, and bereaved of his strength, his eyes, become the object of their scorn and revenge; and how, after near a year's miserable servitude, he buried, with himself, all the *Philistine* nobles, under the ruins of a magnificent structure; we have seen, in the history of that nation. The text adds, that he destroyed a greater number of his enemies by his death, than he had done in the flood of his life-time; and that his friends and relations, hearing of it, came and fetched his body away, and buried it in the sepulchre of his ancestors ^b (R).

Year of 1171.
in Bef. Chr. 1177.

THIS extraordinary slaughter of the *Philistine* nobility might have inspired the *Israelites* with courage to attempt the regaining their liberty, had not their horrid wickedness proved an invincible obstacle to their success. *Eli* their judge was almost an hundred years old; and his two sons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who acted under him, took

^f Jud. xiii. pass.
^h Judg. xvi. 30, 31.

^z See before, vol. ii. p. 234, & seqq.
¹ 1 Sam. iv. 15.

it, that he is said to have judged the *Israelites* twenty years (47), and that he can scarcely be supposed to have entered into this office before the 18th year of his age (48).

(R) *Josephus* places the history of *Ruth* after the death of *Samson* (49), contrary to the greater part of the *Jews* (50), who think *Boaz* to have been the same with *Ibzan* the 10th judge of *Israel*, as we hinted above, because he was of *Bethlehem*, and that there is some conformity in their names. But they are both palpably out of all chronology. Some of

our chronologers place it in the time of *Deborah* & others, under *Gideon*; but the most probable opinion is that which places it in the time of *Shamgar*, the third judge, about 120 years after *Josua* (52).

As for the book itself, it is plain, it was not written before *David's* time, because he is named in the genealogy of *Boaz* (53), though the story appears to have happened in the time of some one of the judges, by the very first verse of it.

(47) *Jud.* xv. ver. ult.
lib. v. c. 11.
(50) *Targ.* in *Ruth.* *Talm. Hieros.* RR. *Sal. Kimbi, Levi, Ben David, Abr. Zaccut.* & al.

(48) *Vid. Uffer.* sub *A. M.* 2849.
(51) *Tosfat. Tramel. De Lyr. Genebr.* & al.
(52) *Uffer.* ub. sup.
(53) *Ruth.* c. ult. ver. ult.

(49) *Ant.*

the advantage of his extreme weakness, to commit the greatest abominations. The Scripture brands them with some of the vilest characters; such as, that they were sons of Belial; that they knew not the LORD; that they committed such infamous irregularities in the service of the tabernacle, as caused the people to abhor the offering of the LORD; that they debauched the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle; and that their crimes were very great: by all which, one may easily guess to what excess of wickedness a people, so naturally prone to it, must have run, under such profligate governors. Eli was not ignorant of all this; and yet, instead of correcting, or even degrading them, he contented himself with giving them a gentle reproof; and telling them, not that their actions were vile and abominable, but only that they were not good. No wonder, then, if such an expostulation made so little impression on those two profligate young men (S).

THIS remission, in an high-priest and a judge, was so displeasing to God, that he sent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to assure him, that the high-priesthood should be taken from his house; that his two sons should be cut off in one day; and that the survivors of his family should pine away in the utmost poverty and misery¹. This heavy sentence was again confirmed by God to young Samuel in a vision, and by him related to Eli.

SAMUEL was another child of age and barrenness, obtained by the prayers of his mother, dedicated to God

¹ 1 Sam. ii. 12, & seqq. * Ibid. ver. 24. ¹ Ibid. ver. 27. ad fin.

(S) Were we to follow the sense of our own and some other versions, we should be apt to attribute their incorrigibility to what is said in the 25th ver. of the 2d chapter. *That they hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the LORD would slay them.* But we beg leave here to remind our readers, that the conjunction *וְ* *כי*, which is rendered *because*, doth often signify, and ought, both here, and in several other places (54), to have been translated *wherefore*, or *though*; so that the sense will be, *They did not hearken to their father; wherefore it pleased the LORD to slay them; or, they hearkened not — though the LORD threatened to slay them for their disobedience* (55).

(54) Int. ad Gen. viii. 21. Jerem. vii. 10. Ps. lxxxviii. 19. (55) Vid. Buxtorf. lexic. Hebr. Nold. concord. part. Hebr. Amam. grammat. Hebr. Alhad. Vorß. Le Scen. & al.

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by a solemn vow, and entered into his service at the age of three years ^m. As he grew up, he was appointed to minister to *Eli* in the holy functions, girded with a linen ephod, and to open and shut the doors of the tabernacle. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed near *Eli's* chamber, he heard himself called, at three distinct times, and as often ran to him; but, on the last, *Eli*, finding something extraordinary in that call, directed young *Samuel* what answer to make to the divine voice; and it was then that GOD revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced against *Eli's* house. *Samuel* was fearful of disclosing the dreadful purport of the vision, till strictly charged and adjured to do so by him; after which he became known, from one end of the kingdom to the other, to be a prophet of the LORD, and to be established judge in *Israel*, in *Eli's* stead ⁿ (T).

Not long after this, the *Israelites*, being repulsed in an attempt against the *Philistines*, with the loss of 4000 men, resolved to bring the ark of *God* into their camp, in hopes, at least, that it would strike a terror into their enemies, and inspire the people with more than ordinary courage; but the consequence of this wild project was,

^m 1 Sam. ii. iii. pass.

ⁿ 1 Sam. iii. 1, & seqq.

(T) *Samuel* was of the tribe of *Levi*, of the branch of *Kobath*; but because he exercised several priestly functions, such as anointing of *Saul* and *David*, offering up sacrifices even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linen ephod, and being named by the *Psalmist* with *Moses* and *Aaron*, the priests of the LORD (56), some ancient fathers have thought him to have been of the race of *Aaron*, and to have performed the function of high-priest after the death of *Eli*, and his two sons (57). *Josephus* seems to hint something like it, when he says, that *Saul* knew him

to be *Samuel*, when he appeared to the witch of *Endor* in a priestly vest (58) though he calls his father a plain *Levite*, where he speaks of his birth (59); but it appears from the *Chronicles*, that he was of the branch of *Kobath*, the second son of *Levi* (60); and, as for his wearing an ephod, *David* did the same (61); and *Gideon*, *Manoah*, *Saul*, *Elijah*, and others, who were neither priests nor levites, have sacrificed upon particular occasions; and some prophets, and even their disciples, have anointed kings (62).

(56) *Pf.* xcix. 6.

(57) *August.* in *Pf.* xcvi. cont. *Fauf.* & alii.

Chrysof. *Ambr.* & al. vid. *Mendez* in 1 *Reg.* ii. (58) *Ant.* lib. vi. c. 15.

(59) *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 12.

(60) 1 *Chron.* vi. 22, & seqq.

(61) 2 *Sam.*

vi. 14.

(62) *Vid. int.* at 2 *Kings* ix. 1, & seqq.

that

that they lost both the battle and the ark^o, and the two sons of *Eli* that bare it, their lives, all in one day. The old priest, who waited with impatience to hear of the success of the battle, had seated himself on a bench in the highway to *Shiloh*, being under the greatest concern for the ark of God; and, as soon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and, falling backward from his seat, broke his neck, and died. His daughter-in-law likewise, *Phinebas's* wife, being then near her time, fell in travail upon receiving all these dreadful news, and testified the excess of her grief, by calling the child she was delivered of *Ichabod*, to signify, that the glory of *Israel* was departed; and expired immediately after P (V).

WHAT befel the ark of the covenant, and those that kept it captive, and its being sent back, we have already seen. Its wonderful and unexpected return to *Bethshemesb* caused an universal joy in all the people, who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feast their eyes with the sight of it, it being then the time of harvest. The field where it stopped had in it a large stone, upon which the priests and levites offered up the two milch kine, that brought it, for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with several others, which the inhabitants of the place sacrificed there; after which, the ark and trespass-offering

Year of we were deposited upon the same stone. But their joy was the flood soon after unhappily turned into mourning, through the irreverence of the *Bethshemesbites*, whom an imprudent Bef. Chr. curiosity incited to look into the sacred symbol of the 1176. divine presence; and for which fifty thousand and se-

^o See before, vol. ii. p. 236.

P 1 Sam. iv. to the end.

¹ Ibid. p. 237.

(V) *Phinebas* left another son named *Abitub*, who is supposed to have succeeded his grandfather *Eli* in the high-priest's office, because we find his son *Abiath* in that dignity in *Saul's* time (63); from whom it passed to *Abimelech* his brother, who was killed by that jealous prince (64), and from him to his son *Abiathar*, who was the last of *Eli's* race

that enjoyed it. But, as to the government, it was given by God to *Samuel*, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the *Israelites* from their abominable defection and idolatry. This was, indeed, what he applied himself to with good success, being feared and revered by all *Israel*, who knew him to be the chosen prophet of God,

{63} 1 Sam. xiv. 3.

{64} Ibid. xii. 16, & seqq.

venty men were punished with immediate death (V). This terrible slaughter struck such terror into them, that they sent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemesh, and in the tribe of Judah, desiring, that they would fetch the ark away from them; which they accordingly did, and placed it in the house of one Abinadab, which stood on the highest part of the city, where it continued till David's time, that is, about seventy years; and consecrated Abinadab's son Eleazar to be the keeper of it.

SAMUEL, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occasion, from the people's assembling in great

y † Sam. vi. per pt.

(V) This is what ours, and most other versions, make the original to say; for which reason we have not dared to depart from it, though we own, with the learned Bochart, that we can neither conceive how there could be such a multitude of people in a village on the borders of Judaea, nor how it could be consistent with the goodness of God, to make such a slaughter of those men, who came with joy to receive the ark, supposing such a number could really have all looked into it.

But we beg leave to observe here, that the original is capable of a twofold sense, besides this in our version, both which do greatly lessen that number, and remove the difficulty. The first is that of Bochart, above mentioned (65), who shews, that it ought to have been rendered fifty men of a thousand, instead of fifty thousand, that is in all, seventy; because, as he observes rightly after St. Jerom (66),

it is not usual in the Hebrew to make the thousands go before the hundreds when they make up a total sum, but they constantly begin with the lesser number, and end with the greater. Josephus has taken it in the same sense (67), and reckons but seventy slain.

The other sense is, that there were slain seventy men בָּעַבְרִים, *babam*, of the common people, and חֲמִישִׁים אַרְבָּעִים, *chamishim eleph ish*, fifty of the heads, or captains of the people; for the word אֶלֶף signifies also a leader, or captain. This seems to have been the opinion of Junius, though he has retracted it since, or Tremellius for him, to adhere to the vulgar one, but without giving a reason for his so doing (68). In memory of the mourning which their death caused among the people, the stone, or rock, upon which the ark rested, when they looked into it, was called אֶבֶן אֵבֶל *eben abel*, the stone of mourning.

(65) Phaleg. sub Bethshemesh. Vid. & Lo. Sen. essay on a new vers. part II. ch. 6. §. 4. (66) In bebdom. Dan. (67) Ant. l. vi. c. 2. (68) Vid. From. in loc.

34
 Sam. i. 10
 1. 10
 tion to the
 pe. ple.

multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty, to persuade them to put away *Astharoth*, and the other strange deities, from among them, and to serve the LORD alone; upon which condition only he could promise them a speedy deliverance from the *Philistine* yoke. The people readily complied, and afterwards assembled at *Mizpeh*, according to his appointment, where they fasted and prayed, and expressed all the tokens of a lively repentance. His unusual meeting gave umbrage to the *Philistines*, who immediately took up arms, and came against them; but *Samuel*, having offered up a sucking lamb for a burnt-offering, by his prayers obtained such a storm of thunder and lightning, as quite discomfited their enemies, whom the *Israelites* pursued with great slaughter unto *Beth-el*. In memory of this signal victory, *Samuel* caused a great stone to be erected between *Mizpeh* and *Shiloh*, which he called *Eben-ezer*, or *the stone of help*; and, from that time to *Samuel's* death, the *Philistines* were so far from making any further attempt against *Israel*, that they suffered them to recover all the cities and fortresses which had been taken from them, from *Ekron*

Year of ever unto *Gath*, and the territories about them¹. At the
 the flood same time the *Israelites* were at peace with the *Amorites*,
 1252. so that the land enjoyed a profound peace all the days of
 Bef. Chr. *Samuel's* government: whilst he, to make it easier to the
 1096. people, left *Ramah*, his usual place of residence, and the
 place of his nativity, once a year to take a circuit round
Beth-el, *Gilgal*, and *Mizpeh*, to administer judgment; and then returned to his own city, where he had built an altar unto GOD, and whither the people might resort unto him at all other times⁵.

By that time *Samuel* had judged *Israel* twenty years, with great integrity and applause, he had the mortification to hear, that his two sons, *Joel* and *Abiah*, whom he had, in his later days, made judges at *Beersheba* (Y), suffered

¹ Sam. *ibid.* & seqq.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. to the end.

(Y) This *Samuel* had probably done, either to try how they would behave in that important post, or perhaps for the convenience of those who lived at too great a distance from *Ramah*; *Beersheba* being at one extremity of *Israel*, as *Dan* was on the other. *Jo-*

sephus adds, that he appointed the eldest to keep his residence at *Beth-el*, and the other at *Beersheba*, and ordered them to take a yearly circuit at proper places so that each should have one half of *Israel* to his share (69); but the text says nothing of it.

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themselves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which, account he saw himself surrounded by the elders of *Israel*, who desired him, that he would appoint to them a king, like other nations, since his sons were not worthy to succeed him in his office. *Samuel* expostulated with them in the strongest terms, upbraided them with their ingratitude, and forewarned them of their danger; and, among other dissuatives, laid before them all the mischiefs and grievances they were likely to suffer from a king. In a word, he omitted nothing that could possibly divert them from their design; though all to no purpose, till God commanded him to comply with them, and to set such a king over them, as he should direct. Whereupon *Samuel*, having promised to comply with their command, dismissed them for the present; and *Saul* was soon after appointed by God to be the first king of *Isra...*

S E C T. VII.

The history of the Jews under their monarchical government.

SAUL the son of *Kish*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, was a *Saul*, first very comely youth, well-shap'd, and taller by the king of head and shoulders than the common size. He had been sent with a servant, about the time of this dejection, to seek after some strayed asses, and, after three days unsuccessful search, *Samuel*, who knew him to be the person appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bless a sacrifice which was held in his city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feast, where he set him in the highest place, and distinguished him from all the other guests, by a particular dish of meat set before him above the rest. He detained him all that night; and, early on the morrow, called him up to receive his directions, and accompanied him some part of the way; and, having commanded his servant to go on before, he poured the oil upon his head, and saluted him king of *Israel*. *Saul* behaved, during all this ceremony, with extraordinary modesty, alleging the smallness of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for so high a dignity; but the prophet assured him, that he should find himself endowed with such a superior portion of God's Spi-

Year of the Flood
12-3.
Bef Chr.
1095

* 1 Sam. ch viii. 1, & seq.

u Ch ix. per tot.

rit, as would give him a new heart, so that he would shortly feel himself quite another man. Among other things that *Samuel* told him should befall him in his way home, one was, that he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the spirit of prophecy, and prophesy with them. This, as well as the rest, came to pass accordingly; and the surprize, with which those of his acquaintance beheld it, occasioned the saying, which passed afterwards into a proverb, *Is Saul also among the prophets* *? Soon after this, *Samuel* called all the heads of *Israel* to *Mizpeh*, and caused them to present themselves by their tribes before the LORD; and, as they passed in their order, that of *Benjamin* was taken; then were the families of it called, and that of *Matri* was taken, and next to that the son of *Kish* y.

WHILEST this was doing, *Saul* had hid himself; and, upon his being brought out, *Samuel* presented him to the people, as the person whom God had chosen to be their head; and immediately the air rang with the people's shouts, *Let us live the king!* Here *Samuel*, who, at their first tumultuous meeting, had forewarned them of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, now thought it necessary to inform him, before the assembly, of what he ought to do, and what to avoid; after which he caused him to be proclaimed and anointed king of *Israel*. The new king returned to his house in *Gibeah*, whither a number of brave honest men of *Israel* followed him; whilst another company of loose fellows, who despised his youth and comeliness, and thought him unfit for such a government, refused to acknowledge him, or to bring any presents, as the rest did.

BUT it was not long before he had an occasion to give them an earnest of his courage, and to let them see how well he could use his new authority. The inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead* were streightly besieged by the *Ammonites*, and upon the brink of losing not only their liberty, but their right eye, as a lasting reproach to the whole nation; when, having obtained a respite of seven days from the *Ammonitish* king, they sent an account of their dismal state to the elders of *Israel*. *Saul* immediately took a yoke of oxen, and caused them to be hewed in pieces, and dispatched with the utmost speed through all the tribes, with this threatening message, that whosoever refused to follow

* 1 Sam. x. 11.

Ver. 21.

Ver. 24.

him

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him to the relief of their brethren of *Jabish-gilead*, his cattle should undergo the same fate. The people, alarmed at this news, immediately repaired to *Bezek*, to the number of three hundred thousand, besides thirty thousand of the tribe of *Judab*; and *Saul*, having sent the besieged word, that he would come to their rescue by the next morning, marched all that night, and, as soon as he came near the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day, with such success, that they were forced to raise the siege, and fly with the utmost precipitation, and a very considerable loss. The people, elevated with this signal victory, were for putting to death all that had refused to acknowledge *Saul* for their king; but he generously withstood it, alleging, that it was not fit to stain the beginning of his reign with the slaughter of their brethren, after *JOD* had wrought so great a salvation in *Israel*. This moderate answer pleased the people still more; and *Samuel*, who accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to *Gilgal*, there to confirm the kingdom unto *Saul* by an universal consent, since he had shewed himself so worthy of it; which was accordingly performed with great solemnity.

SAMUEL took this happy opportunity to justify his administration, as judge; because his authority being devolved upon *Saul*, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any such they had against him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuse him openly, before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injustice, or oppression, against any of them, that he might now make them restitution before he died; and he had the satisfaction of being cleared and commended by the general voice of the people. However, to convince them of their ingratitude in demanding a king, he recapitulated all the grievous thraldoms which their idolatry and disobedience had drawn upon them, first their being seated in that land; and the many signal deliverances which *GOD* had wrought for them upon their repentance; and, to add a still greater weight to his words, and assure them how highly *GOD* was displeas'd at them, he reminded them, that it was then the time of harvest, when the air is generally serene, and free from clouds, and stormy rains; but he told them, that he would, by his prayers, obtain such an extraordinary storm of thunder and rain, as should convince them, that *GOD* had been

* Vol. ii. p. 144.

* 1 Sam. xi. per tot.

highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did so accordingly; and the people were frightened into a confession of their wickedness, and of this particular aggravation of it, their asking him for a king. They desired him, that he would use his prayers to avert the impending storm and danger; which he readily complied with, and then assured them, that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived: and that, if they and their king did but continue steadfast in their obedience to God, instead of confiding in their vain and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them; but that, if they relapsed, both he and they must expect to feel the effects of the divine displeasure.

ALL these things were transacted in the first year of Saul's reign; on the next he dismissed his numerous army, and reserved to himself only three thousand men, two thousand of whom he put into the garisons of *Michmash* and *Beth-el*, and for the other thousand he left at *Gibeah* of *Benjamin*, under his son *Jonathan*. But this young prince, who perhaps to attain something worthy the son and successor of *Saul*, went and smote a *Philistine* garison at *Gibeah*; the news of which, having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the trumpet, and to let *Israel* know, that the *Philistines* were coming against them with a numerous host. They had indeed 30,000 chariots, and 6000 horsemen, besides an innumerable multitude of foot, with which they came and encamped against *Michmash*, eastward of *Beth-aven*. The sight of so vast an army struck an universal terror thro' all *Israel*, insomuch that, forgetting their late victory, and the valour which their new king had shewn upon that occasion, a great part of that dastardly people hid themselves in caves, dens, saw-pits, or any lurking-holes; whilst another part fled to the other side *Jordan* for safety, leaving their country open to their enemies frequent and destructive incursions, and their king to make the best of the pusillanimous remains of the people that stuck close to him. One misfortune, however, attended them, which may, in some measure, excuse their desertion; which was, that the *Philistines* had taken care to strip them of all kinds of weapons, and even of the instruments with which they used to sharpen their rural tools, lest they should use them instead of arms. They had neither smith nor forge, and so naked were they at this time, that there was neither sword nor spear,

Jonathan
surprises
the garison
of
Geba.

Year of
the flood
1255.
Bef. Chr.
093.

^b 1 Sam. xii. per tot.

C. VII. ~~to the~~ Babylonish Captivity

but those which *Saul* and his son had ^o, when he came to muster his little army (Z). *Saul*, however, continued with them at *Gilgal*, expecting *Samuel's* coming according to his appointment; but, after he had waited seven whole days, and found that *Samuel* neither came nor sent, and that his little army was almost dwindled away to a small handful, fearing lest he should be surpris'd by the enemy, before he had implored the protection of God in the usual way of sacrifices, he ventured, on the seventh day, to offer up some peace-offerings, and burnt-offering. He had scarce made an end of sacrificing, when *Samuel* came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (A). *Saul* excused himself upon the pressing necessity he was

^c 1 Sam. xiii. 19, & seqq.

(Z) The rest of this small body were armed, as one may reasonably suppose, with such weapons as they could make without the smith's help, such as slings, flails, clubs, staves, wooden prongs, staves hardened in the fire, and other rural tools: the first of these, the slings, in which they were very expert, they might all use at the first onset, and the others, when they came to closer engagement.

(A) It is not easy to divine what *Saul's* crime was, which drew upon him such a severe sentence from the prophet. The *Jews*, indeed, accuse him, 1. Of not having waited the full time for him; and, 2. Of having presumed to infringe upon the priestly office, by offering up sacrifices to God with his unhallowed hands (71). *Josephus* seems to say much the same thing, though not in plain terms (72). As for the first of these, his not

waiting the whole time, it appears of too small a nature, considering that he was in the midst of the instant desertion of his army, so have deserved a total rejection; and, as to the last, it is scarcely probable, because he had the high-priest *Abiath* with him to perform that office for him, or to have hindered him from doing it, if he had gone about it. Some authors think (73), therefore, that there is a transposition of chapters, and that the crime, for which he was rejected, was his not destroying the king of *Amalek*, and all his plunder, according to God's command, the story of which we have in the next chapter, wherein *Samuel* reproves him in the most severe terms for his disobedience, and tells him plainly, that the LORD had rejected him from being king (74): but it is more likely, that, in the former of these places, the pro-

(71) Vid. *Munf.* in loc. *Tremel.* in loc.

(72) *Ant.* l. vi. c. 7.

(74) 1 Sam. xv. 16, & seqq.

(73) *Vide*

Saul re-
flects; whether the prophet took it as a presage of his
future rashness, and want of faith, or whether his re-
jection had been already revealed to him, he told him,
that he had done a very foolish action; and that his dis-
obedience to God's command would cause the kingdom
to be transferred from him to a more worthy person. As
soon as *Samuel* was departed from him, to go to *Gibeon*,
Saul and his son followed him thither, with his little army,
consisting only of six hundred unarmed men. There they
encountered, with sorrow, the *Philistines*, who were still en-
camped in *Michmash*, making a threefold incursion in
Israel, and committing great depredations; one detach-
ment towards *Opbrah*, another towards *Beth-horon*, and
the third towards the valley of *Zeboim* d.

Jona-
than's
stratagem
to surprise
the enemy

THEY were in this dismal situation, when *Jonathan*,
moved by some divine impulse, ventured, unknown to
his father, or to any one but his armour-bearer, who ac-
companied him, to climb up on his hands and feet through
a couple of jagged rocks, and to fall upon one of the
enemy's out-guards, where he killed twenty of their men,
and put the rest to flight, who ran into the camp, and
spread such a panic through the host, that it was easily
perceived by *Saul* and his men; who, finding that *Jona-
than* was missing, easily guessed him to be the author of
it. *Saul* had with him the ark of GOD, and *Abiah* the
high-priest, the great-grandson of *Eli*; and was going to
desire him to inquire of the LORD, whether he should
fall on the enemy, when the noise and confusion increased
so far, as to assure him, that they were put to the rout.
He then bid *Abiah* hold his hand, and with his few
men fell on the flying *Philistines*, his army still increasing,
as well from a number of *Hebrew* captives, who took that
opportunity to make their escape, as from a greater num-
ber of those, who, observing from their lurking-places
the success of their brethren, came and joined their king.

d 1 Sam. xiii. per tot.

phet only threatens him with
what he must expect, unless
he took more heed of what
God commanded him. For
it is plain, that *Saul* was so
far from being absolutely re-
jected, that he not only was
blessed with a great and almost
miraculous victory, immediate-

ly after *Samuel* had left him,
but that he was likewise very
successful against several other
nations, and above all, received
that fresh command from the
same prophet, to fight and
destroy the *Amalekites*, with a
promise of victory.

THE

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

THE reader however may see, by what we have said ^{of this action in a former volume ^e, that this victory, great ^{as it was, might have been more complete, had not Saul} ^{unadvisedly adjured his army not to stop their pursuit to take some convenient refreshment (B). But what was like to have proved worse than all the rest, was, that Jonathan, knowing nothing of his father's imprecation, and being quite spent with that day's toil, had refreshed himself with a little honey which he met in his way; so that, when his transgression came to be found out by urim, Saul would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the whole army opposed it with one consent, and sworn, that not a hair of his head should be hurt, in consideration of the signal deliverance, which he had been the chief cause of. Saul however returned home victorious, and put himself in a condition of pursuing his conquest, not only against the Philistines, but also against the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and the kings of Zobah and Amalek. His head general was Abner, the son of Ner; he had also two sons besides the brave Jonathan; and, next to that of his army, his guard was to have a guard about him, made up of the valiant and stoutest men he could find in his dominions.}}

THE sacred history gives us no particular account of any of these wars, that against Amalek excepted, of which we have spoken in its proper place; neither is it easy to guess at what periods of Saul's reign any of them happened. All that we can know is, that he reigned forty years; that he was a valiant and successful prince, continually at war with some neighbouring state or other; and that he very much curbed the strength of all his enemies round about: so that, had he not been unmindful of God's command with respect to the king of Amalek, and the plunder of his subjects, he might, in all likelihood,

^e See before, vol. ii. p. 241, & seqq. ^f 1 Sam. xiv. pass.
^g See before, vol. ii. p. 185, & seqq. ^h Acts xiii. 27.

(B) This rash curse was like by that time it came to be evening, they were so famished, that they fell greedily upon the spoil, and would have eaten some of the cattle with the blood, had not the king timely prevented it.

have

have reigned all his life without a rival (C), and have avoided the dreadful sentence of rejection, which the prophet pronounced against him; and which made so deep an impression upon *Saul*, that he owned his fault, and only begged of him, for decency-sake, that he would still shew some regard to him, and accompany him, whilst he went and paid his adoration to *God*. *Samuel* complied, and soon after caused the proud *Amalekitish* king to be put to death, whose destroying sword had bereaved so many mothers of their children; and returned to *Ramah*, the place of his abode; and, from that time, never came more to *Saul*, but continued mourning for him, till he was reprov'd for it by *God*, and commanded to go to *Bethlehem*, and anoint one of the sons of *Jesse* in his room.

David
anointed
king;

Year of
flood
1285.
Bef. Chr.
1063.

SAMUEL was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering a sacrifice there; and he accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid giving any suspicion to the jealous king, and to disperse the fears of the elders at *Bethlehem* at his unexpected arrival. As soon as he came to *Jesse's* house, he caused all his sons to pass before him in order; and when he beheld the eldest of them, whom the history shews to have been a man of valour, he presently supposed him to be the person chosen to be *Saul's* successor: however, *God* rejected him, as he did also the other six in their turns. *Samuel's*

ⁿ 1 *Sr m.* xx. pass.

^u *Ibid.* xv. 34, 35.

(C) But here he acted very unlike himself, not only in disregarding the divine *anathema* which had been pronounced against that nation ever since their coming out of *Egypt* (75), and the prophet's charge in pursuance of it (76), but likewise in that poor pretence he made to *Samuel*, that he had fulfilled his command, when every thing about him shewed him, that he had acted quite contrary to it (77); and, next to this, in meanly excusing his fault, by throwing one part

of it upon the people's zeal to sacrifice the best of the cattle to the *LORD* (78), and part, upon his own fear of restraining them from it (79). No wonder then, that *Samuel* could not, without some indignation, hear a king of *Israel* betray so much meanness of soul, to palliate an unjustifiable action; nor that he reprov'd him for it with so much severity, when he was authorized by *God* to denounce unto him the loss of his kingdom.

(75) *Exod.* xvii. 14.
ver. 13, 14, & 20.
etc and.

(76) 1 *Sam.* xv. 1, & seqq.

(78) *Ver.* 15.

(77) *Ibid.*
(79) *Ver.* 24, 30, & seqq. to
etc and.

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surprised at it, asked their father, whether these were all the sons he had? who answered, that he had one more, a stripling, who was then keeping his sheep, and was the youngest of all. He was bid to send for him; and, as soon as David came in, Samuel was ordered to anoint him in the presence of his brethren; and from that minute the Spirit of the LORD came upon him (D). Samuel then made a feast to Jesse's family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to Ramah, and David to his flocks.

NOT long after this, the Spirit of the LORD having forsaken Saul, he began to feel himself tormented by an evil one, or by a deep melancholy; to dispel which, he was advised to get young David to play on the harp before him, who by this time had gained the reputation, not only of an expert musician, but of a sober, discreet, and valiant youth. He was sent for accordingly; and the ruddiness of his complexion, and comeliness of his person, joined with the sweetness of his music upon Saul's heart, so far, that he made him his darling, and obtained of his father, that he might continue in his person. Whenever, therefore, Saul's distemper came upon him, David was ordered to divert him with his music, which never failed to give him ease; after which he returned home, and went about his usual occupation (E).

relieves Saul's melancholy.

SAUL

° 1 Sam. xvi ult.

(D) It is hardly to be supposed, that Samuel did then explain the whole mystery of his anointing of David; which might have had some fatal consequence, had it come to Saul's ears: but as it was usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is most likely, that he left them to suppose the former; as David was not much above fifteen years of age, and too neat in garb, and tender, to be taken for a promising warrior. Josephus says, that Samuel only whispered the secret into David's and his father's

ear, and concealed it from the rest. And, indeed, had his brethren known, or even suspected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, it is not credible they would have used him with such roughness and ill manners as they did, when their father sent him to them to Saul's camp (80).

(E) At least it appears by the sequel (81), that he stayed at Bethlehem during Saul's lucid intervals, one of which seems to have been so long, that, when he came back to court, neither Saul, nor Abner his general, could tell who

(80) 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

(81) Ibid. ver. 25.

DAVID and his army were then encamped by the valley of *Elah*, in order to make head against the *Philistines*, who had perhaps taken fresh courage at the news of *Saul's* distemper. They had pitched their camp at *Ephes-dammim* over-against them, which place was between *Shobob* and *Azekah*, in the tribe of *Judah*. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themselves with looking upon one another without striking a blow, during the space of forty days, saving the daily challenges of the vapouring *Goliath*. But that, which had chilled the hearts of all the *Israelites*, wrought a contrary effect upon young *David*, who was just arrived into the camp, being sent thither by old *Jesse* with provisions for his three eldest brothers, who were then in *Saul's* army. As soon as he heard the news of this gigantic champion's having defied the army of the God of *Israel*, he drew a sure omen from it, that GOD would deliver him into his hands; and though *Saul's* promising his daughter, as a reward to the man that should slay *Goliath*, had not been able to induce one *Israelite* to engage him, during that whole time, yet was it this young shepherd at all discouraged from offering himself to the combat. At his first presenting himself to the king, all that beheld him judged him altogether

Defeats
Year of
the flood
1285.
Bef. Chr.
1063.

he was, as we read in the very next chapter (82); which has given interpreters some difficulty to reconcile: some have thought this interval to have been so long, that *David* was quite altered, his beard grown, features and shape become more manly, so that he might not be easily known again (83): others have endeavoured to remove the difficulty by other suppositions equally improbable (84): whereas his being forgot at court may be easily accounted for, if to the growth of his shape, beard, &c. mentioned under the first head, we add, that, when he played before *Saul*, he appeared in a

dress suitable, but was now in his plain shepherd's habit, and just come from a journey; so that the king and his court, who had seen such variety of faces since his departure, might not easily call him to mind.

As for the wonderful effects which his music had upon *Saul*, we need not have recourse to miracles to account for it, as some commentators have done (85), who think that he joined some psalms or prayers with the melody of his harp. Every one may be sensible of the power of good music upon a melancholy person, which we take to have been *Saul's* case.

(82) 1 Sam. xvii. 25, to the end.
(84) De his vid. Theodoret. Procop. in loc.
Erard. Le Clerc. Cist. et al.

(83) Tuvnel. Cajet. & al.
(85) Vid. Grot. Cajet. Gene-

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

45

unequal to such an exploit ; but such was his reliance on GOD, that, without any other weapon than a sling, and a few pebble-stones in his shepherd's pouch, he sallied forth against this mighty enemy ; and, in a few minutes after, brought his head and sword, and laid it at the feet of Saul ^{P.}

WHAT effect this victory had over the amazed *Philistines*, we need not repeat here. But *David's* behaviour wrought so much on the generous *Jonathan*, Saul's eldest son, that it gave birth to the most intimate friendship between them, infomuch that the text says, their souls were knit together ¹; and *David* elsewhere tells us, that it exceeded by far the love of women ². But it soon after made a much different impression upon Saul, though at first he seemed charmed with his conduct and gave him a considerable post in his army. What inspired that prince with the first sentiments of jealousy against him, was the indiscretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and instrumental music, and in their songs extolled *David* above him, and said, that *Saul* had killed his thousands, but *David* his ten thousands ; which made him complain, that they would give him the kingdom next. From that time he looked upon him as a dangerous enemy, and himself unsafe till he had cut him off. His disease now seemed to be wholly turned into jealousy, and *David* often narrowly escaped becoming the victim of it : for even on the very day after this noble exploit, whilst *David* was endeavouring to ease his present fit, he threw a javelin at him with such force, that it stuck against the wall. He attempted the same a second time, but *David* escaped them both.

AT length, *Saul* observing how well *David* behaved, and was beloved by all the people, though he dreaded him the more for it, he saw himself under a necessity of acting more closely against him, by raising him to an higher post, and exposing him to fresh dangers, in hopes to see him fall by the hand of the enemy. He promised him, at the same time, his eldest daughter, as a reward of his next victory ; but *David* had the mortification to see her given to another presently after. The next trap *Saul* laid for him was, to get some of his servants to tell him, that the king, who designed in earnest to give him his second daughter, would accept of 100 *Philistines* forekins in-

^P 1 Sam. xvii. per tot. ¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 242, & seqq.
² 1 Sam. xviii. 1. ³ Ibid. per tot,

stead of a dowry. But here *David* came off again victorious, and brought him double that number; so that *Saul*, having no pretence left to excuse himself from his promise, gave him *Michal* in marriage, whose sincere affection, joined to that of her brother *Jonathan*, proved afterwards very serviceable to him, by defeating their father's bloody attempts against his life, even at the hazard of their own. *David* had again gained a signal victory over the *Philistines*, and was scarce returned to court, before he was in danger of being stuck to the wall with another javelin. This made him retire to his own house, whither *Saul* pursued him, causing the house to be beset by some of his servants, where he would have been infallibly murdered by the next morning, had not his faithful wife contrived his escape, by conveying him privily out at a window, in the dead of night, resolving to give her husband time to go far enough before he was pursued, and at any rate, to bear the brunt of her father's resentment, rather than be witness in conjugal affection: so that when the men came on the next morning to kill him, she easily dismissed them, by assuring them, that he was very ill, and confined to his bed, shewing them at the same time the figure of a man, which she had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloaths, to prevent discovery. They were soon sent back with orders to bring him alive, in his bed; by which means her stratagem being discovered, so exasperated her angry father, that she was forced to make him believe, that it was to save her own life, that she had consented to it.

Flees to
Samuel.

DAVID, having thus happily escaped, withdrew to *Ramah*, to acquaint *Samuel* with the unwelcome news; and thence both went down to *Naioth*, which was not far from *Ramah*, where was a school of prophets. It was not long before *Saul* sent messengers to fetch him, who were no sooner come within sight of *Samuel* and the prophets, than they fell a prophesying likewise, and so returned without him. He sent others a second and a third time, with the same success, and at length resolved to go himself; and, when he came, he prophesied likewise, cast off his cloaths, and lay down uncovered (H) all that day and night; which

(H) The words in the original say, that he lay naked; but it were absurd to understand it in a literal sense, God having strictly forbidden all such indecencies (88) in oppo-

(88) *Exod. xx. ver. ult. & alib.*

which gave an opportunity to *David* to get off^t, and to have a private interview with *Jonathan*, wherein they swore to each other a perpetual friendship. That generous young prince exposed himself to his father's fury for his friendship to *David*, and was reproved for it in the bitterest terms; nay, having once ventured to plead for him, he narrowly escaped being killed by the incensed king. Finding at length, that his friend's death was resolved on, he went to the stone *Ezel*, a place appointed by them; and, at a signal given, *David* came out to him; and, being fully informed how dangerous it was for him to stay any longer within the reach of his implacable father, they took a melancholy farewell of each other^u; and *David* hastened to the land of *Nob*, where *Ahimelech*, the then high-priest, had his residence.

DAVID was forced to dispel the surprize the high-priest *David* was in, at his unexpected arrival, with a pretence of being sent by the king, upon some private business of importance; but, having observed the *one* *Do.* an *Edomite*, *Abimelech*, and one of *Saul's* shepherds, by whom he foresaw he should certainly be betrayed, if he made any stay, he told *Abimelech*, that his business was urgent; and begged that he would give him some refreshment for himself, and the young men that were with him. As soon as they had refreshed themselves, *David* asked him, whether he could not furnish him with some swords, or spears; and was answered, that the place afforded no other weapon but the sword which he took from *Goliath*, which he desired might be brought to him; and, having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-priest, and fled to *Achish* king of *Gath*. He made but a short stay with that prince, his courtiers having reminded him of what had been so

^t 1 Sam. xix. pass.

^u Ch. xx. pass.

sation to the heathen priests, who were not ashamed to appear naked at some of their feasts (89). It is more than probable therefore, that the words mean no more than the casting off that loose upper garment which they used to

throw over them when they went abroad, and having nothing upon him but the tunic that was next the skin. Which manner of speaking was also common to the *Greeks* and *Latins* (90).

(89) Vide Tit. Liv. & al. de Lupercal. Esc. (90) Vide Gihbert Cuper. observat. lib. 1. cap. 7. Ant. Barreman. dialog. lit. de poet. & proph. Fuller. miscel. theol. Henf. Gist. Hammond, Le Clerc, Le Scene essay on a new vers. p. ii. c. 9. §. 1.

lately sung by the *Israelitish* women, that *Saul* had slain his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands; which when *David* understood, it made him resolve, if possible, to change his hatred either into pity or contempt. His stratagem succeeded according to his wish, and he acted the madman so well, that *Achish*, thinking him to be really so, was glad to be rid of him^w; and *David* went and concealed himself in the cave of *Adullam*.

In the mean time *Saul*, vexed at his heart, to find that he was gone out of his reach, was storming at *Jonathan*, and at his own servants, as if they had all conspired with the son of *Jesse* against him; when *Doeg* the *Edomite* came and acquainted him with what had passed at *Nob*, and how *Abimelech* had furnished *David* with provisions and weapons, and had inquired of the LORD for him. This news put him into such a rage, that, without giving himself leave to consider how far that pontif might be ignorant of this unhappy difference between *David* and him, he ordered him and all his kindred to be brought immediately to him; and, after many bitter invectives against them, swore they should all be put to death. *Abimelech* strove in vain to convince him, that they were all really ignorant of *David's* having any sinister design, whose behaviour had always been so commendable and upright, that they really believed him to have been sent upon some important design by him. The exasperated king would give no credit to them, but ordered his servants, that stood about him, to cut them all in pieces; and, when he observed, that they expressed an uncommon reluctance against staining their hands with the blood of so many helpless priests, he commanded *Doeg* to perform that cruel office, which he immediately did. *Savi*, not contented to see fourscore and five innocent persons butchered at his feet, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of *Nob* to the sword, men, women, children, and cattle; and this was also executed with such barbarous speed, that none but *Abiathar*, one of *Abimelech's* sons, had the good fortune to escape, who went immediately to *David*, and acquainted him with the dismal news. *David* said all he could to comfort him, promising, that, as soon as he was in a condition, he would raise him to the high-priesthood; and, till then, be his safeguard, as long as he was able to defend his own life.

Saul
butchers
all the
priests and
inhabitants
of
Nob.
Abiathar
escapes to
David.

^w 1 Sam. xxi. 10, & seq. See before, vol. ii. p. 245.

Among those, who followed *David*, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet *Gad*, all probably forced to fly to him for shelter from *Saul's* fury. Besides these, joined him multitudes of distressed and discontented persons, to the number of 400. But the prophet *Gad* having told him, that it was no longer safe for him to abide in that place, he took his parents into the land of *Moab*, and left them under the protection of the king, whilst his affairs continued in that desperate condition^t; and himself and his men went into the forest of *Hareth* in the land of *Judah*. However, he staid no longer there; but, having rescued the city of *Keilah* from the *Philistines*, removed into the wilderness of *Ziph*, with his own men, who were by this time increased to 600. Whilst he was lurking about the rocks and caves of this place, *Jonathan* heard of it, and came to see him (I).

NOT long after, *Saul* being informed by the *Ziphites*, that *David* lay concealed in their neighbourhood, he was so transported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear blessing them, as the only people that deserved any compassion for him. But *David*, having got some intelligence of it, timely removed to the wilderness of *Maon*, whither *Saul* soon pursued him, and pitched over-against him, with a design to surround him; but, in the mean time, news were brought him, that the *Philistines* had made a fresh incursion into the land, so that he was forced to go back to put a stop to their progress^u. In memory of this deliverance, *David* called the rock where he then was, *Sela-hammalekoth*, or, *the rock of divisions*; and, presently after, removed with his little army to *Engedi*, and concealed himself among the strong holds of that place^x. Here *Saul*, who had soon repulsed the *Philistines*, found him out again, and came against him with

^t See before, vol. ii. p. 135.
vol. ii. p. 245 & 417.

^u De hoc & seqq. vid.
^w Ibid.

^x 1 Sam. xxiii. pass.

(I) The design of this dangerous interview was to make still surer of *David's* friendship, and to obtain a promise from him, that when he had gained the kingdom from his father, which he frankly told him he was well assured he would, he might be the next

in dignity to him; and that, in case he died before that time, *David* should shew the same friendly regard to his children, as he had done to him. This covenant being ratified with a fresh oath on both sides, *Jonathan* returned to his own house.

David's
generosity
to Saul.

3000 men; but, whilst he was in search of him, an urgent occasion obliged him to retire, for decency-sake, into the cave where *David* lay concealed. *David* was immediately surrounded by his men, who told him, that this was now the time in which GOD had promised to deliver his enemy into his hand, and that he had it now in his power to put a total end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and free himself and them from all their misery. *David* made as if he had listened to their advice, and, without telling them what he designed to do, rose up, stole softly near *Saul*, cut off the skirt of his robe (K), and gave him thereby an opportunity of escaping alive, whilst he appeased the resentment of his men, with representing to them, how heinous a crime it was to stretch forth an hand against their lawful prince, and the LORD's anointed. He expressed even an uncommon remorse at the indignity, or, at least, the want of respect, he had shewn to the regal dignity; though he meant no more by it, than to give his father an irrefragable proof of his innocency and filial duty. As soon, therefore, as *Saul* was gone out of the cave, he, in the tenderest manner, begged of him to entertain no longer such unworthy suspicions of him, since he had now given him so signal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was so unjustly persecuted. This humble and affecting speech, backed with the infallible testimony of the piece of his robe, melted *Saul* into tears of tenderness and sorrow: he acknowledged his son's superior virtue and merit in sparing his life, and, in the conclusion, owned that he alone was worthy to sit on the throne of *Israel*, which, he told him, he was now satisfied he would shortly do; and therefore, as a further proof of his unexampled generosity, and filial affection, he desired him to swear to him,

y 1 Sam. xxiv. ver. 5.

(K) The text says, that *David* and his men harboured in the sides of the cave (91); or, as the original imports, in crags and holes of it; so that *Saul*, coming into it from the broad day-light, could not perceive them; whilst they, who had been there some time, might easily discover him, and know who he was, from his first entering into the place; so that it was easy for *David* to cut off a piece of his robe unperceived, especially if we suppose it to have been the skirt of his upper garment, which, it is likely, they used to throw by at a small distance, upon such occasions.

(91) 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

that

that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children, but that he would shew the same pity to the one, as he had now done to the other. *David* did readily give him that satisfaction, and, after mutual embraces, *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, and *David* and his men to their strong-hold ^a.

ABOUT this time the good old prophet *Samuel* died ^a, in the 97th or 98th year of his age, greatly lamented by all true *Israelites*, and was buried at *Ramah* in his own house, or rather perhaps in his garden. He had judged *Israel* twenty years, from *Eli's* death; and had lived about forty-eight more, from his anointing *Saul* to the regal dignity. As for *David*, whether he had any intelligence of *Saul's* relapse, or whether his own feat suggested it to him, he removed farther from the neighbourhood of *Engedi* towards the wilderness of *Iraan*, near to *Maon* or *Carmel*, which was also in the tribe of *Judah*. It seems that *David* kept his men under such strict discipline, that, instead of plundering the neighbouring places, as was generally done by such fugitives, they were rather a safeguard to them; so that it was usual for them to expect some refreshment from the inhabitants, as a gratification for their watchfulness and forbearance. Here then *David*, according to custom, sent a civil message to a wealthy *Carmelite* named *Nabal*, who was then making a feast to his sheep-shearers, and desired him to send him and his men some portion of his good cheer; but the man, who was rightly called *Nabal*, being naturally proud and brutish, sent them away with such a churlish answer, as would have proved fatal to him and his family, had not his prudent wife made haste to bring him an elegant supply of refreshment, which prevented all further mischief, and charmed the fugitive monarch with her prudent and modest behaviour. *Abigail* returned to her husband, and, on the next day, when sleep had dissipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his brutishness was like to have brought upon him; and, as he was of too base a nature to think *David* generous enough to forgive him, the dread which then seized him, in a few days, broke his heart; which *David* no sooner heard, than he sent for and married her. As for *Michal*, *Saul's* daughter, she had been given to another, during his exile ^b.

HE was forced soon after to retire from *Maon*, into the desert of *Ziph*, whither *Saul*, who had by that time

^a 1 Sam. xxiv. pass.

^a xxv. 1. & seqq.

^b Ibid. per tot.

Samuel's
death.
Year of
the flood
1289
Bef. Christ
1059.

forgot all that passed at their last interview, came out against him with 3000 chosen men, and gave him a fair opportunity of evidencing his innocency, by coming with *Abishai* in the dead of the night into *Saul's* camp, where they found them all fast asleep; *Saul* in his tent, with his spear stuck into the ground by his bolster, and *Abner* his general, with the rest of his officers, encamped round his tent. *Abishai* insisted strenuously, that Providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the slaughter; and that, if he missed so fair an opportunity of sticking him to the ground with his own spear, he might in vain bewail his folly. *David* stopped his hand, and, contenting himself with carrying away his spear, and the pitcher of water that lay under his head, unperceived by any of *Saul's* men, soon after reached his own camp. *Saul*, being apprised of it, came out, and, in the mildest terms, acknowledged himself indebted a second time, for his life, to his generous, though much injured son-in-law. *David* had then a fair occasion to complain of his injustice and cruelty, which he did; however, with expressions so full of duty and humility, representing to him how much beneath a king of *Israel* it was, to hunt after a poor harmless flea, or an innocent partridge; and begging of him to desist from persecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who shewed such a tender regard for his life, when it was in his power; that *Saul* could not resist so strong an evidence of his son's superior virtue, which he must have admired even in an enemy. He shewed the most lively tokens of remorse, acknowledged his folly and injustice, promised never to seek his life any more, and parted from him with seeming tokens of love and friendship. *David*, however, not daring to rely too far on his fair promises, retired once more to *Achish* king of *Gath*, designing to abide with him till Providence should give a better turn to his affairs. The hospitable reception he met with from that prince has been seen before; but here, though he found so generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him from another quarter, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.

DURING his abode at *Ziklag*, the place the *Gathish* king had allotted him, which was a year and four months,

* 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.
p. 245, & seqq.

† Ibid. per tot.

‡ Vid. sup. vol. ii,

there repaired to him some of *Saul's* kindred, and multitudes of valiant men and commanders out of the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Judah*, and some from that of *Gad*, who ventured to pass the *Jordan* to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks (M); besides some of the tribe of *Manasseh* ^e. With these he used to make incursions into the countries of the *Geshurites*, *Gerizites*, and *Amalekites* (N), unknown to the king ^f, whom ^g gave to understand, that he made them into the land of *Judah*; and this gained him such confidence, that he had taken him and his army with him against *Saul* ^h;

Year of the flood 1292.
Bef. Chr. 1056.

^e See 1 Chron. xii. 1, 15, & seqq.
ii. p. 186 & 246.

^f See before, vol.

^g 1 Sam. xxviii. 2.

(M) The book of *Chronicles* observes of these *Gadites*, that they could handle the shield and the buckler, that their faces were as stern as those of lions, and that they were as swift of foot as the wild goes (93). The same author takes notice, that when *David* saw such numbers of the *Benjaminites*, especially of *Saul's* kindred, come to him, he was apprehensive they came with a design to surprise and carry him off (94). But they soon dispelled his fears, by assuring him, that they were intirely in his interest, and resolved to share his fortune, and to be under his command.

As to the time of *David's* abode at *Ziklag*, though we have followed our *English* version, and archbishop *Usher*, the original says only, that he continued there ימים וארבעה ימים ודשירי days and four months, which some think to imply some days above, rather than

a year and four months; because *David* went thither after *Samuel's* death, and left the place immediately after that of *Saul*; and they reckon but seven months between the death of those two persons (95).

(N) We beg leave to observe here, against those who condemn *David* as guilty of a great breach of hospitality, that none of these three nations were *Philistines*. The two former were the remains of the old *Canaanites* (96), and the *Amalekites*, the descendants of *Esau* (97), and all three under the divine anathema. Notwithstanding which, *David* might think it proper to tell the king, that he made his inroads into the land of *Israel*, that he might think himself the more sure of him; and this is the very reason assigned in the text, for his using that pretence (98).

(93) 1 Chron. xii. 8.
2949. 2 Sam. i. 13 vii. 8
Job. xii. 5. & xvi. 3.
xxvii. ult.

(94) *Ibid.* ver. 17.

& *Munst.* in *Sam.* xxvii. sub 6.

(97) *Vid. sup.* vol. ii. p. 186.

(95) *Vid. sub A M.*

(96) *Vid.*

(98) 1 Sam.

Ziklag, but, whilst they were gone, the *Amalekites* took Ziklag, and, burning it, carried away the women, children, cattle, and all the plunder of the place. When therefore they were returned from the *Philistine* camp, from which they had been dismissed by the jealous princes of that nation, and found what a terrible destruction had been made of their city, they filled the air with their cries. The men began to talk of stoning *David*, as the cause of this mischief; when he, still confiding in GOD, called *Abiathar* to consult the LORD for him, whether he had best pursue that track; and, upon his being answered, that he should therein be attended with success, he set out with 600 men, overtook and destroyed the *Amalekitish* band, and recovered all the booty they had taken, as we have seen elsewhere.¹

Saul's
wretched
condition
at this
time.

Consults
the witch
of Endor.

AFTER this signal deliverance, *David's* affairs began to take a better turn; and the death of *Saul*, which happened immediately after, not only rid him of an inveterate enemy, but opened a fair and easy way to the crown, at least, over his own tribe. The particulars of this signal deteat, which cost *Saul* and his three sons their lives, need not be repeated here.² One or two circumstances however preceded it, with relation to that unhappy monarch, which made his condition so deplorable and desperate, that we could not with justice omit them. He saw himself on the eve of being attacked by a powerful army, whilst a great number of his own, especially the chiefs, were gone over to *David*; and perhaps he had also intelligence of his being come with the *Philistines* against him: he had killed all the priests except *Abiathar*, who was also fled to *David*, so that he could not consult the LORD by *urim*. *Samuel* was dead, and not a prophet left to advise him. In this streight, he would gladly have sought for counsel from witches or wizards; but he had long ago banished them all out of his dominions. At length, with much inquiring, they found him out a woman at *Endor*, who had a familiar spirit, to whom he went disguised in the night; and, having promised her secrecy, prevailed upon her to raise him up *Samuel*. She did so accordingly; but, when she saw him appear, either in a different manner than she had been used to (O), or in such a manner

as

¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 186, &c. ² *Ibid.* p. 247.

(O) It is not easy to say, from the extraordinariness of whether her fright proceeded the apparition, or from the fear

as gave her to understand, that it was *Saul* himself that had set her on work; she gave a shriek, and complained, that she had been imposed upon. *Saul* bid her go on, assuring her she should be safe, and asked what she had seen: to which she answered, an old man covered with a mantle, whom *Saul* understood to be *Samuel*, and to whom *Samuel* he bowed himself to the ground. Here the apparition, or, as appears to the text expresses it, *Samuel*, asked him the reason why he had disturbed and called him up; and *Saul* owned to him, that the distress he was in from the *Philistine* army; being destitute of counsel from *God*, had obliged him to take that way to obtain his advice, what he should do under those difficulties. But *Samuel* answered, *Why dost thou ask my advice, seeing thy disobedience to God's commands hath alienated him from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to David? And now, continued the vision, the Lord is going to give up the Israelites into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy sons shall be with me to-morrow* (P).
At

fear she was in, that *Saul* had only set her to work, that he might have occasion to punish her for it. The latter seems the most probable, by what she said to him in her fright; and yet it is not impossible, that she was also surprised at the strangeness of the sight. The text doth not say, how she came to know the king by it; and the notion of the *Jews*, that the spirits, which she raised by enchantment, used to rise out of the earth with their heels uppermost, and that *Samuel* came up upon his feet, by which she knew that it was *Saul* that wanted to consult him (99), is altogether ludicrous; but if it was the real apparition of that prophet that she saw, as we shall at least make it probable in the next note, that it was, she might easily suppose, that he would not have appeared in that ex-

traordinary manner to any but to the king of *Israel*. For as to the notion that it was all done by *legerdemain* and *ventiloquy* on the woman's part, and by strength of fancy and fear on *Saul's*, we cannot by any means come into it, and shall give our reasons for dissenting from it, in its proper place.

(P) There is hardly a passage in the Old Testament, that has been more canvassed and tortured, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and, when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties, in whatever sense he takes the history of *Samuel's* apparition. We have therefore taken that which seems the most natural and obvious, and shall now give our reasons for preferring it to the rest.

First then, as to the notion

(99) *Vide Munst. in 1 Sam. xxviii. 12.*

At these last words the frightened king, who had eat nothing all that day, fainted away, and fell flat on the ground, and remained

of its being performed by *ventriloquy*, juggle, or confederacy; besides that it doth too great a violence to the text, it is not likely, that so cunning a woman would have been impolitic enough to give *Saul* such a dreadful answer; tho' we should grant, that she was so well acquainted with the bad circumstances of that prince, that she might foresee, that it was likely to prove the case: such people are rather apt to flatter those that consult them; and the fear she was in, when she knew *Saul*, would no doubt have put her upon this, rather than upon the former. Add to this, that such a terrible denunciation would only have proved the most effectual means of putting *Saul* upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or by any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.

This last argument is equally strong against those who think, that the devil took the shape, and acted the part of *Samuel*, unless we could suppose him so well acquainted with futurity, that he was sure *Saul* would rush into his own destruction, notwithstanding he was so signally forewarned of it. Again, though we grant, that he might foresee, that the enemy would be too strong for *Saul* and his army, yet he could neither be sure, that he would engage them, especially after such a dreadful dissuasive, nor, if he did, that he

would certainly be killed, he and his three sons. The *Israelites* had won many a more unlikely victory, and, at the worst, they might have escaped by flight. We need not observe farther, how unnatural and absurd it is, to suppose the devil, if it had been he that spoke to *Saul*, would have played the saint so far, as to reprove him for his wickedness and disobedience, but especially for making use of an art to raise him up, which he must have been too fond of, to discountenance in such a severe manner.

J. is indeed urged here, that there were two falsities in this pretended prophecy, which none therefore but either the father of lyes, or a juggling old woman, could be the author of. The first is, that the vision says to *Saul*, *Thou and thy sons shall be with me*— Now, say they, *Saul* died like a reprobate, by his own hands, and could not be where *Samuel* was, in the mansions of the blessed. But who doth not see, that it meant no more than *thou shalt be dead, or in the other world, as I now am?* The other is, that the vision says *to-morrow*, whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this be granted, it doth not follow, that the word מחר *mabar* doth positively imply here *the very next day following*; it doth often signify *shortly*, and sometimes

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

remained speechless for some time. His men, at length, came and raised him up, and the old woman besought him,

times hereafter, in process of time; as when *Moses* says, *When thy children shall ask thee, mahar, hereafter, What meaneth such a ceremony or festival?* and so on—We shall for once dispense with mentioning the numerous authors of these two last opinions, to avoid filling up near a whole page with quotations.

Upon the whole then, we think, with the far greater number of learned antients and moderns, that it was really *Samuel* that appeared to the woman, and foretold *Saul's* death, and *Israel's* defeat. This seems likewise to have been the opinion of the antient *Jeaus*, from what we read in the book of *Ecclesiasticus* (100), where it is said, that after his death he [*Samuel*] prophesied, and showed the king his end, &c. We see but two objections that can be made against it; and though we have premised at the beginning of this note, that every opinion hath its difficulties, yet we hope we shall lessen these so far, that they will appear inconsiderable, in comparison of those we have urged against the other two.

The first objection is, that it were absurd to suppose, that the devil has so much power over the souls of the dead, especially of the saints, as to make them appear visibly, at the desire of a conjurer: to which it may be answered, that there is no necessity for

supposing here any such extraordinary power in the devil, but rather that God did cause *Samuel* to appear to *Saul*, to reprove him for his former, and for this last sin in particular, of seeking for helps from wizards, contrary to his express commands; and to bring him thereby, if possible, to such a sense of his faults, as might prevent his making such a desperate exit; and that all this happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant, that it was above the power of her art to evocate the souls of the blessed, and wanted only to impose one of her familiar spirits upon him, and to supply the rest by policy. It is therefore no wonder, that she was so terribly surprised, when, instead of one of her imps, she beheld the real apparition of that venerable prophet.

But here it will be objected again, that it is very improbable, that God, who had refused to answer *Saul*, either by *urim*, or by prophets, should now do it, at least seemingly, by the ministry of a wicked woman. But here it must be observed; 1. That the text doth not imply, that the LORD refused to answer him by *urim*, or by prophets, but that he had not the means of consulting by them; for how could he consult by *urim*, when the high-priest was with *David* in the *Philistine* army?

Year of him, in the humblest terms, that he would take some satisfaction before he went away; which, after long impotency, he consented to: and, as soon as they had refreshed themselves, they went their way, and reached their army before break of day. A dreadful battle soon ensued, according to all that had been foretold to *Saul*, whose fear of being taken alive, and ill used by his enemies, rather than the wounds he received from them (Q), made him rush upon his own sword, to put an end to his unfortunate life. Here the victorious *Philistines* could not for-

1293.
Bef. 103.
Saul's feat and death.

1 Sam. xxviii. pass.

2. Were it true, that God had refused to answer him in the ordinary ways of *Urim*, and the like, yet it doth not follow, that he might not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impression upon him, who had all along been but too regardless of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet. He might likewise be suffered to seek for counsel from a witch, to make him sensible what degree of impiety he had brought himself into; and God sending *Samuel* to reprove him for it, was a signal way of discountenancing such a wicked and forbidden practice.

However, we do not pretend to remove all difficulties that can be raised against this opinion; but only to shew, that it is attended with fewer, and less, than the other two. For which reason we shall carry our inquiry no farther; whether it were the real soul of *Samuel*, or an angel assuming his shape; whether *Saul* saw, or only heard him speak; and many others, concerning which

we should lose ourselves in a labyrinth almost as dark and intricate, as those do, who suppose that two such remarkable events, as the death of *Saul* and his three sons, and the total defeat of the *Israelitish* army, could be foretold so positively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniscient power.

(Q) Notwithstanding what has been said elsewhere (1), of *Saul's* receiving several wounds before he fell upon his sword, for want of attending more to the original than to ours, and other versions; we beg leave to observe here, that in this place, and in the *Chronicles*, where the account of *Saul's* death is repeated, the root of the verb is *חול* *chul*, which signifies to be in dread, in pangs, and alludes to the travail of a woman, &c. and not *חלל* *challal*, to wound. So that it doth not appear, that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he saw himself so thick beset with enemies, that there was no way to escape (2).

(1) *Sup. vol. ii. p. 247.*

(2) *Vide Chald. paraph. Munst. & al. in loc.*

bear venting their resentment on his dead body, and those of his sons; they mangled and hung them up upon the walls of *Beth-shan*. But the grateful *Jabeshites*, remembering how *Saul* had saved them formerly from losing their eyes and liberty, soon after sent some of their bravest men to rescue them, gave them an honourable burial, and kept a seven day's fast, in memory of their deaths^b.

DAVID had been returned from the slaughter of the plunderers of *Ziklag* about two or three days, when he received the news of *Saul's* and *Jonathan's* death, by an *Amalekite*, who also brought him *Saul's* crown and bracelets. How glad soever *David* might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved *Jonathan* touched him to the heart, and the great defeat of the *Israelites* caused a general mourning and fasting in his whole army. As for the messenger, he, having unadvisedly pretended to have given *Saul* his last wound at his desire, was ordered to immediate death, for having lifted up his hand against the LORD's anointed. *David* greatly mourned the unhappy fate of the father and son, and their deaths inspired his poetic genius with one of the finest elegies that ever was penned, which has caused to be transmitted to future ages^c.

David's
mourning
for Saul
and Jona-
than.

As soon as they had done mourning for *Saul*, he consulted the LORD, which way he should steer his course next; and was commanded to remove to *Hebron*. He was there again anointed king over *Judah*, by those of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilst *Abner*, *Saul's* general, proclaimed his son *Ishboseth*, who was then forty years old, king of *Israel* at *Mahanaim*. Thus was the kingdom divided between these two, each enjoying his own share quietly, without molesting the other, during the space of two years (R), the tribe of *Judah* cleaving to *David*, and the rest, at least for the most part, to *Ish-*

^b Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 4. See before, vol. ii. p. 247. ^c 2 Sam. i. per tot.

(R) At least this seems to be the sense of those words, *And Ishboseth reigned two years* (2); for it is plain he reigned much longer, but not peaceably. Much the same was said of the beginning of *Saul's* reign (3). *Abner* also might think it proper to take him to *Mahanaim*, which was beyond *Jordan*, that, being free from the *Philistines*, he might have time to recruit his shattered army.

(2) 2 Sam. ii. 10. (3) 1 Sam. xiii. 7. *Usser. ann. sub A. M. 2951.*

Abner *basbeth*. The first popular thing *David* did after this, was, to send a message of thanks to the inhabitants of *Jabesh-gilead*, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceased king and his sons^k. After which, he married *Maacab*, the daughter of *Talmai* king of *Geshur*, by whom he had afterwards *Abfalom* and *Tamar*^l (S). At the end of two years, *Abner*, having repassed the *Jordan* with his army, encamped on one side of the pool of *Gibeon*; and *Joab* the son of *Zeruiah*, *David's* general, over-against him on the other.

HITHERTO there had passed no hostilities, nor had any war been declared between the two monarchs; so that, their subjects on both sides being all *Israelites*, there was a necessity of making some kind of hostile overture, which might bring on an engagement: the two generals, therefore, bethought themselves of the following strange one. They agreed to send twelve brave men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing some warlike exercise; but they were no sooner come within reach of one another, than each man took his antagonist by the head, and sheathed his sword in his body; so that they were all killed upon the spot. In memory of this bloody feat the place was called *Helkath-bazzurim*, the field of strong men; and a dreadful battle immediately ensued, in which *Abner's* army was totally routed, and himself forced to fly for his life. The pursuit lasted till sun-set, by which time they were got as far as the hill of *Ammah*, within sight of *Giath*, along the wilderness of *Gibeon*. Here the *Benjaminites* rallied again under *Abner*, and, posting themselves on the rising of the hill, resolved to make a stout defence; but their general, who was weary of fighting, called to *Joab*, and desired him to put a stop to the slaughter of his brethren, whose destruction could not but cause bitterness in the end. *Joab*, hearkening to him, caused the trumpet to sound a retreat; after which, *Abner* and his men took the way of

*Defeated
by David's
general.*

^k 2 Sam. ii. 5.

^l Ibid. iii. 3.

(S) But we cannot think, with our learned *Usher*, that he contracted an affinity with that prince to strengthen himself against his rival (4); that being expressly forbidden by the law of *Moses*. It is more probable, that he took her prisoner, in one of his excursions against that country, as we shall shew in another note.

(4) *Sub A. M.* 2950.

Mahanaim, and *Joab* returned to *Hebron*. There were but nineteen men killed on *David's* side, but *Benjamin* lost 360^m; and from that time *David* grew daily stronger, and *Ishboseth* weaker; but the war between those two did not end till the death of the latter, which happened shortly after.

IN the mean time *Abner*, who had used all his endeavours to strengthen his master's party, set such a value upon his own services, that he made no scruple to have a criminal intercourse with one of *Saul's* concubines, named *Rizpah*; and, when he was reprimanded for it by *Ishboseth*, he resented it so highly, that he swore he would, from that minute, become a friend to *David*; and sent messengers privately to him, to contrive a revolt; after which he found out the following pretence for going to him unsuspected: *David* had sent to *Ishboseth*, to desire of him to send him his wife *Michal*, whom *Saul*, during his exile, had married to another; and *Abner*, having obtained an order from him to demand her of her husband, took upon him to convey her safe to *David*; and, accompanied with twenty men, went, and presented *Michal* to *David*, and was graciously received by him. But, as he was returning home, *Joab*, unknown to *David*, sent for him back to *Hebron*, under some friendly pretence, and killed him as soon as he was come to the gate of the city, under colour indeed of revenging his brother *Asabel's* death, whom he had lately slain; but much more likely, to rid himself of so powerful a rival. As soon as *David* heard of it, he protested his innocence of that bloody deed, and vented his resentment in imprecations against the author of it; after which, he caused *Abner* to be decently buried, and attended his corpse to the grave with all the tokens of sorrow and respect.

ISHBOSETH soon heard of his death; and, as he had been the main support of his kingdom, both he and his men began to fear, that *David* would soon be too strong for him. This inspired two of his captains, *Baanah* and *Rachab*, to conspire against his life; who, entering his chamber in the heat of the day, when he was lain down on his bed, barbarously murdered him; cut off his head, fled with it, unperceived, to *Hebron*, and presented it to *David*, congratulating him upon the death of his competitor. It was hardly to be expected, that *David*, who

^m 2 Sam. ii. pass. before, vol. iii. p. 174. sub not.

ⁿ 2 Sam. iii. per tot. See

Year of the flood 1029. Bef. Cl. 1053

had punished the young *Amalekite* with death, for barely pretending to have killed *Saul*, could forbear expressing a much greater horror at this more inhuman regicide, and inflicting a suitable punishment upon the authors of it, whatever advantage his affairs might reap from it. Accordingly he commanded them to be immediately put to death, and their hands and feet to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of *Hebron*. As for the head of *Ishboseth*, he caused it to be buried in the sepulchre of *Abner*, which was also in the same city.

David reigns over all the 12 tribes.

DAVID by this time had reigned over *Judah* in *Hebron* about seven years and an half; and, when the rest of the tribes heard of *Ishboseth's* death, they assembled, and came to anoint him king over all *Israel*, and to pay their homage to him. These are reckoned, in another place ^P, to have amounted to the number of 320,000 men, and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes; except part of that of *Benjamin*, which still adhered to the house of *Saul*. *David* received them with joy, and feasted them at *Hebron* during three days; all that time, not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even some of the more distant ones, pouring in plenty of provisions upon them ^Q.

Zion taken by Joab.

ON the next year, *David* went and besieged *Jerusalem*, a place of such strength, that it had stood till that time against the united force of *Judah* and *Simeon*. Here *Joab* shewed so much bravery and conduct, that he was made head general of *Israel*: he beat the *Febustites* that defended it, and carried the fortrefs of *Sion*, or *Zion*, by assault ^R, which *David* made his residence from that time. He enlarged and fortified it from *Millo* inward round about, and called it the city of *David*, whilst *Joab* rebuilt the rest of the city, surrounded it with a strong wall ^T; and from that time it became the metropolis of *Judca*.

IN the mean time his success so incensed the jealous *Philistines*, that they came suddenly upon him, took *Bethlehem*, and put a garison into it, before he could make any resistance, whilst he was forced to retire to the cave of *Adullam* for present safety ^U. It was here, that, having expressed a longing desire for some of the water of

o Ch. iv. pass. P Comp. 1 Chron. xii. 23, & seqq. with ver. 23, & seqq. Q Ibid. ult. R 2 Sam. v. 8. 1 Chron. xi. 6. S See before, vol. ii. p. 214. T Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9, & 1 Chron. xi. 7, & seqq. U 1 Chron. xi. 15, & seqq.

the well of *Bethlehem*, three of his chief worthies ventured through the enemy's host, which was encamped along the valley of *Rephaim*, and fetched him some water from thence ^u. Soon after, having received a favourable answer from *God*, he fell upon and so effectually discomfited the *Philistines* at two different onsets, that they were never more able to make head against him, or any of his successors ^w. *David* finding himself thus strengthened, his army numerous and well disciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty worthies, who had all signalized themselves by some extraordinary exploits, and his enemies so thoroughly weakened, made a firm alliance with *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, by whom he was furnished with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen to build him a palace in his own city. He likewise increased the number of his wives and concubines; by whom he had a considerable number of children born at *Jerusalem*, besides those that were born to him in *Hebron* (T); all which did not a little contribute to his grandeur, as well as happiness.

SUCH

^u 1 Chron. xi. 17, & seqq. before, vol. ii. p. 243, & seqq.

^w Ibid. xiv. 10, & seqq. See

(T) *David* is recorded to have had six wives in *Hebron*, besides *Saul's* daughter, who was then with another husband. He is said to have had a son by every one of the six former; by which is hardly meant, that he had but one by each, but that the text mentions only their first-born (5). As for *Maachab*, the daughter of the king of *Geshur*, the *Jews* affirm, that *David* had taken her captive, and forced her to embrace the *Jewish* religion; because it was forbid by the law of *Moses* to contract any affinity with the heathens. Either of these is far from improbable, because we read of his making some

excursions against the *Geshurites*, during his abode at *Ziklag* (6); but nothing of his contracting such a forbidden affinity with their king. Neither indeed is it likely, that so zealous a man, as *David* was, would have married her before she had renounced her idolatry. But, as to what they add, of his forcing her to turn *Jew* against her will, and that the ill hap of her two children, *Abshalom* and *Tamar*, the former of whom turned rebel against his father, and the latter was ravished by *David's* eldest son, was inflicted on him as a punishment for that violence (7), we dare not warrant any thing about it.

(5) 2 Sam. iii. 2, & seqq. 2 Sam. iii. sub noc. 6.

(6) 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8.

(7) Vide *Mass.*

This gratitude to God.

SUCH a series of successes, and the universal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inspired that pious prince with the highest sentiments of gratitude and religion, and with a desire of making his city the centre, as it were, of God's worship, by transporting the sacred ark thither, which had continued almost fifty years at *Kirjath-jearim* (V), and placing it in one of the best apartments in his new palace. He consulted the elders and chiefs of *Israel* upon it, and, being answered with the universal approbation of the assembly, he dispatched messengers through the whole kingdom to invite all the priests and *Levites*, and as many of the people, as were so disposed, to come to the solemnity. The ark accordingly set upon a new cart, in order to be brought from *Anonadab's* house to *Jerusalem*, accompanied by *David* and his court, by multitudes of priests and *Levites*, who sung and played upon various instruments, and by a numerous concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was suspended by an accident, which filled the king and assembly with wonder and fear. The ark was come to *Nachon's* threshing-floor (W), when the oxen

How many wives and concubines he took after he came from *Hebron*, the text doth not say; but mentions only, that he had taken them, by which the *Talmudists* gather, that he had sixteen in all, besides *Michal*, who, being barren, was to be excepted out of that number. Hence they have passed it into a law, that a king ought to have no more wives than eighteen (8); and they believe, that all *Solomon's* miscarriages were owing to his venturing to exceed that number (9).

(V) Archbishop *Usher* reckons, that it was on the first fabulous year that it was brought from *Gilgal* to *Sbilob*; and, that it was likewise upon such

another year that it was removed from *Kirjath-jearim*, to the city of *David*; and that the *lxviii*th psalm was sung by the people who accompanied this solemn procession (10).

(W) Though we have followed our version, it seems to us more probable, that the word (וַחֲנֹן) *nachon*, or *onakon*, is rather a participle than a proper name, and signifies ready fitted, or proper; because we find that *David* stopped at proper distances to offer sacrifices; and perhaps also it might be the killing of the victims that made the oxen start. There was, moreover, a very great irregularity in placing the ark upon a cart; which, according to the law of *Moses*,

(8) *Vide præf. negat. ccxxii.*
(10) *Ann. sub A. M. 2959.*

(9) *Vide sup. vol. iii. p. 141, sub not.*

oxen that drew it, starting at something, were like to have over-set the cart; to prevent which, *Uzzab*, one of *Aminadab's* sons, who drove it, clapped his hand upon the ark in a surprize, and was for his presumption smitten with immediate death. *David* could not forbear expressing a more than ordinary grief at this severity, and resolved to have the ark deposited in the house of *Obed-edom*, the son of *Jeduthun* *, where it continued about three months. *David*, finding, soon after, that *God* had blessed that *Levite* in an extraordinary manner, ever since the ark had been under his roof, and being desirous to procure a share of those divine blessings, caused it to be brought to his own house. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a sumptuous tabernacle for it (X), and causing the priests to bear it according to *God's* command, by offering sacrifices at every six paces, and by shewing an uncommon joy upon that solemn occasion; for he put *His seal* on a linen ephod, and danced before the ark at the sound of a great number of instruments, insomuch that *Michal*, who saw the procession through a window, could not forbear despising and reflecting upon him, for acting, as she thought, so far beneath a king of *Israel*. As soon as the ark was deposited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings; and, having feasted the great concourse of people who came to the city, he dismissed them to their own homes † (Y).

* 1 Chron. xiii.

† 2 Sam. vi. per tot.

HE

ought to have been carried by the priests upon their shoulders; and this accident made him so sensible of his error, that the author of the book of the *Chronicles* observes, that he acknowledged it to the priests at the next removal of the ark, and caused them to bear it upon their shoulders to his house (11).

(X) It may be wondered, that *David* chose to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, instead of sending for that which *Moses* had caused to be made

in the wilderness. It may be indeed reasonably supposed, that the precincture of his palace was not capacious enough for the latter; and this probably is the reason why it continued still, with the altar, and all its other sacred utensils, at *Gibeon*, till *Solomon*, having built his temple, caused them to be brought and deposited in it, as we shall see in its proper place (12).

(Y) The ark being thus fixed in this new repository, the next care was to appoint

(11) 1 Chron. xv. 11, & seqq.

(12) Vide Maimon. tele hammikdash.

HE sent soon after for the prophet *Nathan*, to consult with him about the building of a stately temple to the LORD, who at first highly applauded his pious design, not doubting but GOD would ratify and prosper it; but GOD, who appeared to him that night, directed him to tell that monarch, that, though his intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, so far as he had so often defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper person for such a work, but that he would raise him up a son and successor (*Z*), whose reign he would bless with profound peace, and him with extraordinary wisdom, affluence, and prosperity, and that he should build him a temple. He added, that it was upon him that he would settle the throne of *Israel* unto the end, and prosper him, and his successors, in proportion to their obedience to him. *David*, full of the sense of all these gracious promises, went and prostrated himself before the LORD, and, in the humblest and most pathetic terms, acknowledged

the classes of priests and *Levites* to officiate before it, according to their several functions. He also chose a number of singers, and players upon musical instruments, to celebrate the praises of GOD in their turns, to set such psalms and hymns as he, or any other inspired person, composed, in order to have them sung upon festivals, and other solemn occasions. The author of the *Chronicles* has preserved us one of them, in words at length, which that monarch composed as an eucharistical canticle, and delivered to the musicians, to be sung upon the removal of the ark to his house (14) and which may be justly esteemed one of the sublimest pieces of poetry extant, whether for its elegance, or for the strain of piety and gratitude that runs thro' the whole.

(Z) From the words in the

text, *thy seed, or son, that shall proceed out of thy bowels* (15), the Jews infer, that the crown could devolve neither to *Ammon*, *Absalom*, *Adonijab*, nor to any of those sons that were born before this promise (16); but as the future is often used for the perfect tense, according to the genius of the original, the argument is no way conclusive, unless we throw in to the scale the objection which is urged against the father, being equally strong against those sons, who, being all warriors, had, no doubt, embred their hands in blood; from which *Solomon* was to be altogether free. This exception is not indeed mentioned in the book of *Kings*, but we find it urged in the book of *Chronicles*, as an argument why GOD did not think *David* pure enough to erect so sacred an edifice to him (17).

(14) 1 *Chron.* xvi. *pass.*
Jun. & al in loc.

(15) 2 *Sam.* vii. 12.

(16) *Vide Munst-*

(17) 1 *Chron.* xxii. 8. xxviii. 3.

his extreme unworthiness of all these promised mercies,¹ and his reliance on his omnipotent goodness for the fulfilling of them in his own good time^b; and from thenceforth applied part of his care in making preparations for that sumptuous building, and in laying up for it immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, precious stones, wood and other materials. For, in those successful wars which he had against the *Philistines* ^c, *Moabites* ^d, *Amalekites* ^e, the kings of *Zobab*, *Syria* ^f, and *Edom* ^g; of which the best account has been given in their several histories, that could be got out of the sacred records; he amassed such a prodigious quantity of the richest soil, part of which he never failed to dedicate to this design, that the wealth which he left his son at his death is almost beyond belief. His oeconomy was not inferior to his success; he found that the keeping of a numerous army would either exhaust his treasury too much, or cause too great a share of his subjects lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which, he appointed twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, with proper officers over them, to serve each their respective months in the year; after which, they were dismissed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewise appointed twelve expert persons over his finances, under *Azmaveth* and *Alophim*; and judges in every tribe, to administer justice to the people; besides those of his great council, who had the affairs of religion and state under their care; the former under the two high-priests, *Zadok* the son of *Ahitub*, and *Abimelech* the son of *Abiathar* (B); and the latter under proper officers, among

^b 2 Sam. vii. pass. 1 Chron. xvii. pass. & alib. ^c See before, vol. ii. p. 248. ^d Ibid p. 135. ^e Ibid. p. 187. ^f Ibid. p. 301. ^g Ibid p. 177. See 2 Sam. viii. pass.

(B) We have already taken notice, that these two were, the one, namely, *Zadok*, of the eldest, and *Abimelech* of the youngest branch of *Aaron's* family, and that the high-priesthood had often shifted from the one to the other (18); but that one of each branch should exercise the pontifical

function, at the same time, is what is not to be met with either before or since. It is probable, that *Saul*, after he had killed all the priests in *Nob*, except *Abiathar*, who fled to *David*, might set up *Zadok* to officiate in that dignity in *Israel*, as *Neazar* did in *Judab*; and that, when *David*

(18) *Vid. sup. p. 71, & seqq. & not.*

among which *Joab* was general of the army ; *Jehushabab* was chief secretary, *Seraiah* recorder, *Benaiah* over the *Cherethites* and *Peletites* (C) ; whilst some of the king's sons were set over all these officers h.

Gratitude to Jonathan's fo

BUT neither the cares of the state, nor his uncommon prosperity, could make him forget his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend *Jonathan*. He fought

h See 1 Chron. xxvii. pass.

came to be king of all the 12 tribes. He did not think fit to deprive either of their office, or suffered them both to continue in it, but whether alternately or subordnately, certain it is, that they are all mentioned together upon several other occasions (19) till the beginning of *Solomon's* reign, when *Zadok's* competitor was divested of his dignity, for having gone over to the party of *Adonijah* (20).

(C) It is not easy to guess who these were. The *Chaldee* paraphrast renders their words by archers and slingers; and the rabbies understand them absurdly enough, some the *urim* and *thummim*, and others the grand *sanhedrin* (21); and, if we have no better helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. But we have already hinted elsewhere, that the *Cherethites* were *Philistines* (22), and shall now give some further proofs of it.

When the *Amalekites* had burnt *Ziklag*, and *David*, in pursuit of them, met with an *Egyptian*; that youth informed him, that they had made an incursion into the south of the

Cherethites, and so on (23); from which it is plain, that they must have been either *Philistines*, or some people that dwelt among them, as the *Geshurite* did; unless we will suppose with *Tremelius*, that they were a colony of *Israelites* that took possession of that country, after the *Philistines* had been driven out of it, which we see no grounds for admitting. For we find the prophet *Ezekiel* joining the *Cherethites* and *Philistines* together, either as synonymous, or at least cohabiters (24). Another prophet expresses himself much after the same manner with regard to them and the *Canaanites* (25). Thus far concerning the *Cherethites*.

As for the *Peletites*, we meet with nothing concerning them, except their being joined with them in this place, and in some chapters after, where they are both mentioned as accompanying *David* when he fled from his son *Abshalom* (26). But, whether these two people were captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of lifeguard, we will not venture to determine.

(19) Vide int. al. 2 Sam. xv. 24, & 29. xix. 17, & 12, & alib. (20) 1 Kings i. 7, 8. ii. 35, & alib. (21) Vid. Munst. in loc. (22) Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 223, (1). (23) 1 Sam. xxx. 14. (24) Eb. xxv. 16. (25) Zephan. ii. 5. (26) 2 Sam. xv. 18.

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out his only son *Mephibosheth*, whom he sent for to court, and, after having shewed him all possible tokens of friendship and tenderness, caused all the lands of his royal grandfather to be restored to him, commanding *Ziba*, his head servant, to improve them to the best advantage for his master; and appointed him a table in his own palace, and among his own sons; which bound that young prince to his interest to the day of his death ⁱ.

HIS gratitude to the king of the *Ammonites*, did not meet with the same returns: *Nabash*, from whom *David* had received some signal favours, being dead, he sent an embassy to *Hanun* his son, with offers of renewing their antient friendship; but that weak prince, unjustly suspecting, as has been formerly hinted ^k, the ambassadors were come upon some baser design, treated them in a most shameful manner, and sent them away. This affront, however, turned to *David's* advantage; and *Joab* was sent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, who gained a complete victory against the *Ammonites*, and their confederates. The *Syrians* came against him with fresh forces on the next year, and were so effectually defeated, that they were glad to obtain a peace of him, and to become his tributaries. The *Ammonites* would have been glad to have done the same; but *David* was too exasperated and too successful against them, not to pursue his victory to the utmost, by sending *Joab* to invade their country, which they did with that valour and severity, as reduced them to the lowest ebb ^l.

Year of the flood 1311. Bef. Chr. 1037.

WHILST *Joab* was taken up with the siege of the metropolis of the unfortunate children of *Ammon*, a place of such strength, that it held out two years against him, *David*, wholly relying on his valour and conduct, was enamoured at home of a beautiful woman, whom he had observed washing herself one evening in her garden. She was the daughter and wife of two of his bravest captains, *Eliam* and *Uriah*, who were then with *Joab* at the siege;

Year of the flood 1313. Bef. Chr. 1035.

ⁱ 2 Sam. ix. pass. ^k See before, vol. ii. p. 145. ^l 2 Sam. x. pass. See before, vol. ii. p. 145.

(E) At least we find one son of *Abishophel* (29), and is *Eliam* in the number of *David's* worthies, who was the supposed to have been her father. If so, it is no wonder

siege; but his passion proved too violent to admit of any check from reason or religion, or even of a delay. Her sudden pregnancy, and the danger she was in, of being put to death for it, according to the law of *Moses*, set the king on an expedient to prevent the latter, by sending for her husband from the siege, under pretence indeed of informing himself how it was carried on, but in reality, in hopes of his spending a night or two with her; but, whether *Uriah* had any suspicion of the wrong done to him, or whether, indeed, he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to go and solace himself at home, whilst his general and fellow-soldiers were exposed to the fatigues of a siege, he made this last his excuse for lying that night at the gate of the palace with the rest of the king's guard. The king tried him on the next day, a second time, after having made him eat at his table, and plied him well with wine; but *Uriah* drank as he was, spent that night also with the guards; which made the disappointed monarch resolve to sacrifice his life to that of his faithless wife. Accordingly, on the next morning, he dispatched him with a letter to *Joab*, wherein he ordered that general, the fittest person for such a bloody deed, to expose that brave officer to some imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the besieged. This was accordingly done; and *David*, having received the news of his death, soon sheltered her from danger, by making her his wife^k. We have seen, elsewhere, the success of this long siege, and the hard fate of the conquered *Ammonites*^l: all we need to add here is, that what is said there of their monarch's crown, that it weighed a talent of gold, that is, upwards of 113 pounds, is rather to be understood of its worth than its weight, that is, that the gold and precious stones, with

and murder.

^k 2 Sam. xi. pass. ^l See before, vol. ii. p. 146.

that consummate politician did so easily join in the son's conspiracy, to revenge the affront done to his family by the father (29). As for her husband, he is surnamed the *Hittite*, because he was of that nation, and a proselyte to the

Jewish religion, or was so called upon some warlike exploit he had achieved against them (30). *Josephus* neither mentions this as a surname, or as that of his nation; but only says, that he was *Joab's* armour-bearer (31).

(29) 2 Sam. xv. 12, & seq. vid. & Hebr. comment. in loc. *Beuyr. Munsf. Jun. & al.* (31) *Ant. l. vii. c. 7.*

(30) *Vid.*

which

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which it was adorned, was equal in worth to a talent of gold^m.

IN the interim GOD, highly provoked with *David* for two such heinous crimes, made choice of the prophet *Nathan* to go and denounce his severe judgments against him, at the time when that monarch, insensible of his guilt, was hugging in his arms the fruit of his adultery. The prophet, who knew his generous and upright heart, in any case wherein this new and criminal passion was not concerned, accosted him with a parable of a wealthy man who had spared his own numerous flocks, and seized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feed an hungry guest. He dressed his story with such aggravating circumstances, that the king, in anger, pronounced sentence of death against the person who had been guilty of such an unnatural violence. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, than *Nathan* made him sensible, that he had pronounced it against himself, by ^{paraboli- cal speech} ~~making it~~; with a prophetic boldness, that he was the guilty person, and much more so, in that he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but had murdered him by an enemy's sword, that he might take the adulteress into his bosom; and concluded with denouncing the effects of the divine resentment against him, that *Uriah's* murder would prove an endless source of bloodshed in his own posterity; and that his adultery, how private soever, should be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by those of his own family, and in the face of the sun.

THIS terrible sentence brought *David* to such a deep ^{His re- pentance.} sense of his guilt, that his heart, full of it, could only say, *I have sinned against the LORD*; but the sincere remorse, with which it was uttered, obtained an immediate alleviation of the punishment. However, the unhappy son of *Bathsheba* was doomed to death, and *David* tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him, by prayers and tears, by fasting, sackcloth, lying on the ground, and other marks of repentance. As for the other part of the sentence, which related to his wives, it was soon after fulfilled by his unnatural son *Absalom*, as we shall see anon. The child being dead, according to the saying of the prophet, *David* comforted his new wife for the loss of it; soon after which she found herself pregnant, and he called the son, that she then bore to him, *Solomon*, a name significative of his future peaceful reign, to which

^m 2 Sam. xii. 30. See BOCHART. hieroz. LE SCEN. essay, & al.

Nathan added that of *Jadidiah*, or beloved of the LORD^a, such as he proved indeed, at least during the former part of his glorious and successful reign.

BUT it proved far otherwise with the remainder of that of his father, who, what hopes soever he might have conceived, from the birth and promised glory of this new son, and from his victory over the *Ammonites*, that his repentance had happily disarmed the divine anger, he never ceased feeling some of the severest and most sensible strokes of it, to the last periods of his life; not so much from his enemies without, as from his own children.

Amnon's
incest.

Amnon, his eldest son, was scarcely eighteen years of age, when he laid the foundation of all the domestic troubles of his too indulgent father, by an unnatural incest with one of his own sisters. *David* had had two children by *Maacah* the princess of *Geshur*, "*Absalom* and *Tamar*", whose beauty became the unhappy cause of this unlawful passion. Amnon was observed to pine away secretly, ashamed to disclose the cause of his trouble, when *Jonadab*, the son of *Shimeah*, *David's* brother, having perceived the fatal secret, did not only encouraged him, but furnished him with a stratagem to perpetrate it. *Tamar*, accordingly, was scarcely entered into his bed-chamber, before he, having previously sent all his attendants far enough, laid hold on her, and, in spite of all her prayers and remonstrances, ravished her. His lust thus satisfied, he conceived such a disgust against her, that, not being able to bear her presence any longer, and finding a just and modest reluctance in her to withdraw in that deplorable condition, his barbarity rose to such an height, that he violently caused her to be turned out of his house by some of his servants. Her grief and confusion were such, that, forgetting every thing but her present misfortune, she only sought how to express her sense of it by the most lively tokens; by tearing her virgin robes, covering her head with dust, and filling the air with her cries. In this manner she went to *Absalom's* house, who, being her brother, both by father and mother, was the properest person to procure her a redress; if any could be had. That prince, who was no less politic, than haughty and revengeful, contented himself for the present with desiring her to conceal her grief, seeing it was a brother who was the cause of it, and to spend the remainder of her days in solitude with him

^a 2 Sam. xii. pass.

^a Ibid. xiii. 1, & seqq.

which

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which she did accordingly; whilst he, young as he was, did so well conceal his resentment, that *Amnon* had not the least suspicion of it. When the news of this villainous action came to *David's* ears, he was exceedingly troubled at it, but that was all; *Amnon* was his eldest son, and he could not prevail upon himself to inflict any other punishment on him, than that of his displeasure.

THIS remissness did but add fuel to *Absalom's* hatred; though he did not find a proper opportunity for his design till two years after. The better to conceal his revenge, he invited his father and all his brothers to a sheep-shearing feast, which he was to make at *Bdal-hazor*; he easily excused the king, who declined going, from a principle of economy; but he insisted, in particular, upon his brother *Amnon's* favouring him with his presence, with the rest of his brethren, and easily obtained his consent. When they were come to the place, he received the air which showed nothing less than his murdering intention; but, as soon as he observed, that wine had raised their mirth to the desired pitch, he gave a signal to some of his servants, who immediately fell upon *Amnon*, and stabbed him to death; whilst the rest of the king's sons, expecting, perhaps, their turns would be next, made all possible haste to get to their mules, and rode away to *Jerusalem*. Before they could reach it, word had been brought to the king, that *Absalom* had caused all his brethren to be assassinated; who, receiving this dreadful news, abandoned himself to the most violent expressions of grief. The servants that were about him endeavoured to bear a part in this tragic scene, and flood round him with their cloaths rent. *Zonadab* only, the infamous instrument of *Amnon's* incest, rightly guessed that he alone had proved the victim of *Absalom's* revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were soon after confirmed by the arrival of the rest of the young princes, who, scarcely recovered from their fright, told him all that had happened. It was a melancholy meeting on all hands; the king mourned for some time the loss of his eldest son, whilst his murderer, not expecting the same remissness from him, went and sheltered himself under the protection of his grandfather the king of *Geshur*, where he continued three whole years.

By that time, *Joab*, observing that the king expressed less grief for his dead son, than uneasiness for his absent

° 2 Sam. xiii. per tot.

Joab's
stratagem
to have
Absalom
recalled.

one, reasonably concluded, that, if he could work upon him to recal him by any stratagem that could but save his honour, it would be an acceptable service to them both. To compass this, he instructed a notable woman, whom he had sent for from *Tekoub*, a place not far from *Jerusalem*, to address herself to the king under the personage of a distressed widow, just on the brink of being bereaved of her only son, who was in danger of being put to death for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a total end of her husband's name and family. She told her story with such pathetic expressions of grief, that *David*, moved with compassion, gave her his royal word, that her surviving son should be sheltered from all future prosecution. He had scarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her instructions, she took the liberty, though in the humblest terms, to represent to him the weakness of himself, by suffering his son to continue longer in his banishment, seeing that could by no means recal the dead, whose life, once gone, was like water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, perceiving *Joab* was at the bottom of this, taxed the woman with it; and she, in the modestest terms, acknowledged it, adding, that the king was as an angel of *God*, from whom it was impossible to conceal any thing. *Joab*, who was present at this while, took this opportunity of falling prostrate before him, seemingly to beg pardon for his stratagem, but he lay hold on his promise in favour of *Absalom*; and *David* immediately ordered him to be fetched from his banishment, but with this condition, that he should not approach the king's person, but retire to his own house; so that he did not see the king for two whole years after his return (H). But, being

(H) The text here takes notice of his excessive and ensnaring beauty, which so captivated the hearts of the people to him, that it inspired him with the first sentiments of his unnatural rebellion.

There is a difficulty in this place (37), where mention is made of *Absalom's* three sons, and of one daughter,

named *Tamar*; whereas it is said, in another place (38), that he raised up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, because he had no male issue. All that can be supposed, is, that they died in that short interval, though no mention is made of their death.

(37) 2 Sam. xiv. 27.

(38) *Ibid.* cb. xviii. 18.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

tired at length with living so long in disgrace, and having sent in vain for *Joab*, once and again, to come to him, he found no other way of bringing him, but causing some of his adjacent corn to be set on fire. *Joab* soon came to him at the news of this unexpected treatment; and, after some passionate expostulations on both sides, it was agreed that the king should be applied to in favour of his son, which was soon after successfully done by that politic general P.

THIS reconciliation could not but convince *Absalom* of his father's extraordinary fondness for him; but the ungrateful prince only sought how to make the most unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a sumptuous equipage of chariots, horses, and running-footmen, to attract the eyes of the people; and, by an affected popularity, and seeming compassion for those who came to the king for justice, it was not long before he persuaded them, that they would be much happier under his government. This he continued doing four years (1), after which, finding himself strong enough to break out into an open rebellion, he obtained leave of his too easy father, to go and perform a pretended vow in *Hebron*, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him whilst others, who were dispersed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as soon as they heard the signal given by the blowing of the trumpet. At his coming to *Hebron*, he sent for *Amithai* (K); and the

P z Sam. xiv. per tot.

(1) The text says forty years (39); but the learned *Usher* has shewed, that it can be only meant from *David's* being first anointed by *Samuel*, and not from his reconciliation to *Absalom*; for this rebellion happened about four years after it (40). That prelate observes, that it was before or about *Whitsuntide*, by the new fruits and parched corn which *Bar-killai* brought to *David* in his flight (41).

We may likewise observe here, that *Absalom* is the first

who introduced the use of horses in *Israel*: till then, the kings used to ride on mules, and the greatest nobles upon asses, as we have seen in the history of the judges.

(K) We have taken notice, in a late note, of the supposed reason of his defection, namely, his near relation to *Bathsheba*, and his resentment for the injury done to her by *David*, which he did not think sufficiently recompensed by his marrying her (42).

(39) 2 Sam. xvi. 7.
Kuu. 28.

(40) *Ann. sub A. M.* 2911.
(42) *Sub not.* (E).

(41) 2 Sam.

defection

75
Year the
1823
Bef. Chr.
1025.
Absalom
reconciled
his fa-
ther;
and rebels
against
him.
Year of
the flood,
1325.
Bef. Chr.
1023.

defection of that great politician, who had been one of *David's* chief counsellors, did not contribute a little to increase the number of conspirators. *David* was then at *Jerusalem*, when news were brought to him of his son's rebellion; and, being afraid either of being surpris'd in it, or of being the cause, perhaps, of its inhabitants being put to the sword, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haste he could out of the city. As soon as he came to the next convenient place, he made a halt, to take a melancholy view of the handful of men which followed him.

AMONG those that attended the king, were the high-priests, *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, at the head of a number of *Levites*, who had brought the ark of *God* with them, *David*, however, did not think fit, that they should follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark back to *Jerusalem*, whence they might send him intelligence of all that pass'd there, by their two sons *Abimaaz* and *Jathan*, and assist him with their counsel, as they were endued with the gift of prophecy; whilst he went and conceal'd himself in some of the plains of the wilderness, resolv'd to submit to whatever *God* should decree concerning him. As soon as the priests were departed, *David* received the melancholy news, that *Ahithophel* was gone over to his son; upon which, he pray'd earnestly to *God*, to confound whatever counsel that old statesman should give to the rebels. As soon as he went up soon after, he and his small troop, the ascent of mount *Olivet*. The march was mournful beyond expression; the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare, whilst his sorrowful retinue express'd their deep concern for him, by the liveliest expressions of real grief. When they were come to the top of it, and had offer'd up their prayers to *God*, Providence sent him an old friend nam'd *Hushai*, who came with his cloathes rent, resolv'd to share in his misfortunes. *David*, though satisfy'd of his fidelity, did not think fit, however, to take him into his retinue, but rather begg'd of him to join himself to that of his rebellious son, where he might do him much greater service, by thwarting the counsels of *Ahithophel*, and by informing him, by means of the two high-priests, of every thing that was resolv'd among the rebels. *Hushai* readily accepted the office, and acquitted himself of it with such faithful zeal, that he prov'd one main instrument of their overthrow.

Ahithophel joins in the rebellion.

In the mean time, whilst the sorrowful monarch was on his march, *Ziba*, the treacherous servant of *Mephibosheth*, brought him some necessary refreshments; and, being asked where his master was, told him, that he was then at *Jerusalem*, where he expected to be shortly restored to the throne of *Israel*. An accident, that followed upon the heels of this false report, helped to convince *David* of *Mephibosheth's* ingratitude. He was scarce come as far as *Baburim*, a village not very far distant from that metropolis, when he was met by one of *Saul's* family, named *Shimej*, who had the boldness to throw volleys of stones at him, accompanied with the bitterest curses and imprecations, for being the author of *Saul's* misfortunes, notwithstanding *David* was, at that time, surrounded by his guard, and all his friends. This unexpected indignity so enraged some of his captains that they offered to go and smite off his head; but *David* restrained them, by putting them in mind of his natural son, who sought a tender father's life, whilst this *Benjaminite* expressed no more than a natural concern for *Saul's* house; adding, that, if his curses came from God, patience and resignation would more effectually avert them, than such a bloody resentment.

By this time *Abfalom* and *Ahithophel* were come to *Jerusalem*; and here it was that *Hushai* came to congratulate and offer his services to him. *Abfalom*, who knew him to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expressed some surprize, at first, at this unexpected change; but was answered by that consummate politician, that he thought it high time to abandon the father's interest, when Providence had so openly declared for the son; so that he had now no more to do, but to serve him with the same fidelity, that he had done his father. Such a soothing speech could not but please the proud young prince, who admitted him into the number of his counsellors, without the least suspicion; and reposed such confidence in him, that he soon after preferred his advice to that of *Ahithophel*, and lost thereby the fairest opportunity of securing the victory and his father's crown to himself. As His advice soon as they were well settled in the king's palace, a vice to council was called, in which *Ahithophel* advised the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the house, and go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the sun (L). *Abfalom*.

THE

(L) This, as we observed greatest indignity that could be before, being esteemed the offered to a crowned head, that hellish

His
counsel
was
given

THE next thing which *Ahithophel* proposed was, to be sent at the head of 12,000 chosen men, to fall upon *David's* little army, whilst they were still weary with their flight; assuring him, that, as soon as the king was taken off, which himself engaged to do, all the people would gladly come over to him as one man. This counsel was approved both by *Absalom*, and all the elders of *Israel*; but, as it was given in *Hushai's* absence, the prince resolved to have his advice upon it; and *Hushai*, being informed of it, and wisely foreseeing, that, if it were followed; *David* must be inevitably lost, omitted nothing to persuade him from it. He told the council, that *David* and his officers were men of too great valour and experience, to suffer themselves to be thus surpris'd: that, for aught he knew, they had fortified themselves by that time in some caverns, or among the rocks, whence they would fall upon them with such desperate fury, that it would be impossible for them to stand the shock: that if they should be unhappily beaten back in this first enterprize, the fame of *David's* valour would quickly spread to such a degree, as would inject an universal terror into all their army, and give the exasperated king the fairest opportunity of quashing the conspiracy. For these reasons, he said, he thought it dangerous to undertake any thing against him, till *Absalom* had wholly disheartened his men, by calling together all *Israel* from *Dan* to *Beer-sheba*, and pouring his troops so thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to escape. His swollen and affected speech could hardly have failed being being suspected, had not Providence suffered both the young prince and the council to be blinded with it. *Ahitophel* was the only person who perceived the drift, and dangerous consequence of it; so that, vexed at the heart to see, *Hushai's* advice preferred to his own, he ordered his ass to be saddled, and rode away with all speed to his house, where, having

hellish politician told him, was the most effectual means to make his men fight desperately for him, because they would then look upon the breach as irreconcilable: and it could not be expected, that *Absalom*, who had already been guilty of fratricide, and of rebellion

against his own father, should scruple to add adultery and incest to his other crimes: he readily complied with the advice, and thereby fulfilled one part of *Nathan's* prophecy against his adulterous father (43).

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

settled his family-affairs in the best manner he could, he ^{Haggai,} went and hanged himself. ^{and hanged}

HUSHAI, in the mean time, informed the high-priests ^{bin, 21.} of what had passed, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not cross the *Jordan* that very night. These immediately dispatched a maid-servant to their sons, *Ahimaaz* and *Jonathan*, who lay concealed for that purpose at *En-rogel*, with orders, that they should go immediately and inform *David* of it; and those two young priests hastened to *David's* camp, where they informed him of all that had been transacted at *Ab-salom's* court. *David* lost no time, but crossed ^{the} *Jordan* ^{for} *David* ^{and goes over} on the next morning when he came to *Mahanaim*. ^{Jordan.} He had taken a review of them, he found that they were all safely got thither with him. As soon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, several of his friends came thither to him, with a timely supply of provision for himself and his men, with tents, coverlets, and other necessary utensils. On the other hand, *Ab-salom*, hearing that his father was removed to this place, came against him with an army, under the command of *Amasa*, and encamped in the land of *Gilead*.

DAVID, having refreshed himself and his troops, and supplied the vacancy of those officers who were gone over to *Ab-salom*, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of *Joab* and his two brothers, resolving to appear in person against his rebellion. But the people strenuously opposed it, alleging that his life was of too great consequence, to be hazarded at a time, when his enemy would prefer his single death before the defeat of his whole army. The king acquiesced to them, and stayed at *Mahanaim* with a small reinforcement; and whilst the rest of his men marched out before him, under their respective officers, he failed not to give them a strict charge to be very tender of *Ab-salom's* life. A fierce battle was soon after fought in the forest of *Ephraim*, wherein the rebel army was discomfited with the loss of 20,000 men, who were killed on the spot, besides a great number of others, who perished in the wood, and in their flight: *Ab-salom* himself, mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly from a party of *David's* men towards the wood, where the bough of a thick oak having taken hold of his bushy hair, the mule running with full speed, left him suspended

^a See 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

^b Ibid. xvii. per tot.

Abſalom between heaven and earth. Joab, being informed of this accident, went himſelf to the place, and ran three darts through his body; after which, he cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat, to prevent a further effuſion of blood. Abſalom's body was taken down, and hung into a large pit, and covered with an heap of ſtones; and the reſt of the rebels were no ſooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his home. All this while the king ſtaid at the gate of *Mahanaim*, impatient to hear the ſucceſs of the action; but, in his heart, more ſolicitous for the life of his unnatural ſon, than for that of his friends, or even for his own; inſomuch that, when he received the news of his death, not able to ſuppreſs his tears, he was forced to withdraw himſelf to the apartment over the gate, to hide his extreme weakneſs, and to give a full vent to his grief.

1325-
Bef. Chl
1023.

David's
witiſtly
grief for
him

reproved
by Joab.

David is
acknow-
leged by
all the
tribes.

JOAB, who eaſily foreſaw the conſequence of this un- timely grief, and that it was like to cauſe a general de- fection, made no difficulty to go up and upbraid him with his ingratitude in ſuch insolent terms, though covered with a ſhew of loyalty and concern, that the afflicted king was forced to ſuſpend, or at leaſt conceal his grief, and ſhew himſelf to the people with ſeeming chearful coun- tenance. As ſoon as they heard of his appearing pub- licly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even thoſe who had followed *Abſalom*, came in crowds, and ſtrove who ſhould ſhew the greateſt affection to him. As ſoon as the king perceived, that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to *Jeruſalem*, he ſent word to the two high-prieſts, to haſten the elders of *Judah* to come and accompany him back to his palace, and to pro- miſe to *Anaſa*, *Abſalom's* general, that, if he would come over to him, he ſhould be his chief general in the room of *Joab* (O).

HITMERTO

2 Sam. xviii. per tot.

(O) Among thoſe that came over *Jordan* to meet the king, *Shimei* was one of the firſt; he came at the head of a thouſand men of his own tribe; and, falling proſtrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be forgiven, in conſideration of his being fore- moſt of all the tribes, to con- gratulate him upon his late victory. *David's* generals in- deed thought it a poor recom- ence for his late indignity to his prince, and were urgent to have him made an example to all *Israel*; but the king, will- ing to ſignalize, as it were, his new reign by an unparallel- ed clemency, not only reproved their

HITHERTO there had appear'd nothing but an universal emulation between the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by the plainest tokens of submission and zeal; but the partiality which *David* shewed for his own tribe, in inviting it to come foremost to receive him, raised such jealousy in the other ten; as ended at length in a new revolt; and the contest between them grew to such a height, through the obstinacy of the tribe of *Judab*, that *Sheba*, a factious fellow of the tribe of *Benjamin*, took occasion from it to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the malecontents to him, who immediately disclaim'd all further interest in *David*, and bid open defiance to those that adhered to him; upon which, he set out at the head of all the ten tribes, that alone of *Judab*, which had occasioned this defection, following their king from *Jordan* to *Jerusalem*.

As soon as *David* was come to his metropolis, he ordered his new general to set out, and gather what forces he could out of *Judab*, and to come to him within three days, whilst himself took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and assign'd them a suitable maintenance, and another house, where they might spend their days in a kind of widowhood. But *Anasa*, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outstaid his time, the king gave the command of his guards, and

their untimely zeal, but generously confirm'd his pardon with an oath.

Mephibosheth came next, to express his joy at the king's return, and to justify himself from the base aspersions of his treacherous servant. He gave him indeed some evident proofs both of his steady gratitude and fidelity, and of *Ziba's* perfidy; so that the king seem'd to be outwardly satisfied with them; but, whether he was not really so, or that he cared not wholly to reverse the grant he had made to that traitor, he order'd the lands to be divided between his master and him. Whilst the

king was sitting ready to pass over *Jordan*, his old friend *Baizillai* came to accompany him ever that river, and to take his last farewell of him. *David* would fain have persuaded him to go with him to *Jerusalem*, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding his services; but the good old man excus'd himself from it on account of his age, which had rendered him incapable of tasting the pleasures of a court; desiring him, that he would bestow his favours on his son *Chimham*, who was ready to accompany him thither; which was readily granted (50).

(50) 2 Sam. xix. 18, & seqq.

of those few troops he had about him, to *Abishai*, *Joab's* brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his army against *Absalom*, and ordered him to pursue *Sheba* before he could get into some fenced city (P). At the great stone of *Gibeon* the treacherous *Joab* came forth, seemingly to welcome *Amasa*; and, taking hold of his chin, with one hand, as if he intended to kiss him, ran his sword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As soon as he had removed his body out of sight, which he found to cause a general stop of his men, he marched with them directly to *Abel*, and to *Beth-machab*, into which the rebel had retired with some troops; and had scarce begun to besiege the place in form, when a prudent woman spake to him from the top of the wall, and desired him to listen to the advice of an inhabitress of a place, which she might remember had been always famed for counsel and wisdom *, and to forbear his hostilities against a mother-city of *Israel*; promising him, upon that condition, that the head of *Sheba* should be flung to him over the wall. *Joab* consented to the proposal, and, as soon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, he raised the siege, and returned to *Jerusalem*. This successful action, which quashed at once a dangerous revolt, and restored an universal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raise the credit of the disgraced general; insomuch that, though he had undertook it without order, yet the king saw him self forced to express his approbation of it, by restoring him to his former post, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death †.

A famine
in the
land.

Year of
the flood

1327.

Bef. Chr.

1021.

Two years after this ‡, began a famine in the land, which lasted three years; at the end of which, *David* consulted the LORD concerning the cause of it, and was answered, that it was for the murder of the *Gibeonites*, whom *Saul* and his bloody house had unjustly caused to be slain (Q); upon which, he sent to know what satisfaction

* 2 Sam. xx. ver. 18, 19. † Ibid. xxi. per tot. ‡ USSER. ann. sub ann. mund. 2983, 2986.

(P) It is plain by this, that *Joab* was then in high disgrace; but that did not hinder his going along with *Abishai*, though not as a commander; and, by that time they were come to the great stone of *Gi-*

beon, *Amasa* joined them with his troops.

(Q) It is not easy to say when this slaughter of the *Gibeonites* was committed: the *Jews* indeed pretend, that *Saul* had taken it into his head, in one of

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

faction they required for the wrong; who sent him back word, that they desired neither gold, silver, nor any valuable consideration, but only that seven males of *Saul's* family might be sent to be put to death by them. The king lost no time, but caused them to be sought out of that unfortunate house; but gave express orders, that *Mephibosheth* should be spared, out of gratitude to his father; and, as soon as they were put to death, the famine was stayed. After this, *David* had four successive battles with the *Philistines*, which the reader may see in the history of that nation ^a; in the first of these, he hazarded himself so far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantic champions, but was timely succoured by one of his own worthies; for which reason, his officers swore, that he should never more expose his person to such dangers ^b. These victories gave birth to a most excellent eucharistical poem, which that monarch composed in memory of his late deliverance, and is now the xviiith psalm ^c.

DAVID had not long enjoyed the fruit of these victories, before he brought an heavier punishment upon his kingdom, by taking it into his head to have the people numbered. *Joab* indeed, wicked as he was, in vain represented to him the danger of his displeasing God by it (2). The king would be obeyed; and *Joab*, with the rest of

^a See vol. ii. p. 248. ^b 2 Sam. xxi. per tot. ^c Comp: 2 Sam. xxii. with Psal. xviii.

of his phrenetic fits of zeal, to cut them all off (51); but they give us no authority for it: it is therefore generally, and with greater probability, believed to have happened when he slew all the priests and inhabitants of *Nob*. For the *Gibeonites*, as we have seen elsewhere (52), were a kind of servants to them, employed in some of the lowest and most laborious offices.

(R) The text says, that the *Israelites* had provoked God's anger against them (which is

no great wonder, that being generally the return they made to him, whenever they were blessed with any interval of peace and prosperity); and that he suffered *David* to be emptied to this deed; or, as the author of the *Chronicles* (53) words it, suffered *Satan* to tempt him to it. Not that the thing itself was forbidden; on the contrary, they had an express permission from *Moses* for it, provided they paid half a shekel for every person so numbered (54). The reason, there-

(5) *Vid. Munst. in loc. sub not. a.* (52) *Vid. sup. xv. iii. p. 96.* (53) 1 Chron. xxi. 1. (54) *Vid. Exod. xxx. 12, 13.*

of the commissioners, were forced to set about it. These travelled through the land on either side *Jordan*; and, at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the sum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom; namely, of *Israel* 800,000, and of *Judah* 500,000 (S). But, before this time, *David*, having probably felt some evident tokens of the Divine displeasure ^d, was struck with a lively sense of his folly, which broke out in expressions of the deepest remorse. On the next morning, the prophet *Gad* was sent to him, to chuse, as a punishment for his sin, either a seven years famine (T), or to be three months pursued by his enemies, or to suffer a three days penitence. The humbled monarch owned it to be an hard choice; but, considering that war and famine seldom fall so heavy on the great, as on those of the lower rank,

Year of
the flood
1331.
Bef Christ
1017.

^d *Chron.* xxvii. 24.

fore, of God's being provoked with it, was, in all probability, because *David* did it from wrong motives, without any necessity, in time of profound peace, after so many miraculous deliverances, with a seeming confidence in his own strength, and contrary to his continual professions of depending in God alone. As for that part of the punishment which fell so heavy upon so many thousands of the people, it is supposed to have been owing to the neglect of paying the above-mentioned ransom appointed by the *Mosaic* law (55).

(S) It appears by the book of *Chronicles* (56), that *Joab*, though in no other case scrupulous, went about his work with such an unwilling mind, that he prolonged it as much as he could, in hopes the king

would see his error, and put an end to it; which it seems he did; for *Joab* came back before he had numbered the tribes of *Benjamin* and *Levi*. The account which that general gave here, differs likewise, in some particulars, from that in the *Chronicles* (57); so that it is probable the overplus was afterwards added to it.

(T) The book of the *Chronicles* says three years famine (59); so that it is likely the prophet means here seven years, including that three years which was sent upon account of the *Gibeonites*, and the next year, which could not be very fruitful through scarceness of seed, the *Philistine* war, and, as *Usher* conjectures (60), because, the fourth year being a jubilee, there was to be neither sowing nor reaping, but for the poor.

(55) *Ira* rabbin. vide *Mursf. Nicol. & al. in loc. & in Exod. xxx.*
 (56) *1 Chron. xxi. 6.* (57) *Conf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. v. 17. xxi. 5, 6. & xxvii. 24.* (59) *Ibid. xx. ver. 12. Vid. Mursf. Jun. & al. in loc.*
 (60) *An. sub A. M. 2987.*

chose the three days pestilence, as the more equal punishment, and more immediately under the direction of heaven. No sooner had *David* made the dismal choice, ^{which brings pestilence upon the land.} than that dreadful distemper received the divine commission, and executed it with such amazing swiftness, that it had destroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. It was now beginning to fall upon the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, when God was pleased to put a stop to it at *David's* prayer; who, beholding the minister of divine vengeance (V) standing by the threshing-floor of *Araunah*, a prince of the *Jebusites* (W), humbly intreated the LORD, that he would spare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himself, and those of his court, who bore a share in his guilt. Whilst he was offering up this mournful supplication, the prophet came to him, and commanded him to erect an altar on the spot of ground, where he had seen the destroying angel stand. *David* immediately hastened towards the threshing-floor, where *Araunah* came forward to give him a respectful meeting; and, as soon as he understood that monarch's purpose of buying it of him, he made him a generous offer both of the floor, the threshing-carts, and all the wooden instruments that were upon it. *David* thanked him for the generous offer, but told him, that it did not be ome the king of *Israel* to offer sacrifices to God at other peoples cost; and desired him to sell a price upon it. So *Araunah* sold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty shekels of silver (X). *David* halted to rear an altar there, and

(V) The text says expressly, that *David* saw the angel of the LORD, that smote the people (61); and the book of *Chronicles* adds (62), that he saw him standing between heaven and earth, with his sword drawn; and that both he, and the elders of *Israel*, who were with him, fell on their faces; and that *Araunah*, and his sons, who were threshing there, likewise saw him, and went and hid themselves (63); so that

these two places, compared together, will by no means admit of an allegorical sense.

(W) At least he is generally believed to have been such by *Jews* and *Christians* from the words (64), *All these did Araunah the king give unto the king*; for that is the true sense of the original.

(X) The book of *Chronicles* seems again to clash strangely here with that of *Samuel*, in making the sum, which *Da-*

(61) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 17.
20.

(62) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 23.

(63) 1 *Chrou.* xxi. 16.

(64) *Ibid.* ver

and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon it; and a miraculous fire, which descended from heaven, and consumed the victims, soon gave them a manifest proof, that God was again reconciled to the land ^e.

Year of **the flood** **1133.** **Chr.** **1015.**
Adonijah's conspiracy.
 BY this time *David*, who was about seventy years of age, had so exhausted his strength, and natural heat, by a continual series of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm; so that his servants were forced to seek out a young beautiful virgin to cherish him, and lie in his bosom. His declining state made *Adonijah*, who was next in birth to *Absalom*; begin to look upon himself as already invested with the regal dignity. He got a sumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen, whilst *David*, out of a natural fondness for his children, beheld it without shewing any dislike (Y); but his design being suspected by *Nathan*, *Zadok*, and some of *David's* worthies, who were in young *Solomon's* interest, the prophet went and advised *Bathsheba* to go and inform the king of it, and to put him in mind of his promise in favour of her for ^e. Whilst she was still speaking, *Nathan* came, as it had been pre-agreed, and gave the king an account of *Adonijah's* feast, company, and of the design of it; desiring to know, whether it was

^e 2 Sam. xxiv. ver tot.

David paid to the *Jebusites* prince, amount to 600 shekels of gold. To reconcile which difference, authors, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have offered various conjectures (65): we think that they remove the difficulty best, who suppose, that the sixty shekels of silver were paid only for the floor, oxen, and wooden instruments; and that the 600 shekels of gold were afterwards paid to him for the whole spot of ground, which *David* had chosen to build the temple upon (66).

(Y) It plainly appears, that

young prince had some suspicion, that his father designed *Solomon* to be his successor; and it was to prevent it, that he made what haste he could to get himself proclaimed: for, when he first leagued himself with *Joab* and *Abiathar*, and with them invited all his brothers, with a considerable number of his father's officers, and of the elders of *Judab*, to a sumptuous feast, which he had prepared at *Zobeith*, in order to be proclaimed king of *Israel* there, *Solomon* was the only one of the royal family that was omitted.

(65) *Villalpand. in Ezek. Bochart. hieroz. tom. i. lib. i. c. 38, & al.*
 (66) *Vid. Le Scen. & essay on a new vers. pt. ii. c. 2. Munst. Jun. Calm. & al. in loc.*

done with his consent. The king, surpris'd with this report, order'd *Solomon* immediately to be set on his mule, and to be carried to *Gihon*, accompanied with his guards, with *Zadok*, *Benaiah*, and some others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king; and then to be brought back, and seated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his successor by the sound of the trumpet.

THE king's commands were executed with such speed, that *Adonijah* and his company had not the least knowledge of it, till they were alarmed with the universal shouts of, *Long live king Solomon*. *Jonathan*, the son of *Abiathar*, came soon after to them, and gave them an account of the whole ceremony, assuring them, that it was all performed by the king's express order, who had testified an uncommon joy at seeing his favourite son seated upon his throne before he left the world, whilst the air was filled with the acclamations of all the people. This unexpected news struck them with such amazement, that they all fled with the utmost speed; and *Adonijah*, seeing himself forsaken, went and took sanctuary at the horns of the altar. *Solomon*, being informed of it, sent him word, that, if he behaved himself for the future like an honest man, he would not hurt an hair of his head; but assured him, that his next disloyal attempt would certainly be punished with death. This message brought *Adonijah* upon his knees to the new king; after which he was ordered to retire to his own house.

DAVID, now finding himself near his end, assembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the priests and *Levites*, and acquainted them with his former design to have built a magnificent repository for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that that work was reserved for *Solomon's* peaceful reign. Notwithstanding which, he told them, he had made great preparations for it, and laid up immense quantities of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other materials (Z); all which, together

David's
speech to
his officers.

f 1 Kings i. pass.

(Z) The book of *Chronicles* says, that the gold, which was that of *Ophir*, amounted to 3000 talents; and the silver, which was of the purest sort, to 7000 talents: as to the

baser metals, they are said to have been without number (68).

Dean *Prideaux* observes (69) two things concerning this immense quantity of gold, which

(68) 1 Chron. ult. ver. 4.

(69) Connect. book i.

together with the plans and models of that edifice, the order and disposition of the several branches of the divine service, the courses of the priests and Levites, of the musicians, singers, and porters, the plan for establishing judges, and courts of justice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations^a, he now resigned up to him to be perfected and improved, as his wisdom should direct him. He requested them to assist him in so desirable a work, and that those, who were inclined to contribute towards that building, should bring their free-will-offerings into the treasury. This speech stirred up such a spirit of munificence in the rich men of *Israel*, that they out-void one another in the richness of their presents towards the building of the temple; so that *David* had the pleasure to see an incredible quantity of gold, silver, copper, and other metals, besides precious stones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought to him from all parts of the kingdom^b. The sight of so much wealth, brought in with such expedition and alacrity, did, as it were, revive the monarch's poetic muse, and made him break out into an eucharistical rapture, full of the deepest gratitude to *God*, and good wishes for the prosperity both of his son, and of the kingdom; which were seconded with an hearty and universal acclamation, and accompanied with

^a 1 Chron. from chap. xxiii. to xxix. pass.
^b 1 Chron. ult. ver. 7, & seqq.

^c See

David dedicated to the service of the temple: the first is, that it was that of *Ophir*; from which he concludes, that he must have established a navigation in his time, without which it cannot be conceived how he could have heaped it to that degree; for, as for that which he got out of the spoils of war, and his public revenue, it makes an article by itself, exclusive of these 3000 talents.

His next observation we shall give in his own words, as they stand in the note under the former: "This sum, says he, is so prodigious, as gives reason to think, that the

" talents, whereby this sum
 " is reckoned, were another
 " sort of talents, of a far less
 " value than the *Mosaic* ta-
 " lents, of which an account
 " is given in the preface. For
 " what is said to be given by
 " *David* [1 Chron. xxii. 14,
 " 15, 16. and xxix. 3, 4, 5.],
 " and contributed by his
 " princes [xxix. 6, 7, 8.],
 " toward the building of the
 " temple at *Jerusalem*, if va-
 " lued by these talents, exceed-
 " ed the value of eight hun-
 " dred millions of our money,
 " which was enough where-
 " with to have built all that
 " temple of solid silver."

solemn sacrifices, and other tokens of joy. On the next day, the king ordered 1000 oxen, 1000 sheep, and the same number of lambs, to be offered up, besides the daily sacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink-offerings, with which the whole company were feasted all that day, with a magnificence worthy so great and good a monarch ^h. In this assembly *Solomon* was anointed a second time by *Zadok*, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of *Judah* and *Israel*, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes; *Zadok* was at the same time declared sole high-priest, for his strict adherence to *Solomon* ⁱ; and *Abiathar* reduced to the second rank, for his desertion to *Adonijah*.

AFTER this, the king sent for his son to give his last instructions; and, first of all, he put him in mind, that all the gracious promises, which God had made to him, and his posterity, were only conditional, and depended wholly upon their observance of his laws; so that they must expect their prosperity to rise and fall in proportion to their obedience. He then proceeded to recommend to him the family of the good old *Barzilai*, and of those other friends, who had stuck to him in his adverse fortune. As for *Joab*, added he, thou knowest how many vile actions he has been guilty of, and how treacherously he has imbrued his hands in the blood of my two brave generals, *Abner* and *Amasa*. I was not then in a condition to punish him for it: thou knowest but too well, that he has forfeited his life, and on how many accounts he is unworthy of it. *Shimei* doth not less deserve a violent death, for his horrid curses and indignity to me, when I laboured under the deepest affliction; but as he took an opportunity to acknowledge his crime, at a time when I thought it more proper to forgive than to punish it, I sealed then his pardon with an oath; but thou, who art not under the same obligation, mayest, if thou thinkest fit, inflict such a punishment as his crime deserves. The king died soon after, in the seventieth year of his age, after having reigned seven years in *Hebron*, over the house of *Judah*, and thirty-three over all the twelve tribes: He left an immense treasure behind him, besides that which he had dedicated to the service of the temple; and was buried

^h 1 Chron. xxix. pass. 1 Kings i. & seqq.
xxix. per tot.

ⁱ 1 Chron.

in a stately tomb (A), in that part of the city, which he had caused to be built, adjoining to the old *Jeſus*, or *Jeruſalem* ^k.

Year of the flood 1325. ^{Bef. Chriſt} SOLOMON, being ſeated on the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's laſt injunctions. *Adonijah* obliged him to go the ſooner about it, by an action, which, though ſeemingly perhaps to a youthful indifcretion, could not but render him ſuſpected of ſome further deſign, in concert with the turbulent *Joab*. That young prince, obnoxious and diſgraced as he was, for his late attempt upon the crown, was raſh enough to make uſe of *Bathſheba's* interceſſion, to obtain the king's leave to marry *Achiſbag*, the young *Idumean* virgin, who had been the cheariſher of *David's* old age; aſſuring her, that he deſired no other recompence for the loſs of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. *Bathſheba*, glad perhaps to find, that her ſon's rival would be ſatisfied at ſo eaſy a rate, had no difficulty to promiſe him her intereſt, not doubting of ſucceſs. *Solomon*, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a requeſt from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen, and a mother; but, when he heard the purport of her ſuit, he was ſo enraged at his ambitious brother, that he ordered him to be put to immediate death. *Joab*, alarmed at the news, went and took ſanctuary at the

¹⁰ 1 Kings ii. 1—10.

(A) We have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore of this ſtately tomb, and of the immense treaſure that had been laid up in it by him, and his ſucceſſor, according to the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian (70). The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that his hiſtory was penned by three cotemporary prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Geſai* (71). His zeal, piety, and repentance, are likewise celebrated in ſeveral places of the Old and New Teſtament; but that which raiſes his character above all

the reſt is, that the promiſe of the MESSIAH, which had been made to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *Judah*, was fixed to that monarch's poſterity. Accordingly the ſacred genealogiſts have given us the two lines of it, in whom his birth was joined, namely, that of *Nathan*, from which his virgin-mother was deſcended; and that of *Solomon*, from which was ſprung *Joſeph*, his reputed father (72), as we ſhall further ſhew in the ſecond part of this hiſtory.

(70) *Vid.* vol. i. p. 446, & ſeq. vol. iii. p. 174, & ſeq. (71) 1 *Chron.* xxix. ver. 29. (72) *Comp. Matth.* i. 1, & ſeq. and *Luke* iii. 23 to 31.

horns of the altar, where he met with the punishment of Adonijah his crimes, and was succeeded in his post of general by *and Joab Benaiah*, who had been before appointed his and *Adonijah's* put to executioner. The next in guilt was *Abiathar*, who had been one of the chiefs of *Adonijah's* conspiracy; but the king contented himself with divesting him of his share in the high-priesthood, and confining him to his own territories at *Anathoth*, in consideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a sharer in his afflictions. The king then sent for *Shimei*, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet, out of regard to his father's promise, he would put it in his power to save his life, by confining him within the walls of *Jerusalem*; but he assured him, at the same time, that if ever he stirred out of it without his leave, his disobedience should cost him his head. The old man, glad to come off so well, thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but, venturing some years after to transgress his orders, and to ride out after two run-away servants, he was put to death for it at his returnⁿ.

SOLOMON did not think it enough, that he had rid himself of two such powerful enemies as *Adonijah* and *Joab*; he sought to strengthen himself still more, by marrying the daughter of the king of *Egypt*, who was then one of the most powerful princes about him; and *Pharaoh* gave her for dowry the city of *Gezer*, which he had taken from the *Canaanites*, and burnt down to the ground; but which, being rebuilt by *Solomon*, became a very considerable place^o. *Solomon* repaired soon after to *Gibeon*, the place where the ark was; and, having offered a thousand sacrifices, the LORD appeared to him in a dream, and promised to grant him whatever he should ask. The young monarch, conscious of his tender years, and of the weight of his kingdom, begged only for such a degree of wisdom, as might enable him to govern with that prudence and sagacity, as became a king of *Israel*; which modest request obtained him such a share of wisdom and knowledge, as had never been possessed by any mortal, together with a promise of such other earthly blessings, as he had so judiciously overlooked. It was not long before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wisdom and discernment, in the method he took to pass a right judgment between two women, both contending for a living child, and disclaiming the dead one with such

ⁿ 1 Kings ii. pass. • Ibid. ch. ix. 16.

equal ardour, that it was thought impossible to adjudge the infants to their right mothers. But he soon found out an expedient to make nature itself unravel what reason could not, by ordering the living child to be divided by a sword between the contending mothers; which so alarmed the real one, that she chose rather to resign him up whole to her adversary, than to see him butchered before her eyes^p. After this the assembly could not be at a loss what judgment to make of their young monarch's wisdom, which was so much the more surprising and extraordinary, as he was then, at most, but twenty years of age, according to the chronology of our Bibles, and the learned archbishop^q.

His magnificence. • It became no less conspicuous in the choice he made of his officers, and in the order and magnificence of his court, the provisions for his house^(C), the number and richness of his tables, chariots, horses, stalls, and equipage^(D); in the settling of his customs and finances; and the regulating of his guards, and his army^(E); which, added to the vast number and valour of his subjects, and his

^p 1 Kings iii. per totum ^q Sub A. M. 2971 & 2991.

(C) These provisions are said to have amounted every day to thirty measures [each measure containing about eight bushels and an half] of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted and twenty pasture oxen, and an hundred sheep; besides venison, poultry, wild fowl, fish, pulse, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were sent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his respective month, and out of his respective canton⁽⁸⁰⁾.

(D) Solomon was the first who introduced the use of chariots and horses in Israel, at least to any quantity. These he sent for out of Egypt; not only for his own use, but for

that^a of several neighbouring kings, whom he obliged to pay him six hundred shekels for every chariot and four horses; and an hundred and fifty for every single horse. He had likewise abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities, brought to him out of Egypt, which he sold to his subjects and merchants at a certain price⁽⁸¹⁾; all which produced an immense revenue, exclusive of his navy, of which we shall speak anon.

(E) What standing-army he kept, the Scripture does not tell us; and, being at peace with all the world, he does not seem to have needed a great one; and yet, besides his 1400 chariots and horses, the text says, that he had twelve thousand

(80) 1 Kings iv. 7, & seqq.

(81) Ibid. x. 28, 29.

horsemen;

his immense riches, gave him such a powerful sway, that he lived in the profoundest peace, plenty, and grandeur, of any prince of his time; beloved by his friends and allies, who were constantly pouring the richest presents upon him; feared by his enemies, receiving large tributes from several crowned heads (F), and resorted unto from all parts of the world, for his excellent wisdom and magnificence; which brought in a continual concourse of strangers to his metropolis, and enriched it to such a degree, that gold and silver seemed to have lost their intrinsic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very revenue which his navy brought him in, exclusive of his customs amounted to six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold. All this while his *Israelitish* subjects enjoyed the sweets not only of peace and plenty, but also of an universal freedom, there being no other slaves, during his reign, except the poor *Canaanites*, and some captives of other nations.

OF all the princes that sought his friendship, *Hiram* ^{Hiram's} king of *Tyre*, *David's* old friend and ally, was the first ^{embassy} who sent ambassadors to congratulate his accession to the crown, and to offer his service to him, as he had formerly done to his father. *Solomon* returned the embassy, and acquainted him with his design of building the temple, desiring him to send him a sufficient number of workmen to join with his artificers for the work; particularly some that were well skilled in working in gold, silver, and other baser metals, precious stones, scarlet, crimson, and other fine dyes, all which was readily granted by the *Tyrian* king; in consideration of which, *Solomon* agreed to furnish him yearly with 20,000 measures of wheat, and 20,000

• 1 Kings iv. 20, & seqq. 2 Chron. i. pass.

horsemen (82); which some take to have been rather saddle-horses, and others his life-guard. But, whatever they were, it is certain, that such a multiplying of chariots and horses was expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic* law (83). These he did not keep all at *Jerusalem*, but disposed of them in several of his strong cities, re-

serving only a convenient number about his person, either for guards or grandeur (84).

(F) The text says, that his dominion reached from the river *Euphrate*, or even beyond it, to the *Nile*, or borders of *Egypt*; and that all the kings of those countries were tributary to him (85).

(82) 1 Kings iv. 26.

(83) *Vid.* *Deut.* xvii. 16.

(84) 1 Kings x. 26.

(85) *Ibid.* iv. 24. 2 Chron. ix. 26.

barrels of fine oil for his household, besides the same quantities of barley, wheat, wine, and oil, which he engaged to give to his servants that were employed in the works. On the other side, *Hiram* was to send the cedars, fir, and other woods, upon floats to *Joppa*, there to be delivered to *Solomon's* servants, to be thence brought to *Jerusalem*. He sent him also a man of his own name, a *Tyrian* by birth, who was a second *Bezaleel*, and was such an excellent workman in all kinds of metals, stones, carving, engraving, embroidery, tapestry, and in making all sorts of fine cloaths, that *Hiram* honoured him with the title of father. Him *Solomon* made overseer of all the artists, whom *David* had formerly procured out of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. An alliance soon followed between those two princes, which only ended with their lives ^r.

The building of the temple.

To carry on this stupendous work with greater ease and speed, *Solomon* caused an account to be taken of all the *Canaanites*, and other foreign slaves, that were in the land, and they were found to amount to 153,600; 70,000 of whom he appointed to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and stone in the mountains, and the remaining 3600 he appointed to be overseers over them ^s. Besides these strangers, over whom he appointed some of his chief officers, to oversee the work, he levied 30,000 men out of all *Israel*, whom he appointed to work in *Lebanon* one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inspection of *Admiram*: these were likewise employed in hewing of wood, marble, and other stone, which was afterwards wrought by the *Tyrian* masons and carvers, and thence conveyed to *Joppa* by water ^t. Whilst these were preparing, *Solomon*, who had been still adding immense quantities of gold, silver, precious stones, and other rich materials, to those which *David* had laid up before his death; put them into proper hands, to be wrought into an almost infinite variety of ornaments. And the vast number of hands employed, and the diligence of the overseers and workmen, was such, that he was able to lay the foundations of this vast structure ^u, the fourth year of his reign, which was the second after *David's* death, and the 480th after the exod ^u. This great work was begun on *Monday* the second day of the month *Zif*, which answers to the twenty-first of our *April* ^w, being the second month of the sacred, and eighth of the civil year; and was carried on

^r 1 Kings v. pass.

^s 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.

^t 1 Kings

v. 9.

^u Ibid. vi. 1.

^w Vid. UssER. an. sub A. M.

3001.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

with such prodigious speed (G), that it was finished in little more than seven years; if not in that magnificent manner, in which we have seen it represented in a vast number of plans, and by some late models, exposed to public view; yet at least in such a rich and sumptuous manner, as easily excelled any thing then extant of that kind. What is still more surprising, is, that every piece of it, whether timber, stone, or metal, was all finished before it was brought to *Jerusalem*, so that there were no other tools wanted, or heard, than what were necessary to the joining them to each other * (H).

The building finished. Year of the flood 1327. Bef. Chr. 1021.

* 1 Kings vi. 7.

(G) This foundation, which took up the whole group of mount *Moriab*, did likewise cost an immense labour to level, because it consisted of several gibbous eminences, all of them solid rock, except the surface, some parts of which were to be considerably lowered, and others raised in proportion, in order to bring them to that capacious area; so much that *Josephus* says, that a man could hardly believe his own eyes, when he beheld the stupendousness of that work, the very contriving of which was enough to have crased any brain but that of *Solomon* (86). It will, indeed, appear very surprising, how such a foundation could be laid, and the materials for the building be in such forwardness, in so little a space as four years, as to have been finished in the seventh year after its foundation. But we see no reason against supposing, that *David*, who appears to have formerly sent for a great number of *Tyrian* workmen, might, not long before his death, have set them to this work, and made them prepare stone and timber, as well

as level some part of the ground. (H) Here it will be doubtless expected, not only that we should give our readers an exact description of that wonderful edifice; but perhaps also, that we should make some improvements upon those authors who have gone before us, and discover new ornaments and excellencies, which they had overlooked. This is, indeed, no more than they pretend to have done with respect to one another, especially of late years; not from any greater insight they have gained into the sacred language and writings, but from what they have fetched either out of the description of the prophetic temple of *Ezekiel*, or from that of *Josephus*, or from what the *Jewish* rabbies have been pleased to superadd of their own; in order to raise this sacred fabric to the highest pitch of grandeur and richness. The truth is, whilst those sublime paper-architects can have their work and materials at so cheap a rate, it is next to impossible to keep a luxuriant fancy within due bounds, in rearing of this stately building.

OUR readers may see, by what hath been said in the last note, how difficult it would be to give them such a description of this celebrated fabric, as should at once avoid running into the extravagancies of the *Talmudists*, and of our modern model-mongers, and supply such omissions as may have been overlooked by the sacred historians. But, whilst we were deliberating, whether we should undertake so laborious a task, we were informed, by a curious encourager of this history, who is as dissatisfied as we with their borrowing so much from those authors we have excepted against, that he had, some years ago, prevailed upon a learned gentleman of his acquaintance, to make such a delineation as we have been speaking of, out of the two sacred books above-mentioned. He has since favoured us with a sight of the plans, and given us time and leave to examine and compare them, and their proofs, with the original text; and, finding how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very useful and acceptable

ing. This is therefore what we would carefully avoid, tho' at the hazard of being taxed with running into the other extreme, whilst we reject their three evidences, as far as they jar with, or exceed the account we have of it in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

For, after all, who has assured those authors, that the temple of *Ezekiel*, which was only seen in a vision, and was, for aught appears, but a type of that spiritual one under the gospel, bore a constant analogy with that of *Solomon*, with respect to its members, dimensions, symmetry, ornaments, and the like? Who knows not, that that of *Josephus*, allowing it to have been equal in beauty and magnificence to that author's description of it, had received such considerable additions and improvements from time to time, especially under *Herod the Great*, as might easily render it quite different from, not

to say vastly excelling, that of *Solomon*? Lastly, what discoveries can we hope for in this respect from the *Talmudists*, and *Jewish* rabbies, who lived so many centuries after its final destruction, but what are of the same stamp with those they have made with respect to religion; mere pious fables and forgeries, calculated to raise the honour of their nation? And, if *Ezekiel*, *Josephus*, and the rabbies, must be set aside, where shall we find an author that has done so, or a description of this edifice that has not borrowed more from them, than from the sacred historians? Lastly, what security have we, that they have hit upon the true meaning of many obscure terms, such as must unavoidably often occur in descriptions of this nature, written at such a distance of time, and in a language so little known as the *Hebrew* now is?

C. VII. *in the Babylonish Captivity.*

to the curious, he has not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to be communicated to the world, but has given us several opportunities of receiving farther satisfaction from his learned friend. But, as his demonstrations from those sacred books, curious and exact as they are, would too sensibly interrupt the thread of our history, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple, in that succinct and explanatory method in which he has been since prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, in an appendix at the end of this volume, that so both may at one view be compared either with each other, or with any of those descriptions that have hitherto appeared in the world. As for the elevations of that edifice, we hope it will be thought a charge and trouble which may still be better spared, considering the vast number and variety we have already, and how little reason there is to be satisfied with any of them.

WE return to the king of *Israel*, who, to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, chose to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (I), at which solemnity there used to be always a vast concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere observedⁿ. The ceremony began *The dedi-* on the eighth day of the seventh month of the sacred year, *cation of* which was the first of the civil year, answering to the lat- *it,* ter end of our *October*, and lasted seven days, at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which was one of the three solemn feasts of the *Israelites*, and lasted likewise seven days; so that the vast concourse of people who were invited by the king, and flocked to this solemnity, staid at least fourteen days in *Jerusalem*. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark from the tabernacle which *David* had erected for it, to the temple: and deposited it in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubim, which *Solomon* had caused to be made by *Hiram*, to be a kind of covering to the ark (K). The king himself, accompanied

ⁿ See before, vol. iii. p. 39, & seq.

(I) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to *abp. Usher*, opened the fourth millennium of the world (90).

(K) We have spoken elsewhere of the shape and position of those which covered the mercy-seat (91). These that

(90) *Ann. sub A. M.* 3001. (91) *Vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 102, § 227. & (T).*

by all his chief officers, and the elders of *Israel*, marched before the ark; these were followed by a great number of priests and *Levites*, who sung some canticles proper to the occasion, and played upon various instruments. Next to the ark followed another number of singers and players, with other priests bearing the golden candlesticks, altar of incense, and other sacred utensils of the sanctuary, which had been brought from *Gibeon*, where they and the tabernacle had been deposited till that time (M). Whilst the priests

were made by *Hiram* for the most holy place, differed from them, and were of two sorts, namely, these two, which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and those which were made in bas-relievo, to adorn the sides of the wall, being placed between palm-trees likewise in bas-relievo, and all of the finest gold. What the bigness of these last was, we know not; but that of the two massive standing ones may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which, reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the centre, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; so that one may reasonably suppose the cherubim themselves to have been about ten cubits high.

There we also took notice, that *Solomon* made all the other utensils, and ornaments of the temple, proportionable, both in bigness and richness, to that of the edifice. The *Mosaic* altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twen-

ty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in height. The same was done by the altar of perfume, and the tables of shew-bread; which last, as well as the golden candlesticks, he increased to the number of five or sixfold.

Besides these, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and silver vessels and utensils; concerning which the text only says, that they were without number (92); but the *Jewish* historian has given us such a detail of them (93), that we chuse to refer the reader to him for it, because we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough, or use, for such vast quantities.

(M) These were not deposited in the sanctuary, because the king had caused a new set of them to be made, which were larger, and more answerable to the spaciousness of the place; but were laid up in some other repository prepared for that purpose. To add the greater magnificence to the procession, the king ordered the ark to stop at proper distances; and there caused a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the sanctuary.

(92) 2 Chron. iv. 18, & alib. de Bell. Jad. c. vi. & alib. pass.

(93) Antiq. l. vii. c. 2, & alib. &

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were depositing the ark in the most holy place, the air rung with the sound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the Levites, who sang the praises of God, repeating these words at proper stanzas, *Give thanks to the LORD; for he is good; and his mercy endureth for ever.* It was then that God seemed to come down in a visible manner, to take possession, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle; insomuch that the priests could not stand to offer up the sacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occasion *.

DURING this time, *Solomon*, who stood upon a brazen scaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpose, having commanded the attention of the people, which stood in the court, and in the galleries round about, kneeled down; and, spreading his hands towards heaven, dedicated the sacred building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; in-treating the divine mercy to make it its residence in fa-vour of *Israel*, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people should direct thither, from what-ever part of the world; and, what condition soever they were in, to grant their requests, and pardon their of-fences. All this while the priests had covered the spacious altar with proper victims, which, as soon as his prayer was ended, were consumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then turning himself about, blessed the audience, and retired; after which, the priests went about offering a vast multitude of other sacrifices, which had been sent *A vast* thither both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes; *number of* insomuch that they were forced to rear a number of other *victims* altars in the court, the great one not being sufficient for *offered.* them (N).

As soon as *Solomon* had finished this noble structure, he set his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one

* 2 Chron. v. per tot.

(N) On the very first day of this ceremony, which lasted seven days, they sacrificed 22000 bullocks, and 120000 sheep, for peace-offerings, which served to feast the vast concourse of people, besides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought every day. The feast of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewise observed with unusual magnificence; after which, the people were dismissed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy, and admiration of

Solomon's for himself, and another for *Pharaoh's* daughter ^z; and *palaces*. spared nothing that art or riches could furnish, to raise them to a proportionable splendor with it (O). He was almost thirteen years in building them; so that he finished those three magnificent edifices, with all their costly furniture, utensils, and ornaments, within the space of twenty years (P). After this, he sent back a great part of his *Tyrian*

^z Compare 1 Kings iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11.

their wonderful monarch (94). At the same time, lest that young prince's heart should be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleased to appear to him in a dream, on the first night of the dedication; expressed his acceptance of that sumptuous edifice; and renewed his promises to him, and his posterity, provided he and they served him with an upright heart: on the other hand, he assured him, that, in case they provoked him by their idolatry and disobedience, that glorious building, which was now the wonder of the world, should infallibly become a desolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations (95).

(O) One of these palaces is called the house of the forest of *Lebanon* (96), though it was at *Jerusalem*; the reason of which cannot be easily guessed at. The *Chaldee* paraphrast calls it a summer-house, or house of refreshment; others think it to have been built in that forest, after *Solomon* had taken the city of

Hamath-zobab (97); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the forest of *Lebanon* to the city of *David*, by reason of the prodigious quantities of cedar, and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple, and other sumptuous edifices, inasmuch that it seemed as if *Lebanon* had been transported to *Jerusalem* (98). Upon this account, and perhaps also from the fragrancy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called *Lebanon* by the psalmist, and some of the prophets (99).

(P) These palaces were built with the utmost magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, silver, cedar, and other precious woods, marble, and other costly stones, the stupendous bigness of them, or the exquisiteness of the workmanship, or for the richness of their furniture, and the sumptuousness of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among these there was one more spacious than the rest,

(94) 1 Kings viii. 12, & seqq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii. per tot.

Kings ix. & seqq.

(96) Ibid. vii. 2.

(97) Vid. Jun. in loc. &

2 Chron. viii. 3.

xxix. xii. 12, 13.

(98) Ita rabbin. vid. & Munst. Calmet. & al. in Psal.

(99) Psal. xxix. pass. xcii. 12, 13, & alib.

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Tyrian artificers; and, to express his gratitude to their prince, who had so generously furnished him, not only with vast quantities of stones and wood, but also with great sums of gold, he presented him with twenty cities in *Galilee*. But *Hiram*, coming soon after to view these, was so disgusted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into some complaint against his brother *Solomon*, and expressing his dissatisfaction by his refusal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land; upon which, *Solomon* built them anew himself, and planted colonies of *Israelites* in them. The rest of his workmen, whether *Tyrians* or others, together with the *Canaanitish* slaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in surrounding the city of *Jerusalem* with a strong and stately wall, and fortifying *Millo*, *Hazor*, *Megiddo*, *Gezer*, *Beth-boron*, *Baalath*, *Tadmor* or *Palmyra*, and other places of

^b Compare 1 Kings ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seqq.

which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and on each side of it the seats of his counsellors. This porch was by far the most magnificent of all, because it was both his seat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he shewed himself either to his nobles, or to the strangers that resorted to him. It was placed in the midst of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiously carved and covered, or rather inlaid with gold. The throne itself, which was in the fashion of a niche, was covered with ivory, inlaid and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold; the ascent to it was by six steps, each step being supported on either side with a small lion, and the arms of the seat with two large ones as big as the life. All these, and even the

steps themselves, were likewise covered with gold and ivory. The richness of the furniture of these sumptuous edifices may be guessed at, by the plate and drinking-vessels which were used in them, and were all of the finest gold. To these he added 300 shields of the same rich metal, which used to be carried before him when he went abroad, and, upon his return, were suspended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Besides these, he likewise caused 200 targets to be made of a larger size, which were hung up in some conspicuous places of the temple. All these were made of some precious wood, and covered with gold; these latter amounted to 600 shekels each, and the former to three pounds weight (100).

(100) 1 Kings x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix. 15.

consequence ; besides several other store-cities for his chariots and horses, for his magazines of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions and ammunition (Q).

Solomon's navy. To supply all these vast expences, Solomon built a navy at Ezion-geber, upon the coasts of the Red Sea, and put it under the care of some expert Tyrian sailors, who, with his own men, went with it to Ophir (R), and in about three

(Q) He built likewise some fortresses in Lebanon, probably to secure a free communication between his kingdom and that of Syria. Soon after; he brought under his yoke the remainder of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, who seem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him (4). These were also probably forced to his works with the rest ; for, as for to Israelites, the text expressly says, that they were exempt from all kind of slavish business, and only employed either as overseers over them, or as officers and soldiers in his army (5).

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that Ophir is to us a terra incognita, that has been sought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compass. And indeed one would hardly believe such a discovery to be so difficult, considering the various marks by which the Scriptures seem to lead us to it ; such as those that follow : That Moses speaks

of Ophir the son of Joktan, who went with his brethren and dwelt from Mesba toward Sephar, a mount of the east (6). 2. That the same fleet went both to Ophir and Tarshish (7), and set out from Ezion-geber, a sea-port near Eloth, in the land of Edom upon the Red Sea (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious stones, spices, ivory, ebony, and almugwood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That Ophir not only afforded the greatest quantity of gold, but that it also exceeded all other gold in fineness and value (11). And lastly, that, according to Eusebius, an antient author quoted by Eusebius (12), the Urpho or Ophir, from whence this metal was brought, was an island in the Red Sea ; not that which we commonly understand by that name, which lieth between Arabia and Egypt, but the great southern ocean, which extendeth between India and Africa, and washeth up to the coast of Arabia and Persia, and was called the Red Sea, from the colour

(4) 1 Kings ix. 17, & seqq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & seqq. See before, vol. ii. 216. (5) 1 Kings ibid. ver. 22, 23. (6) Gen. x. 29, 30. (7) Conf. 1 Kings ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 48. & 2 Chron. xx. 36. (8) 1 Kings ix. 26, & alib. (9) Ibid. x. 22, & alib. pass. (10) Ibid. & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) Ibid. & alib. pass. (12) Præp. evang. l. ix.

which

three years time brought him back an immense weight of gold and silver, besides several kinds of precious stones, spices,

which the perpendicular sun-beams give it in those hot climates (13). To this let us add, that *Josephus* says, that *Ophir* was in *India*, or was since called *India*, or the land of gold (14), which may probably mean the *Aurea Chersonesus*, now called the island of *Malaca*, over-against *Sumatra*. These, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out such a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very spot of ground, yet at least to the region whence all these riches came; and yet there are scarce any two authors that have steered the same course.

But, not to dwell long on a subject that affords so little certainty, we shall content ourselves with a bare mention of those who seem to have visibly erred from the point; and then give a short account of those who have spoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the first, we may rank those who have gone to *America* for it (15), it being unconceivable how they could steer thither and back again in those early days, without charts or compass, with so imperfect a knowledge of geography and astronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coasting. If it be said, that this was the method

they steered by, and that they coasted along *India*, *China*, and the north parts of *Japan*, to the north part of *America*, and so on to *Hispaniola*, or any other place, whether of *Mexico* or *Peru*; besides that, in such a case, eighteen months will scarce be sufficient for such a prodigious round, how many islands might they have met with in *India*, that could have supplied them with all those commodities, and especially with gold? How came they at first to have such knowledge of those parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was *America* peopled so early? And if it was, which is scarce credible, were either its inhabitants such expert sailors as to bring those merchandizes to some famous emporium nearer to *Asia*, or did any of the *Asiatic* nations fetch them from thence?

2. Those who have gone no further than the coasts of *Africa*, or even nearer, for it (16); because, tho' it be probable, that several parts of *Africa* might abound with gold, spices, ivory, and those other merchandizes; or, according to others, that the *Indians* might bring them thither; yet the farthest coast of *Africa* was not distant enough from *Ezion-geber*, to have taken up so much time as three

(13) *Vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 176, (U). & Prideaux connect. lib. i. l. viii. c. 2.* (14) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.* (15) *Genebr. Arr. Mont. Christ. Columb. Vatabl. Possel. & al.* (16) *Grot. in 1 Reg. ix. Huet. dissert. de navig. Galom. Jean. dos Sant. & al.*

spices, ebony, and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities. The gold itself amounted

to

1 Kings ix. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 15, & seqq.

years though we should allow that they went to a different sea-port for each merchandize; much less to some of those places mentioned by some of those authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Lastly, we may reckon among them that have missed the mark, those who have fallen into the notion, that *Ezion-geber* was not on the coasts of the *Red Sea*, but of the *Mediterranean* (17). This they have indeed supposed, in order to avoid the difficulty into which *Huetius* stumbled, by making the canal of communication between those two seas to have been opened in *David's* time; but this has been fully confuted by several learned authors (18). But, whatever the difficulty be of finding a passage from *Ezion-geber* to the *Mediterranean*, it cannot be supposed to have been situated any-where but on the *Red Sea*, without doing manifest violence to the text; because there is not one single instance of *יָם סוּפִּי* *Yam Suph* signifying the *Mediterranean*, or any other than the *Red Sea*; and secondly, because *Ezion-geber* is said to have been beside *Eloth*, which last is always placed on the *Red Sea* (19).

Among those who have conjectured with more probability, we shall mention, first of all, those who place it, with *Josephus*, in some part of the *East-Indies* (20), though without adhering too close to the particular place which each of them has made choice of, whether in the kingdom of *Malabar*, or the isles of *Seylan* or *Tapanbrant* (21), or in *Siam* (22), or in any of those neighbouring islands or kingdoms beyond the *Ganges* (23), or that of *Pegu*, whose inhabitants pretend to be descended from the *Jews*, whom *Solomon* sent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour lost to seek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandizes which the fleet brought into *Judea*, when they had time enough to fetch some from one place, and some from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be brought by all *Indian* merchants from several parts of *India* into some common emporium. All these, by supposing the fleet to fall from the *Red Sea* into the ocean, through the *Persian gulph*.

Dean *Prideaux* observes next, that it was the voyage to *Tarshish*, which took up three

(17) *Corp. Bezan. Bivar. Horn. & al.* *fac. 15. Calm. prolegom. in Genes.*

Нлад. *Abu'lfed. descr. Arab. Plin. Strab. Hieron. Procop. & al.*
Hoff. not. in Ortel.

in vit. *Salom.*

& auct. ab eo citat.

(21) *Vid. Bochart, pbal.*

(22) *Vid. Lipen. traç. de Opbir.*

(18) *Marsh. can. Egypt.*

(19) *Vid. Eufeb. loc. Hebr. sub voc.*

(20) *Luc.*

(21) *Ab Gboiff*

(22) *Vid. Mass.*

to 450 talents yearly, besides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of those precious woods

years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that *Ophir* might be much nearer *Judea*, and the voyage performed in less time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former for some commodities, which the other did not afford; and, consequently, that any place in the great *Indian* sea, at the distance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, might be the *Tarshish*; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, might be the *Ophir* mentioned in the Scriptures. So that if the southern part of *Arabia* produced the greatest quantities of the best gold, as he shews it did from good authors, then that might be the land of *Ophir* (25).

But though it be granted, that *Tarshish* and *Ophir* might be distinct places, and at some considerable distance from each other; yet, if the latter had been so high as south *Arabia*, and had yielded such plenty of the finest gold, almug-trees, and precious stones, it is scarce credible, that they would have gone so much farther for such inferior trifles as silver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely, that they went farther for the finest gold, precious stones, and things of greatest value.

Lastly, a late author (26) has taken a quite different route from all the rest; and thinks that he has found out the *Mesha* and *Sepphar*, where *Ophir* the son of *Joktan* went to dwell, between mount *Mafus* and the mountains of *Sapbar*, somewhere toward *Armenia* and *Media*, where are the heads of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; which rivers might be subservient to this commerce. He adds several ingenious reasons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection against this hypothesis, and which we think he does not sufficiently answer, is, that the nearness of the place does not admit of a three years voyage, though we should suppose with him, that they took a large compass about from coast to coast; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three summers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole, then, the most probable conjecture, and beyond which it is impossible to go, is, that *Ophir* was in some of those remote rich countries of *India* beyond *Ganges*, and perhaps as far as *China* or *Japan*; which last still abounds with the finest gold, and with several other commodities in which *Solomon's* fleet dealt, as silver, precious stones, ebony,

(25) *Prid. connect. book i.*(26) *Calmet, proleg. in Genes.*

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woods the king bestowed in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making of a great number of musical instruments for the service of God ^d.

The queen of Sheba AMONG the great persons whom his fame brought to Jerusalem, the most considerable was the queen of Sheba ⁽²⁶⁾, a princess of such excellent wisdom, and extraordinary

^d 2 Chron. ix. ver. 11.

and other valuable sorts of wood; to say nothing of spices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other such creatures (26); and, by its distance, best answers to the length of the voyage

All that we shall say further, is, that this *Ophir* gold was in great plenty in *Judea*, even in *David's* time; since he left 5000 talents of it for the service of the temple, besides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the same purpose (27). Now, as we can hardly believe either of them to have been so munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; should we suppose it to have been even a third part, there must have been at least 24,000 talents of that metal in this kingdom; this prodigious sum could never be heaped together from the bare spoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reasonable to believe, that, having conquered the *Edomites*, and taken *Eloth* and *Exion-geber*, *David* set himself about opening a commerce from thence, by the assistance of *Hiram's* expert sailors; so that his son did but improve what the father had

begun, by enlarging and fortifying those two places, and peopling them with the best mariners and ship-builders; and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to such a degree, as made him, by far, the richest prince of his time, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world.

(S) *Josephus* calls her *Nicaulis*, and says, she was queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (28); and elsewhere, that *Saba* was the metropolis of the latter, till *Cambyfes* called it by his sister's name, *Meroes* (29). The *Ethiopians*, accordingly, pretend that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors (30). They add, that she had a son by *Solomon*, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him *Meilik* or *Menitebek*, and pretend that twenty-four of their kings are descended from that prince successively down to *Basilides*, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some ancient writers likewise acknowledge, that that country was some time governed by women (32).

The *Arabians*, on the other hand, claim this queen as their

(26) *Vid. Vuren. & al. descr. Japon. segg.*
 (28) *Ant. l. viii. c. 2.*
 (32) *Strab. lib. xvi. c. 17. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.*

(27) *Vid. 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & 5.*
 (29) *Ibid. l. ii. c. 10.*
 (31) *Id. ib. lib. ii. c. 34, & segg.*

(30) *Vid.*

dinary opulence, that she seemed to come to vie with the Jewish monarch, by the sumptuousness of her equipage, the richness of her presents, and the number of hard questions she put to him. She brought with her a vast number of camels laden with gold, precious stones, and such rich spices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in Solomon's court. By all these, one may guess at the splendour of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be supposed, that she would have engaged with a prince so universally famed for wisdom, if she had not had some considerable share of it herself: but, after having tried him with all the subtle and enigmatic questions she had prepared for him, she found in him such a readiness in solving, and such a sagacity in explaining his answers, that he seemed even to prevent her thoughts; inasmuch that she owned herself fully satisfied, that he was not without just reason esteemed the wisest prince of his time. The king then entertained her with a view of the temple, of his palaces and gardens, and all the magnificence of his court and capital, at which she expressed her extreme satisfaction in the most respectful terms, and presented the king with one hundred and twenty talents of

f 1 Kings x 3.

own; they call her *Balkis*, and pretend that she was queen of *Arabia*, and had her residence in the city of *Mareb*, which they make the metropolis of the province of *Saba*. They have preserved also her genealogy, as well as the history of her journey to *Judea*, which they have stuffed with other fables; among others, that she was married to *Solomon*; and that, after her return to *Arabia*, that prince used to keep an epistolary correspondence with her, by means of a bird which they called *budbud*, a kind of lapping or puet, which used to carry letters between them (33).

But, setting aside these trifling stories, the opinion of those who think, that that prince's came from *Arabia*, seems certainly the most probable of the two; among many other reasons, because she is called in the gospel, *the queen of the south*, and is said to have come from the uttermost parts of the earth (34); which answers exactly to *Arabia Felix*, which lies south of *Judaea*, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious stones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(33) Vid Herbelot. bibliot or ert. sub voc. *Balkis*,
iii 42.

(34) Matt

gold,

gold, a great number of precious stones, and rich perfumes. *Solomon*, on the other hand, was too generous not to make her suitable returns, and dismissed her with the strongest proofs of his munificence.

His defec-
tion,

idolatrics,

and death,
Year of

the flood

1373.

Bef. Chr.

975.

HITHERTO we have seen nothing in that prince's life, but what gives us the highest idea of his wisdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far otherwise, and *Solomon*, emphatically called the wise, beloved of GOD, and admired by all the world for so many excellent virtues, became such a slave to the passion of love, in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of strange women, without distinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the least regard to GOD's express commands to the contrary; till at length he but too sadly verified the divine warning^h, by suffering himself to be seduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to 700, besides 300 concubines, or wives of the second rank; and his complaisance for them went so far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; insomuch that the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem*, if not the city itself, was filled with idols and temples; and the mount of *Olives*, which was over-against it, was defiled with two altars, one to *Chemosh* the god of *Moab*, and another to *Moloch* the god of the *Ammonites*. Such a shameful defection could not but be highly displeasing to GOD; and *Solomon* was soon after made sensible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would cost his successors the loss of his kingdom, the tribe of *Judah* excepted, which he would leave them, in consideration of his former promise to *David*, for whose sake he also forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this severe denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immersed in his idolatry and lust, the text doth no-where tell us; what the opinion of *Jews* and *Christians*' is about it, may be seen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year

of

1 Kings x. 24, & seqq. 2 Chron. ix. 1, & seqq. ^h Vid.

Deut. vii. 3, & seqq.

(W) Of those that believe *Solomon* heartily repented of all his extravagancies, are, among the *Jews*, the *Talmudists*, who affirm, that God sent *Asmodeus* to strip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, they make him lead such a strange life, as looks more like a phrensy, than a true repentance. As for *Josephus*, he only attributes his vices to the weakness of old-age, without saying

of his reign, and about the fifty-eighth of his age; and

was

saying any thing of his repentance (41).

The Christians, both ancient and modern, who have embraced the notion, that *Solomon* repented before his death, are too numerous to be quoted here: we shall insert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reasons which have led them to it. In the first place, many of them have followed the notion of some of the fathers above-quoted, that the book of *Ecclesiastes* was the result of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a sense of himself; and these are very numerous (43). There are, indeed, in that book, a number of expressions, which are very like those of a person who feels a sensible remorse for his past extravagances, and is desirous to forewarn others against them (44).

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promise made by GOD to his father; where, speaking of *Solomon*, whom he had chosen to build his temple, he adds, *I will establish his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he shall be a son to me: if he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod of men:—but my mercy will I*

not cause to depart from him, as I did from Saul: and much more to the same purpose (45).

It is likewise said, in another place (46), that *Rehoboam* and his subjects walked in the way of *David* and *Solomon* but three years; and afterwards, that he did evil in the sight of the LORD (47). *Solomon's* way, therefore, being put with that of *David*, and opposed to that of his wicked son, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could have been said of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the *Proverbs* were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it; the one, where he complains, that he was more brutish than any man, having neither understanding, wisdom, nor knowledge of the Holy One (48); for they pretend, that *Agur* there is *Solomon*; the other is still wider, being only, according to the *Septuagint* version, which makes him say, *At length I repented, and applied myself to live after a better rule*; whereas, in the original, he only says, that, having observed the field of a slothful man overrun with nettles — he considered well about it, and received instruction (49).

(41) *Ant. l. viii. c. 3.* (42) *Iren. l. iv. Marcio ap. Epiphan. de hæres. Baccbar. epist. de recipiend. lapsis. Hilar. in Ps. lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. Hieros. catech. ii. Hieron. in Ezek. xiii. & alib. Greg. Thaum. & al. (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo Cardinal. Paul. Comestor. Genebrand. Cbennit. J. Henr. Heideg. Reymcr. Alderoc. Uffer. Jun. Tremcl. & al. plurim. (44) *Vid. int. al. Eccles. l. i. & seqq. ii. pass. iii. 17. & seqq. xi. & xii. pass. (45) 2 Sam. viii. 13. & seqq. Psal. lxxxix. 19. & seqq. ad 37. & alib. pass. (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) *Ibid. xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 2, 3. & seqq. (49) *Ibid. xiv. 30. & seqq.****

Rehoboam.

was buried in the stately sepulchre of his father David, and succeeded by his son Rehoboam¹ (X).

WHILST Solomon spent the last years of his life in pleasure and indolence, the seeds of the threatened destruction were sowing both in Israel, and out of it; so that, when his son Rehoboam came to the crown, he had three potent adversaries to encounter. The first was Hadad king of Edom, who bore a mortal hatred against Israel; ever since David's general had caused such an universal massacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from

¹ 1 Kings xi. per tot. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not scrupled to call his repentance in question, and some of them even to deny it (51). We shall subjoin some of their reasons for this opinion: 1. Solomon's sins of idolatry, and love of strange women, are recorded in the strongest terms; but not a word is mentioned in the whole Scripture about his forsaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his posterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have executed it so punctually, if Solomon had repented? 3. David, and others, who repented of their sins, had not only part of the punishment abated, but their conversion is particularly recorded. Why should Solomon be the only person whose repentance is omitted? Could he write the book of Proverbs, or of Ecclesiastes, after his conversion, and yet leave all the

monuments of his idolatry to continue? Or, if he had destroyed them, why was it not recorded? or rather, why it is said, that they subsisted till Josiah's time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death? What proofs are there, that the book of Ecclesiastes was not written before his defecion, rather than after it?

(X) Josephus gives him eighty years reign, and ninety-four of age (54). Were that indeed true, his impieties might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage: perhaps also was this the motive that induced the Jewish historian to spin out his life so far beyond the text. Solomon is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; all the rest are lost, as well as those of the prophets Nathan, Abijah, and Iddo, who are said to have penned the history of that prince (55).

(51) Cyprian. de unit. eccles. & epist. 6. ad Rogat. Tertul. lib. ii. iii. & v. cont. Marcion. Origen. August. cont. Faust. l. xxii. In Ps. cxxiv. & alib. Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Prosper. Beda, de Lyra. Tostat. Bellarm. Peter. Voss. Maldonat. & al. mult. (52) 1 Kings xi. 9, & seqq. (53) 2 Kings xxiii. 13. (54) Ant. l. viii. c. 3. (55) 2 Chron. ix. 29.

Egypt, where he had been forced to take sanctuary, during *David's* and *Solomon's* reigns ¹. The second was *Rezin*, a subject of the king of *Zobah*, who fled likewise from *David's* conquering sword, and, having put himself at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and established a petty kingdom at *Damascus*, and never ceased annoying *Israel*, and revenging *David's* old hostilities on the *Zobeahans* ^m. But the most dangerous of the three was *Jeroboam*, a young daring man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, whom *Solomon* had formerly made overseer over his tribe, and that of *Manassih*, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet *Ahijah*, that *God* would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from *Solomon's* successors; and, whether upon this account, or for some particular misdemeanor, he had been forced to fly into *Egypt*, to avoid the king's resentment; and there probably concerted with the king of *Edom*, about causing an insurrection in *Israel*. As soon, therefore, as he heard that *Rehoboam* was upon the throne, he returned from *Egypt* to watch a proper opportunity for it; and that weak prince soon after gave him such an one as his heart could wish.

REHOBOTHAM was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at *Shechem*; but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he promised to lighten their yoke, which, they complained, his father had made too heavy for them. The king took three days to consider of an answer; and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of his grave counsellors; which if he had, he might have deprived *Jeroboam*, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occasion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him; and, instead of soothing the people, on the third day, he answered them in a haughty tone, That he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done; and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions, instead of whips, to chastise their insolence upon which inconsiderate answer, they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of *David*; and, having murdered *Adoram*, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose *Jeroboam* to be their

Year of
the flood
1373.
Bef Chr.
975.

Reho-
boam's
folly occa-
sions ten
tribes to
revolt.

¹ 1 Kings xi. 14, & seqq. See before, vol. ii. p. 177.
^m Ibid. ver. 23, & seqq. See before, vol. ii. p. 301.

head. *Judah* and *Benjamin*, however, adhered to *Rehoboam*, and conveyed him with all speed to *Jerusalem*, to avoid his being insulted by the revolters. He immediately raised an army out of the two tribes, which mustered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but, whilst they were preparing for a battle, the prophet *Shemaiah* came, and acquainted them, that this defection was from *GOD*, and persuaded them to desist; which they readily did for the present, though there were continual bickerings between those two kings all their life. *Jeroboam*, on the other hand, thought on nothing but how to secure his new-gotten kingdom; and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild *Shechem* and *Peniel*, the former of which he made the place of his residence. But there was still one thing, which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the house of *David*, namely, their going three times a year to *Jerusalem*; to prevent which, he sacrificed religion to his safety, and set up a couple of golden calves, the one at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worship of *GOD*, without going to *Jerusalem*. He likewise built some temples and altars in the high-places; and, because the *Levites* adhered to *Rehoboam*, he made priests to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or descent.

His idolatry.

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through *Israel*, and a great concourse of people had flocked to *Bethel*, when a prophet was sent thither by *GOD*, to denounce the destruction of the new altar by a future king of *Judah*, named *Josiah*; and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it should then receive such a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the spot. *Jeroboam* was standing by the altar, being just going to offer incense upon it (Y); and, when he heard the prophet's threatening,

ⁿ 1 Kings xii pass.

(Y) It seems, by this action, as if *Jeroboam* had designed to join the royal dignity and the high-priesthood together in his own person. The places he made choice of to set up his two idols, were not only very commodious on account of their situation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. *Bethel* was had in great reverence, as having been resorted to by the patriarchs, and consecrated in a peculiar

threatening, he stretched out his hand to cause him to be apprehended; but, to his great surprize, felt it withered in an instant. Upon his submission, however, he had it restored again, and invited the prophet to his house, intending to have rewarded him for the cure; but he, having been expressly forbidden to stay in *Bethel*, even to drink a cup of water, refused his offer, and went his way.

JEROBOAM was nothing moved at this extraordinary event, but continued debauching the people from the worship of **GOD**. At length, his son *Abijah* being fallen into some dangerous disease, he sent his wife in disguise to *Shijah* the prophet, who had foretold him, that he should be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. *Abijah*, though blind with age, knew her at her first coming; and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her husband, that since he had proved so ungrateful to **GOD**, and had filled *Israel* with idolatry, the death of the child would be the least punishment that should fall upon him; for that his posterity should be cut off; so that they which died in the city, would become the food of dogs; and those that died in the field, should be devoured by the crows; all which was verified by the sequel accordingly. Notwithstanding all these threatenings, *Jeroboam* persisted still in his idolatry, and gave thereby no small advantage to the king of *Judah*.

WHILST *Jeroboam* was strengthening himself in *Shechem*, *Rehoboam* was doing the same at *Jerusalem*; he built and fortified a considerable number of places in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, put garisons in them, and stored them with arms and ammunition. At the same time, the tribe of *Levi*, which was dispersed over *Israel*, being displeas'd with *Jeroboam*, came flocking to *Jerusalem* from their respective cities, besides a vast number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came

° 1 Kings xiii. per tot.

¶ *Ibid* xiv. 1. ad 21.

peculiar manner by *Jacob*, after he had seen the glorious vision we read of in *Genesis* (63); and *Dan* was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol

which had been brought thither from *Micah's* house, and for the course of people that went afterwards to sacrifice to it (64).

(63) *Gen.* xxviii. 12, et seqq. *Vid.* et *clap.* xxlv. 1, et seqq. xviii. pass. See before, p 6, & seqq.

(64) *J: d.*

thither to serve GOD according to the law of *Moses*; so that he saw his subjects, in a little time, as numerous as those of his revolted rival. But that weak prince had scarce continued three years in the true service of GOD, before he fell into the vilest idolatries, and even outdid the revolted *Israelites*. For these, GOD stirred up a potent adversary against them, *Shishak* king of *Egypt*, who took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthiest of *Judah* into the metropolis for shelter. Here the prophet *Shemaiah* took occasion to upbraid them with their wickedness, which had brought this distress upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his speech had so good an effect upon them, that they humbled themselves before GOD; and by acknowledging the justice of this punishment, avoided the severity of it. *Shishak* contented himself with stripping the temple and palaces of all their golden shields and vessels, and left them to substitute others in their room, of a baser metal. This happened in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*; after which he reigned twelve years longer peaceably, except a few skirmishes with the king of *Israel*, and died in the 18th year of his reign (Z).

Rehoboam's death.

Abijah's reign.

JEROBOAM had reigned eighteen years in *Israel*, when *Abijah*, or *Abijah*, as he is called in the book of *Chronicles*, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and encamped with them upon mount *Zemaraim*, upon the borders of *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being with in hearing of each other, *Abijah* began with upbraiding his competitor with his base extraction,

¹ 2 Chron. xi. 5, & seqq. ² 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24. ³ See 2 Chron. xii. pass.

(Z) He had 18 wives and he had him brought up under 60 concubines, and by them him, whilst he disposed of all 28 sons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he best loved his children in other cities of *Maachab* the daughter, or rather his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner suitable to their rank (66). grand-daughter of *Abisalom* (65), by whom he had four His history was written by the sons, the eldest of whom he prophets *Ido* and *Shemaiah* preferred to all his other sons (67). to succeed him; for which end

(65) *Comp.* 2 Chron. xiii. 2. & 1 Kings xv. 2.
ad fin. (67) *Ibid.* chap. xii. 15.

(66) 2 Chron. xi. 18.

and baser actions; in that, ~~from~~ being a servant to *Solomon*, he had taken the advantage of *Rehoboam's* weakness, to deprive him of the largest share of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to secure it, by debauching the people from the worship of God to the most abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing but ruin and destruction, as a just punishment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came against him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the service of both. *Jerobam* was too hardened a politician to suffer himself, or his men, to be intimidated by such reproaches; and, whilst he seemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to surprise him in the rear, whilst he attacked him in front; and this was so punctually executed, that the king of *Judah* saw himself surrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This surprize caused an universal outcry in his army, and would, in all likelihood, have occasioned an universal panic, had not Providence declared on their sides; so that they gained a complete victory over the *Israelitish* army, of which *Jerobam's* there fell 500,000 on the spot. *Abijah* pursued his victory, and retook several considerable places from them, particularly that of *Bethel*, and weakened *Jerobam* so much, that he never could recover his strength again, during the short time of his reign, which lasted but three years in all (A).

ASA succeeded *Abijah* in the twentieth year of *Jerobam's* reign. He was a religious prince, and, as the ten first years of his reign were blessed with peace, he spent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heathenish abominations, which his predecessors had introduced in it. So sincere was his zeal in that good work, that he deposed his own mother for patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worship of some idol; both which he caused to be destroyed, with all the other monuments

(A) *Abijah* left 14 wives, and 22 sons, and was succeeded by *Asa*. His history was written by the prophet *Iddo* (67). All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the sinful ways of his father, instead of serving God with the same sincerity that *David* had done (68). About two years after, *Jerobam* also died, after having reigned in *Israel* 22 years, and was succeeded by his son *Nadab* (69).

(67) 2 Chron. xiii. 21, & seq. (68) 1 Kings xv. 3. (69) *Ib. id.* ver. 25.

of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He also put his whole kingdom in a good posture of defence, by fortifying several important places, and entertaining an army of 80,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of *Judah*, famous for handling the target and spear; the rest, which were most of *Benjamin*, are likewise celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the use of the shield and bow^b. His riches increasing with his might, he likewise adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and silver vessels in the room of those which the king of

Year of the flood 1395. Bef. Chr. 953. Nadab slain. Afa's victory over the Cushites. Year of the flood 1107. Bef. Chr. 941.

Egypt had carried away. In the second year of his reign, *Nadab* succeeded *Jeroboam* in *Israel*; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the sins of his father, and his being killed at the siege of *Gibleton*, a fortress belonging to the *Philistines*, by *Baasha*, a man of the tribe of *Issachar*, who, having seized upon the kingdom, destroyed the whole race of *Jeroboam*, according to the prophet's word^c.

AT length, *Asa* saw his kingdom attacked by an army of 1,000,000 *Cushites*, besides chariots, with *Zerah* the *Ethiopian* at their head (B). *Asa*, who trusted more in God, than in his own strength, was nothing terrified at this numerous host, but came against him with his army; and, after a sharp battle, which was fought at *Meresbah*, totally routed the *Ethiopians*, and returned to *Jerusalem* laden with their spoil. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he sacrificed a considerable portion of the spoil to the service of GOD, and had the pleasure to hear himself encouraged by a prophet, and to see multitudes flock to him from several of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or success drew away from *Baasha*, the new-made king of *Israel*.

^b Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & seqq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9.
^c 1 Kings xv. 27, & seqq.

(B) Archbishop *Usher* (66) places this famous action in the first year of *Asa's* reign; other chronologers about the fifteenth (67). We have followed the author of the second book of *Chronicles*, who affirms, that there was peace during the first ten years (68); and that *Asa* offered great sacrifices at *Jerusalem* in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thanksgiving for his late victory (69).

(66) *Ann. sub A. M. 3063.* (67) *Vid. & Sir J. Newt. chronol. p. 99.*
Calmet, & al. (68) *Chap. xiv. 1.* (69) *Ibid. ver. xv. & seqq.*

It was, probably, this constant defection which caused a series of skirmishes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortress of *Ramah*, to stop the communication between the two kingdoms. He was then leagued with the king of *Syria*; and *Asa*, afraid of engaging two such powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe *Benhadad* to break his alliance with him, and to cause some powerful diversion in his kingdom. To this end, he sent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treasury, and in that of the temple; which had such an influence upon the *Syrian* king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of *Naphtali*, and obliged *Baasha* to desist from his enterprise, to go and defend his territories. As soon as he was departed from *Ramah*, *Asa* issued out a proclamation, and ordered his subjects, none excepted, to transport all the materials of that fortress to *Geba* in the tribe of *Judah*, and to fortify those two places with them (B). He died in the forty-first year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoshaphat*.

Makes an alliance with Benhadad.

His death.

e 1 Kings xv. 18, & seqq. See before, vol. ii. p. 302.

(B) About this time the prophet *Hanani* took the liberty to come and reprove *Asa* for his weakness, in seeking help from *Benhadad*, when he had been so lately victorious over the *Ethiopian* host; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reason of a distemper in his feet, probably the gout, was so exasperated at his boldness, that he cast him into prison. He was likewise guilty of some cruelties towards other persons, upon what pretence, the text doth not say; but it is likely, that his disease had inclined him to it, because it is observed to have lessened his confidence in God, and to have sent him to

the physician for help (70).

The book of *Kings* barely says, that he was buried with his ancestors (71); but that of the *Chronicles* (72) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a stately bed, covered with spices, and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which some have concluded, that the custom of burning the bodies of princes began from *Asa*, and that they deposited the bones and ashes in their sepulchres. We have endeavoured to consult this notion, and to reconcile the seeming contradiction of these two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader (73).

(70) 2 Chron. xvi. 12, & seqq. xvi. ult.

(71) 1 Kings xv. 24.

(72) 2 Chron.

(73) Vid. sup. vol. iii. p. 173, & (Q).

Year of the flood 1434. Bef. Chr. 918.

BAASHA all this while continued in the idolatries of *Jeroboam*, and in constant war with the king of *Judah*, when *Jehu*, the son of *Hanani*, came from the LORD to tell him, that since he had imitated his predecessor in his sins, he should likewise share in his punishment, and be cut off with his posterity. *Baasha* died soon after, and was succeeded by his son *Elah*, who ascended the throne in the twenty-sixth year of *Asa's* reign: he had scarce reigned two years, before he felt the effects of *Jehu's* prediction; he was then at the siege of *Gibbethon*, where *Zimri*, who commanded over his chariots, slew him, and seized upon his kingdom. *Zimri's* reign lasted but seven days; *Omri*, another general officer, being chosen king by the army, yet found he time enough, in that short space, to destroy the whole race of *Baasha*, even to his kindred relations. *Omri* left *Gibbethon*, and came to besiege him in *Tirzah*; but, before he could enter that city, *Zimri* went to the royal palace, and, setting it on fire, burnt himself in it. However, he reigned long enough to show himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to idolatry.

Elah king of Israel, murdered by Zimri.

Omri had another competitor, *Tibni* the son of *Ginath*, whom a part of the people had elected king; but the party of *Omri*, being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them; so *Tibni* was killed, and *Omri* reigned unrivalled. This happened in the thirty-first year of *Asa's* reign.

DURING the first six years of his reign, *Tirzah* being then the royal place of residence, *Omri* bought the hill of *Sameron*, or *Samaria*, of one *Shemer*, for two talents of silver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another six years in *Samaria*, in all the sinful ways of his predecessors; and was succeeded by his son, who proved still more wicked than any of them^h.

Ahab king of Israel.

Year of the flood 1430.

Bef. Chr. 918.

AHAB began his reign in the thirty-eighth year of *Asa's*; his unlawful marriage with *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Ethbaal*, king of *Zidon*, proved a constant source of idolatries, and wicked deeds. He suffered her to introduce the worship of the *Zidonian* deities, which consisted in hu-

^a 1 King's xvi. 1, & seqq. ad 18.

^b Ibid. ver. 21, &

seqq.

man sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies ¹ (D).

BUT whilst *Abab* and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in *Israel*, and murdering all those, whether prophets or others, who dared oppose them, *Jehoshaphat*, who succeeded *Asa* about the latter end of the fourth year of *Abab's* reign, was destroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worship of *GOD* in his own kingdom, with such zeal and application, that it drew upon him, and his people, the greatest prosperity and success. He was thirty-five years old when he began his reign; and the first thing that he set about, was the pulling down all the monuments of idolatry, and sodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to abolish; and, in the third year of his reign, he sent some of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of priests, and *Levites*, with copies of the *Pentateuch*, to instruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the same time, he burnt all the considerable pieces of the *Idols*, and *Idols*, in them, as well as in those which he had taken from the King of *Israel*. But, notwithstanding this, a most numerous army of above 11,000 men, consisting of above 11,000 men, and all these accounts, he was so prospered, that none of his enemies did molest him; and *Arabians* were tributaries to him; and his allies were still increasing his wealth by their presents ^k.

Thus it fared with that rebellious prince, and his subjects, whilst war and famine were the reward of *Abab's* impiety in the kingdom of *Israel*.

¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 332, & seqq. ^k 2 Chron. xvii. pass.

(D) These were at first introduced into his court, for which a sumptuous temple, an altar, and grove, had been built to *Baal* in *Samaria*; but, as his weakness suffered him to assist at those hellish ceremonies, so his example soon spread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet *Elijah* was sent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courses, by assuring him, that *GOD* would shortly punish the land with a grievous famine; during which there should be neither dew nor rain to refresh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which, he went and concealed himself during the space of three years (74).

(74) 1 Kings xvi. 29, ad fin. xvii. 1, & seqq.

Elijah's
meeting
with
Obadiah

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, *Elijah* came and shewed himself to *Obadiah*, governor of *Abab's* house, as he was going in search of some fresh springs of water, to save that little cattle they had left, whilst the king himself went another way upon the same errand. *Obadiah* was a pious man, and had shewed an uncommon zeal for the God of *Israel*, by saving 100 of his prophets from *Jezebel's* fury, and supporting them with food in their concealment during the whole time of the famine. As soon, therefore, as he saw *Elijah*, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a respectful welcome; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modestly excused himself from so dangerous a message; for, added he, there is scarce a nation or kingdom from which *Abab* has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to *Samaria*, where-ever you were found. But, upon the prophet's promising, that he would shew himself to the king, *Obadiah* went and informed him of *Elijah's* return, and his promise of a speedy rain.

and Ahzb,

Elijah accordingly appeared, and the first greeting between *Abab* and him was such, as might be reasonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch, and a person of that prophet's character. After some mutual invectives on both sides, *Elijah* desired that all *Israel* might be gathered at mount *Carmel*, with all the priests of *Baal*, whom *Jezebel* maintained; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their service between God and *Baal*. "You

Elijah's
zeal
against
Baal.

"see, said he, this I am the only prophet of the LORD that is left, and those of *Baal* are 450; let them offer up a bullock to *Baal*, and I will offer another to the God of *Israel*; and let the deity, whose sacrifice is consumed by a miraculous fire, be henceforth the only object of your worship." As soon as the people had expressed their assent to his proposal, the priests of *Baal* were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood on the altar, and called upon *Baal* from morning till noon; and, not finding the least prospect of answer, they began, according to their custom, to cut themselves with knives till the blood ran down upon the ground. All this while, *Elijah* plied them with the most biting sarcasms, bidding them to cry louder; for *Baal*, no doubt, was a great god, and would hear them, unless he were either asleep, or more ad-

VII. *to the Babylonian Captivity.*

vantageously taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening-sacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve stones, according to the *Mosaic* law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; and, having dug a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him, that he would shew himself to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world, upon which, a fire fell down from heaven, which consumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches; at sight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The LORD is the only God.* The prophet then, addressing himself to the people, told them, that if they were really persuaded of it, they ought to seize on those false prophets, pointing to the priests of *Baal*, who had seduced them from his worship to serve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook *Kisbon*, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the notion; and *Ahab*, whether the late miracle made him approve their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obstruct it, suffered them to be hurried away to death. As soon as *Ahab* had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at *Carmel*, and what shameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the sight of all *Israel*. One would expect, that the long-wished-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inspired her with an uncommon respect for his person; but it happened quite otherwise, and the death of so many of her prophets threw her into such a rage, that she vowed to send the author of it after them by the next day. And *Elijah* was forced a second time to fly for his life¹.

By that time *Ahab* had reigned eighteen years, *Benhadad* king of *Syria* came at the head of thirty-two petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid siege to *Samaria*; where, notwithstanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatened both king and city, he was beat by an handful of men, who sallied out upon him *Ahab's* at mid-day, with *Ahab* at their head; and forced to fly with a prodigious loss. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the *Israelites* with a terrible slaughter, and himself in

¹ 1 Kings xviii. pass. xix. 1, 2, 3.

danger of being taken prisoner in the city of *Aphak*; but, upon his sending from thence a submissive message, *Ahab* received him with an amazing generosity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generously dismissed him without any further ransom. The particulars of these two famous actions the reader will find in the history of *Syria*¹. As soon as *Benhadad* was departed, one of the sons of the prophets presented himself before *Ahab*, with his face all beset with blood and dirt; and complained, that during the action a *Syrian* prisoner had been committed to his custody, with a strict charge not to let him escape, under pain of death; but that, whilst he busied himself about one thing or other, the prisoner was fled, and himself now in danger of being punished for his neglect. *Ahab*, who believed the fact to be really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and discovering himself to the king, soon let him know, that he had passed his sentence against himself; and that since he had let so powerful an enemy of *Israel* go free, when *God* had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner. *Ahab* was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to *Samaria* full of grief and indignation^m (G): nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of *Syria*, till his detaining *Ramoth-Gilead*, a city which belonged to *Israel*, contrary to his promise, obliged him to invade his territories about three years afterⁿ.

Naboth
murdered.

IN the mean time, *Ahab* suffered himself to be seduced by *Jezebel* to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and his whole family. *Naboth*, an inhabitant of *Jeze-reel*, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which *Ahab*

¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 304, & seqq. ^m 1 Kings xx. pass.

ⁿ See *USHER*'s ann. sub A. M. 3104.

(G) *Josephus* (73) calls this prophet *Micaiah*, and adds, that the king caused him to be put into prison for his boldness; which is not unlikely, because, when *Ahab* was afterwards going against *Ramoth-Gilead*, and had sent for him *Jehoshaphat*'s request, *Ahab* expressed a particular aversion against him, because he was ever prophesying evil concerning him; and, when he had foretold him his overthrow at *Ramoth*, he condemned him to the same punishment (74).

(73) *Ant. l. viii. c. 8.* (74) 1 Kings xxii. pass.

offered

offered to buy, or exchange for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house; but, as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, *Naboth* was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer. *Jezebel* was acquainted with it; and, at once to procure the vineyard, and to punish *Naboth* for his refusal, she sent a letter to the elders of *Jezebel*, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some loose fellows to swear treason and blasphemy against him, and then to stone him to death for it. The *Jezebelites*, not daring to disobey her orders, sent her word soon after of *Naboth's* death, and she acquainted *Ahab* with it; but, whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet *Elijah* came to him from God, foretold the destruction that this murder would bring upon him, upon *Jezebel*, and upon all his noble house; that the dogs should lick his blood, where they licked that of *Naboth*; that *Jezebel* should be devoured by dogs, and all his posterity utterly cut off. This dreadful sentence, from so considerable a prophet, so alarmed the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home filled with the deepest grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious respite; so that the calamities, that were to fall upon his house, did not happen till after his death ° (H).

ALL

° 1 Kings xxi. pass.

(H) It is probably about this time that he is supposed to have made his son *Abaziah* co-partner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy, whilst he humbled himself in sackcloth and ashes, to avoid the impending judgment of God (74); though this change was but short-lived, and he soon returned to his former impieties. At least this is the only expedient by which chronologists can reconcile the anachronisms, which one meets with between the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*; the one beginning their reign from the

death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being joined to a partnership with them. The reader may see an instance of it proved in archbishop *Usher's* annals (75), both in *Abab* above-mentioned, and in his cotemporary *Jebozaphat*; who raised also his son *Jeboram* to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further observed, that this method became very expedient, if not absolutely necessary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings used to lead their own armies, and often lost their lives, to appoint their successors, and to

(74) 1 Kings xxi. 17, & seq.

(75) *Sub J. M.* 310.

ALL this while *Jehoshaphat* had enjoyed a profound peace, and spent his time partly in strengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and partly in making all the proper regulations for the utter abolishing of idolatry, and promoting the worship of GOD. He is blamed only for two things, his not totally demolishing the high-places, and his making alliances and affinity with *Ahab* (I). In was in consequence of this last, that he came down to *Samarita* to pay a visit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his son *Jehoram*. By this time, *Ahab* had resolved upon retaking of *Ramoth-Gilead* from the *Syrians*: he took therefore that opportunity of asking his royal-guest to assist him in the enterprize; to which he readily consented, but insisted first of all, that GOD might be consulted concerning the success of that expedition. *Ahab* immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of *Samarita*, where the king of *Judah* and he sat, each on a stately throne; and, upon his asking the question, they one and all promised him, that he would come off victorious; but they did it with such seeming eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to *Jehoshaphat*, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the LORD, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such an one as he desired, *Micaiah* the son of *Imlah*; but his known veracity had made him too odious to the king; however, he was obliged, in complaisance to *Jehoshaphat*, to send for him; and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, did likewise answer, in a jocular tone, that the expedition could not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell him the truth in the name of GOD: upon which, *Micaiah* told him, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life; that his army would be defeated, and that GOD had suffered his prophets to be possessed with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his

Ahab's
expedition
against
Ramoth.

leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their absence; upon which account this wholesome custom prevailed also among many other eastern nations. *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, a most wicked princess, who proved the author of great mischiefs in *Judah* (76); and by whom he had a son named *Abaziah*, who afterwards succeeded his father, as we shall see in its proper place.

(I) This affinity was in suffering his son *Jehoram* to marry

see in its proper place.

death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was so far from being deterred by this speech, that he ran resolutely upon his own ruin; and *Jehoshaphat*, being too easily persuaded to accompany him, narrowly escaped, sharing in the same fate: we have seen the ill success of this expedition in a former chapter ^p. *Ahab*, wounded by His st a random shot, died in the evening; and, as soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be found and death-
ed through his army, and both sides withdrew before ^{Years of} night. The king's corpse was brought to *Samaría*, and ^{the flood} buried in the royal sepulchre; and his bloody armour, ^{1451.} chariot and harness, were brought to a pool in that place ^{Bef. Chr.} to be washed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood, ^{897.} verified *Elijah's* prophecy against him ^q.

JEHOSHAPHAT, on the other hand, having thus happily escaped, returned to *Jerusalem*; and, in the way, was met by the prophet *Jemí*, who reprov'd him in the severest terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of *Israel*; and the king, become sensible of his error by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more assiduous application to every thing that related either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progress through a great part of it, diligently examined how the priests instructed the people, the judges and magistrates administered justice; and every-where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy so good a prince ^r.

IN the mean time *Abaziah*, who had succeeded his father *Ahab* both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the second year of his reign, and was so hurt by the fall, that his life was despaired of. In this extremity, he sent messengers to consult *Beelzebub*, the deity of *Ekron*, about his recovery; but these were met by *Elijah*, who sent them back with this mournful message, that, since he had sent the god of *Ekron*, as if there had been none in *Israel* worth consulting, he should never stir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was surpris'd at the suddenness of it, that they had met a prophet, who sent them back with a sentence of death from the LORD; and, upon their describing him, that he was an hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be *Elijah*, and died soon after, according to his prophecy ^s. During his short

^p See before, vol. ii. p. 306, & seqq. ^q 1 Kings ult. pass.
^r 2 Chron. xix. per tot. ^s 2 Kings i. pass.

reign, the *Moabites*, who had been tributaries to *Israel* ever since *Jeroboam's* defection, rebelled against him; wherefore, when his brother *Jehoram* came to the crown, he sent to beg *Jehoshaphat's* assistance, who made no scruple, upon such an occasion, to go in person, and help to reduce them. It was well for *Jehoram*, that he had so good a prince with him; for, when the army was ready to perish with thirst, *Elisba*, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which at once refreshed the confederate army, and, by the redness it cast at sun-rising towards the *Midianitish* host, so terrified them, that *Israel* gained a complete victory over them, as we have seen elsewhere.

Judah invaded:

AT length, towards the latter end of his reign, *Jehoshaphat* saw his kingdom invaded by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with such speed, that they were already got as far as *Hazazon-Tamar*, or *Engedi*, that is, within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this surprize he had recourse to God, proclaimed a strict and general fast, and went at the head of the people, who were assembled at *Jerusalem* upon that occasion, to the temple; where, having implored the divine assistance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was answered by the prophet *Jabaziel*, that God would speedily deliver him from those invaders in such an extraordinary manner, that he should have nothing to do but seize upon their spoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out against them with a small army, whom he still encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they soon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies seized with a kind of panic phrensy, slaughtering one another with greater fury than themselves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the slain, being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richest, which they were three days in gathering^u, and, on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called the valley of *Berakab*, or *blessing*^x. The army, in their return to *Jerusalem*, marched at the sound of musical instruments, accom-

Jehoshaphat's miraculous success.

^u See before, vol. ii. p. 135, & seqq. p. 136, & seqq. & 177, & seqq. p. 411, & not. (G).

^x See before, *ibid.* De hac vid. vol. ii.

panied with canticles sung by *Levites*, after which *Jehoshaphat* ended his days in peace † (L).

JEHORAM, who, as we observed before, had borne a share in the government of *Judah* towards the latter end of his father's reign, no sooner saw himself alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. *Judah* and *Israel* seem now but one kingdom, and one scene of all manner of idolatry and wickedness: they were both governed by kings of the same name; *Jehoram* king of *Judah* is influenced by his wife *Ataliab*, the impious daughter of *Abah*; and *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, by his mother *Jezebel*: this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both bringing down the heavenly judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father; and the other, by continuing in those of his impious one (M).

Year of the flood 1459.
 Bef. Chr. 889.
 Judah and Israel immersed in idolatry.

† 2 Chron. xx. 1, & seqq. ad 30.

(L) Some time before his death, *Abaziab*, who was then king of *Israel*, and as impious as his father *Abah*, obtained his consent to send some ships of his own to *Tarsish* along with his fleet; for which *Jehoshaphat* was severely rebuked by the prophet *Eliexer*, who foretold him, at the same time, the loss of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reason he would never let any of the ships of *Israel* mix with his own (77). He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by his son *Jehoram*. His history is said to have been written by the prophet *Jehu* (78), which book seems to have been lost, with many others, at the captivity.

(M) What was still more

surprising, whilst the king of *Israel* endeavoured so far to reform from him, as to destroy the *Phœnician* idols which *Abah* had reared up, and contented himself with the idolatrous worship of the two golden calves (79), that of *Judah* was adorning those very deities in his kingdom, and even in *Jerusalem* (80). Thus whilst the former forsook the God of *Israel*, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the same guilt, and in the same punishment; with this difference, however, that that of *Israel* is entirely cut off, with his whole posterity; whereas, in that of *Judah*, an infant is miraculously preserved, to make good God's promise to the house of *David*.

(77) 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49. (78) 2 Chron. ubi sup. ver. 31, & 34. (79) 2 Kings iii. 1, & seqq. (80) Ibid. viii. 17, & seqq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

JEHOSHAPHAT had left a numerous issue, and disposed of all his sons into several cities of *Judah*, under proper wages, and with incomes suitable to their rank; but he was scarce cold in his grave, before his impious son signalled the beginning of his reign with an universal massacre of them, and of all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppose, or dislike his cruelty ^x. After this, being wholly influenced by his queen, he gave himself up to idolatry, and established the worship of *Baal*, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For there he was severely reprov'd, by a letter sent him by *Elijah*, a little before his assumption ^y; wherein that prophet likewise foretold him, among many other evils, the almost total extirpation of his posterity, and his own death by an incurable disease in his bowels ^z.

Edom's
final re-
volt from
Israel.
Year of
the flood
1459.
Bef. Chr.
889.

THE first token of the divine displeasure which he felt, was the revolt of the *Edomites*, who refused to pay him the usual tribute. *Jehorah* went out against them, and defeated them; but they soon recovered strength enough to shake off the yoke, and to set up a king of their own, as we have seen elsewhere ^a; and, in so doing, they verified *Isaac's* prophecy, that *Esau's* posterity should in time shake off the yoke of *Jacob* ^b. At the same time, *Libnab*, belonging to the priests, in the tribe of *Judah* ^c, and upon the frontiers of *Idumea*, revolted from *Jehoram*, probably to *Edom*, though the text says not to whom ^d; but these were only the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was presently after invaded by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, and these penetrated even to *Jerusalem*, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with *Jehoram's* wives, and all his sons, except only *Jehoahaz*, who was the youngest, and succeeded him after his death. *Jehoram* was soon after seized with an incurable disease in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which lasted two years, and weakened him to such a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of pain (N).

WHILST

^x 2 Chron. xxi. 1, & seqq. ^y 2 Kings pass. ^z 2 Chron. xxi. 14, & seqq. ^a See before, vol. ii. p. 177, & seqq. ^b Gen. xlvii. 40. ^c Josh. xv. 42. 1 Chron. vi. 57. ^d 2 Kings viii. 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 10.

(N) He was buried in a sepulchre by himself, probably by reason of the corruption and stench which attended his disease, and without the usual ceremony of burning spices, and other odoriferous drugs, about his body, or any other royal pomp.

WHILST Judah was in this dismal plight, *Elisha* was working wonders for *Israel*. We have seen elsewhere what a miraculous cure he wrought upon *Naaman*, a famous general of the king of *Syria*, and how he discovered all the secret designs of that prince to the king of *Israel* [†], and by that means prevented the *Syrians*, for some time, from succeeding in their attempts against him. But at length *Benhadad* came up, not by ambushes and stratagems; as formerly, but with a numerous host; and besieged *Samaria* besieged so close, that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; insomuch that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and a small measure of pulse (O) for five. How long this siege had lasted, is not easy to guess; but what might increase this grievous famine, was, that it had begun some years before in the land, insomuch that *Elisha*, who timely foresaw it, sent his kind hostess the *Shunammite*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to seek for food where she could

[†] See before, vol. ii. p. 307.

pomp. He reigned eight years (81), four with his father *Jehoshaphat*, and the other four by himself: his disease having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his son *Jehoabaz*, otherwise called *Abaziah*, viceroy, who succeeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of *Jehoram* king of *Israel* (82).

(O) As most translations have rendered the word *חיריוני* *chirjanim* by *dove's-dung*, they have given commentators a vast deal of trouble to find out such an use for it, as might answer this excessive price, that a measure, which held but six eggs, should sell for above eleven shillings. It were endless to mention all

their various conjectures (83): we have therefore followed the learned *Bochart's* version (84), who proves, that the word, among other things, signifies a kind of peas, common in all those countries, and which the *Jews* in particular used to parch over the fire for food (85), in the same manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read further, that an ass's head was sold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of *Moses*; we must attribute the eating of it at that time, to their extreme want of provision, which, in all such cases, may be allowed to dispense with law.

(81) 2 *Chron.* xxi. 18, & seqg. (82) *Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 3115, & 3118.* (83) *Vid. lib. Le Scen. & essay on a new vers. pr. ii. chap. iii. §. 2.* (84) *Hieron. tom. ii. l. i. c. 7. §. 7.* (85) *Vid. 2 Sam. xvii. 28. & Hieron. in loc.*

A great
famine.

get it, whilst himself carried in the college of the prophets, and now-and-then afforded them a miraculous supply of food ^g, till the *Syrian* army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity to which *Samaria* was reduced, seemed either to have obliterated all the former services of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him suspected of being since gained over to the *Syrian* interest, since he suffered the city to labour under these difficulties, without interposing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occasions. His suspicion at length broke out with unusual fury, upon the following dreadful occasion: The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city, when a woman came to him, and begged for justice against another woman, whom she had admitted to eat a share of her boiled child, upon condition that, when they had made an end of him, her own should be likewise dressed to supply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refused to let her partake of it. Such a shocking story, accompanied with all the tokens of despair, could not but fill the distressed monarch with the utmost horror: he rent his cloaths, and disclosed his flesh covered with sackcloth; and, not knowing how to vent his grief otherwise, he swore, that *Elisba's* head should pay for the distress of the people; and sent immediately an officer to take it off. *Elisba* was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of *Israel*, who were at his house, just as the messenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him stopped at the door, till the king himself appeared; and then, after he had represented to him the unreasonableness of punishing an innocent person, for a calamity which was sent from above^h, he desired him to have but patience till next day, by which time there would be such a supply of provision in *Samaria*, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion.

THE thing happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever befel them, to go into the *Syrian* camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, a speedier death than that of starving. They were surprised to find their tents full of provisions and baggage,

^g Comp. 2 Kings iv. 38, & seqq. with viii. 1, 2, & seqq.
^h *Ibid.* vi. pass.

but empty of soldiers. As soon, therefore, as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and presently after communicated the news to the famished *Samaritans*. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the *Syrians*, contrived to intice him out of the city; but, upon his sending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmost precipitation, and had left their tents, horses, and richest baggage, behind them; for, on the foregoing night, the LORD caused them to hear an extraordinary noise of chariots, horses, and armour, which made them conclude, that *Jehoram* had hired the kings of *Egypt*, and other *The siege* neighbouring nations, against them ¹. This spread such *raised.* an universal panic through the whole camp, that they did not so much as stay to mount their horses, but fled in the *A great* utmost confusion on foot; leaving, besides an immense *plenty, in* variety of rich plunder, such a quantity of provisions be- *Samaria.* kind them, that a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and the rest in proportion, at the gate of *Samaria*, according to the word of *Elisha*. At the same time, a nobleman, who had ventured to declare against the possibility of such an unexpected plenty, and had been answered by the prophet, that he should see it without tasting of it, being appointed by the king to stand at the city-gate, to prevent any disorders, was, notwithstanding his care, trod to death by the press; which verified *Elisha's* prophecy ^k.

Soon after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of discontent, or by divine impulse, took the way to *Damascus*, where the king lay sick, being quite exhausted through old-age, fatigues, and disappointments. What the design and result of the visit was, the reader may see in the history of *Syria* ^l. In the mean time the king of *Israel* entertained himself, during his absence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his servant *Gebazi* (O); who, among other things, was

¹ See before, vol. ii. p. 309. ^k 2 Kings vii. pass. ^l Ibid. viii. 1, & seqq. & ub. sup. p. 310.

(O) This servant, we read, had, for his covetousness, inherited *Naaman's* leprosy (87),

was giving him an account of his raising the child of his *Shunammitish* hostess to life, and of his sending her and her family to seek their bread out of the kingdom, during the seven years of famine. He had scarce made an end of the story, when the woman herself came, in a lucky hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiscated during her absence; and gave *Gebazi*, who presently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumstances could not but render her suit successful; but the king even granted her more than she asked; and ordered, that she should have not only her land, but likewise the seven years income of it refunded to her¹.

Jeho- By this time *Hazael* having murdered *Benhadad*, and
 ram's se- invad'd his throne, according to the word of *Elisha*, *Je-*
 cond expe- boram, who was then at peace with the king of *Judah*,
 dition a- thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune against
 gainst Ra- *Ramoth-Gilead*, which his father had attempted in vain.
 moth. He sent at the same time to *Abaziah*, who had succeeded
 Year of his father in *Judah*, and invited him to accompany him
 the flood in that enterprize. *Abaziah*, who was then but twenty-
 1464. two years of age (Q), being the youngest of all his
 Bef. Chr. brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's
 884. days, was wholly conducted by his mother *Athaliah*, and
 by such counsellors as she pleased to appoint. And, as
 he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made
 no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of

• ¹ 2 Kings viii. 5, & seq. See USSER. ann. sub A. M. 3120.

which was, according to *Elisha's* word, to cleave to him as long as he lived; and such persons were obliged to live apart from the rest. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising, that the king of *Israel* would converse with a man, whom the meanest person in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be said to it, is, either that he was made to stand at a convenient distance, and with his mouth covered; or that the king's

curiosity made him overlook such nice circumstances at that particular juncture.

(Q) The book of the *Chronicles* makes him begin his reign in the 42d year of his age; but that is allowed to be an error (90), unless we will understand those 42 years not of his age, but of the time which had elapsed from *Omri's* coming to the crown, to the reign of *Abaziah*, as *Tremellius* does, which amount just to that number (91).

(90) See before, vol. iii. p. 240, & seq. (91) *Vid.* Tremel. in 2 *Cbron.* xxx. 2.

Israel. This expedition seemed at first more successful than the former; but, in the event, it proved the fatal source of endless misfortunes to *Israel*, by giving *Hazael* an occasion of exercising all those cruelties which had been foretold by *Elisha*. Neither did it prove less fatal to *Jehoram*; the city was indeed taken, but himself was so desperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return *He is* to *Jezebel* to be cured, leaving *Jehu* at the head of a num- wounded ber of forces, to secure the place, whilst the king of *Ju- there. .* *dah* probably returned to *Jerusalem*. In the mean time *Elisha* sent one of the young prophets to *Ramoth*, where he ordered him to anoint *Jehu* king of *Israel* privately; *Jehu* and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute anointed. his vengeance against the whole race of *Abab*, even to the impious *Jezebel*, whose carcase should shortly be devoured by dogs, whilst all the rest of his family were condemned to perish by his sword. The prophet had no sooner executed his commission, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent with all speed, to avoid being examined about it. When *Jehu* came out, the officers that were with him asked him what business that mad fellow had been transacting with him (R); and, as soon as he had acquainted them with the secret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of *Israel* by sound of the trumpet. But *Jehu* did not think it proper to have the conspiracy known, till he had reached *Jezebel*, and surprised the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppose him; and therefore rode with all speed, at the head of his men, to *Jezebel*, which he reached soon after. When he came within sight of the place, the watch acquainted the court with the news; and the frightened king sent two mes-

(R) The *Jews* rightly observe, that there was something in the looks and gestures of these prophets, which made them pass for madmen among those who did not know them; which is agreeable enough to what we read of *Saul*, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilst the spirit was upon him (92). But what might still

add to the uncommonness of their figure and behaviour, was the oddness of their dress, their living by themselves, and seldom appearing in places of public resort, but upon some extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under some dread whilst they went about it (93).

(92) 1 Sam. xix. ult. vid. vol. iv. p. 46. ix. sub not. a.

(93) Vid. *Munf.* in 2 Reg.

sengers successively, to inquire whether they came peaceably, or not. But *Jehu* having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he sent word of it to the king of *Judah*, who was come to visit him; and these two went with their guard against *Jehu*, who by that time was known by the centinel, from the furiousness of his driving. The place where they met was the vineyard for which *Naboth* had lost his life; and here *Jehoram* asked him, whether he came peaceably: but *Jehu* soon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his and his mother *Jezabel's* murders and idolatries, and by putting himself in an hostile posture against him. The frightened monarch cried out in vain to *Ahaziah*, that they were betrayed: before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy,

The kings Jehu pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to cast his body in Naboth's field, there to be devoured, according to the word of Elijah. At the same time the king of Judah, frightened at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid sharing his brother's fate, by

flying through the private road that led to the garden-house; but Jehu ordered a party after him, which overtook him at the ascent of Gair, and gave him so many desperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of Megiddo; and was carried to Jerusalem, and buried with his ancestors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one son, a child, who afterwards succeeded him, when he was yet but seven years of age.

WHILST *Jehu's* men went in pursuit of *Ahaziah*, *Jehu* himself marched directly towards the royal palace of *Jezreel*, where *Jezabel*, the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her son's fate, was waiting to give him such an haughty welcome, as did not well suit with her present circumstances: but she hoped, perhaps, that he would shew some regard, if not to her quality, at least to her sex; perhaps also she thought, that she had still charms enough, in spite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, especially after she had improved them by art, and with the richest ornaments. She was looking out of a window when *Jehu* entered the palace; and, in an haughty tone, asked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predecessor *Zimri* had formerly met with. *Jehu* staid not to give her an answer; but, observing some eunuchs standing on each side, he commanded them to throw her out of the window; which they did, and, in the fall, some of her blood was dashed against

the

The kings of Judah and Israel killed by him.

Year of the flood
1464.
Bef. Chr.
884.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

the wall, and her body soon after trampled to death, by Jezebel the horses that were in his retinue (R). *killed.*

THE prophet's sentence did not stop at these three impious persons: the whole race of *Ahab* was included in it; and he had left seventy sons, who were all brought up under governors in *Samaria*. *Jehu*, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried whether the chief magistrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the posterity of their late king. To this end he sent letters to them, seemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the bravest of *Ahab's* sons, and to set him upon the throne. But they, who rightly guessed at the meaning of such a message, chose rather to sacrifice that unhappy race to *Jehu's* successful valour, than to run the risque of turning it against themselves; which as soon as he knew, he sent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baskets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody present of seventy heads was sent to *Seventy Jezreel* on that very night; and *Jehu* ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of *Samaria*; and, on the next Ahab morning, the elders of that city came, and presented themselves before him there. As soon as he saw them, he spake to them to this effect: " You do, in all probability, look upon me as the sole author of all this bloodshed, as the murderer of your late king, and the usurper of his throne; but, if I conspired against *Jehoram*, did not you murder all these young princes, in whose defence you might have stood, if you had thought fit? Know ye, therefore, that neither you nor I have done more than executed the sentence which had been pronounced against *Ahab's* posterity. But I have not finished my task, as long as there remain any of his kinsmen, counsellors, priests, or any of the abettors of his

m 2 Kings ix. pass.

(R) The text adds, that, as soon as he and his company had refreshed themselves in the palace, he gave orders to some of *Jezebel's* servants to go and bury her corpse, seeing she was of the royal blood; but, when word was brought to him, that

the dogs had devoured it all, except her skull, the palms of her hands, and the soles of her feet, he made use of that circumstance to convince his attendants of the truth of *Elijah's* prophecy (88).

(88) 2 Kings ix. 34, & sugg.

“crimes.” This was his next work; and he did not leave *Jezebel* till he had put them all to death.

Jehu took then the road to *Samaria*; and, in his way, he met forty-two princes of the house of *Judab*, who were going down to pay a visit to those of the house of *Asab*, all whom he also caused to be slain upon the spot. After this, he met with *Jehonadab* the son of *Rechab* (S), and

(S) The *Rechabites*, so famous in Scripture for the austere singularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to distinguish themselves from the rest of the world, by a peculiar abstinence from wine, from dwelling in houses, from possessing either houses, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this institution was, whether the *Jehonadab* here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of *Rechab* in the *רעבב* *rebbab*, or chariot of *Elijab*; and that of the *Pharisees*, his supposed disciples, in the *פראשם* *phrasim*, or horses of it (1). So that, according to him, the words of *Elijab* should not be rendered, as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horses thereof*; but, *My father Rechab, &c.* He even ventures to prove that institution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult task, if we can but suppose,

that *Enoch* was translated in the same kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of *Jeremiah*; and that this *Jehonadab*, for whom *Jehu* shewed such regard, was only a person of the same name with the founder of that *Rechabite* life; and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of such an unpolite institution. What he offers to prove the one, and disprove the other of these points, having more of oratorical confidence, than solid reasoning, we shall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that those *Rechabites*, whom *Jeremiah* speaks of, express themselves in such terms, as argue nothing less than the recentness of their institution (5).

Between the extremes of those two above-mentioned authors, are those who believe, that *Hobab*, the son of *Jethro*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, as he was a *Kenite* (6), was the founder of the *Rechabites*; that *Rechab* was one of his names, and *Jehonadab* one

(99) *Jer.* xxxv. 6, 7.

(1) 2 *Kings* ii. 12.

(2) *Gench. tribarsh.* Vid. *Goodwin Mos. & Aar.* l. i. c. 9.

(3) *Jerem. ubi sup.* ver. 8, & 19.

(100) *J. Boldur. eccles. ant. leg.* l. iii.

(3) *Gen.* v. 24.

(4) *Scal.*

(5) *Jerem.* l. i. c. 9. §. 13, & seqq.

(6) *Vid. sup.* vol. ii. p. 153, & seqq.

and took him up into his chariot to *Samaria*, that he might be an eye-witness of his zeal against the impious worshippers of *Baal*.

of his descendants; and lastly, that *Heber* the *Kenite* was also an observer of the *Rechabites* institution (6). *Serrarius* is of the same opinion in most of these points; but distinguishes two sorts of *Rechabites*; the one instituted by *Jethro*, or *Hobab*, and the other by *Jehonadab* (7); but all this is said without foundation. We shall say nothing of those who pretend, that they were either of the tribe of *Judab* (8), or of that of *Levi* (9); or that they were *Rechabites*, or descendants of *Jethro*, by the father's side, and *Levites* by the mother's; and, as such, that they were employed in much the same offices of the temple with the *Nethinims* (10). It is plain, the author of the book of the *Chronicles* calls them *Kenites*, descended from *Hemath*, the father of the house of *Rechab* (11); though it does not appear, that all the *Kenites* observed the institution of *Jehonadab*, but only those who were his immediate descendants.

For these reasons, for aught we can find, the most received opinion is, that *Jehonadab*, *Jebu's* friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the Scripture, and nothing urged that can give any of the contrary

As opinions the face of probability. *Jebu's* behaviour to him, and his inviting him to be an eye-witness of his zeal for the God of *Israel*, and of the havoc he was going to make among the worshippers of *Baal*, argues him to have been an eminent person, not only for sense and virtue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and, as such, he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps, through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the *Israelites*, which made it needful to separate from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for not being so. The *Kenites* not being of the seed of *Israel*, many broils and disputes might have arisen between them about the possession of lands; which might make him disclaim even the use and culture of them. The almost continual depredations to which *Israel* was exposed from their enemies round about, to say nothing of famine and pestilence, made the pastoral life seem to him much more eligible; because, in such cases, it was more easy to remove into better or safer abodes, in imitation of the ancient pa-

(6) *Vid. int. al. Arr. Mont. in Judic. i. Sanct. in Jerem. xxxv. Minervæ. cap. 13. & seqq.*

(7) *Serrar. l. iii. c. 2.*

(8) *Urs. doret. in*

i. Paralip.

(9) *Hegeff. ap. Euseb. hist. eccles. l. ii. c. 23. J. d. Cul-*

met. sub. voc. Rechabites.

(10) *Rabbin. al. q. ap. Sanctum, & Coruel. a*

Lapid. Jerem. xxxv.

(11) *1 Chron. ii. 35.*

The History of the Jews B. I.

As soon as he was come to that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal for that deity, than any of his predecessors; and ordered all its priests, prophets, and votaries, to be present at it, none excepted, under pain of death; and as soon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the sword, in the height of

triarchic. Wine was of too ensnaring a nature, and might, in time, have tempted his descendants into a looser and more luxurious life; for which reason he thought it necessary to forbid the use of it. Lastly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he seems chiefly to endeavor it to his descendants by the prospect of health, ease, and length of days (18). We may add further, that their retiring into *Jerusalem* during the time of the siege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being so much as blamed for it by *Jeremiah*, is a proof, that they were not under an indispensable obligation to live in tents, and in the country; tho' even here we think it had been much better for them to have removed further out of *Nebuchadnezzar's* way, instead of sheltering themselves in the city; where they not only suffered all the common calamities of a long siege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of *Judab*; for we find some of them, at their return from *Babylon*, who settled themselves

at *Jabez* or *Jabez* (19); and the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have these words in the title of the lxxth, which is our lxxixth psalm; *A psalm of David to the sons of Jonadab, and the first captives*; but, as they are not in the *Hebrew*, we shall lay no farther stress upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to observe their father's injunction, and whether the *Pharisees*, *Assidues*, and *Essenians*, were their followers, is foreign to our present purpose; and may, perhaps, be inquired into, when we resume the *Jewish* history after the captivity. A *Jewish* traveller of the 12th century (20) indeed tells us, that they are still in being, and strict observers of their old institution. He gives us also a fine description of their country, princes, government, and other particulars; but that author is so well known to deal in fables, and the account itself is so fully confuted by the learned *Constantine l'Empereur*, that we shall leave it to his *Jewish* brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of perusing it here.

(18) *Jer. ubi sup. ver. 7. Vid. Pet. Martyr. Alting. R. D. Kimchi, et al. in loc.* (19) *1 Chron. ii. ult.* (20) *Ben de Tudel, itinerar. p. 75, & seq.*

their worship. After this, he took down all the idols and Baal's ornaments of that abominable deity, burnt them out of priests and the temple, and caused that building to be demolished, temple destroyed, and turned into a common jakes. But his metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to *Baal*; for the infection had spread itself throughout the kingdom: wherefore he did not stop his hand, till he had intirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with such zeal and diligence, that GOD, highly pleased with it, sent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of *Israel* should remain in his posterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promise had encouraged him to have extirpated likewise the worship of the golden calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; but he unhappily followed *Jeroboam's* politics as long as he lived; for which reason, GOD resolved to cut *Israel* short, even from the beginning of his reign; so that *Hazael* greatly prevailed against them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and an half on the other side *Jordan*, besides some other frontier-towns on this side; and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the sword in the most inhuman manner (V), as we have seen in the *Syrian* history ^m. *Jehu* died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, was buried in *Samarina*, and succeeded by his son *Jehoahaz* ⁿ.

Year of the flood
1492.
Bef. Chr.
856.

WHILST *Jehu* was abolishing the worship of *Baal* in *Israel*, the impious *Athaliah* was using her utmost efforts to root out, not only that of the living GOD, but even the remembrance of it, out of *Judah*. The death of her son *Ahaziah*, and of forty-two princes of his house, followed by that of *Jezebel*, by the hands of a person

^m See before, vol. ii. p. 311, & seqq.

ⁿ 2 Kings x. per tot.

(V) It is not easy to guess at what period of *Jehu's* reign this cruel war happened: *Usher* makes no mention of it till the time of his son (21); but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the *Syrian* history (22), which is according to the chronology of our Bibles; for though GOD had promised,

that the crown of *Israel* should continue in his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal against *Baal*, yet he did not promise him a quiet reign; and his continuing in *Jeroboam's* idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had abolished that also out of his kingdom.

(21) *Ann. sub A. M.* 3148.

(22) *Sup. vol. ii. p.* 311.

and
slaughter
of David's
race.

Joash is
preserved,

newly raised to the throne of *Israel* by divine command, filled her with such an abhorrence both for the race and the God of *David*, that she resolved not to sheath her sword, till she had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promises of the other. But whilst she was wreaking her utmost fury against the sad remains of the house of *Judah*, Providence conducted thither *Jehsheba*, the daughter of the late king *Joash*, who was then married to the high-priest *Jehoiada* °; and that pious princess found means to save young *Joash*, her brother *Ahaziah*'s son, who was then but a year old, from *Ahaziah*'s sword, and to convey him and his nurse out of the palace, unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was carried into the temple, where he was brought up under *Jehoiada*'s care, and kept there with the utmost privacy till he was seven years old. During those six years *Ahaziah* tyrannized over *Judah* without controul, filling *Jerusalem* with blood, and destroying the servants of the true GOD, that she might more effectually establish the worship of *Baal* through the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were grown to such an height, that *Jehoiada* saw himself forced to put a stop to them, by producing the only remains of *David*'s race, at once to convince the people, that GOD was still mindful of his promise to that holy monarch, by preserving him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin. He privately called some of the chiefs and elders of *Judah*, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend; and, having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he shewed them the young monarch; told them by what means he had been saved; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion and liberty. The desponding chiefs received the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy; and, to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, took an oath of fidelity to him, promising the high-priest, that they would raise what forces they could, whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, *Levites*, and *Nethinims*, who should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way for those who came to relieve them. All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, to whom *Jehoiada* appointed their several posts; by which time, the generals

° Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

without had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was come, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous train of armed *Levites*; and there the high-priest anointed and crowned him, and administered the usual oath to him upon the sacred volumes. He was immediately after seated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that sacred place ring with, *Long live king* Joash!

Year of the flood* 1470.
Bef. Chr. 878.

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noise brought to the temple, was the frightened queen, who ventured directly into the priests porch, from which her sex and idolatry excluded her; and, as soon as she saw the young king seated on his throne, attended with such numbers of armed men, she rent her cloaths, and, in a desperate fury, rushed in amongst them, crying out treason. *Jehoiada*, fearing lest his zealous *Levites* should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was soon after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-priest, who by this time was in the greatest esteem, both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worship of *Baal*. They began with the temple of that idol, where having sacrificed *Matban*, the infamous priest, at the foot of the altar, they pulled the whole fabric to the ground; nor did they stop their hand, till they had likewise destroyed all the other temples, altars, and monuments of that idolatrous worship, which *Athaliah* and her predecessors had reared up, both in *Jerusalem* and *Judah*. On the other hand, *Jehoiada*, then at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court, and in the temple, by naming those who had shewed the greatest bravery and zeal in the late revolution, to the highest posts in the government; and by restoring that regularity in the divine service, which had been interrupted during the reigns of so many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an express prohibition to all strangers, and idolatrous apostates, to enter into the temple of God, and by setting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean persons, of what kind soever, from entering into it; which gives us rea-

* 2 Kings xi. pass. 2 Chron. xxiii. pass.

son to suppose, that it had been open to such secluded persons, during the last reigns.

Joash's
piety and
zeal.

THESE did the Divine Providence preserve the race of David from the brink of destruction; and *Joash*, who was proclaimed king in the seventh year of his age, continued to testify his grateful sense of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worship of GOD, during the good high-priest's life. One of his first cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered the priests and *Levites* to take their yearly circuits through all the cities of *Judah*, and to raise voluntary contributions among the people, besides the poll and redemption-money, to be employed in finishing of those repairs. But the priests, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with such shameful slowness, that he was forced to discharge them at once, and to commit the whole care of the money and repairs to the high-priest, and other proper officers (W). But *Joash's* zeal did not long survive *Jehoiada's* life. That good old priest died in the 130th year of his age, and for his faithful counsel, as well as signal services to the king and nation, was buried in the royal sepulchre of *Jerusalem*; and with him seemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the base princes of *Judah*, tired with dissembling a zeal for GOD, which

Year of
the flood
1498.
Bef. Chr.
850.

(W) And, to prevent all further delays and misapplication, a capacious chest was ordered to be set up in some public place in the temple, where the money was deposited, till it amounted to a sum sufficient to set about the work; which it very shortly did, thro' the generosity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of *Judah*, who poured in their presents with uncommon readiness and munificence. This money was immediately distributed among faithful workmen, who carried on the work with so much uprightness and

diligence, that, without being called to any account for the sums they received from time to time, they finished it to the satisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the chest, was by *Jehoiada's* direction, employed in making gold and silver vessels for the use of the temple, such as censers, trumpets, spoons, forks, and the like, instead of those which *Athaliah* had conveyed from thence into the temple of *Baal* (88).

that pontif's authority had only forced from them, came and prostrated themselves before the king, desiring that they might have leave to return to the old way of worship, which they had been used to in former reigns; which the easy king, pleased, perhaps, with their uncommon submission, having too readily granted, they immediately forsook the temple and worship of GOD, and set up new altars to those filthy idols, which they had formerly used to worship in their groves, with the most abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after so signal a deliverance, was not however punished, till they had been often forewarned, by several prophets, of the miseries which it would bring upon them (Y). But when they proved deaf to all those divine admonitions, GOD stirred up the Syrian king against them, who began to commit severe outrages in Judea, whilst the cowardly Jews, though much superior in number, were delivered into his hands as a punishment for their idolatry. Hazael, flushed with the success he had had against Judah, and with the vast quantity of spoil which he had sent from thence to Damascus, came up against Jerusalem, and made a terrible slaughter among those Jewish princes, who had been the first authors of that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape sharing of their fate, but by stripping the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the Syrian conqueror, who thereupon left Jerusalem, and returned to Damascus. Joash, however, did not escape the divine

* Vide 2 Chron. xxiv. 24. * Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass. & 2 Chron. xxiv. pass. See also before, vol. ii. p. 312, & seqq.

(Y) Among those prophets, who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to assure them, that these would prove only the preludes of worse mischiefs, was the high-priest Zechariah, the worthy son and successor of the late Jehoiada; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard to either the sacred-

ness of the place, or of his character, as a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, Zechariah, being full of the Spirit of GOD, foretold to them, as he was dying, that GOD would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them; both which happened soon after accordingly (88).

(88) 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, & seqq.

Joash is murdered. vengeance; and, though he then laboured under some grievous disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the fortieth year of his reign, and crowned his son *Amaziah* in his stead (Z),

Joash succeeded by Amaziah. AMAZIAH succeeded him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, by which time *Jeboahaz*, the son of *Jebu*, having reigned seventeen years in *Israel*, had left the kingdom to his son, *Joash*. During this time, nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed them to the cruel oppressions of the king of *Syria*, till *Jeboahaz's* repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance *; for the fuller account of which, we shall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his son's reign, we shall set in its proper place. In the mean time, the young-king of *Judah* caused the murderers of his father to be put to death; but the text observes, that he spared their children, according to the law of *Moses* ‡; from which one may reasonably suppose, that all his predecessors were not equally strict observers of it. *Amaziah* had indeed seen such severe judgments inflicted upon *Joash* his father, and his apostate chiefs, as made him for some time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too soon, and, like *Joash*, having begun his reign piously and successfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His signal success against the *Edomites* §, promised to him by GOD himself, did but too much swell the heart of that young monarch. He had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of *Israel*, when he was going upon that expedition; but was at length prevailed upon, by a prophet, to dismiss these last, not without great repentment and heart-burning on their side, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendship between those two monarchs,

Amaziah's success.

* 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6.
& seqq. † Deut. xxiv. 16.

‡ See before, vol. ii. p. 311.
§ See before, vol. ii. p. 178, & seqq.

(Z) *Joash* was by this time buried in the city of *David*, in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that he yet the text says, that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place apart (88).

and proved the source of a bloody war. Happy had it been for *Amaziab*, if this had been all; but that infatuated prince, after his victory over *Edom*, became so stupidly fond of the idols, which he had taken from them, that, as if all his success had been owing to them, he caused them to be set up in *Judah* at his return, and went so far as to burn incense himself before them, and to vent some insolent threats to a prophet sent from God to reclaim him. No wonder, then, if God left him to rush into his utter ruin.

AMAZIAH had indeed cause to resent the ravages which the disbanded *Israelites* had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition against *Edom*; and, had he been less elated with his success, might have taken more proper measures for doing himself justice for them. On the other hand, *Joash* had no less reason to trust to his own valour; who, soon after his accession to the crown, had been paying a mournful visit to the prophet *Elisha*, who was then lying on his death-bed, to represent to that holy person the melancholy state in which he was, going to leave the kingdom, which had already suffered the greatest calamities from the kings of *Syria*, during the two last reigns; and the prophet, touched with a sense of it, had prophesied to him, that he should gain three succeeding victories over that domineering nation*. *Joash*, therefore, who had by this time given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, by those three victories which he had gained over the *Syrians*, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predecessors (*Z*), could not forbear expressing the utmost contempt

* 2 Kings xiii. 14, & seqq. See also vol. ii. p. 312, &c seqq.

(*Z*) It is not easy to determine the time when *Joash* won these three victories; but, however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received the proud challenge from *Amaziab*, when he was in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the *Syrians* soon after the beginning of it (28). Archbishop *Usser* places it in the sixth and subsequent years of his reign, when, having, as he supposes, taken his son, the brave *Jeroboam* II. into consortsip with him, he left the kingdom under his care, whilst he went out against the armies of *Syria* (29).

(27) *Vid. Usser. ann. sub A. M. 3178.*
 (29) *Ubi sup. sub A. M. 3168.*

(28) *Vid. 2 Kings xiii. 22,*

tempt at his arrogant challenge. The answer he returned, was couched in the most scornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a despicable thistle, which, having aspired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been crushed under the feet of a wild beast : he concluded with advising him to rest contented with his late petty victories, and not suffer his ambition to drive him into a desperate attempt, which would end, in all likelihood, in the total loss of his kingdom. *Amaziah* was only the more exasperated at this answer, and hastened to go out against this rival : the two armies met in the neighbourhood of *Bethshemesh*, where *Judah* was totally routed. *Josephus* adds, that they were seized with such a panic, at the very first onset, that they turned their backs without striking one stroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror. *Amaziah* was actually taken prisoner, and *Josh* marched on with him, and his own army, to *Jerusalem*, where he obliged him to buy

Is defeated by the king of Israel.

Amaziah taken prisoner.

• > Ant. l. ix. c. 10

The remarkable manner in which the good old prophet foretold these signal victories, and how exactly his words were verified, the reader may see in the place under-quoted (30). As for *Elijah*, he died soon after ; and, before the year was out, some *Phœnicians*, going to bury a corpse in the neighbourhood of *Samaria*, perceived a band of *Mobites* coming towards them, for fear of whom, they cast the dead body into *Elijah's* tomb, and fled ; but, as soon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived, and ran after them. We have *Elijah's* panegyric in few words in the book of *Ecclesiasticus* : “ *Elijah*, says that author, was filled with the spirit of *Elijah* ; whilst he lived, he

“ was not over-awed by any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection : no word could overcome him ; and, after his death, he prophesied, &c (31).” The *Jews* said, that the man, thus miraculously raised, was called *Sallum* ; and that he begat sons and daughters afterwards.

Some authors, however, not content with the miracles he wrought during his life, and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one ; namely, that one of the golden calves bellowed out these words, with such a loud voice, that it was heard from *Gilgal* to *Jerusalem* ; This is he that is to destroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces (32).

(30) 2 *Kings* xiii. 14, & seqq.
(32) *Vid. Dorich. Epiphon.* & *1. 1. r. de mart. prophet.* & *ebion. Paschal. ap. Calm. sub voc. Elise.*

(31) *Eccles.* xlviii. 12, & seqq.

his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and silver which were found, either in the temple, or in his own treasury; after which, having demolished about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken some hostages with him, he returned to *Samaria*. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was succeeded by his son *Jeroboam*, the second of that name, after he had reigned sixteen years. As for *Amaziah*, though he outlived his disgrace above fifteen years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when, having discovered a conspiracy that was formed against him at *Jerusalem*, he was forced to flee to *Lachish*, where he was pursued and murdered by the conspirators. He was carried back upon horses to *Jerusalem*, and buried with his ancestors; and his son *Azariah* proclaimed in his stead.

In the mean time, whilst *Amaziah* spent the
of his reign in a kind of inactive security in *Jerusalem*,
Jeroboam II. the brave great-grandson of *Jehu*, seemed *Jeroboam*
ordained by Providence to restore the kingdom of *Israel* II. king of
to its primitive splendor and greatness. His reign, which *Israel*.
lasted forty-one years, besides those ten which he had *Year of*
spent in copartnership with his father, gave him time *the flood*
more than sufficient to perform that noble work, to *540.*
which he was encouraged by the prophets *Jonah* the son *Bel. Chr.*
of *Amitai* (A), and *Hosia* the son of *Beeri*, who were *808.*
contemporaries with him, and foretold, that he should
complete the deliverance of *Israel*, which his father had

² 2 Kings xiv. pass. to ver. 21. ² Chron. xxv. per tot.

(A) This is the same *Jonah*,
or *Jonas*, as he is called in the
gospel (34), who was after-
wards sent to preach repentance
to the *Ninevites* (35). *Usher*
justly observes, that he was a
native of *Gathhepher* (36), a
town in the tribe of *Zebulun*
(37), in *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*
(38), against that false affirm-
ation of the *Jews*, That out
of *Galilee* there never arose a
prophet (39). It is uncertain
whether those glorious succes-

ses, which he foretold to the
king of *Israel*, were commit-
ted to writing, and since lost;
or, which is more probable,
were only delivered by word
of mouth. We have nothing
left of him but the book that
bears his name, and which relates
to his being sent to preach re-
pentance at *Nineveh*, the me-
tropolis of *Assyria*, and is
therefore foreign to our present
subject.

(34) *Matth.* xii. 41.
(37) *Jos.* xix. 13.
2^o Jud. A. M. 3167.

(35) *Jonah* iii. pass.
(38) *Luc.* ix. 1.

(36) 2 Kings iv. 25.
(39) *John* vii. 52. *Ud. Usher.*

Year of the flood 1564. Bef. Chr. 784.

begun, notwithstanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predecessors. Accordingly, he took the Syrian capital *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to *Judah* ^a, and all the country on the other side *Jordan*, from *Hamath* to the sea of the plain, or the *Dead Sea* ^b. The particulars of all these glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of *Israel*, long since lost. He died in the forty-first year of his reign, and was buried with his ancestors in *Samaria*, and succeeded by his son *Zechariah* ^c. *Jeroboam's* reign was indeed a glorious one, with respect to his conquests; but it stands branded for various idolatries, and for the injustice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time: insomuch that the prophets *Hosca* and *Amos* ^d, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of the disorders and debauchery, which were committed both in *Samaria* and in *Israel*, and were sent to foretel the sad and total ruin, which their sins would shortly bring upon the whole kingdom. *Amos*, in particular, was sent from *Judah*, where he was a common shepherd, to denounce the most severe judgments against *Israel*, even to the total dispersion of it; which he did under the types of grasshoppers, which destroyed all the fruit of the land; of a devouring fire; and lastly, of a plumbet-line, and tottering wall ready to bury the idols of *Israel* under its ruins ^e. For these prophecies he was accused to the king, by *Amaziah*, one of the idolatrous priests of *Bethel*, and by him commanded to return into *Judah*, and prophesy here; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment against the messenger, that his wife should become an open prostitute in the city, that his sons and daughters should fall by the sword, and himself die in a polluted land ^e, namely, that of *Affyria*; whither the ten tribes were soon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them.

Year of the flood 1576. Bef. Chr. 772.

Zechariah. *Zechariah* succeeded his father *Jeroboam*: he was the great-grandson of *Jehu*; and so far was God's promise to this last fulfilled, that the kingdom should continue in his family to the fourth generation; but his threatenings against that kingdom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfall of *Israel* from the reign of *Zecha-*

^a See 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Numb. xiii. 21.

^b 2 Kings xiv. 5, & seqq. ^c Ibid. ver. ult. ^d Amos vii. pass.

^e Ibid. ver. ult.

riab. From that time, we read of nothing but treasons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and universal desolation: *Zechariah* had scarce reigned six months, before he was publicly massacred by *Shallum*, one of his own domestics, according to *Josephus* ^f, who seized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himself murdered by *Menabem*, *Zechariah's* general, in the metropolis of *Samaria*. As soon as this last was seated upon the throne, he returned to *Tirzah*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly the residence of *Jeroboam* I &c. which place refusing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and committed the most horrid cruelties on their pregnant women that ever were done by the vilest barbarians. It was not long, however, before he saw himself invaded by *Pul* king of *Assyria* (E);

^f Ant. l. ix. c. 11.

^g See 1 Kings xiv. 17.

(D) Our archbishop *Usher* (48) observes here, that there must have been an interregnum of eleven years and half before *Zechariah* ascended the throne; without which supposition it will be impossible to make his death, and *Shallum's* short-lived reign, to coincide with the 39th year of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, in which it is said to have happened (49).

(E) The same prelate (50) thinks, that this *Pul* was the father of *Sardanapalus*, called from him, *Sardan-Pul*; as *Merodach* king of *Babylon* was called *Merodach-Baladan*. *Pul* is the first king of *Assyria* we find named in Scripture, from the time of *Nimrod*, and may be reasonably enough supposed to have reigned in *Nineveh* at the time of *Jonah's* preaching, and to have been converted him.

Those, who follow the version of the seventy, believe, that *Pul* was invited by *Menabem* to come to his assistance. Some of the prophets upbraid indeed the king and people of *Samaria* with sending to *Assyria* for help (51); for which they threaten them with being sent thither captives (52); but the original affirms, that *Pul* came against, or invaded, the land; and the book of *Chronicles* says expressly, that God stirred up the spirit of *Pul* against him, as he did afterwards of *Tiglath-pileser*, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond *Jordan* into captivity (53). *Josephus* reckons this invasion of *Pul* to have happened toward the latter end of *Menabem's* reign (54); but *Usher*, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(48) *Ann. sub. A. M.* 3220.

(49) 2 Kings xv. 8, 17.

(50) *Ubi*

^{sup} (51) *Hoj.* v. 12. viii. 9, 13. x. 6, 11.

(52) *Ibf.* ix.

^g, & *alib. pass.*

(53) *Conf.* 2 Kings xv. 19. & 1 *Chron.* v. ult.

(54) *Ant.* l. ix. c. 11.

and, as he was not in a condition to make head against him, he was forced to buy his friendship at the price of 1000 talents of silver, which he levied upon the wealthiest of his own subjects, whom he obliged to pay 60 shekels per head; upon which *Pul* returned homewards, and *Menahem* reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was succeeded by his son *Pekabiah*, in the fiftieth year of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, king of *Judah*^h.

Year of the flood 1587. **Bef. Chr.** 761. THE kingdom of *Judah* all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. *Azariah*, whom the people had set upon the throne, immediately after his father *Amaziah*'s murder (that is, as the text expresses it), in the twenty-seventh year of *Jeroboam*'s II.'s reignⁱ (F), was then but sixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by *Zechariah*, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for

Azariah's great wisdom and piety of his counsel to the young monarch; that, during the life of that faithful counsellor, *Azariah* became equally conspicuous for his zeal against idolatry, for his pious imitation of his best predecessors, and for his great success against several of his neighbours, especially the *Philistines*^k. He likewise fortified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demolished by the king of *Israel*, and built several fortresses and magazines in several parts of his kingdom, and in those countries which he had taken from the *Philistines*, *Arabians*, and *Mebunims* (G). His army

^h 2 Kings xv. 13, ad 22. ⁱ Ibid. ver. 1. ^k 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & seqq. See before, vol. ii. p. 252.

(F) That is, as the same *Usher*, and the margin of our Bibles, rightly observe, the 27th year from his being admitted copartner with his father *Jeroboam*, though but the 16th from his reigning sole monarch.

(G) These *Mebunims* the *Cabaldec* paraphrast renders *the inhabitants* בְּנוֹי שֵׁר נִדְעוּ in the wilderness of Mahon, which was in that part of *Arabia Petraea* toward *Gerar* and *Pharan*; for which reason they seem joined with the *Arabians*

of *Gur-baal*, who dwelt in another canton of the same province; and, as both were in the same neighbourhood of *Egypt*, therefore the text adds, that *Uzziah*'s fame was spread abroad, even unto the entering into *Egypt* (55).

We ought to observe here, that these wars of the king of *Judah* are not recorded in the book of *Kings*, where his history seems strangely curtailed; but only in that of the *Chronicles* (56).

(55) *Vid. Bechart. phalæg. l. iii. c. 27. Le Clerc. tom. iii. cc. 3. a. l. 26. Corp. 2 Chron. 26. 1. 27. 2 Kings xv. 25. 27.*

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

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consisted of 307,500 brave men under the command of *Army and* two expert generals, *Maaziah*, and *Hananiah*, and of *magazines* *Jehiel*, his scribe, or secretary of war, who appointed each band their respective turns, according to the muster-rolls. Besides these, he had also 2600 officers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all sorts, to supply his army with, which he kept in several strong store-cities all over his kingdom. To these he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large stones, and other destructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks; which are said to have been contrived by some of his expert engineers. Whilst he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the business of agriculture; the text says, that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of husbandmen and vine-dressers; and that he built towers and cots, and digged wells, every-where, for the convenience of his servants and cattle. So that, whether we look upon him in peace or war, he seems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth.

BUT all this he unhappily lost by one rash act, his attempting to infringe upon the priestly office, and to burn incense upon the sacred altar. He was, however, strongly opposed by the then high-priest *Azariah*, at the head of fourscore other zealous priests, who represented to him in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the sons of *Aaron*; the infatuated king would not desist from it, till he felt himself smitten with leprosy in such a sudden and extraordinary manner, as made him sensible, that it was sent from God, as a punishment for his presumption. The priests, as soon as they perceived the first tokens of that polluting disease appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but *Azariah* was by that time struck with such terror and remorse (H), that he saved them that trouble, and made what

(H) The reason of *Uzziah's* being thus miraculously smitten with leprosy, is only found in the book of *Chronicles*. *Jephth* (57) adds a very remarkable circumstance, which accompanied this punishment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that, while the king persisted to threaten the priests,

(57) *Ant.* l. ix. c. 12.

what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city, and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from common society, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death; and was buried in a sepulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors¹. He died in the fifty-second year of his reign, and the sixty-eighth year of his age^m; and was succeeded by his son *Jotham*, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion. The author of the *Chronicles* adds, that *Uzziab's* history was written by *Isaiah* the son of *Amos*ⁿ; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name^o.

Pekahiah
king of
Israel
murdered,
and suc-
ceeded by
Pekah.

Year of
the flood
1527
Bef. Chr.

Two years before *Azariah's* death, *Pekahiah* succeeded his father *Menahem* in *Israel*; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by *Pekah* the son of *Remaliab*, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about a year before *Jotham* succeeded his father in *Judab*. The character of these two princes was very opposite; *Pekah* was a wicked prince, and followed the steps of his pre-

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. per tot. ^m 2 Kings xv. 2. ⁿ 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. ^o See *Isai*. i. 1. vii. 1.

761.

who opposed his impious design, God sent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light fell upon his face, which covered it with leprosy; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two, which stood at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, one half of which, having rolled about four furlongs, stopped against another mountain, choked the highway, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbish.

Some of the prophets (58), indeed, speak of an earthquake which happened in *Uzziab's* days; but, besides that neither they, nor the sacred histo-

rian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects against that monarch, it is plain, that *Josephus* must be mistaken in his chronology, who makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; for he expressly says, that he died of grief soon after; whereas the former of the prophets above-mentioned says, that the earthquake happened in the days of *Uzziab*, and of *Jeroboam II*. Now it is plain, as the learned *Usher* observes, that this was long before *Uzziab* was smitten with leprosy, because his son *Jotham*, who took the government upon him immediately upon his seclusion, was not born till some time after *Jeroboam's* death (59).

(58) *Amos* i. 1. *Zeebar*. xiv. 5. (59) *1d. Ussur. anr. sub A. M.* 3227. decessors;

deceffors ; fo that his reign proved troublefome and un-
 fuccesful, and ended in a violent death : *Jotham* was
 twenty-five years old when his father died ; he was a wife
 and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his
 father's virtues, without any of his vices ; and was bleffed
 with extraordinary fucces. *Pekah*, having made a league
 with *Rezin* king of *Syria*, made an attempt againft *Ju-
 dah* ; but was foon forced to go back, and defend his own
 territories againft *Tiglath-pilefer* king of *Affyria*, who had
 invaded the land of *Naphtali*, taken the moft confider-
 able towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into
 his own kingdom ; whilft *Jotham* gained feveral confider-
 able advantages againft his neighbours, efppecially againft
 the *Ammonites*, whom he brought under a yearly tribute
 of 100 talents of filver, 10,000 meafures of wheat, and
 the fame quantity of barley ° ; as we have feen elfewhere P.
 At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, for-
 tified the city, and done many other public acts, *Jotham*
 died in peace, after he had reigned fixteen years, and was
 fucceeded by his fon *Abaz*. As for *Pekah*, after he had
 had the mortification to fee one whole tribe torn from
 him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the laft
 ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion,
 he was murdered and fucceeded by *Hofhea* the fon of
Elah, in the twentieth year of his reign, and about
 three years after *Jotham's* death.

Year of
 the flood
 1609.
 Bef. Chr.
 739.

HOWEVER, he was more fuccesful, during thofe three
 laft years, againft *Abaz*, *Jotham's* unworthy fon, whofe
 impieties made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as
 that of his father had been glorious and fuccesful. He
 was fcarce feated on the throne, before his kingdom was
 invaded by the joint-forces of the kings of *Israel* and
Syria. *Abaz* was then under the utmoft confternation,
 at the news of two fuch powerful enemies coming up
 againft him ; and feems to have expected nothing lefs
 than the total diffolution of the *Jewish* monarchy ; when
Ifaiab the fon of *Amos* (I), who had begun to prophefy
 even

Ahaz's
 idolatrous
 and unsuc-
 cefsful
 reign.

° 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. P See before, vol. ii. p. 148.
 † 2 Kings xv. paff. 2 Chron. xxvii. per tot. See alfo UssER.
 an. fub A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings
 xv. 30.

(I) *Ifaiab*, called from the womb to be a prophet (60),
 and endowed with fingular cou- rage and eloquence for that im-
 portant office (61), is affirmed
 by the *Jerus*, and believed by

(60) Vid. *Ifai*. xlix. 1, & f. 99. (61) *Ibid*. l. 4.

many

Year of even from the latter end of *Uzziab's* reign, came to the flood him from the LORD, to assure him, that those two princes should try their strength in vain against *Jerusalem*, which they were about besieging^s. At the same time, to assure him, that the final end of the *Jewish* monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of GOD, though ever so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him from the LORD, that before that time came, a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name *Himmanu-el*, or GOD with us; and so on (K). No

^r See *Isai. i. 1.* ^s *Ibid. vii. 1, 2, & seqq.* *2 Kings xvi. 5.*
See also *before*, vol. ii. p. 314, & seqq.

many *Christians*, to have been the grandson of *Joash* king of *Judah* (61). His first vision was about the latter end of *Uzziab's* reign (62), but his prophecies relate to his successors; namely, the first six chapters to *Jotham*, the six next to his son *Abaz*, and the rest to *Hezekiab*; excepting that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the MESSIAH, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his style, as well as for the clearness of his proph-

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by *Hezekiab*, who sent to consult him upon all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by *Manasseh*, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere (63).

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64), that such a miraculous child was really born in *Abaz's* time, to assure him of the promised deliverance: for as there is not the least mention of such an extraordinary birth; so neither do we see, that there was any necessity for it, in order to convince the desponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of *Jacob*, *That the sceptre should not depart from Judah — till Shiloh was come* (65); much less, that he was to spring of the lineage of *David*. But what staggered *Abaz's* faith, and made him fear, that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to set a stranger upon his throne (66). All, therefore, that was wanting to dispel his

(61) *Ita rabbin. cmn. Vid. & Hieron. in Isai. pass.*
1, & seqq. (63) *Vid sup. vol. ii. p. 113. not. (X).*
in loc. literal prophcc. & al. (65) *Gen. xlix. 10.*
p. 317. not. (G). (66) *Isai. vii. 5, & seqq.*

(62) *Is. ii. vi.*
(64) *Whitb.*

See *before*, vol. iii.

No sooner had the first part of the prophecy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious *Abaz* gave himself up to the vilest impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worst of his predecessors ^z; till GOD was pleased at last to give him up to his two grand enemies. *Rezin*, to make himself amends for his ill success against *Jerusalem*, went and recovered *Elath*, a considerable sea-port town upon the *Red Sea*, which *Uzziah* had taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the *Jews* out of it, and peopled it with his *Syrian* subjects; and from that time the *Jews* never could retake it from his successors ^a. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly seen in the *Syrian* history ^b.

THE king of *Israel* was still more inveterate and successful, and it is not easy to say how far he might have carried on his conquests against him, had not a prophet been sent from GOD to put a timely stop to them. He had already killed in one single battle, 120,000 of his bravest subjects, besides *Maaseiah*, *Abaz's* son, and some of the noblest that were next his royal person; and had

^z 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, & seqq. before, vol. ii. p. 315.

^a 2 Kings xvi. 6.

^b See

present fears about it, was for the prophet to assure him from GOD, that this *Shiloh*, promised to *Judah* and *David*, who was to forerun the total excision of the *Jewish* polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character; and other remarkable circumstances, such as, he might be easily satisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophecy, which is commonly urged on the other side, namely, *Before this wonderful child shall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that, if it be rightly understood, it will rather

confirm our sense of the prophecy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: *For* (or rather, as the particle *כי* seems to import here, *nay*), *before, this child can know good from evil, this land, which thou (art) abhorrest, as our version renders it, but) art so solicitous about, or givest up for lost, shall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be understood, not the kings of Syria and Israel, for the former could not be called her (Canaan's) king; and the latter had but a share in it, at best; but the kings of Israel and Judah, as it really was before the coming of the* MESSIAH.

likewise taken 200,000 captives, whom they were carrying away to *Samaria*; when *Oded*, that was the prophet's name, stopped them short, and asked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made such a horrid and universal slaughter of their brethren, unless they carried away a much greater number into slavery. He added, that though the idolatries of *Judah* had drawn those heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe; yet, if they persisted to carry those innocent prisoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much severer ones upon themselves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to send their captives back to *Jerusalem*; which they at length complied with. This speech even worked so far upon them, that they did not dismiss them without some signal tokens of pity and humanity ^u.

Edom and
the Israel-
ites in-
wade him.

WHILST *Ahaz's* affairs were in this dismal plight, the *Edomites* and *Philistines* invaded other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered several considerable frontier-towns from him ^x. In this extremity, he had recourse to his old ally the king of *Affyria*, whom to gain to his assistance, he made no scruple to strip both temple and city of all the gold and silver. *Tiglath-pileser* received his presents, but, instead of coming to assist him against the confederate kings, he turned his whole strength against that of *Syria*, under pretence of causing a diversion (L); and, having killed *Rezin*, and seized upon his capital ^y, *Abaz* came thither to pay a visit to him, upon what design is not easy to guess; and, at his return, not only

^u 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6 to 16. ^x See before, vol. ii. p. 315, & seqq. ^y 2 Chron. xxviii. 17, 18. See also before, vol. ii. p. 315, & seqq.

(L) This is, at least, the best way to reconcile the book of *Kings* and that of *Chronicles*; the former of which says, that he came to *Abaz's* assistance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather strengthened him (68).

Among the curiosities *Abaz* saw at *Damascus*, he was so taken with the elegance of an heathenish altar, that he caused

a model to be taken of it, and to be sent to *Urijah* the high-priest, with orders that he should cause one to be made after it, and to be set up in the temple. *Urijah* dared not disobey, but caused the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been set up by *Solomon*; which last was put by on the north side of it.

(68) Conf. 2 Kings xv. 7, & seqq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21.

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

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offered up incense, and a vast quantity of sacrifices, *His idolatry* upon his new altar; but soon after caused the temple to be shut up, whilst he reared others in every corner of *Jerusalem*, and every-where else, to the *Syrian* gods, which he said had been so successful against him; and, having abandoned himself to the most abominable idolatries, finished his impious reign in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son *Hezekiah*: he reigned sixteen years ^y, and was buried in *Jerusalem*, not in the sepulchre of *David*, of which he was esteemed unworthy, but in some other place by itself ^z.

and death.
Year of
the flood
622.
Bef. Chr.
726.

THE kingdom of *Israel*, all this while, was in no better plight than that of *Judah*: *Pekah* had paid dear for his success against it, being murdered by *Hoshea* soon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of *Abaz*. This revolution, however, proved so distasteful to the *Israelites*, that it caused a kind of anarchy, which lasted almost nine years; during which time, *Hoshea* found it a difficult task to keep himself upon the throne: and, after he had quelled these commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hostile attempt, either against *Abaz*, or his successor (H).

Hoshea
king of
Israel.

IN the mean time *Hezekiah* had ascended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 12th, or, as the text hath it, in the third year of *Hoshea's* reign; that is, abating the first nine years of anarchy, which happened in the beginning of his reign ^a. It was not difficult for him to discover the source of all *Judah's* misfortunes, and the most effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he set about with the utmost diligence and

Hezekiah's
good reign.

^y 2 Kings xvi. 2. ^z 2 Chron. xxviii. ult. ^a See USHER, ub. sup.*

(H) He had, indeed, other business upon his hand; *Shalmaneser* had, by this time, succeeded *Tiglath pileser* in *Assyria*; and whether *Hoshea* had been forced to make use of his assistance to settle himself upon his throne, or whether his predecessor had committed any hostilities against *Israel*, during his alliance with *Abaz*, *Hoshea* was, by some

means not mentioned in the text, become tributary to *Assyria* (70), and was endeavouring to free himself from that yoke, by courting *So*, king of *Egypt*, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the source of new troubles, which ended at last in the total excision of the *Israelitish* monarchy, as we shall see very soon.

(70) 2 Kings xvii. 3, & seqq.

application.

The temple opened and purified. application. He began with opening the temple, and commanded the priests and *Levites* to renew the daily worship of God, according to the law of *Moses*. This good work was begun on the first day of the year, it being the sabbath^b, and was finished on *Saturday* the 16th of the same month. The king then assembled the elders of *Judah* on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the priests and *Levites*, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the sins of the nation; after which, they sacrificed such numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the priests, who assisted at the ceremony, being insufficient for the service, were obliged to call in the *Levites* to their assistance, and these accepted the office with the utmost readiness and joy. All this while, the air was filled with the sound of the trumpets, and other musical instruments, and with the voices of the singers, who accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to that extraordinary solemnity, which was concluded with expressions of the utmost joy and satisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not, indeed, but be a pleasing sight, to see a king and nation so suddenly turned from the worship of the filthiest idols, to that of the living God^c. One misfortune there was, however, that the season was past for celebrating the pass-over; that solemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, (and it was now the 17th; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of *Moses*, where it is prescribed, that those, who, by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month^d. The good king postponed it accordingly, and made use of that interval, to send circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his subjects to be present at that feast, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further; and the miseries, under which the idolatrous *Israelites* groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end, he sent a most pathetic letter to them, wherein he discovered to them the source of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means, not only to avert

A solemn passover celebrated

Israel invited to it by the king

^b 2 Chron xxix. 3, & seqq. before, p. 21, & seqq. & not.

^c *Ibid.* per tot.

^d See

his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of *Affyria* had carried into captivity * (N).

WHILST the king's messengers took their progress from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, the Jews were taken up with burning and demolishing of all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in *Jerusalem*; so that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of *Israel*, out of the tribes of *Asher*, *Zebulun*, *Manasseh*, and *Iſſuchar* (O): This solemnity, the like to which had not been observed since the latter end of *Solomon's* reign †, inspired the people with such uncommon zeal, that, as soon as they were dis-

* 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seqq.

† 2 Chron. xxx. pass.

(N) This shews, that *Tiglath-pileser*, or his successor, had invaded part of *Hojbea's* kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unless we will suppose, with some authors (77), that it had begun in *Pul's* time. [See the next note.]

(O) These did not indeed come in such numbers, there being many, even of these four tribes, as well as of the other five, who made a jest of the king's pious invitation; not that *Hojbea* did in any way oppose it, for it doth not appear that he did. On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far less wicked than any of his predecessors (78), it is probable the bad situation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means that would render Providence more propitious to him. However, those

of his subjects, who came to the feast, either had not had time enough to purify themselves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of those necessary preparatives had been quite obliterated in *Israel*, during so long an interval of disuse, so that they ventured to eat the passover with the rest, without regard to the illegality of it. Some, therefore, acquainted *Hezekiab* with it; but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cherish their pious zeal, easily overlooked that circumstance, and prayed to God to do the same. However, for the sake of those of his own people, who were also unpurified, among whom were several priests and *Levites*, he ordered the festival to be celebrated another seven days, that none might be excluded from it.

(77) Vid. *Calmot. hist. V. T. tom. iii. chap. 47. ad fin.*
xvii. 2.

(78) 2 K. x.

mised from it, they went about destroying all the old relics of idolatry, each in their respective countries, the king himself encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very brazen serpent, which *Moses* had caused to be set up in the wilderness ^g, *Hezekiah* ordered to be broken in pieces, because he found, that the people had offered incense to it; and, in contempt, called it *Nehushtan*; that is, a piece of brass ^h.

His next care was to restore all the branches of the worship of GOD, to make an exact scrutiny into the genealogies of the priests, *Levites*, and musicians, in order to settle their several classes, according to *David's* model. He provided for their maintenance, by reviving the laws of *Moses* concerning the first-fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and such-like, relating to the *Levitical* revenues; so that, by *October* following, when all the fruits were brought in, they had received their income, and proper distribution had been made of it among them ⁱ. *Hezekiah*, all this while, was blessed with success equal to his piety; and, as soon as he found himself strong enough to free himself from the tribute which the *Affyrians* had forced from his predecessor, he with-held his hand from paying it, and turned his forces against the *Philistines*, over whom he got such considerable advantages, that he regained, with usury, all that they had got during *Abaz's* unhappy reign ^k.

Hezekiah's success.
Israel invaded.
Samaria besieged and taken.
It fared quite otherwise with the kingdom of *Israel*; and *Hoshea*, little dreaming how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the *Affyrian* bondage. But *Shalmaneser*, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, soon discovered and broke all his measures. To work his overthrow more effectually, he took care to secure the land of *Moab*, by razing their two chief cities ^l, according to *Isaiah's* prophecy denounced three years before ^m, and laying waste all that land, and that of *Israel*, till he was come to the gates of *Samaria*, and had laid close siege to it. *Hoshea* had, however, so well fortified himself in that city, that it held out almost three years against the *Affyrian* king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this siege or

^g Num. xxi. 8, & seq. ^h Kings xviii. 4.

xxxii. pass. ⁱ See before, vol. ii. p. 253.

p. 138. See also *USHER's* ann. sub A. M. 3280.

^l 2 Chron.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Isai.

xv. 1, & seqq.

war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, ^{The sad} rest of the kingdom was forced to submit to the conqueror; ^{end of the} and that both the king and all his subjects were carried away ^{Israelitish} into captivity, and disposed of into the same provinces of ^{kingdom.} that empire, whither their brethren had been sent in a former reign (P); but we have a dreadful account of it in some of the prophets, who describe the distress of the people in the strongest terms ^m. The *Assyrians* committed the most horrid cruelties against their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and dashing their children against the ground ⁿ; and, having reduced *Samaria* into a heap of rubbish ^o, and laid waste all the land, returned home laden with the spoil of *Israel*. As for the land, into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been sought with no small pains by the learned of all ages: what the most probable conjecture is concerning it, will be best seen in the next chapter. This was the sad and fatal end of the *Israelitish* kingdom ^p, after it had stood divided from that of *Judah* 254 years ^q. It happened in the 6th. year of *Hezekiah*, and in the 9th. of *Hoshea*. A great number, however; of the *Israelites* escaped with their lives, some into *Egypt*, and a much greater number into the kingdom of *Judah*; where they weaned themselves, by degrees, from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became subjects to *Hezekiah*, and his successors. On the other hand, the

^m Hofh. pass. ⁿ Ch. x. 8, 14. ^o Micah i. 6, & alib.
^p 2 Kings xvii. pass. ^q Vid. *USSEB.* ann. in A. M. 3283.
 See also vol. iii. p. 238.

(P) The first book of the *Chronicles* tells us, that God stirred up *Pul* and *Tiglath-pileser*, kings of *Assyria*, against the impious *Israelites*; and that the latter carried away the two tribes and half from beyond *Jordan*, and sent them into the countries of *Hala*, *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the river *Gokan* (78). And the book of *Tobit* adds, that the tribe of *Naphtali*, of which *Tobit* was, being carried away by *Enemessar*, who is the same

with *Shalmaneser*, was placed in the province of *Media*, and himself in the capital of it, called *Rages*, where he left ten talents with his kinsman (79). What those countries were; which we mentioned out of the *Chronicles*, and how they are understood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at least a double invasion of the land of *Israel* by the *Assyrians*, and a double captivity.

Assyrians, *Josephus* says *Sbalmaneser* ^r, but it was more probably *Sennacherib*, sent colonies from several of their provinces, but chiefly from *Cuthah*, to repeople the land of *Israel*, from whence these new inhabitants came to be called *Cutheans* ^s (Q).

Hezekiah HEZEKIAH all this while had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and *Sennacherib*, the new king of *Assyria*, contented himself with the tribute which both he and his predecessor paid to him; but, as soon as he found him to fail in it, he came against him with a powerful army, and took from him a great number of fortified cities, in so short a time, as seemed to threaten nothing less than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. *Hezekiah*, who saw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a speedy submission; he sent an embassy to *Sennacherib*, acknowledging his fault, and promising him to submit to whatever terms he should impose upon him; and accompanied it with the richest presents, for which he was forced to strip the temple, and his own treasury, of all their silver and gold. This wrought so well upon the conqueror, at least for the present, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold. But this respite, though so dearly bought, did not last long; for the treacherous *Assyrian* king, who continued

Hezekiah
revolts.

Year of
the flood

1635.

Bef. Christ

733.

Invasion
by Senna-
cherib.

^r Ant. l. ix. c. 14.
SEPH. ubi sup.

^s 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. Jo-

(Q) The text adds (80), that these new colonies were like to have been destroyed by lions, *Josephus* says, by pestilence (81), upon their very first settlement, for their disregard to God; so that they were forced to send into *Assyria*, to desire the king to give them some *Israelitish* priests, to instruct them how to worship and appease him. This being complied with, they set themselves immediately about it, but without forsaking that of their own gods, which they had brought

from their respective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of the *Israelites*; consisting in the worship of the true God, and of a number of false deities. Hence sprang that mutual hatred between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, the former abominating even the name of the latter; and these always disowning any kindred with them in time of adversity, though forward enough to claim it in time of prosperity (82).

(80) 2 Kings xvii. 25, & seqq.
(82) *Iidem* *ibid.*

(81) Ant. l. ix. c. 14.

still at *Lachish*, soon after sent his army, under the command of *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeb*, directly against *Jerusalem*; so that *Hezekiah* saw himself in much greater danger than ever of losing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST these were coming against him, the king *Prepara-* made all proper preparations for a brave defence; he fortions tified the city, repaired the wall of it, surrounded it with against another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good ^{high} store of arms and provisions for the siege. He likewise caused all the fountains about the city to be stopped; and the course of the brook *Gibon*, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as possible, all supply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city; and exhorted them, in a grave and pious speech, to rely wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be discouraged at the number and strength of the faithless *Affyrians* ^b (R).

THE

^b 2 Kings xviii. 13. & seqq.

(R) It is not, indeed, easy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illness, or after it; more probably the latter; and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of *Sennacherib*, brought it upon him; for about this time he was seized with a dangerous disease, and forewarned by the prophet *Isaiab* to set his affairs in order, since he would certainly die of it. The good king, who about a year or two before had received a severe reproof from that prophet, and probably also about the same time from *Micah* the *Morasbite*, for trusting too much upon *Egypt*, and seeking for help from thence (1), received the dreadful summons

with inexpressible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but he had provoked God by it to shorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age (2). *Josephus* attributes this excessive sorrow to another cause, namely, his dying then without an heir to succeed him (3); which is not at all improbable, because his son was but twelve years old, when he ascended the throne (4). As soon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, *Hezekiah* turned himself towards the wall, and addressed himself to God in the most humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears; which proved such powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the pro-

(1) *Comp.* 2 Kings xviii. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, & seqq. *Isai.* xxxvi. & seqq. & *Jerem.* xxvi. 18.

(2) *Comp.* 2 Kings xxii. and the last note.

(3) *Ant.* l. x. c. 1.

(4) See 2 Kings xxi. 1.

THE glorious promises made him on this emergent occasion by *Iſaiab*, and which we have mentioned in the laſt note, did not, however, gain a full and immediate credit with the deſponding king; he could not eaſily reconcile two ſuch different meſſages from the ſame prophet; and therefore thought, that he had a right to inſiſt upon ſome more ſignal proof to aſſure him of the laſt. The prophet ſoon obtained, by his prayers, ſuch an authentic proof, as ſhould at once convince both him and his whole kingdom, that it was backed with the divine ſanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the ſun's ſhadow, by the dial of the royal palace (S); after which

phat, who was ſcarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove ſo ſpeedy, that he ſhould be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, *Iſaiab* was bid to aſſure him, that his life ſhould be prolonged fifteen years, and himſelf and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger (5). This ſickneſs of the king is, indeed, poſtponed in the ſacred hiſtory, and related after that of his deliverance from the *Aſſyrian* hoſt (6): but it is plain, that it muſt have happened before it; 1. Becauſe the prophet aſſures king, from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. Becauſe he promiſes him an addition of fifteen years reign (7). Now *Hezekiah* reigned but twenty-nine years in all (8); from which the fifteen being ſubtracted, it is plain, that

he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of *Aſſyria* began to invade his kingdom (9).

(S) The text runs literally thus in the original; *And the LORD brought back the ſhadow of the ſteps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial, or degrees of Ahaz, ten degrees or ſteps* (10): which we purpoſely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel miracle (11), to ſhew that the ſacred hiſtorian had expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the ſolar ſyſtem now commonly received.

It is true, that *Iſaiab*, who relates the ſtory in almoſt the ſame words, and mentions only the ſhadow, when he put it to the king's option, whether it ſhould go backwards or forwards, adds, that the ſun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (12). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the

(5) 2 Kings xx. 1, & ſeq. *Iſai.* xxxviii. per tot. (6) *Ibid.* (7) 2 Kings xx. 6. (8) *Ibid.* xviii. 2. (9) *Ibid.* ver. 13. *Vid. Uſſer.*
ſub A. M. 3291. p. 70. (10) 2 Kings xx. 11. (11) *Ibid.* ſup. vol.
 iii. p. 464, & ſeq. & no 1. (C). (12) *Iſa.* xliv. 8. Palmiſt

which the king happily recovered by the time appointed, and composed that noble psalm, whercin he expresses the exquisite

Psalmist says, *The sun shall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89); and in *Jonab*, that *the sun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus; and *the beams of the sun* (being miraculously inflected) *caused the shadow to go back over ten of the degrees, or steps, which it had passed upon Ahaz's dial, or flight of steps.*

For to suppose, that the whole fabric of the universe went back, or that even the earth alone did so, was unnecessary, because the business was not to lengthen the day, as it was in *Joshua*, but only to put the shadow back so many degrees. Besides, by the tenor of the whole history, it seems as if the thing was done in an instant, and not gradually. What need, then, is there to suppose, that GOD interposed his miraculous power, to cause such a retrogression, even in the bare earth, when the end might be answered by the sole inflection of the sun's rays? To say that either of them was equally easy to an omnipotent power, is true, but unphilosophical, because it were absurd to suppose, that God acts with less oeconomy in his supernatural, than he doth in his natural works.

This hypothesis of the inflection of the rays, which is

now the most received, because attended with fewest difficulties, will save us a great many needless inquiries; such are those that follow: What portion of time is implied by those ten degrees: How much the day was lengthened by it: Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the course of nature was again hastened, by some miraculous power, to its pristine harmony, either by subtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way: Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in *Judea*: and many more of the like nature.

Archbishop *Usher*, who believed that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet observe, that the Divine Providence so ordered it, that the constant and ever self-like motion and harmony of the heavenly bodies received no hindrance from it; he proves it by three previous eclipses of the moon, out of *Ptolemy*, whose calculation, being traced back from this time, coincides as exactly with the *Chaldean* account, as if no such retrogression had happened in nature (91).

But what confirms still farther, that the whole miracle consisted in the bare rever- sion of the sun's beams, is, that if either the sun or the

(89) *Psalms* cxxi. 6.(90) *Jonab* iv. 8.(91) *Sub A. M.* 3291. p. 71.

exquisite-ness of his anguish and grief, acknowledges the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer, and promises to be ever-

earth be supposed to have gone back so many degrees, it must have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary seems plain to us, from the embassy which *Merodach-Baladan* sent to *Hezekiah*, to inform himself about this miraculous phenomenon (91); for if it had been seen at *Babylon*, there would have been no necessity for sending into *Judea* to know the truth of it; and it is hardly to be supposed, that he sent thither to be informed about the cause of it. The *Babylonians* were much better astronomers than the *Jews*; or rather, these last were known to be perfectly ignorant of that science, as we have seen elsewhere (22). It seems then much more probable, that this retrogression was only felt about *Judea*; and, if so, it cannot be better accounted for, than by supposing an inflection of the sun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond *Judea*, we should certainly find some footsteps of it in profane history; it being hardly to be supposed, that so remarkable a change could go unobserved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world yielded so many good astronomers and historians, or that the memory of it should be since intirely lost,

when we can find so many footsteps of the sun's standing still in *Josua's* time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For these reasons, we shall wave all farther inquiries, which result from the other side of the question; and only add some few remarks concerning the most probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here it is commonly observed, 1. That the original מִגְבָּלוֹת *megaloth*, doth signify no more than steps or stairs. 2. That the *Septuagint* and *Chaldee* paraphrast render it, the former ἀνακλιμακίαι, and the latter by אֲבָנֵי זְמַן *a stone of time*, accordingly. 3. That the *Jews* did not reckon by, or had even a name for hours, before the captivity (94). 4. That the invention of *gnomon* dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to *Anaximander*, who did not flourish till almost 200 years after *Hezekiah*. And, lastly, that there is not a word of a sundial in all the writings of *Homer*. All which are looked upon as a strong presumption at least, that it might be nothing else but a kind of ascent leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper distances with figures, shewing the division of the day, rather than a regular piece of dial-work. Notwithstanding all

(91) *Vid.* 2 *Gbron.* xxxii. 37.

(93) *Josb* x. 12. See also before, *ibid.* p. 464, & seqq.

ibid. p. 237.

(92) *Vide sup.* vol. iii. p. 31, & seq.

(94) *Vid. sup.*

C. VII. . . . to the Babylonish Captivity.

everlastingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promise, the deliverance from the *Affyrian* power, did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals presented themselves at the foot of the city-wall, to demand a parley with *Hezekiah's* ministers; and as soon as these appeared upon the battlements, attended with vast crouds of people who came to hear the purport of their message, *Rabshakeh* addressed himself to them in an haughty and threatening speech, filled with the most bitter invectives, and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of *Israel*. It was spoken in the *Hebrew* tongue, to inject the greater terror into the listening people; and when they were desired to speak in *Syriac* to them, instead of complying with their request, they only renewed their threatenings of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they prevented it, by a timely yielding of themselves captives to the great *Sennacherib* ².

THIS vapouring speech was, by the king's order, answered only by a deep silence; but the *Affyrian* generals, being soon after informed, that their matter was forced

² 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron xxxii. 9, & seqq. Isai. xxxvi. 2, & seqq. ²xxxvi. 1, ad 10.

which, we cannot but think, that the division of the day into 24 equal parts was of much older date, as we have shown in a former note (94), though the *Jeus* had not adopted it; and that there might be some kind of dials invented by that time, which shewed that difference, and which king *Abax*, who was not scrupulous about such matters, as we lately saw by his new heathenish altar, might introduce into *Judea*. Accordingly we have a much finer description of it in *Grotius*, out of one rabbi *Ehab Chomer*, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in

the centre of an hollow hemisphere, on which were drawn, at proper distances, the several lines which divided the day into twenty-four parts (95). We give it only upon his authority, without entering farther into the dispute; for, whatever the form of the dial was, all that is meant by the text is only, that the sun's shadow went back so many degrees; and what portion of the day each degree might contain, is what cannot be determined. Those readers, who desire to be further informed about this subject, may consult the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(94) See vol. iiii. p. 230, & seqq. (M). (95) Vid. Grot. in loc. (96) Cyril. Alex. & Hieron. in loc. & in Isa. xxxviii. 8. Scalig. Grot. Vatabl. Munß. Salmaf. Gaspar. Sanctius, Le Clerc, Calmet, & al.

to go back to defend his own territories against *Tirbakah*, king of *Ethiopia*, who was then invading him, they left *Sennacherib*, *Ferusalem*, and marched directly after him. But, before *Sennacherib's* proud letter to *Hezekiah*, to assure him, that, if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself his captive, he would shortly come again with double fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly, and vain confidence in *God*, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief ministers, and spread it before the *LORD*; and, in the humblest terms, besought him, that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the *God* of heaven with the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet *Isaiab*, importing, that though *Sennacherib* would certainly bring back his forces against *Ferusalem*, yet *God* would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and loss, and fall at length by the sword in his own land. This prophecy was likewise soon after verified. *Sennacherib* returned against *Judab*, flushed with his late victory over the *Ethiopians*^a, and breathing death and destruction against the whole kingdom; but, before he could have time to commit any hostilities against it, the best part of his army was smitten by an angel in one night, *Josephus* says with pestilence^b, in so much that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful judgment so alarmed the proud *Assyrian* monarch, that he retired with the utmost confusion and speed into his own capital, where he was soon after assassinated by two of his sons, and succeeded by a third^c, as will be farther seen in the next chapter. Thus was *Isaiab's* prophecy exactly fulfilled against that blasphemous tyrant^d, and the kingdom delivered from the most imminent danger. As for *Hezekiah*, he suffered himself to be so elated by all these extraordinary blessings, that he brought a train

His miraculous
over-throw.

^a See *USHER's* ann. sub A. M. 3292. et *Isai.* xxxviii. pass.
^b Ant. l. x. c. 2. ^c 2 Kings xix. 1, & seqq. to the end. 2
Chron. xxxii. 1, ad 22. *Isai.* xxvi. xxvii. per tot. ^d *Ibid.*

of evils upon himself and kingdom ^c. He had, about this time, received a special embassy from *Berodach*, or, as *Isaiab* calls him, *Merodach-Baladan*, king of *Babylon*, to congratulate him upon his late successes and recovery, and to inform himself about the prodigy of the sun's retrogression ^f; and, as his success, and the spoils of his enemy, had made him exceedingly rich, he took a particular pleasure in entertaining the ambassadors with a sight of all the wealth, grandeur, and strength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought *Isaiab* to the king, who had no sooner acquainted him with his own weakness and ostentation, than he received this dreadful message from God; that those very *Babylonians*, whose eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his off-spring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which *Hezekiah* was brought to such a sense of his oversight, that he acknowledged the mildness of the sentence, since he was suffered to end his days in peace ^g. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool, and a conduit, to supply *Jerusalem* with water; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines and arable lands. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age, and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and was buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David. His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom ^h (W).

Year of
the flood
1655.
Bef. Chr.
693.

MANASSEH

^c 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, 26.
xx. 12, & seqq. *Isaiab* xxxix.
¶ Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii.

^f *Ibid.* ver. 32.
per tot.
32, & seqq.

^g 2 Kings
^h Comp. 2

(V) The jubilee year seems likewise to have been about this time (97), at which solemnity there flocked a vast concourse of people to *Jerusalem*; which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis, because, upon such occasions,

the wealthy men of the kingdom were used to pour their rich presents into the temple, especially after such signal successes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text says, that they did so accordingly (98).

(W) Besides the prophets

(97) *Vid. Uffer. in A. M.* 3295.

(98) 2 Chron. xxxii. 23, & seqq.

Manaf- MANASSEH was but twelve years of age when he suc-
seh's wic-ceeded *Hezekiah*; and, whether he was naturally vicious,
kedreign. or fell into the hands of wicked counsellors, we may date
 the downfal, both of the kingdom and religion, from the
 fatal day of his ascending the throne. He seems not only
 to have strove to outdo all his predecessors in wickedness,
 idolatry, tyranny, and sacrilege, but even to have shewed
 an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had
 done, and to act in direct opposition to him (X). But
His sacri- the most execrable piece of wickedness and sacrilege was,
lege. his introducing the vilest of idolatries into the very temple
 of GOD, and causing a *graven image of the grove*, a filthy
 idol, worshiped with the vilest ceremonies, to be set
 up in the most sacred place; as if he had designed to
 drive the GOD of *Israel* out of his habitation, and to
 disclaim at once all those great blessings which he had
 promised to *David* and *Solomon*, and to all that wor-
 shiped him there¹.

FOR these abominations he was often and severely re-
 proved by several prophets, and threatened with the most
 dreadful desolations upon himself and kingdom; all which
 only exasperated him to exert the most horrid cruelties
 against them, and as many as dared to shew a dislike to

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3, & al. pass.

Isaiab and *Micab*, of whom we have had occasion to speak, *Nahum* likewise prophesied in the days of *Hezekiab*. It is he who foretold the dreadful destruction of *Nineweb*, which happened afterwards in the days of *Josiab*, and describes it in the most lively colours (99).

(X) *Hezekiab's* first care had been, as we have lately seen, to root all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to restore the service of the temple to its pristine order and splendor. His graceless son, on the contrary, made it his study to banish religion and morality out of it, to revive all the old idolatry,

and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; besides witchcraft, sorceries, and every wicked custom that was used among the heathen far and near. *Baal* became now the favourite object of his worship; the sun, moon, planets, and a vast multitude of other heathenish gods, had also their altars and groves erected to them, both in *Judab* and *Jerusalem*. *Moloch*, and the valley of *Hinnom*, became more frequented than ever, the impious king encouraging his subjects to sacrifice their children there, as *Abaz* had done before.

(99) *Nab. pass.* & c. iii. 8, & seqq.

his impieties. *Jerusalem* became soon after the scene of *His* most horrid butcheries, which *Manasseh*, now become *ders* and a tyrant of the first magnitude, caused to be exercised on *tyranny*, prophets and priests, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood, from the one end to the other ^k. At length, Providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the *Affyrian* army, who came upon him so suddenly, that, seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. He was, however, soon brought out of it, and loaden with chains, carried away into *Babylon*, and there cast into a dungeon by *Esar-haddon*, or *Affuradin*, king of *Affyria*, who, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, had made himself master of *Babylon* about six years before, and was by this time become sole monarch over both empires ^l.

THE text neither tells us how this was done, *His* whether by an open invasion, or, which seems more *able capti-* likely, by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of *wity*. *Manasseh's* reign it happened: the *Jews* affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and, in the bitterness of his soul, sent so many deep sighs to heaven, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and an happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y). How long his imprison-

^k See 2 Kings xxi. 1, ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1, ad 10.

^l Vid. UssER. sub A. M. 3323.

(Y) These remarkable circumstances are not mentioned in the book of *Kings*, which says only, that he reigned fifty-five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All these particulars are only found in the *Chronicles* (1).

Archbishop *Usher* observes (2), from the following chapters out of the same author,

that the kingdom of *Israel* had not been so far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a considerable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the same time, and, perhaps, by the same forces which took *Manasseh* prisoner. This last and total captivity that prelate thinks to have been foretold by

(1) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, & seqq.

(2) Sub A. M. 3327.

Restored to imprisonment lasted, or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not say; thus much is plain from His repentance and reformation. It, that from the greatest sinner, he became the greatest penitent (Z), and, from the bloodiest tyrant, one of the best monarchs. So that after his return he bestowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages which his impiety had caused, both in religion, and in his kingdom. One of his first cares was to clear the sanctuary, and the court of the temple, of those idols which he had caused to be set up there, and which the priests had not had the courage, or power, to remove during his absence; and to restore the service of it to its antient order and splendor. He then sent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his subjects to follow his example, and to demolish all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign: and this was readily complied with also by the

Isaiab, about sixty-five years before, against Israel, under the name of Ephraim (3). We read, indeed, of several Israelitish tribes being invited to the passover at Jerusalem in a succeeding reign; but we take them to be those who came and sheltered themselves in the kingdom of Judah during the siege of Samaria, to escape being carried into bondage by the Assyrian king, as we hinted under the last reign.

(Z) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, intituled, *The prayer of Manasseh king of Judah, when he was bolden captive in Babylon*; which, if it was penned by him, expresses the greatness of his guilt, repentance, and misery, in the strongest terms: particularly, with respect to the last, it has this expression, that he was loaded with iron bands, that he

could not lift up his head. But we have a more authentic proof of these, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; tho' we should be loth to deny, that this prayer was composed by him during his imprisonment, because we find an expression in the book of *Chronicles* (4), which shews, at least, that there was some such prayer of his composing kept upon record; and it is scarce possible to pen one more expressive of his misery and repentance, than this we are speaking of.

It was also about this time, or soon after it, that the siege of Bethulia happened, at which *Holofernes* was treacherously murdered by *Judith*; but, as the story is apocryphal, and has no connection with the history of the kings of Judah, we shall say no more of it here (5).

(3) *Isaiab* vii. 8. *Vid. Uffer. ubi sup. Calmet hist. T. 7. lib. A. M. 3310. A. r. l. x. c. 4.* (4) *2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.* (5) *De eod. i. d. in. al. Prid. noni. c. 6.*

people every-where; only the high-places were left untouched, the king wanting either power, courage, or zeal, to go through with these, by reason of the people's obstinate fondness for them. He took the same care to repair and fortify the city, and other places of his kingdom; and, having reigned peaceably about thirty-three years after his return from *Babylon*, he died in the 55th ^{His death.} year of his reign, and 67th of his age (B). ^{Year of the flood}

AMON was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, so that he could have observed nothing in his father's example, but the greatest tokens of piety and goodness; and yet so infatuated was he, that he gave himself up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give some early proofs, that he designed to outdo him in his most abominable debaucheries; but, before he had reigned two years, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his chief officers, who assassinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the same garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpunished: the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, who had had no share in this rebellion, rose up in arms immediately upon the news of it; and, having revenged their king's murder by that of the conspirators, they placed his son *Jesiah* upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age ⁿ. ^{1795. Bef. Chr. 643.} ^{Amon's idolatry, and death.}

IT is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be over-run with all kind of wickedness and idolatry in the short time of *Amon's* reign, after it had been so thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to such a degree of impiety when *Jesiah* came to the crown, that the prophet *Zephaniah*, who was contemporary with him, gives us a most dreadful catalogue of the licentiousness and irreligion that had then overspread the whole kingdom (C); and in this sad and degenerate condition it was, when

ⁿ 2 Chron. xxxiii. ver. 21, to the end.

(B) He was buried in his own house or garden, probably by his own choice; the sense of his former miscarriages not suffering him to think himself worthy to be deposited among his ancestors; and was succeeded by his son *Amon* (6).

(C) Among the princes, judges, and magistrates, reigned injustice, oppression, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the priests, pride, avarice, corruption, and a shameful traffick of religion; among the people, ignorance and ir-

Josiah's good reign. when this infant monarch took the reins of it; so that it required nothing less than a miracle to reform it. But *Josiah* had been miraculously promised, above 300 years before, by a prophet sent on purpose to *Jeroboam* at *Bethel*, as one who was to work the greatest reformation that ever was done in the land, since it was to reach through the two kingdoms, though his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps advising with his pious counsellors, about what was to be done, and the properest means of accomplishing it. He married in the 15th year of his age, and, in the 16th, he had a son and successor born to him, whom he named *Eliakim* (B); after which he set about his premeditated design, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, considering his years, and the arduousness of the task, could be owing to nothing less than a supernatural impulse. His

Year of the flood
1707.
Bef. Chr.
641.

A total re-
formation
in his king-
dom.

extraordinary success and expedition; and the universal destruction he made both in *Judah* and *Israel*, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other idolatrous monuments, but also of the high-places, which several of his predecessors had in vain attempted to abolish, shew indeed that he was assisted by the same divine power that had inspired him with the design. The more effectually, therefore, to cure this obstinate evil, *Josiah* caused all those places to be polluted with dead mens bones; and ordered all those priests, who had assisted at that unlawful worship, to be for ever excluded both from all sacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating any holy things. He likewise ordered all the wooden idols, statues, and other combustible materials, which had served to any idolatrous purposes, together with the chariots and horses which had been dedicated

Year of the flood
1718.
Bef. Chr.
630.

° 1 Kings xiii. 2. P 2 Kings xxiii. pass. See before, vol. iv. p. 112, & seqq.

religion; men swearing with the same breath by the LORD, and by *Malcom*; altars reared every-where to *Baal*, to the whole host of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen (9); the very sanctuary itself was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furnished with

(9) *Zephan. pass. iii. 1, & seqq.*
& *seqq.*

male prostitutes, and with women who wove hangings and tents, to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries (10).

(B) Probably, in full confidence, that GOD would prosper his design; עֲלִיָּאִים *eliakim* signifying, GOD shall establish, make to prosper, &c. The text

(10) See 2 Kings xliii. 4, 6,

C. VII. *to the Babylonish Captivity.*

ted to the sun (C), the vessels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the ashes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries; and those, that could not be burnt, he caused to be flung into the river *Kidron*.

FROM *Jerusalem* he went to the mount of *Olives*, otherwise called the mount of *Corruption*, and demolished and defiled all the altars built on it by his predecessors, and at the valley of *Hinnom*, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties that were practised by the worshippers of *Moloch*; and thence marched directly to *Bethel*, the place where *Jehoboam*, the first king of *Israel*, set up one of his golden

¶ See before, vol. ii. p. 405, (A).

does not indeed mention the time of his birth; but it is easily inferred, from his being 25 years old when he begun to reign (7); for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was succeeded at first by *Jehobabaz*, who was younger, by two years, than *Eliakim*, whom *Pharaoh-Necho* set upon the throne some three months after (9).

(C) These chariots and horses, the text says (10), stood at the entrance into the house of the LORD; but whether they were real, or only carved or molten, is not easy to determine. We shall have occasion in the sequel to shew, that the ancient *Persians* used to consecrate white horses and chariots to the sun, with which they adorned their processions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other na-

tions (12). We can see no reason, therefore, why so many learned commentators should scruple to suppose, that the *Jews* had adopted this, among other far worse heathenish idolatries; especially considering how soon the prophet *Amos*, and, from him, *St. Stephen* (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of *Moloch*, that is, of the sun, as we have shewed more than once, and the star of their god *Remphan*.

What convinces us farther, that these were real chariots drawn by horses, and bearing some image of the sun, is, that the text expressly says here, that *Josiah* did not burn chariots and horses, as he would have done if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horses, and burnt the chariots (14).

(7) *Vid.* 2 *Kings* xxiii. 36. (8) *Ibid.* xxii. 1. (9) *Ibid.* xxiii. 21, & seq. (10) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 11. (11) *Vid.* *Herodot.* lib. vii. *Xenoph.* *Q. Curt.* al. & *Ovid. fast.* lib. i. *Justin.* l. i. §. 10. *Vid.* & *Buckart. hieroc.* pt. i. l. ii. r. 10, & al. (12) *Vide* *Hyde rel. vet. Pers. Kopping ant. Rom.* (13) *Amos* v. 25. *A. E.* vii. 43. (14) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 12.

calves; which he destroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, causing the bodies of the idolatrous priests to be dug up, and burnt upon them. It was upon this occasion, that; having observed a kind of monumental inscription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet who came from *Judah*, to denounce to *Jerobam* that total destruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard should be paid to his ashes: by which means those of the lying prophet, who had been the cause of his disobedience, and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried close by him, escaped being disturbed, and, perhaps, being burned with the rest. After this, *Josiah* took a circuit through all the cities of *Israel*, many of which lay almost desolate; and destroyed everywhere the idols and altars, which either the *Israelites*, or the *Affyrian* colonies, had set up; and put all their idolatrous priests to death; and, having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he set himself about restoring the worship of God, and the usual service of the temple (D).

The temple repaired.

By this time *Josiah* had attained to the 26th year of his age, and 18th of his reign; and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that sacred place: to repair which in the most effectual and expeditious way, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money, and free-will offerings, used to be deposited, to be opened, and the money to be distributed among such faithful overseers, as would set about the work out-of-hand; and, to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilst this was doing, the high-priest, who probably presided over the work, sent word to the king, that he had found the book of the law (E),

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet *Jeremias*, who began to prophesy in the 13th year of his reign (15).

Ephaniab likewise prophesied in the same reign, and much to the same purpose with *Jere-*

mias; the main scope of their prophecies being chiefly levelled against the various abominations committed in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* (16); and both were probably designed by Providence to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent their

(15) *Jerem.* i. 1.

(16) *Zeph.* i. 1, & s. q. ii. iii. *pass.*

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(E), which he had sent to him by the secretary of the temple. *The book of Josiah* delayed not to read it; and, when he saw the laws what found.

murmuring against, or obstructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype written by *Moses*, and by him ordered to be deposited, with the ark, in the most holy place (20), but which some pious high-priest had caused to be thus hid, in the reign of *Ahaz* or *Manasseh*, to prevent it being destroyed with all the other copies of it; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the history, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much disputed, whether it was the whole *Pentateuch*, emphatically called *התורה* *hatborah*, the law, or only *Deuteronomy*, or even barely the xxviiith, xxixth, xxxth, and xxxist chapters of it. *Josephus*, by calling it the sacred books of *Moses* (22), seems to declare intirely for the first; others have declared for the second (23), because the book of *Deuteronomy* is a kind of repetition or epitome of the *Mosaic law*; lastly, a late commentator, among some others, holds the last of these three opinions (24); and thinks that nothing more is meant here, than that short summary which is found in the xxviiith, xxixth, xxxth, and xxxist chapters of that book, in which are contained all the

blessings and curses, which so alarmed the pious monarch.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole *Deuteronomy*, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the *Pentateuch* recovered? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, then this summary must have been in it; and it will be surprising, that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal; and, if any such had been presented to him, he must be supposed to have neglected the reading of it, else he could never have been under such surprize and fear at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of *Jews* and *Christians* (25), that it was the whole *Pentateuch*; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was thus brought to light.

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly as to come presently to those blessings and curses, it may be answered, that, as their manner was to write upon vo-

(20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & seqq.

Mitachon.
in ap. Patric. in loc.

l. v. c. 8.
deaux, & al. mult.

(22) *ant. l. x. c. c.*

(23) *Præcop. Gazen. & Calmet comm. in lo. & hist. V. T.*

(25) See *Munst. Civit. Jun. Uffer. Le Clerc, Patric. Pri-*

(21) *It. Jud. ser. omn. Vid. lib.*

what dreadful judgments were denounced in it, against those very abominations with which he had found the whole land over-run at his first coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expressed the most lively tokens of grief, not doubting but both he, and his whole kingdom, would soon feel the effects of those threatenings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of *Jerusalem*, a famed prophetess named *Huldah*: to her, therefore, *Josiah* dispatched some of his prime officers, with the high-priest at their head, to inquire what would be the fate both of the king and people; and these brought him word back from her, that GOD would not fail to inflict all those severe punishments upon his faithless and ungrateful subjects; but that, as for himself, the concern and remorse which he had lately expressed for it, had so far suspended the divine vengeance, that he should be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of it.

It was in this same year, and probably upon the reading of this sacred book, that *Josiah* became sensible, that they had been guilty of a shameful neglect of the three grand festivals enjoined by *Moses*. To retrieve this fault, he assembled all the heads of the people, from all parts of the two kingdoms, to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he ac-

quainted them with the contents of a book of the Scriptures, which the good king *Hezekiah* seems to have caused to be written, and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished, that neither *Josiah*, nor the high-priest, had ever seen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be said in the case is, that *Manasseh*, during the former part of his reign, had made such havock of them, that, if there were any left, they were only in a few private hands, who preserved them with the utmost caution and secrecy.

What appears most surprising, is, that all the copies of

(-9) See *Mirsh. in loc. Prisd. connest. lib. i.*

Art. 11. 28, & f. 29.

(31) See *Prov. xxv. 1.*

(30) *Luke iv. 17.*

quainted them how they had happily recovered the volume of the *Mosaic* law, and read it himself before them; he then informed them of his design of expiating, as much as possible, their former neglect, by a more careful observance of it; and, as the solemn feast of the passover was near at hand, which he resolved should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themselves for that grand festival. Whilst the people were purifying themselves, *Josiah* commanded the priests to make a more strict search into the temple, and to cast out and destroy all the profane and idolatrous lumber that was found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the sacred utensils, which had been removed out of it in some former reigns, and to deposit them in their former place and order. All these were readily complied with both by priests and people; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paschal lamb; all which was observed with greater zeal and magnificence than had been done by any of his predecessors since *Samuel's* time. After this, the king took a second progress through the kingdom; expelled all the wizards, enchanters, and such-like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; settled courts of judicature every-where, giving strict charge, both to the magistrates, and also to the priests and *Levites*, to see that the people were instructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of *Moses*†.

THUS did this good monarch endeavour, with the sincerest zeal, to restore the pure worship of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of superstition and idolatry; in hopes, if possible, to avert his impending judgment from falling upon them. But for all this, the text observes, that his anger was not abated in the least against the people; who, though they so far complied with their pious monarchs, as to shew an outward zeal for God, were yet found to be ready to relapse into the vilest abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. These forced reformatations, therefore, could not but render them more odious in the sight of God; so that, having denounced a total destruction against the land, by his prophet *Zephaniah*‡, and by the prophetess *Huldah*, he hastened to take the good prince to himself, according to his promise, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

† 2 Kings xxii. & xxiii. pass. 2 Chron. xxxiv. & xxxv. pass.

‡ Zeph. i. 1, & seqq.

JOSIAH had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when *Pharaoh Necho* came up against the *Affyrians*, or rather *Babylonians*, as far as the city of *Carchemish*, which was situate upon the river *Euphrates* †. It is not easy to say, whether *Josiah* looked upon the design of this expedition to be levelled against his own territories; or, which is still more probable, whether the kings of *Judah* were under a kind of tribute and obligation to those of *Babylon*, ever since *Manasseh* had been restored to his kingdom; which would have made it a breach of faith in *Josiah* to have suffered an enemy of theirs to pass thro' his territories in an hostile expedition against them; but he came with a powerful army against him, and encamped in the valley of *Megiddo*. Here *Pharaoh* endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from concerning himself in the war between him and the *Babylonians*, by assuring him by his ambassadors, that he had no hostile design against him: *Josiah* would not be persuaded; but sallied out, as if his chief design had been to fight him in person; but, before he could reach him, he received a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as soon as he had reached *Jerusalem* †; in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good subjects; particularly by the prophet *Jeremy*, who is supposed to have composed that most excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death †; wherein he expresses the mournful state of the kingdom, with an energy and *pathos*, which we can better feel than describe (F). There was indeed

† See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 29, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, & seq. See also before, vol. ii. p. 84, & seqq. † Vid. *HIERON.* præf. in *Thren.* *USSER.* & al.

(F) This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method: the composition is of the acrostic kind; and, as the subject of the whole is mourning, which is always most naturally and freely vented and expressed, when confined to number, so here every verse is a sentence, which abounds still with some new, strong, and lively image of the deepest grief. The text says accordingly, that *Jeremiab* composed a lamentation, which was sung by a number of singing-men and women, both at his funeral, and passed into use afterwards upon all mournful occasions; and that they are written

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indeed the greatest cause to lament so good a prince's fall, since with him expired at once the religion, happiness, and glory of the nation.

JOSIAH was succeeded by his son *Jeboabaz*, whom the *Jehoahaz* people set upon the throne in the 23d year of his age; ^{his part} not in right of succession, for he was the youngest of ^{his} *Josiah's* sons (I), but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he designed to reign as wickedly as some of his predecessors had done; upon which account, *Jeremiah* was at first sent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, adding, that, if he did not, he should be carried away captive, and die in a strange land. *Pharaoh Necho* came accordingly against *Jerusalem*, in his return from the *Assyrian* expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and, having set his elder brother *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into that of *Jeboiakim* (K), upon the throne,

* See Jerem. xxii. 1, & seq.

written in the *Lamentations* (35). And *Josephus* adds (36), that they were still extant in his time; by which he seems to mean the same with those we have now under that name. And the prophet *Ezekiel* was ordered by God to write likewise another such upon the same occasion; though this last is much inferior to the former in beauty and eloquence (37).

(I) It appears by the first book of *Chronicles* (39), that *Josiah* left four sons; the youngest is there, and by *Jeremiah*, called *Shallum*, but is the same with *Jeboabaz* (40): it is plain, moreover, that he was at least two years younger than his brother *Eliakim*, who was twenty-five years old when he succeeded him, which he did three months after. Arch-

bishop *Usher*, who thinks that the people chose him in haste, left *Pharaoh-Necho* should surprise them without an head, suppose, that they exchanged his name *Shallum*, which they thought unfortunate, because the only king of *Israel* of that name had been murdered in the first month of his reign, for that of *Jeboabaz*, which they thought carried a more promising omen (41).

(K) The same learned prelate supposes this change of names to have been designed by the *Egyptian* king, as an acknowledgement, that he owed his victory over the *Assyrians* to the God of *Israel*, by whose command he had undertaken that war against them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יְבוּיָכִים *Jebovah jakim*,

(35) 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.
Ezek. xix. 1, & seq.
11, 12.

(36) Ant. l. x. c. 6.
(37) Cb. iii. 15.
(39) Cb. iii. 15.

(40) Jerem. xxii.
(41) Sub A. M. 3394.

(42) Sub A. M. 3394.

and carried him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of silver, and one talent of gold, carried his captive brother into Egypt, where he ended his days ^y (L).

Jehoiakim was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways: for this *Jeremiah* was ordered by GOD, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom; and the place, the court of the temple. He threatened them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquitted by the nobles, as a person who spoke by divine command ^z; and found a powerful protector with the king, in *Abikam*, the son of *Shaphan*, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under *Josiah*, and found means to screen him from the fury of the king and people ^a; though he had foretold, about the same time, the accession of *Zedekiah* to the crown of *Judah*, and of *Nebuchadnezzar* to that of *Babylon* ^b.

ABOUT four years after, he foretold the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of the temple, and the *Babylonish* captivity under *Nebuchadnezzar*, which he said would last seventy years; soon after which, that monarchy would be

^y 2 Kings xxiii. 31, & seqq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, 4, & Ezek. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4. ^z Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19.
^a Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. ^b Ibid. xxvii. 1, ad 11.

that is, The God of *Israel* hath, or shall make it prosper, &c. (43).

(L) The prophet *Ezekiel* represents that young prince as a courageous undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey; and concludes with this expression, *The nations heard of him; he was taken in their snare, and brought into Egypt, laden with chains* (43). From this passage the *Jews* conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolving to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpowered by the *Egyptian* king; but, whether he came to *Jerusa-*

be at an end, and the land become desolate. (M). And in the same year; being shut up in prison, he caused *Baruk*, who was his scribe, to write from his mouth the tenor of the same threatenings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then assembled at the temple, it seems, upon some solemn fast (N). *Baruk* obeyed, and some of the chief ministers, being informed of it, got the roll from him, and brought it to the king, who had scarce read a column or two in it, *Jehoiachin* before he cut it in pieces, and flung it into the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were present to prevent it. *Jeremiah* and his messenger had, doubtless, felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the same denunciations again^d, which were soon after fulfilled^e by the coming of the *Babylonish* king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commission from *GOD*, against him, and his whole kingdom; as we shall see in due time.

^c *Jerem.* xxv. 1, 2, & seqq.

^d *Ibid.* xxxvi. 1,

& seqq.

Jerem., or *Jehoahaz* went out against him to *Carchemish*, they are not agreed; tho' either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should, in time, undertake the same exploit against him (44).

(M) This captivity was likewise foretold, though not in such plain terms, by *Isaiab* (45), under the type of *Tyre*; and also by *Habakkuk*. This last, expostulating with *GOD* about the incorrigible hardness of the *Jews*, is answered, that they would be shortly invaded and captivated by the *Chaldeans* (46). He likewise

foretold the vast successes of *Nebuchadnezzar*; and when he repined at the prosperity of that wicked prince and people, he is answered, that they also should, in due time, become the scorn of other nations, and a prey to those whom they had subdued.

(N) Probably, that of expiation, which, as we observed elsewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month *Tisri*, answering to the latter end of our *September*; for it is here observed to have been towards winter, and we do not find, that they had any other fast before the captivity (47).

(44) *Vid. Sanct. & Munst. in 2 Reg.* xxiii. 33.

xxiii. 15, & seqq.

vol. ii. p. 44, & seqq.

(46) *Habak.* i. 2, & seqq.

(45) *Isa.*

(47) *Vid. sup.*

NEITHER were idolatry, and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which *Jeboiakim's* reign is branded; he added to them the most horrid eructics and tyrannies, rapine and bloodshed; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces by violence and oppression; perverting justice, inventing charges against the innocent to put them to death, and many more such-like impieties; besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these, *Jeremiah* pronounced at last his dreadful sentence against him; That he should be given up into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of *Nebuchadnezzar*; that he should die unpitied and unlamented; that he should have the sepulture of an ass, and that his carcase should rot upon the ground^e. By this time also, two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the insatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. *Jeremiah* had some time before forewarned him from relying upon the assistance of the king of *Egypt*, whose army was still at *Carchemish*, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young *Nebuchadnezzar*^f, the prince pointed out by Providence to subdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the *Jews*. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of *Jeboiakim's* reign, when that young victorious prince was sent against the king of *Egypt*, and gave him an intire defeat at *Carchemish*, took the place, put the whole garison to the sword, and beat back the troops that came to it; assistance^g.

THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of *Judah's* misfortunes: the conqueror marched directly against *Jerusalem* *rufalem*, and took it (O); rifled the temple of its most precious furniture, and the royal palace of its most hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to *Isaiah's* prophecy to *Heze-*

Jerusalem taken.

^e Jer. xxxvi. 30, 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13. xxiv. to the end. ^f Ibid. xvi. 1, & seqq. ^g See before, vol. ii. p. 84, & seqq. UssER. sub A. M. 3397.

(O) This *Usher* proves to be a calamity. This is the more worth observing, because the month from the anniversary of the seventy years captivity, foretold by *Jeremiah*, must be reckoned ever since, in memory of that from this epocha (48).

(48) Vid. Usser. ubi supra.

kiah;

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kiab ^g; and the city of all its choicest youths, whether for blood, learning, wit, or beauty, to be likewise sent to *Babylon*. Among these last were *Daniel* and his three companions: *Jehoiakim* was at first put into bonds, and designed to be sent away with the rest; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was taken up with his other conquests, he found means to rebel against him, after a three year subjection, and continued about three years without paying him any tribute; which so exasperated that monarch, that he sent an army into *Judea*, consisting of *Syrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, who wasted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 prisoners (among whom, *Josephus* says, was the prophet *Ezekiel* ^h; but it is more likely that he staid at *Jerusalem* till the next reign); took and murdered the unfortunate *Jehoiakim*, and dragged his carcase out of the city-gates, where they left it unburied, according to *Jeremiah's* prediction.

Jehoiakim's death.

He was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, called also *Jechoniah*, and in contempt *Coniah* (P), who was then but eighteen years old; whether he took the crown contrary to *Nebuchadnezzar's* mind, or had endeavoured to shake off his yoke, the text doth not say, but only observes, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch advanced against him before he had reigned three months: *Jehoiachin* came out to him, not in an hostile, but submissive manner, attended by his mother, and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all sent away captives into *Babylon*, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction. The temple, palace, treasury, and the whole city, were a second time ransacked and stripped of all that was valuable in them; he likewise

Jehoiachin's wicked reign. Year of the flood 1749. Bef. Christ 599. and captivity.

^g Dan. i. 2, & seqq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. l. x. c. 8.

^h Ant.

(P) He is called by this last name in *Jeremiah*, who uttered this dreadful prophecy against him (49). — That he should be given into the hand of the king of the *Chaldeans*; — that he

and his mother should end their days in a strange country; wishing still, in vain, to return into their own land; as it happened accordingly, not long after.

(49) *Ch.* xxii. 24, & seqq.

transported

transported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wisdom; besides 1000 of the best artificers in gold, silver, and other metals and materials; in a word, he left scarcely any behind but the very common people, to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note, was the famed *Mordecai*, and, as is most generally believed, the prophet *Ezekiel*. After this he set *Mattaniah*, who was the son of *Josiah*, and uncle to the unhappy *Jehoiachin*, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of *Zedekiah*; and, having bound him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and subjection ¹, returned into his dominions.

Zedekiah's reign.
Year of the flood
1749.
Bef. Chr.
999.

ZEDEKIAH began to reign in the 21st year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predecessors; however, he continued faithful to the king of *Babylon* some few years, during which, he received some embassies from the kings of *Ammon*, *Moab*, *Edom*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, who were all under the same yoke with him; seemingly indeed to congratulate him upon his accession to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him against the *Chaldeans* ^k. The young prince gave but too much heed to their proposal; but *Jeremiah*, who was warned of it, sent to every one of the ambassadors, chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their respective masters, advising them, in the name of **GOD**, to submit themselves willingly to the king of *Babylon*, and not provoke him to lay a much severer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying soothsayers and star-gazers ^l. There were, at the same time in *Jerusalem*, several pretended prophets, who endeavoured to persuade the too credulous king, that the captivity would be shortly at an end, and that the sacred vessels, which had been carried away, would be all restored to the temple; to which *Jeremiah* replied, that those few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the rest. Thus, for some years, there was nothing scarcely to be heard, but predictions of victory and deliverance on the part of the false prophets, and of desolation and ruin from the mouth of *Jeremiah*. This raised him many a bitter enemy, not only in *Judea*, but even in *Babylon*: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as *Zedekiah* sent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the seventy years were expired; and they, in

Deceived by his false prophets.

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 11, & seqq. ^k See before, vol. ii. p. 86. ^l Jerem. xxvii. pass.

return,

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return, wrote letters into *Judea*, to desire that he might be apprehended and punished as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the *GOD of Israel*, but the king of *Babylon*, dictated to him ^l.

THIS contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies caused him to be imprisoned. The infatuated king was at length persuaded, by his false prophets, to shake off the *Babylonish* yoke; and that rash enterprize hastened the total destruction of temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when *Nebuchadnezzar* came with a powerful army, wasted the whole country, seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to *Jerusalem*, before *Zedekiah* could make any provision, either for his own defence, or escape ^m. It was then, that, seeing his error too late, he sent privately for *Jeremiah*, to consult with him what to do; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity ⁿ (Q). In the mean time *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, came with an army against the besiegers: *Josephus* says, that *Zedekiah* had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke ^o; if so, he was the only one that kept it with him; for, as for all those other princes, who sent their ambassadors to him at the first, it is plain that they were so far from assisting him, that they rather became his enemies and accusers. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* did not think fit to let the *Egyptians* come up to him, but raised the siege for the present, and marched directly

^l Jerem. xxvii. ^m 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1. & JOSEPH. ant. l. x. c. 10. ⁿ Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & seq. ^o Ant. ibid. & sup. p. 86, & seqq.

(Q) About the same time, *Ezekiel* prophesied at the captivity (54) much the same things that *Jeremiah* did at *Jerusalem*; only with this difference seemingly, that the one said, the king should never see *Babylon*; whereas the other said expressly, that he should be carried thither prisoner, and end his days there. This seeming contra-

diction, *Josephus* tells us (55), staggered the king's faith, and made him give the less heed to them; but the difficulty was rather how to reconcile *Ezekiel* to himself, who adds, that he should die there, though he did not see it. However, *Nebuchadnezzar* found out the way of doing it, by putting that unfortunate prince's eyes out.

(54) *Ezek.* xii. 13. xxiv. 1, & seqq.

(55) *Ant.* l. x. c. 10.

against

against them. This spread such an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themselves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their service those very servants whom they had but lately dismissed, it being the sabbatic year; not so much out of regard to the law of *Moses*, as out of the fear they were in, of their revolting to the *Chaldeans*. The king, however, sent to desire *Jeremiah* to put up his prayers to GOD for him and the nation; but was answered by him, that the *Chaldeans* would renew the siege with fresh vigour; and that his *Egyptian* allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. *Nebuchadnezzar*, accordingly, having routed the *Egyptians*, returned to the siege, and carried it on so vigorously, that the inhabitants began to labour under such great scarcity of provisions, that they found it impossible to hold it out longer. During this last siege, the king sent often to *Jeremiah*, in hopes of receiving at length some comfortable news; but neither his resentment, nor the grievous things which he had suffered, could make him send a better answer, than that they must be all carried away into captivity. Happy had it been for them, if they had taken his counsel, and tried to soften their conqueror by a timely submission; but, instead of it, the king, to avoid the threatened captivity, endeavoured to make his escape by night, attended by his nobles and guards (R). The

(R) *Josephus* says, that the *Chaldeans*, having entered the city about midnight, went directly up to the temple; which gave an opportunity to that unhappy monarch, and his men, to make their escape through some streight passes, through the adjacent mountains, and had gained the plain of *Jericho*, where he was overtaken, and brought back; which is pretty near what the text says (54). The *Jews*, however, pretend, that he escaped thro' a long subterraneous way, which reached from one end of his palace to the plain above-mentioned; which is not improbable, since *Dio Cassius* mentions several such, through which the *Jews* escaped at the last siege of this city (55). But what they add of his being discovered by a deer, which kept the same track above-ground, which the king did under-ground, and, being pursued by the *Chaldeans*, brought them to the very spot where he came out, may be rather looked upon as a *Jewish* fable, than a piece of true history.

(54) *Conf. am. l. x. c. 11. & 2 Kings xxv. 4, & seqq.*
lib. lxvi.

(55) *Dio,*

Chaldeans,

Chaldeans, who were soon apprised of it, pursued them, and brought them back to their exasperated monarch, at *Riblah*; where he glutted his revenge upon the *Zedekiah*-unfortunate king of *Judah* with the utmost cruelty, by ah's miser- causing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, able and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that Year of no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that the flood, bloody scene. This happened towards the end of the 1760. eleventh year of his reign: he was soon after sent into Bef. Chr. *Babylon*, loaden with chains, and ended his days in a 588. prison.

THE city was at length, after two years and an half close and strenuous siege from without, and a devouring famine which raged within (*Josiphus* adds likewise a grievous pestilenceⁿ, which had swept away a vast number of the besieged), entered by the victorious *Chaldeans* on a *Wednesday* the 11th of the 4th month, answering to our 27th of *July*, in the year of the world 3416^a, according to the express predictions of *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other prophets lately quoted. The sacred historians have left us but few particulars of this siege, and even omitted some of the most material ones; which defect, though easily overlooked by such of our readers as are unacquainted with the art and trade of war, cannot but be regretted by the more curious sort, who are better versed in it. The advantageous situation of *Jerusalem*, the height and strength of its walls and bulwarks, the stoutness of its warlike inhabitants, which caused this siege to be so long-continued, difficult, and bloody, necessarily raises a curiosity to know, in what manner, and by what warlike engines, &c. a place of such strength and consequence was forced to yield. By what we can gather of it from the inspired writers, it plainly appears, that *Nebuchadnezzar* did not intend at first to take it by assault, but contented himself with blocking it up with lines of circumvallation and contravallation, to prevent at once any succours being thrown into the city, and the besieged annoying him with their sallies. By this means *Zedekiah*, who commanded within in person, was effectually hindered from coming out at the head of his forces, and joining the *Egyptians*, who were marching with all speed to his assistance; and the *Chaldean* monarch had time and opportunity sufficient to meet them, and give them a total defeat. This is what may be gathered from the

ⁿ Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

• Vid UssER. in an.

sacred historian, who expressly says, that the city continued in that condition, that is, besieged and surrounded with those walls, ditches, and other forts cast round it, till the fifth year of *Zedekiah* °. It appears moreover, from several of the sacred books, that these lines of circum and contravallation were not uncommon, even in those early days P; something like which is implied in those directions which *Moses* prescribes to the *Jews*, for carrying on such long and difficult sieges Q; so that it is probable *Nebuchadnezzar's* design, at his first investing this city, was rather to tire and starve it out, as he actually did, than to lose his men in destroying its fortifications.

BUT, when he had obtained that signal victory over the *Egyptians*, he seems to have altered his method, though the *Hebrew* books take no particular notice of it, to have pursued the siege with new vigour, and to have been as strenuously opposed by the besieged; at least this is what *Josephus* expressly affirms, who says R, that he reared very high towers against them, which could command the town, and beat off the defendants on the walls. He adds, that the besieged were no less intent in preparing against an assault, and in taking all proper means to elude the effects of the *Chaldean* machines and stratagems, opposing one invention against another, as if the dispute had been matter of skill and art, as well as force. This is in great measure confirmed by the prophet *Ezekiel*, who, in his several predictions against *Tyre*, speaks of *Nebuchadnezzar's* building of forts, casting of mounts, setting his battering rams and other engines of war, against it, demolishing her towers and ramparts, and opening a breach for his numerous host, his horses and chariots, to enter into it S; and if he did, in all likelihood, make use of all those destructive engines in his thirteen years siege of that city T, who can doubt of his doing the same against this of *Jerusalem*? And thus much may suffice for this famed siege.

The city plundered, IN the mean time the *Chaldeans*, having entered the place, plundered the temple, palaces, and noblemens houses, and seized every-where upon the richest spoil. *Nebuzaradan*, who commanded them after *Nebuchadnezzar's*

° 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seqq. P Vid. comment. in Polyb. FOLAR. de tactiq. Hebræor. & al. Q Deut. xx. 19, & seqq. R JOSEPH. ant. l. x. c. 10, & seqq. S Chap. iv. 2. xxi. 22. xxvi. pass. & alib. T See before, vol. ii. p. 372.

zar's departure, caused the two brazen columns, that stood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, silver, and costly furniture, to be taken away, whilst the rest of his army made the same havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, answering to our *August 27* P. and a sabbath-day, he ordered the temple, palace, and the whole city, to be set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications, were next ordered to be demolished, and all the Jews, down to the very common people, to be carried away prisoners, except some few of the haughty sort, whom he left to till the land. As for *Jeremiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had given his general such charge concerning him, that he was well treated, and set at liberty; and went and lived with *Gedaliah* (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miserable remnant there.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the *Israelitish* monarchy, after it had stood 468 years from the time that *David* began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and

P USSER. sub A. M. 3416. ⁹ 2 Kings xxv. pass.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, & seqq. Jerem. xxxix. pass. JOSEPH.
ant. l. x. c. 11.

(S) The same which *Solomon* had caused to be made by the famous *Hiram* (56), and which will be farther spoken of in the promised description of the temple (57). These, together with the large molten sea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, tho' all of them are master-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been spared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the *Babylonish* general, who caused them to be all carried away, with a vast multitude of other sacred utensils, such as caldrons, censers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whe-

ther of gold, silver, or copper.

(T) This *Gedaliah* was the son of *Abican*, a person in such credit in all the latter reigns, that he had been able to screen that prophet from the resentment of the king, and fury of the people; so that it is very probable *Jeremiah*, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from *Nebuzaradan*. And this might also be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in *Judea*, rather than to go into *Babylon*, when that general put it to his option, not without some considerable encouragements to invite him to the latter (58).

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, & seqq.
(58) See Jerem. xxxix. 11, & seqq.

(57) See the appendix following.

134 years from the excision of the *Israelitish* commonwealth; and had continued under the sunshine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipsed, but their almost constant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations; crimes, which, tho' become as abominable to God, as they were universally practised by mankind, yet seemed to have flowed from a purer source, though corrupted by degrees to this vast height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind; but for this we shall refer the reader to the appendix to the last former volume^s. How the *Jewish* captives fared in *Babylon*, will be seen in a subsequent chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with respect to the *Jews* that were left in *Canaan*, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon *Gedaliah*, the *Jewish* deputy, by one of the princes of *Judah*.

His name was *Ishmael*, he had escaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of *Ammon*. After *Nebuzaradan's* departure, he observed that great numbers of dispersed *Jews* flocked to *Gedaliah*, who gave them a kind reception, and plenty of provisions to subsist upon, till they could have time to cultivate the land; and, being moved with envy, and instigated by the *Ammonitish* king, came to him with ten resolute fellows to *Mizpeh*, with a design to assassinate him. *Gedaliah* was indeed warned of his intent; but was so far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendship and respect, and gave thereby the treacherous *Ishmael* an opportunity of murdering both him, and all the brave *Chaldeans* he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourscore *Israelites* clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there, he by some means enticed them to *Mizpeh*, where he murdered them, and threw their carcases into a well. He was returning into the land of *Ammon*, with a number of prisoners which he made at *Mizpeh*, among whom were some princeesses of *Judah*, whom the *Babylonish* general had left with *Gedaliah*; but was pursued by *Johanan*, and some other *Hebrew* captains, who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the *Jewish* officers, and the rest of the people, so afraid of the *Chaldeans* resent-

^s Vid. *USSER.* ubi sup. * See vol. iii. p. 485, & seqq.

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ment, that they began to think of fleeing into *Egypt* for safety. They consulted *Jeremiah* about it, who gave them this answer from the LORD ten days after, that if they carried *Judea*, they should be protected from the *Chaldeans*; but that, if they persisted in their design of going down into *Egypt*, they should all inevitably perish there, and share in the dreadful calamities of that perishing kingdom. This speech, however, was so far from deterring them, who were always bent upon disobedience and contradiction, that, suspecting him to have been instigated by *Baruk*, rather than inspired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force those two to go along with them. As soon as they had reached the city of *Taphnes*, *Jeremiah* began to foretel the taking of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by *Nebuchadnezzar*; which happened accordingly soon after, as we have seen elsewhere*, and shall have occasion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of *Jeremiah*, is not known; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen; but that is mere guess-work, and it is not material enough to inquire further about it.

The explanation at large of SOLOMON'S temple, and of the city of Jerusalem, according to the sacred historians.

FOR the right understanding the *description* in the foregoing *plate*, we shall lay down the following *preliminary observations*:

I. *First*, The *temple of Solomon* being our chief and proper object, we give the plan or *ground-plot* of it (which we declare to be our *only task*) whole and complete, just as we conceive it to have been: but *Jerusalem* we represent only with an eye to those parts, which bore some relation to the temple; such as the *palace* on the south, and the *suburbs* to the west, the *valley* between both, the *horse-gate* towards the east, and the like.

II. *Secondly*, We pretend to no other knowledge of the temple, but what we have from Scripture *in terminis*, or the clear sense of it; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the use of *criticism*, and reasonable or plausible *conjecture*; for, beyond these, we have no other

* See before, vol. ii. p. 34, & seqq.

evidence *. How great soever the learning of some *moderns* may be, much greater we own, than any we pretend to ; yet what they assert has no weight, unless they can bring such manner of proof, as that which we ourselves intend to use. Whether they or we best stand the test, must be left to the judgment of the reader, who will be at the pains of perusing these sheets with some attention, and of comparing our plan with any other now extant. As for *antient authors*, we have none to produce besides *Josephus*, and other *Jews*, rather of a later date than he. Now all we might learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew, or pretended to know, from *tradition* ; but that, we presume, is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had, besides those we have ourselves : and the *Hebrew tongue*, properly so called, being a sort of dead language at the time those authors wrote, it may well be doubted, without sinning against modesty, whether they, who had no other books to learn it by, than those that are now in use, could understand it better than those that study it at present. Nay more, it might be shewn, we dare say, that *Josephus* understood not some of those *Hebrew* words he pretends to explain in his *history of the Jews* (A).

III. Thirdly,

* See before, p. 95, (H).

(A) This is the more to be wondered at, because *Josephus* boldly asserts, at the end of his *Jewish* antiquities (1), that there were none of his countrymen so perfect in that sort of learning as he was. But we are not alone in our opinion of him ; though the late editor of his works, taking his bare word for it, sets him off in the margin (2) as a very learned *Hebrean*. *Bochart* (3) and *Huetius* (4), not to name any more, have openly de-

clared themselves quite opposite to that eulogium of *Josephus* by Dr. *Hudson*. Some indeed have tried to bring him off, upon a supposition his writings were interpolated ; which is not unlikely in some instances (5) : and truly he himself should not be charged with the blunders of either his transcribers or translators. We should think what is read in his manuscripts (6), that the *Hebrews* call the ark *Hebron*, and many such other

(1) *Lib. xx. c. 9.* (2) *Josephus in Hebraeis literis versatissimus.*
 (3) *Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 154.* (4) *Dem. evang. prop. iv. p. 179. 199.*
 (5) *Vide antiq. l. iii. c. 7. De vest. sacerdot. & v. 10. etym. Samson.* (6) *Lib. iii. c. 6.*

III *Thirdly*, We do admit of *Ezekiel* as a divinely inspired prophet; but then we take it, he has not given us a de-

strange names (7), is no fault of the historian, but of those that copied his writings; and the same we judge of the translations. The *French* one, though much valued, says, *The ark was made of an incorruptible wood, the Hebrews call Heoron*; and truly so the *Latin* has it; which the *French* exactly followed, though pretending, in the title, the translation was made from the *Greek* original; and Sir *Roger L'Esfrange* here treads in *Dandilly's* steps heartily. However, to us it is probable, that *Josephus*, being about to give in *Greek* the word in *Hebrew* for the ark, he wrote ἡ δὲ ἄρκα; or, as Dr. *Bernard of Oxford* would have it (8), ἡ δὲ ἔρκα. Now pronounce it either way, *Aron* with the *Hebrews*, or *Eron* with the *Chaldeans*, the word itself signifies a trunk, as was the ark; and *Josephus* is right enough, though others have wronged him in relating his words. But what seems thereabouts (9) to be *Josephus's* own fault, is the interpretation of what his manuscripts and editions both call *Chetbonene*; which, he says, signifies a linen coat, because it is *chetbon* we call linen: now, begging his pardon, *chetoneth*, the He-

brew word, or *chetboneth*, as the *Chaldeans* pronounce it, may be also a coat of wool. Not to observe the *chetboneth* of many colours *Joseph* wore (10), or that which hung like a robe about *Tamar* (11), possibly were not of linen, those most surely our first parents were clothed with are said (12) to be of skin. Accordingly, we are told, those of the priests were of linen (13), on purpose that they should not be thought of some other stuff. But, finding *chetbon*, or *ketban*, for linen, in the vulgar language of *Jerusalem*, *Josephus* thought *chetboneth* in holy writ to signify a coat of linen; which indeed does not look so strange as the etymology he seems to give (14) of *Jerusalem* being a compound of the *Greek Hieron*, a sacred thing, and the word *Solya*, unless this also be an interpolation. And the same one might say concerning *Bethsa*, which *Josephus* (15) makes to signify the *New City*, when no such thing can be framed out of that word. But, if it be worth while to guess at it, *בסב* *Basath*, as it is a root, or radical word, seems to be preserved in that well-known derivative among the *Turks*, viz. *Bostangi*, a garden-

(7) ἄρκα, ἱερωνυμον, ἱερωνυμία, ἱερωνυμία, ἱερών.

(8) *In Luc.*

ed. *Seld.* p. 166. 4.

(9) *Ubi sup.* num. 2.

(10) *Gen.*

xxxvii. 3.

(11) 2 *Sam.* xiii. 18.

(12) *Genes.* iii. 21.

(13) *Exod.* xxviii. xxxix. pass.

(14) *Antiq.* l. vii. c. 3.

(15) *Bell.*

Jud. lib. v. c. 4.

a description of the temple of *Solomon*, but of a prophetic or emblematical one, which never existed, but in his prophecy. He himself says ^a, *In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel—and said unto me, Behold with thine eyes; for to the intent that I might shew unto thee art thou brought hither; and so on.* Now it does not seem probable at all, that there wanted so much care and solemnity to shew the prophet a temple he had himself seen an hundred times over and over; he being a priest ^b who had there officiated, and had no need of divine inspiration to tell his countrymen, the *Jews*, what most of them could not be ignorant of. And if it should be urged, that this might well be forgotten in a captivity of 70 years (B), we will readily allow it, and all that can be drawn from this concession, provided it be proved, that any use was made of this so solemn a description, in their building of the temple, after the return from the captivity; but so far was it from it, that at the sight of this many tears were shed on account of its being much inferior to that they had seen of *Solomon's* building ^c; and what then, if compared with that of *Ezekiel*? For this temple (and that is the thing we dare rely upon) had no proportion, as to its measures, with that other of *Solomon*. Whether any body has ever apprehended *Solomon's* temple to have been of each side above 500 cubits (C), we do not

^a Ezek. xl. 2—4.
iii. 12.

^b Ezek. i. 3.

^c Ezra

er; and among the *rabbins* in *buston*, a garden. So that it is not unlikely, that part of *Jerusalem* which lay northward of the temple, *viz.* *Bezetha*, before it was built into streets, was the gardening-place for the city, and kept its ancient name, as is still customary among ourselves on such-like occasions.

(B) Though this revelation was made to *Ezekiel* in the 20th year of the said captivity;

and but the 14th of the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Babylonians* (16).

(C) The temple may well be taken for the whole ground on which it stood, with all its courts; and truly that name must be taken in this latitude, in our translation of the gospel; in *Greek* it is *ιερον*, which might be properly turned into *English* by a consecrated place, or ground (17); and the *Jews*, who commonly call it *Har-*

(16) Ezek. xl. 1,
& *ad. pass.*

(17) *Matth. xxi. 12. Mark xi. 6. Cul. 17.*

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not know : but that would be nothing to *Ezekiel's*, which was 500 reeds ^d, that is to say, 3000 cubits, for it is well known, that a reed was six cubits (D) ; so that here is a difference, as of six to one, in their capacity or inclosure, which is impossible to be thought or said of one and the same temple. But you will say, it might be the same, except the inclosure : I answer, no, because the mountain had no proportion to such an one, no, not by any jettes, or other ways you can imagine : for the square being 2000 reeds, will not give you less than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now *Jerusalem* itself was never so large (E). How then can we suppose the temple to have

^d Ezek. xliii. 15. 20.

^e Ezek. xl. 5.

babbaith, mountain of the house, say it was a square of 500 cubits (18).

(D) What these cubits were, has been observed, chap. 7. of this history (19), to be almost equal to 22 inches, which is far from improbable. Some, indeed, would increase the cubit to a greater length, and others reduce it to ours of 18 inches ; which yet could not affect our argument, because, whichever of the divers hypotheses be the nearer the truth, it makes no difference here in the main, the cubit not being considered in itself, but comparatively to the measuring-reed, said to be (20) six cubits by a cubit and a hand-breadth, or, according to the Septuagint, six cubits and one hand-breadth besides.

(E) Though we know what *Josephus* relates out of *Hecataeus*, who, in the reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, makes the cir-

cuit of *Jerusalem* almost 50 stadia *πενήκοντα μάλιστα* (21) *σαδίων τὸν περιμέτρῳ*, which indeed he does not seem to correct ; yet he himself does not reckon this renowned city's largest extent to have been above 33 stadia, *τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὁ πᾶς κυκλῶς σαδίων ἢν τριάκοντα τριῶν* (22). Now a stadium, as is well known, being 125 paces, 33 stadia will produce 4125 paces, which would reduce the whole extent of the city to three stadia, 375 paces less than that of the temple. There is, indeed, a book written in *Dutch* (23) by the learned *Camp. Vitringa*, wherein he undertakes to make void this our argument, by observing, That the 2000 reeds are to be understood only of so many cubits, as the *Septuagint* have expressed it in their translation ; and, to make it answer in the *Hebrew* text, he supposes the word there (24) to

(18) *Traff. Mid. c. 2. cui tit.* הַר בִּירָה. (19) See before, vol. ii. p. 468, (F). Vid. *Cumberland's essay on weights and measures*, p. 39, &c.
 (20) *Ezek. xl. 5.* (21) *Ap. Joseph. cont. Ap. bel. Jud. lib. i.*
 (22) *Joseph. cont. Ap. bel. Jud. lib. v. c. 4.* (23) *Den Tempel*
Ezechiel's, cap. 41. (24) בִּקְנֵה, *bikneb*, with a reed ; or with a measuring reed. *Ezek. xlii. 16, &c.*

have been so, that was but part of that city? Besides, *Josephus* ^f, in the dimensions he gives us of *Herod's temple*, that he had himself seen, and was by far the largest of the three, does not exceed 4 *stadia*, or 500 *paces*. In a word, never any real temple, built upon *Moriab*, was any thing near so big as that temple *Ezekiel* saw and delineated by inspiration.

IV. A fourth observation, very necessary to be attended to, is the true situation of *Jerusalem*, as to its two principal parts, well known by the names of two mountains, viz. *Sion* and *Acra* ^g, on which stood the upper and lower city; for *Sion* stood a good deal higher or loftier than *Acra*. They rose like two huge heaps one against another, with a valley between them, by which they were ever, and are still parted, though not, as it is easy to imagine, without some very great alteration in their particular form or figure. The temple was built upon mount *Moriab* ^h, which was either part of mount *Sion*, or an hill of less compass near it. That *Moriab* stood to the east, is not disputed; but, whether *Sion* was on the south, or the north, has been a question among the learned. This an eye-witness could easily have determined, if any one had favoured us with a map exactly drawn, or answered the question in express terms: for all this, we could try to clear it by the help of the sacred monuments, which, thanks to the learned *Reland* ⁱ, would prove an easy task, but too prolix for this performance; and therefore we chuse to refer to that author for a full satisfaction about it. However, it is pretended, that *Isaiab* ^k leaves room to think, that *Sion* lay northwards of the lower city: for, says the king of *Babylon*, as he is introduced speaking by the prophet, *I will sit upon the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north*. But it is not said here, mount *Sion* lay on the north of *Acra*; what is said, seems to be, that the conqueror would establish his dominion where the king's palace was, bordering upon the south of the temple,

^f Antiq. xv. ult.
bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4.
^g 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. & 1 Chron. xxi. 18—28. xxii. 1.
Palæst. illust. p. 839.

^h Vid. Hierof. descript. ap. Joseph.
ⁱ 2 Chron. iii. 1. Comp.
^k Isa. xiv. 13.
^l Vid.

signify, by an ellipsis, cubits of one reed. But, whether this a reed, that is to say, such cubits, six of which make up the judgment of our readers.

and

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and situate on the northern side of mount *Sion*. There the *Babylonian* thinks himself secure, and in full possession of the city. But, says the prophet to him, alluding to the valley bordering upon mount *Sion*, toward *Acra*, *Thou shalt be brought down to the sides of the pit*. This situation of *Sion*, which might be further proved from *Josephus*¹, besides our judicious traveller the Rev. Mr. *Maunder*^m, and the *Paris* citizen *Anthoine Regnault*ⁿ, we did insist upon, because very great men^o have appeared on the opposite side, who, by their uncommon learning, may draw others into the same error,

V. THE fifth observation will give us the true situation of the temple. It is known, that when the *Hebrews* did worship, they turned themselves towards the most holy place or temple^p. Now we learn from what *Ezekiel* saw, that it lay westward of its door or entry. His words are very plain, *Behold*, says he^q, *at the door of the temple were about five-and-twenty men, with their backs towards the temple, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun towards the east; therefore the front of the temple was turned towards the east (F)*: and this is confirmed by *Josephus*^r, who so far must be right, the temple

¹ Ubi sup. ^m A journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 67. 76. 78. 86. 99, 100. ⁿ Discours du voyage d'outremer au S. Sepulcre, 1573. p. 47. 92. 140, &c. and LE BRUN, voyage au Levant, tom. ii. c. 53. 55. ^o DRUS. ad voc. N. T. voce Sion. LIGHTFOOT, CELLARIUS, CALMET. ^p 1 Kings viii. 48. P^{sal.} cxxx. 12. Dan. vi. 10, & pass. ^q Ezek. viii. 16. ^r Antiq. l. viii. c. 21, & seqq.

(F) *Theodoret*, it seems, gives a very good reason for it; viz. That as the *Israelites* were commanded to worship GOD alone, they might have the sun behind their backs, turning themselves towards the tabernacle, and not adore the sun, but his maker; and truly, when the custom prevailed among the *Christians* of turning their faces towards the east in their worship, the *Pagans* upbraided them with adoring the sun (25). But the author of the apostolical constitutions knew well how to put it in another view; for the holy apostles are introduced by him, saying, *πιστευουσι οθου δε κα τα αυτα λησι, κ. τ. λ.* (26).

(25) *Solem credunt deum nostrum, say: Tertul. apol. cap. 15.* (26) *Lib. vii. c. 44.*

having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

VI. *Lastly*, Though our proper inquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of *Solomon's* temple, yet we do not pretend, that all that is true of it has been said by us, because it is possible many things about it may have been omitted by the sacred historians; and therefore, as has been intimated, cannot in any wise be said by others. Neither do we aver, that all we intend to say is exactly true or certain; but, if our weak endeavours are not satisfactory, we should be very glad, if they might put others upon gratifying the world with a scheme more accurate, wherein all things appearing better connected, might also better answer, or be more agreeable to, the several passages or texts of holy writ here under consideration. All then we engage on our part, is, carefully to distinguish between those things we have a full proof of, and those things wherein we only try to make some near approaches towards the truth; and upon this foot will now be explained the several particulars in the *plan* before us, according to the indication of them by the *letters* in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may seem to want a review, or deserve to be more narrowly looked or inquired into.

WE begin with the *oracle* (G), where God spake from between the *cherubim* ^s: accordingly it is called the *oracle of his holiness*, or, as it is otherwise translated, *his holy oracle* ^t, towards which the *Israelites* turned them-

^s Exod. xxv. 2. Psal. xcix. 1. ^t Psal. xxviii. 2.

(G) In *Hebrew*, דְּבִיר *debir*, most holy place, Heb. *holy*; or, as if one should say *locutorium*, as the *Septuagint* (27), *holy of holies*; and, as it is translated (28), concerning the tabernacle, *the holiest of all* (29).

The *Septuagint* have kept the *Hebrew* word, reading it *δαβιρ*, or *δαβιρ*, except in one place, where it is translated *vaos*, or temple.

(27) Exod. xxv. 2. Num. vii. 89. (28) 1 Kings viii. 6. Psal. xxviii. 2. & Jacq. xxviii. 2. (29) Ileb. ix. 3.

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selves when they worshipped ^u; and this was a square room of 20 cubits, as appears from 1 Kings vi. 2. 20. 2 Chron. iii. 8.

THE holy place, or *sanctuary*, 40 cubits long, and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 Kings vi. 2, and 3. where it is also called the *temple of the house*. For the *house* (H) might properly be the name of the two apartments ^w; but that of the *temple* (I), the proper name ^x for the second apartment: however, *the length* of both these together, being the *house* and (K) *temple of GOD* ^y, was *sixty cubits*, 1 Kings vi. 2.

BEFORE the *sanctuary* stood a *porch*. *Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof*, as is said ver. 3. and so far we have a certainty from the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. To which we might, if needful, add the authority of *Josephus* ^z, and numbers of others.

As for the *wall* between the porch and the temple, any one sees it ought to be there admitted, though never mentioned in so many words by the sacred historians.

^u See before, and comp. Pf. xxviii. 2 ^w 1 Kings vi. 5, & pass. ^x Ibid. ver. 17. ^y Psal. v. 7. Comp. xxviii. 2.
^z Ant. ubi sup.

(H) הבית *habbaith*, or בית *baith*, an house (30), by way of excellency. It was the house of GOD; and, in some sense, that of the *Israelites* also: wherefore they say (31), *Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee*. However, the *house of the LORD* is indifferently taken for the whole, or part of the building.

(I) הבית *becal* is properly a palace; witness the [*becal*] palace of *Abab* (32); and by this name seem to be called the different parts belonging to the tabernacle (33). The *Septuagint* translate it *vadr*,

most frequently, and sometimes *δραμα*.

(K) Well might it be called so, when it was the place of his residence among the *Israelites*. So says *Solomon* (34), *I have surely built thee an house to dwell in; a place; a settled place for thee to abide in*. And therefore the *Jews* have given the name of *Shechinah* to this habitation not improperly; for there was GOD's symbolical presence upon the ark (35), or, as it were, his throne; and there also was a real presence conspicuous by its operations, we mean by the oracles which GOD delivered there.

(30) 1 Kings viii. 16. (31) *Isaiab* lxiv. 11. (32) 1 Kings xxi. 1.
(33) 1 Sam. i. 9. iii. 3. (34) 1 Kings viii. 13.
(35) 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. *Psalms* lxxx. 1.

We say it appears to have been of great use, not only better to sustain the building, but also to separate the temple from the porch belonging to it; that so this temple might stand wholly by itself, and also be shut up when there was occasion for it.

The entrance.

BUT further, our conjecture is strengthened by this plain inference, that the temple had doors. Thus it is said ^a, *For the entering of the oracle he made doors* — ^b *so also made he for the entering (L) of the temple posts of olive-tree — and the two doors were of fir-tree.* Now a door supposes a wall, where-ever a wall appears necessary, as was here. And should it be objected, that the oracle had a door as well as the sanctuary, though we do not conceive any wall between them, it might be answered, that there is nothing upon record concerning such a wall (M); that we see no necessity for one; and, lastly, that there might be something else in lieu of it.

Veil.

FOR a very rich and strong veil was made to separate the most holy from the holy place ^c, the same we suppose as St. Matthew calls *the veil of the temple that was rent in twain* ^d. Josephus ^e positively tells us, that Solomon made a *partition-wall*, different from the veil; though it is not so clearly expressed in the sacred books. The translation indeed says ^f, *He made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle*; and accordingly we may understand, that there was both a *partition* and a *veil*, the partition being fixed, and the veil hanging before it, so as to be moved like our curtains. But we do not warrant,

^a 1 Kings vi. 31.

^b Ibid. 33, 34.

^c 2 Chron.

iii. 14.

^d Matth. xxvii. 51.

^e Ant. lib. viii.

c. 3.

^f 1 Kings vi. 21.

(L) The word in *Hebrew* is פֶּתַח, *petach*, the same as for the oracle above; and therefore *entering* ought to be kept in *English*, not *door*, as in our translation; although *petach*, *an entering*, is in other places translated *a door*, by a true analogy.

(M) This must be understood of *holy writ*, wherein no mention is made of any such *wall*; tho' indeed our transla-

tion says, as to the door of the oracle, "the lintel and side-posts were a fifth part of the wall." But those last words are not in the *Hebrew*, and another interpretation is given in the margin, *viz.* that they were *five-square*; however, the reading in the text may well be admitted relatively to the height of the oracle; so that this is meant, that the lintel, &c. were five cubits high.

that

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that this is the true sense of the *Hebrew* (N), which is rather, *He placed chains (bars or bolts) across the oracle*: however, there was a *door* to it, as we have seen already. And although we may easily conceive a *door* without a wall, properly so called, we must suppose some such thing as a partition. Besides, what bolted this door, or went across before the oracle, was of gold, and therefore not the veil itself. At least the *Hebrew* text allows us to say, the oracle was shut up with golden bolts; yet whether there was a partition besides the door of each side ^g, or whether the door itself served instead of a partition, we shall not determine (O); but conclude this article by saying, that the doors of the porch are mentioned as such in one passage ^h, and called the doors of the house of the LORD in another ⁱ.

WHAT we have now to consider are the *chambers*, *Chambers*. built against the wall of the house round about, both of the temple and the *oracle*, the *nethermost* said to be *five cubits broad, and also five cubits high* ^k; but of their length we find nothing in the books we refer to. It seems they were square rooms: *Josephus* tells us ^l, they were thirty in number all about the temple; which, it may be, he took from that of *Ezekiel* ^m, who says, *The side-chambers were three, one over another, and thirty in order*: so that thirty being multiplied by three, according to the number of stories in the first book of *Kings*, those cham-

^g 1 Kings vi. 31.
xxviii. 24.
c. 3.

^h 2 Chron. xxxi. 7.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k 1 Kings vi. 5, 6.

^l Antiq. l. viii.

^m Ezek. xli. 6.

(N) ויעבר ברחיקות *vajebaber beratikoth*, which is, *verbatim, he made pass with chains*, supposing *ratikoth* to be *chains*; for that word occurs in no other place but this, and may be as well translated *bars*, or *bolts*, or any thing equivalent (35). Hence, then, it seems, *Josephus* (36) inferred "the in and outside of the temple was all lined with cedar; and that the cramping of the cedar together with strong chains (not *irons*, as L'E-

strange has it), was a great strength and security to the building."

(O) It will hardly be expected we should here take particular notice of those sacred vessels and utensils, that adorned this holy house; *viz.* the ark and cherubim, the table of shew-bread, the golden candlesticks, &c. since we could hardly add any thing to what hath been already observed in the course of this history (37).

(35) *De his confer* 1 Reg. vi. 22. *Isai.* xl. 10. & *Ezek.* vii. 23. (36) *Ant.* viii. c. 3. (37) *Vol.* iv. p. 97, & seq. (K).

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bers will amount in all to ninety, called the *nethermost*, the middle, and the third. And such a number may easily be placed about the house, supposing them to have been each of five cubits length, as well as height; for in the breadth they differed from five to six, and from six to seven; the reason of which is there given. Upon this score they will undoubtedly appear somewhat small; and so indeed *Josephus*ⁿ calls them. However, if their use was well known, that might give some light into this matter. But, concerning their use, we find only^o, that *Joash was hidden in the bed-chamber* (P) belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted, that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lie in, we may venture to say, that they were sufficient for that purpose, especially those of the middle and third story; besides that the *bed-chambers* among the *Jews* were generally upper rooms, as has already been observed in this *Universal History* p.

ONE thing more remains to be attended to about the temple, properly so called. It is said^q, *The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house; and they went up with winding-stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.* Where we may well imagine an opening was left in the thickness of the wall for a pair of stairs, to go up to the second story of the chambers about the temple, and also a passage from the temple to the porch; for there might be several occasions that required the ministers of the temple to go up to those chambers, as well as in and out of the temple, of which we suppose a detail is not here expected.

ⁿ Ubi sup.
vol. iii. p. 177. (T).

^o 2 Kings xi. 2.
^q 1 Kings vi. 8.

^p See before,

(P) In *Hebrew*, *הדר* *heder*, or *cheder*; and seems to be understood of one of the three stories about the temple (39), where might be the beds for the priests in waiting; and among those rooms, or chambers, one, or more, especially reserved, or set apart for the high-priest; which also ought therefore to have been a retired place, and not easily ac-

cessible but to himself and comfort. These rooms we find also called *inner-parlours* (40), where for parlours the *Hebrew* hath *chadarim*; and there distinguish'd from the lower apartments, *gan-sakim* (the treasuries in our version), and from the upper rooms. So as we have here the several parts of the *jatziaah* there spoken of (41) by their proper names.

(39) See 1 Kings vi. 5, & seqq.
Kings ubi sup.

(40) 1 Chron. xxviii. 11. (41) 1

WE are now come to the porch, where we meet with *Porch*, those celebrated columns, or pillars, Solomon adorned it with. It is said ^r, *He set them up in the porch of the temple*, and ^s *he made before the house two pillars*, and ^t *he reared up the pillars before the temple*; which expressions taken together sufficiently seem to imply the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite so easy to assign the height of them. In one place it is said of Solomon ^u, *He cast two pillars of brass of eighteen cubits high apiece*. In another ^x we read, *He made two pillars of thirty-and-five cubits high*. This seeming inconsistency between the two sacred historians we shall presently reconcile; only we will first beg leave to take notice, that this is an instance of their not combining together, of their not being corrected or amended by one another. Now let us only suppose the pedestal or basis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high, this, added to the 18 cubits (1 Kings vii. 15. Jer. lii. 21.) for the shaft, will, added together, make exactly 35, the number mentioned 2 Chron. iii. 15. Lastly, taking from 1 Kings vii. 16. five cubits, being the height of the chapter, we ^{and} shall have the true height of the pillars, *viz.* 40 cubits. ^{pter.}

It is true, that, in another place ^y, the height of the chapter is said to have been *three cubits*; but here we apprehend we have the dimension of the chapter only, strictly so called, *cothereth* in the Hebrew, or *crowning*, which is expressed to have been three cubits; and there is left to be understood *the wreathen work on it round about*, which was two cubits more; both which sums, added, make that of *five*, the number set down before by the same author. We can say but little concerning the thickness of the shaft of those pillars, only that *a line of twelve cubits compassed either of (Q) them round about*;

^r 1 Kings vii. 21. ^s 2 Chron. iii. 15. ^t Ibid.
^u 1 Kings vii. 15. ^x 2 Chron. ubi sup.
^y 2 Kings xxv. 17.

(Q) Some will say the Hebrew differs from our translation; for what is here *either of them*, is there *השני השני* *basbe-ni, the second*; and we acknowledge this is a seeming, though no real difference. It is said,

Eighteen cubits was the height of the first column, and a line of twelve cubits did encompass the second; which is an elliptical expression, where, in a period, one branch of it, not expressed, is understood by what the

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Their
names,
whence.

about ^a; and therefore the diameter was four cubits, which is the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be further observed, that one of the pillars was to be seen on the right of the porch, and called *Jachin*, and the other on the left, called *Boaz*. Now *Jachin* signifies *he shall establish*, and *Boaz*, *strength is in him*. By which it seems *Solomon* would give to understand, that he depended only on an Almighty Power for the continuance and duration of this temple. But, by way of conjecture, one might suppose there was an inscription in some such sense upon the basis of each of the pillars, that on one beginning with the word *Jachin*, and that on the other with the word *Boaz*; from whence the pillars might have their denomination; as we see the books of *Moses* called by the first word they begin with ^b. Lastly, as to their situation; we take it they stood before the temple ^c, in the porch of the temple ^d: so says our translation; which we chuse here to follow (R).

GOING

^a 1 Kings vii. 15.
before, vol. iii. p. 4, (A).
vii. 21.

^a 1 Kings vii. 21.
^c 2 Chron. iii. 17.

^b See
^d 1 Kings

the other expresses (42). So here the height of the first column gives you the measure of the second, and the thickness of the second the measure of the first. But this not being agreeable to our stile, another turn ought to be took, which is usual and intelligible in our way of speaking.

(R) One reason is, the difference to be observed between the two particles in the texts of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. In that it is *בני-לפני*, *al pens*, which cannot otherwise be translated than by *before*. But in this it is *ל*, which may be translated several ways, and especially

by *in*; so you read *lerowach* (43), *in the cool* of the evening; *lekisse* (44), *in the throne*, and such-like expressions (45). Besides, the *Vulgate* has *in porticu*, and the *Septuagint* do not much differ as to the sense: they translate, *he set up the pillars of the porch*; which seems to imply, that the pillars were an appurtenance of the porch, and therefore very properly placed in it. *Josephus*, as to this, says only (46), *Solomon* placed one of them on the right post of the porch, and the other on the left. The *French* and *English* translations add, *at the entrance of the*

(42) *Vid. Prov. x. 1. Isai. xxxii. 3. Deut. xv. 12. Psalm cxlii. 4. Conf. Jerem. lii. 21, 22.* (43) *Gen. iii. 8.* (44) *Psalm ix. 4.* (45) *Psalm xvi. 10. Dan. ii. 1. Hof. v. 12. Zephan. iii. 25.* (46) *Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.*

GOING now out of the porch, we must take notice *Altar*. first of the altar standing before the porch ^d, or before the house ^e, as in the Hebrew, not improperly translated the fore-front of the house: and there it seems to have stood in the middle of the court (S), of which court afterwards. This altar for burnt-offerings answered to one of the same use in the tabernacle, whereof we have spoken at large ^f. What remains for us to observe, is only the new altar, which was in length two cubits, and as many broad, besides ten cubits high ^g; and since no steps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altar ^h; it ought to be supposed there were none for that use in the temple, but only an easy ascent up to the altar.

OF the court itself we must own, it is our opinion, *Court's dimensions*. that it went at first all about the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle an oblong square, the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every-where ⁱ. Now, as we find no dimension of the court in the temple, all we can well do to go somewhat by a scriptural rule, is to make this last court twice as big as that in the tabernacle, because it sufficiently appears king Solomon kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of

^d 1 Kings viii. 64. Coll. 2 Chron. vii. 7. xv. 8. ^e Ib.
^f Ubi sup. ^g 2 Chron. iv. 1. ^h Exod. xx. 26. ⁱ Ibid. xxvii. 9. 12.

porch. We have declared our opinion to be, they were within; but, after all, if one likes them better without, we would not much oppose it, since \aleph may signify at; as where it is said of Zebulun (47) "He shall stand \aleph at the haven of the sea," or for, as in the very same expression, viz. \aleph , our own interpreters have taken it elsewhere (48), and rendered it for the porch.

(8) In the tabernacle, the altar of burnt-offerings was to be placed (49) before the door,

and at a convenient distance; so that our translation seems to be very right in saying by (50) and at (51) it, which could not be well otherwise, the court being of a small compass. But as that in the temple was much larger, the altar might here stand in the middle of the court; and this further appears from its relation to the king's seat, which was in the midst of the other court, and before this altar, as will be seen hereafter (52).

(47) Gen. xlix. 13.

xl. 6. (50) Levit. i. 4.

(Y) and (Z).

(48) 1 Kings vii. 12.

(51) Ibid. v. 7, 8.

(49) Exod.

(52) Note

the temple itself. Again, as in that oblong square the tabernacle stood westward, and that, by that means, the court had on the east two third parts, or more, of the whole space, we conceive the court in the temple, as *Solomon* at first built it, to have been much the same.

Wall.

BUT a wall is placed here on the west side of the court before the porch, for which no warrant will easily be found in that part of Scripture which was to be our guide in our present inquiry, and therefore does not seem to be built upon any sure foundation; but yet what we have to say for it may be seen in the next note (T).

The new court, what.

A NEW court is plainly mentioned in sacred history. Thus we read ¹, *That Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem in the house of the LORD, before the new court* (V). That here, by the house of the LORD,

¹ 2 Chron. xx. 5.

(T) By this, we would not be under-stand to deny there might be such a wall in *Solomon's* time; for we read (53) concerning the house he built for his queen, *The great court round about was with three rows of hewed stones, and a row of cedar-beams, as for the inner court of the house of the LORD, and for the porch of the house.* Instead of *as*, our translation renders both, the Hebrew *ve*, whose ordinary signification is *and*. But, in the way of a comparison (as it plainly appears to be here used), if we consult our translation in other places (54) it would, we think, be more properly rendered by *as*. However, the wall for the porch of the house may, it seems, be understood of this wall that stood before the porch

of the temple; though others, with some probability, understand it of a porch before the queen's house.

(V) The name given by the *Septuagint* to this court deserves some attention: they call it *αὐλὴν τῆς σκηνῆς*, *the court of the tabernacle*; which, well understood, seems to be a very proper name; for the house in *Solomon's* building answered the tabernacle of *Moses*, and here-and-there equally was the *shechinah*, or inhabitation of the Divine Majesty; to which *St. John* also seems to have an eye, when he says, *the λόγος word ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν dwell among us* (55).

Now this situation of the new court being allowed, we may, by it, farther explain and fix the place where *Zachariah*, the high-priest's son, was

(53) 1 Kings vii. 12. 1x. 24, & seqq. 2 Chron. viii. 11, & seqq. (54) 1 Sam. xii. 15. Prov. x. 25.

(55) John i. 14.

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LORD, is understood the whole compass of the temple, with its several courts, wants no proof, after what has been said above. But what that new court is, we are now to consider. Some will have it to have been the court of priests repaired, as indeed the altar was, by king *Ash*ⁿ, and therefore called the *new court*.

BUT though, by the analogy of the temple with the *The new* tabernacle, the court of priests seems to have been round *court*, about the holy and most holy place, and not divided by *wat*. a wall; yet afterwards such a wall being found convenient to be made between the altar and the porch, that part of the court about the temple, becoming now a sort of a court by itself, might be called the new court, the old name, *viz.* the court of the priests, remaining with that part where stood the altar. Now whether this will be judged a rational conjecture, must be submitted to the reader.

WE have a few words to add concerning the other, *Court-* but undoubted wall of the court of the priests. It is said ^o, *wall*. Solomon built the inner-court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar-beams. It is elsewhere ^p called the court of priests, and bore the name of the inner, because of another round about it. But what these rows were, is not so easy to explain. Some indeed do not spare buildings that cost them nothing, and of these rows make so many stories; but whether the single *Hebrew* word, *tur*, i. e. row, will uphold such an heavy building, we very much doubt: to us there appears no more than a kind of parapet-wall, of some four or five feet high (consisting of three rows of stone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar-beams over them), sufficient to keep off the people from being an hindrance in the court of priests, but low enough for the *Israelites* without to see all the priests were doing within.

ONE thing remains to be considered, which is, the *Entries*, several entries into the court; for though we should not *wbere*.

ⁿ 2 Chron. xv. 8.

^o 1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12.

^p 2 Chron. iv. 9.

^q Ibid.

killed. It is said this happened in the court of the house of the LORD (55), between the temple and the altar (56),

which must be as he came out of the temple into this *new court*, towards the wall before the porch.

(55) *De hoc vid.* 2 Chron. xx. 5.

(56) *Mat. xxiii. 35.*

find any mentioned as they are sufficiently ⁹, they must, in the nature of things, have been there; and we therefore place them where we find it most proper, viz. over-against the gates that are said to have been in that court where the people met for their solemn devotions.

Great and small court Now this court (X) was called the *great court* ^r, because of its bigness, comparatively to that of the priests, which was a good deal less; both of them being said to be the *two courts of the house of the LORD* ^s. And that Solomon himself built the one, as well as the other, we read in these words, *Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass.* Josephus, not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a transmutation of it into silver ^t; and has, at no other expence than his fancy, built a large court upon a mount raised on purpose 400 cubits high. It is easy to presume he has spared neither columns, nor porticoes, nor all the embellishments a fruitful imagination could prompt him to adorn it with (Y).

HASTE

⁹ 2 Chron. iv. 9.^r Ibid.^s 2 Kings xxi. 5.^t Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.

(X) The *Septuagint* call it *αὐλὴν ἱερῶν*, where *ἱερῶν* ought not to be taken for *hecal* commonly rendered, as has already been observed (57) by another *Greek* word, but never, as we know, by *ἱερῶν*. This last word, as made use of, both by them and *Josephus* (58), signifies either the whole of the building, or some out-part of it, and is properly a sacred place, or consecrated ground; the court of *Israel* being its proper court, as it encompassed round about immediately that of the priests, and mediately the temple itself and oracle.

(Y) His words are, “ Beyond this partition was another square court (*Greek*, *ἱερὸν*) or building, with large porticoes or galleries about it, and four stately gates, that opened east, west, north, and south; the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This place was common to all the people— The erecting of this outward building was so stupendous an undertaking, that no tongue can express the difficulties of raising it; and a man would have much ado to believe his own eyes that saw it. Such had

(57) 1 Chron. xxix. 4. coll. Ezek. xlv. 19. cap. 2.

(58) Antiq. l. viii.

“ lows,

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HASTE we now to fix the gates. There were three on three sides of the temple, east, north, and south; besides two on the west side. These gates were kept by wardens, trusted with power and authority, who had under them numbers of *Levites*; for we read u, "Among these were the divisions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one against another, to serve in the house of the LORD; and they cast lots, as well the small as the great—for every gate." We have nothing remarkable to say concerning the north and east gates; but, just by that to the south, we find *the house of Asuppim* x; and what this house was, is not easy to determine: however, as this belongs properly to our subject, we shall make our best endeavours towards a discovery that way (Z).

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u 1 Chron. xxvi. 12, 13. x Ibid. ver. 15.

"lows, such depths to be filled up, as a body could hardly have looked upon, or but so much as fancied, without turning his brain; 400 cubits to be brought up to a level with the top of the mountain, only to make the work regular, and the ground even. This port was incompassed again with a kind of double cloyster, and two rows of pillars, to support it; every pillar being cut whole out of the rock; the doors were all silver-work," &c.

(Z) The radical verb *Asap* signifies to add, assemble, or gather together, and the several nouns derived from it keep all this primitive sense; so that it is to be presumed it is also preserved in the word *asuppim*; but, as this idea is indefinite, we must try to fix it by the use of this word, to be found

only in the place already quoted, and a little lower (61), and in *Nehemiah* (62). In the first quotation, the translation is word for word *the house of Asuppim*; but the sense seems rather to imply each of the two houses, for so many there were under the direction of *Obed-edom* and his sons. In the second text, the translation says, *toward Asuppim two and two* (adding the word *and*, which is not in the *Hebrew*); and, as far as can be judged, the true sense is this: There were four *Levites* trusted with the care of the *Asuppim*, two to the one, and two to the other. This seems to be confirmed by the third passage, that in *Nehemiah*; for one reads, according to the *Hebrew*, *Porters keeping the ward at the Asuppim of the gates*. In the version it is *at the thresholds*; and, in the margin, *treasuries or assemblies*. It would have

(61) 1 Chron. xxvi. 17. (62) Chap. xii. 25.

*Apart-
ments.*

IT will be pertinent enough, before we go the other gate, to put here together what we have more to say concerning the other apartments we have delineated in this court of the people. Upon which two things are very distinctly to be considered: the first relates to the form and particular situation of these apartments; and this, we must frankly own, we are ignorant of. But, as it was absolutely necessary to place them somewhere,

been better to have preserved in the translation the Hebrew word *Asuppim*, which, though a proper name, is there a case governed. And if the three above-mentioned passages are carefully compared together, it will plainly appear, that there were near the gate we have been speaking of, two houses, or distinct apartments, one on each side of this gate; where either the priests or the Levites, or, it may be, both orders, assembled at times, either about business relating to the temple, or deposited all things of use in that consecrated place, since *gathering* and *assembling* are equally an apt translation of the word *Asuppim*. Besides, we find in holy writ, that there were such apartments or houses within the inclosure or precinct of the temple, or its courts. So, for example, *Jeremiab* (63) brought the Rechabites into the house of the LORD, into one of the chambers, where he did put before them pots full of wine, and so on. This room, which for that very reason, we may suppose to have had some extent, belonged to the offspring of *Igdaliab*, a man of God, that

is to say, a prophet; and its situation is said to have been next to the chamber of the princes, or chief men; which, in the temple, can be understood only of the priests, or chiefs of the Levites. Besides, it is said, that this chamber was above the chamber of *Maa-seiah*, the keeper of the door. It was an upper room: and it is well known, that about business of moment they met in such rooms among the Jews, which was still a custom in the time of the apostles (64). Let that be as it will, there are seen here in the same house large rooms, different or distinct both in relation to the uses they were put to, and the persons that occupied them, whether they met or lodged in them, in order to be of service to the temple, or its ministers; or whether in particular the lower part, or ground-floor of these houses, served as storehouses, or treasuries, which, it seems, may be gathered from what is related elsewhere (65), That *Amaziah* took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with *Obed-edom*.

(63) *Jer.* xxxv. 2, &c.
xxv. 24.

(64) *Act.* ii. 13, & pass.

(65) 2 *Coron.*

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we have disposed of them in the plainest manner we could to the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and represent them, as may be thought most proper. The second thing we have to say about these chambers, is concerning their real existence, of which there is no room to doubt. For, setting aside what has just now been instanced of the *Asuppim*, and apartments mentioned by *Jeremiah*; and supposing them to be different from those we are now speaking of; it is plain from holy writ ^d, that David gave to Solomon the pattern of the courts of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of GOD, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things; and this order was executed; for ^e *Ahijah* was over the treasures of the house of GOD, and over the treasures of the dedicated things (B). To this it may be added, that in the temple of *Zorobabel*, in *Nehemiah's* time, when, to be sure, there had been no thoughts of exceeding *Solomon's* temple, *Eliashib* ^f the priest having the oversight of the chamber, or rather of each chamber (C), of the house of GOD, had prepared for *Tobiah*, one allied unto him, a great chamber, where aforetime they laid the meat-offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tythes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the offerings in the courts of the house of GOD.

WE would have these last words to be attended to, because these chambers should be carefully distinguished from those already mentioned ^g, which immediately joined the temple. For, besides that these last, as has been seen ^h, were very small, and did not seem to have been capacious enough for those uses the others were put to; the difference of their names makes it probable, that these chambers were different. Those about the temple are called

^d 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. ^e Ibid. xxvi. 20. ^f Nehem. xiii. 4, 5. ^g Vid. sup. p. 203, 204, ^h Ibid. p. 204.

(B) It may not be unworthy taking notice, that the same word *אוצרות* *ozroth* is equally in both texts, though it be differently translated, viz. *treasuries* and *treasures*.

(C) According as has been observed above, though it may

be the four *Hebrew* characters there *לשכות* are not rightly punctuated for *lisכות*, in the singular, a chamber, but ought to have been so for *lesכות* in the plural, chambers. Yet one way or other, the sense is much the same.

jatziagh (D), and these in the courts *lefbacoth*; and they were the chief porters that were over these chambers, or, as in the margin, storehouses and treasuries of the house of GOD¹; and very large they ought to have been indeed, since in one of them, the chamber of *Gemariab*, in the higher court (E), which was that we are about, *Baruk* did read the words of *Jeremiah* in the ears of all the people^k; which cannot well be understood but of a considerable number there met together (F).

West gates LET us now consider the gates to the west, which deserve a particular attention. Thus says the sacred histo-

¹ 1 Chron. ix. 26.

^k Jerem. xxxvi. 10.

(D) יציע 'we take to have been somewhat like the *Italian corridore*, which some derive from *currere*, where one may run in, round about an house, as you have some furnished with bed-rooms in our hospitals and colleges. And truly the *Hebrew* word comes up to that notion, for יציע *jatzagh*, is to lay, and יציע *jatzuagh*, a bed, *Psal.* cxxxii. cxxxix. However, in the *jatziagh* belonging to the temple, the rooms were of a smaller sort, but לשכונת *lefbacoth*, the larger of them, like our dining-rooms, parlours, or halls. And indeed in that emblematical temple of *Ezekiel*, where all is represented in the height of grandeur and bigness, far above that of *Solomon's* temple, there is no mention of any such thing as *jatziagh*, but, in its stead, so many *lefbacoth*. Yet it may be objected, that *David* gave to *Solomon* the pattern of the court of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers, *lefbacoth*, round about (64). True, they were such rooms, but not

joining to the house, as the *jatziaghs* which *Solomon* built against it (65).

(E) This is an expression that occurs but once, and is therefore the harder to be understood; though of itself a plain one, which seems to be in relation to a court that stood lower. But, it may be, no more is intended, than thereby to signify the *great court*. However, if *higher* must be taken in the proper sense, to us it appears, it is the *new court* that is here called the *higher*, because thereon was the temple, in the east of the hill, where it is commonly supposed was its top.

(F) It may be said, indeed, he might read it out of a window or balcony, which we are not willing to oppose; but then we further remark, that this chamber, out of which he read, was at the entry of the *new gate*, supposed to be the eastern; and near it, in either court, might be large apartment.

(64) 1 Chron. xxviii. 12.

(65) 1 Kings vi. 5, 10.

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rian ¹, *To Shuppim and Hofah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causey of the going upward againstward*; and ^m at Parbar westward, four at the causey, two at Parbar. As to the first at south-west, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a pro-jecture, as we call it from the *Latin*, or a jutting or leaning out in a building. The word is found only in two places of Scripture, this of *Chronicles*, and another ⁿ, where it is said of oaks, whose *substance* is in them *when they cast their leaves*, says our version; but the *Hebrew be-shallecheth*, where the particle *be* stands for *in*; and *shallecheth* we should think to be, *what is risen, or above-ground*; for here such trees very well *stand or subsist* (G).

HOWEVER, when the name of *Shallecheth* is given to the gate we are here speaking of, we see it at the same time joined to a *causey*. This was a jettee, bank, terrace, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here it seems should be placed the *misghad*, made for the temple by the king ^o. The translation calls it *pillars* in the text, but in the margin *rails* (Heb. *a prop*); and in another place it bears the name of ^p *mesilloth*, rendered by *terraces* in the text, but in the margin *stays* (Heb. *high-ways*); the sense of all which comes to one; for the ground without the temple seems to have been very uneven; and, in order to make the coming to it not only commodious, but delightful, *Solomon* contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which answered the gate *Shallecheth*, and the other the palace, over-against the south-side of the temple, to the north of mount *Sion*. It is in this disposal or order we are to consider what is called ^q *his ascent, by which he went up into the house of the LORD*; which ascent was built by *Solomon* in so costly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of *Sheba*. Thus have we assigned a cause why this gate should be called *Shallecheth*; and as there was the greatest concourse of those

¹ 1 Chron. xxvi. 16. ^m Ibid. ver. 18. ⁿ Isaiah vi. 13.
^o 1 Kings x. 12. ^p 2 Chron. ix. 11.
^q 1 Kings x. 5.

(G) This, to us, appears to be the true notion the *Hebrew* text gives of what we have seen rendered by the word *substance*, which is *מַזְעֵבֶת* *mazebeth*, the subsistence, properly, or subsisting of a thing: wherefore it signifies a *pillar* and monument, *Gen. xxxv. 14. 20.*

about the court, and in general from the high city, here were two distinct guard-houses, parallel to one another, one under *Shuppim*, and the other under his co-partner *Hofab*.

BUT the second to the west, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has since been called the *lower*; and this gate was called *Parbar* (H), the way leading to the suburbs from it, named in sacred history *Parvarim*¹. Now, as the temple might be more exposed on that side than any-where else, and there was a very great concourse of people, the outlet of the road near the gate was guarded by *four Levites*, and the gate itself by *two* more. But now let us return to the temple by the terrace-gate.

Covert of the sabbath. HERE we find *the covert for the sabbath*, and *the king's entry* adjoining to it; for we read in sacred history², that *king Ahaz cut off the borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them, and took down the sea from the brasen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of stones: and the covert for the sabbath, that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he from the house of the LORD, for the king of Assyria.* We presume somewhat of a commentary on this passage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

Musac. WE must first form to ourselves an idea of this *covert*, called in *Hebrew musac*. *Sacah* is to cover, and *masac* a covering or veil. As for the thing itself, we must look for what may relate to it among those things built by *Solomon* in the temple. At the time of its dedication one finds³ *he had made a brasen scaffold* (in *Hebrew* it is *kior*) *of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high; and had set it up in the midst of the court; and upon it he stood; and so on.* Here it is easy to imagine a raised up place, where stood the king. It might be in the shape of an hemisphere, or hollow vessel, almost like the conchâ, or triumphal car, of the *Romans*; but whatever might be

¹ 2 Kings xxiii. 11. ² 2 Kings xvi. 18. ³ 2 Chron. vi. 13.

(H) Which word the *targum* expounds by that of *בַּרְבַּר* *bar-ra*, i. e. *without*; and this sense of it seems very probable, since *Parbar* had its issue, or outlet, into the then out-parts of *Jerusalem*.

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this *kior*, it must of necessity have rested upon, or been supported by, a pedestal or column. This the *Vulgate*, following the *Septuagint*, expresses by the word *base*, instead of the *Hebrew kior*. Much the same figure therefore would have been made use of, both in the text and translations, where the whole takes its denomination from a *part* of the throne. We shall try to distinguish every every one of them that made up this royal seat.

First, We take notice of the *base* or column; for it is said of *Josiah*, when he was proclaimed king ^u, *He stood upon the pillar*: this is the true meaning of the *Hebrew* ^x; the same turn of expression already made use in relation to *Solomon*, although in the translation it is by a *pillar*; and, what is very remarkable, the text adds *Cammisspbath*, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were used to do in the temple, in their usual place or throne. According to this, *Josiah*, in order to renew the covenant ^y, *stood upon the pillar*, according to the text; and this same pillar the king stood upon, is even in our translation ^z called *his place wherein he stood*. It is plain to be seen this place was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the *Israelites*, in their court, in the *midst* of which the sacred historian has fixed the throne ^a *before the altar* ^b. But it will not be amiss to observe, that the king did not stand or sit there, when he came to the temple in the form of an humble suppliant to the *GOD of Israel*, or to ask his counsel; for in this case it seems the kings were mixed and confounded among the croud of their subjects (H). However, the throne

was

^u 2 Kings xi. 14.

moud, ^y 1 Kings xxiii. 3.

31.

^a Ibid. vi. 13.

^x עמר על עמוד Homed al-ha-

^z 2 Chron. xxxiv.

^b Ubi sup. ver. 12.

(H) At least it is said of *Hezekiah* (1), after he had received the threatening letter of the *Assyrian* king, *He went up into the house of the LORD, and spread it before the LORD, and prayed, &c.* where no mention is made of his standing upon the pillar. And we are the more apt to judge he did

not; for that, when *Jehoshaphat* before him (2), in fear of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, had proclaimed a fast, *He stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new court, and there prayed.* There the king would not appear upon his throne, but went

(1) 2 Kings xix. 14.

(2) 2 Chron. xx. 5.

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was the ordinary seat upon all solemn occasions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there also it was, young *Joash* was seated in all the pomp of a king at his inauguration. So the historian says ^e, *The king stood upon his pillar at the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets, &c.* Our translation here again is *stood at his pillar*; but we do not chuse to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, UPON this pillar was a sort of alcove, or small gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the same shape as our *pulpits*. This rested on the central point of its convex side, upon the pillar: there the king might either sit or stand, and turn himself about to the temple, altar, or consecration, as he had occasion, as is observed of *Solomon* at the consecration of the temple ^f.

Thirdly, THE *kior* seems to have been covered, as is at present the throne of our kings, and for this reason it was called *musac*, which may be explained by canopy or cloth of state, this third part denominating the two first.

BUT it is not easy to conceive for what reason, to the idea of covering, is joined that of *sabbath*. The word *sabbath* properly is rest, and figuratively the solemn day on which one did rest. If you take it in the first sense, it must only be understood, that the *musac* covered the place where the king rested, or sat down (I), every one else standing ^g: if you take it in the second sense, it may imply, that the *kior*, or throne, was covered with the *musac*, or cloth of state, only on the last day of the week, the day of rest or sabbath; and then it was laid up till the next sabbath-day, unless some high festival intervened, that required the king's presence in the temple (K). IT

^e 2 Chron. xxiii. 13.
vi. 3. 12, 13.

^f 1 Kings viii. 14. 2 Chron.

^g 2 Chron. vi. 3.

as near to the temple as he well could; which, in our opinion is intimated by his standing before the *new court*; for we have seen this court was immediately next to the temple; whereas the court of the priests, properly so called, before which stood the throne, was farther off.

(I) The seventy interpreters seem to have taken it in this

sense; for they translate the covert of the sabbath by τὸ θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, the foundation of the chair, or seat.

(K) It may give some air of probability to this second conjecture to take notice, that the *musac* was surely a very rich and valuable piece of work, since *Abaz* made use of it with a design to glut the avarice of

It will now be proper to shew the agreement between *King's entry* what we have been speaking of, and the *king's entry with-try*. In order to do this, it will be needful to consider what is written in the New Testament concerning *Solomon's porch*: Christ used to walk then in the temple ^l, the apostles were all with one accord there also ^k, and all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called *Solomon's* ^l. Now, that this king had built such a porch, *Josephus* acknowledges ^m; but placeth it eastward, which seems to be an error, unless he meant, that it went eastward, which is true, in our opinion. However, the authority of St. *Luke* and St. *John* is sufficient to make us conclude, that, among the several porticoes the temple was adorned with in their time, one in particular was looked upon as *Solomon's*: a sure sign that it was supposed he had built one, which sufficeth for our purpose.

We shall not here undertake to describe exactly the *Solomon's* structure, nor even the situation, of that built by *Solomon*. *porch*. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itself from the gate, where ended the terrace by which the king went up from his palace to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a strait line, as far as over-against the *musac*; but then to go to the *musac* joining to the wall of the court of priests, one must turn to the left, and that *turning* will precisely be the *mebo*, or *king's entry*. It is to be supposed the *porch* from the gate *Shallecheth*, as far as this entry, might be a common passage for the use of the public, as well as of the king; but from the turning to the throne, as has already been observed, it was the king's entry properly so called; which consequently was adorned and enriched much more magnificently than the rest. For which reason *Abaz* made use of it, as well as of the *covert of the sabbath*, to buy the assistance of the king of *Affyria*. Not that we are to think, that *Abaz* destroyed the whole building, which was not necessary; but as we read of *Hezekiah* ⁿ, that he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the LORD, and from the pillars which he had over-laid, and gave it to the king of *Affyria*; *Abaz* now did the same, taking

^l John x. 23.^k Acts v. 12.^l Ibid. iii. 11.^m Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. & bell. Jud. l. v. c. 5.ⁿ 2 Kings xviii. 16.

the king of *Affyria*, whom he his aid against the king of *Da-*
had very imprudently called to *mascus* (1).

(1) 2 Kings xvi. 7. & 18.

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away a portion out of the house of the LORD °, viz. The king's entry and covert for the sabbath, just as Hezekiah did the rest abovesaid.

BUT what may be of more weight in this inquiry is, that this hypothesis of the situation of the *musac*, or royal throne, will clear up a circumstance in *Jehoash's* inauguration, otherwise very difficult to be understood ♀. It is well known, that that prince, by *Jehoiada's* means, having been proclaimed in the temple, the noise was heard by *Athaliah* in her palace; upon which she, in haste, ran to the temple by the terrace-walk, which for her was the readiest and shortest way (K). She went in at the gate *Shallecheth*, and crossed what we have called the portico, or porch of *Solomon*, at least that part of the court, where stood in arms the *Levites*, according to the directions of the high-priest ¶. They, seeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, did let her advance, so that she drew nearer; and, coming as far as the king's

° 2 Chron. xxviii. 21.
xxiii. pass.

♀ 2 Kings xi. pass. 2 Chron.
5. 11.

(K) We confess no place of Scripture gives the situation of this palace, so as to fix it exactly. However, it is probable, the ground it stood upon was called the *middle city*, as we have it in the margin of our translation, though in the text, *middle court* (66). The truth of which is, what is written in the *Hebrew*, called, *ketib*, is *בביר* *babir*, the city; but what is, according to the *Masorites*, called *keri*, is *בצר* *baxer*; or *chaxer*, a court. Now supposing, as is likely, the true reading to be *babir*, this shews where the palace stood; for nothing could well be called the *middle city*, but what had westward the top of mount *Sion*, whereon was built

the higher city, or city of *David*. And then at the foot of this mount, on a plain, or level surface to the east, you meet with the palace of *Solomon*, though not in a low place; for, to the north, a large valley lay betwixt it and the temple, standing itself upon that other hill-lock called *Moriab*. Further, it appears (67), that the place stood in the eastern part of *Jerusalem*, where was the court of the prison, the water-gate, and the horse-gate that led to the palace, whose front looked up to the temple, both places having an easy communication by the celebrated terrace, or ascent, lately mentioned.

(66) 2 Kings xx. 4.
xi. 16. ♂ 2 Chron. xxiii. 15.

(67) *Nobem.* iii. 25—28. *Conf.* 2 Kings

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entry, or directly over-against it, it is said ^r, *She looked, and, behold, the king stood upon his pillar at ^t the entering in, and the princes and the trumpets by the king.*—Then *Athaliah rent her clothes, and said, Treason! Treason!* Here-upon the high-priest, *Jehoiada*, ordered the commanding officers to *have her forth of the ranges ^t*; which, according as their armed *Levites* were posted, could not more conveniently and with greater surety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of *Afuppim*, which was over-against the king's entry to the south (L). By this gate then *Athaliah* was thrust out of the temple immediately; and, the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eastern gate of *Jerusalem*, called *Miphkad*, or prison-gate ^u; then, turning to the right by the corner ^x, down to the horse-gate ^y, eastward of the palace, thereabouts she was killed. Soon after, the high-priest brought the king from the temple to the palace, by the way of the gate of the guard (M), and thence through the great
or

^r 2 Kings xi. 14. ^s 2 Chron. xxiii. 13. ^t 2 Kings ubi sup. 15. & 2 Chron. ubi sup. 14. ^u Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3. 9. ^x Jer. xxxi. 40. ^y 2 Kings xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the *Levites* had three different posts joining to one another (68); one third part was to guard the *King's house*, or apartment, next to the temple, southward; another to be at the gate of *Sur*, or *turning*, which seems to be that of *Afuppim*, wherewith the king turned to his throne. It is, indeed, called by another name, but very like it in the *Hebrew*, viz. the gate of *Sippim*, where our version has doors or threshold. The last was at the gate *beyond the guard*, or *runners* (69), which seems to be that of *Shallecheth*. For the

king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may see, that there was their proper station in the avenue. It is also called the gate of *foundation*, because of the *projection* there made with the terrace, as has been observed.

(M) So says the first of the sacred historians (70), meaning, as we take it, the gate that before has been called *the gate beyond the guard*, viz. *Shallecheth*, or south-western gate. But if one had rather, that the gate of the guard, here, which is somewhat different from the other, should signify the same with the high

(68) See 2 Kings xi. 5, &c. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, &c. (69) See of them, 2 Sam. xv. 1. 1 Kings i. 5. iv. 27. (70) 2 Kings xi. 19.
gate

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or high gate of that palace ². This we reckon is the true sense; though some would understand by this high gate, a gate of the temple; but there was no such gate in the temple till the reign of *Jotham*, of whom it is said in express terms ³, *He built the high gate of the house of the LORD*; which is generally taken to be that towards the east (N). But let this suffice: possibly we have launched out too far, and ventured upon too many conjectures; but we hope the reader will do us the justice to acknowledge we have kept our word, in carefully distinguishing between probable opinions, and things of greater certainty.

We beg leave to conclude the whole with one remark. It is allowed, that the main scope of the sacred writings was not so much to satisfy our vain curiosity, as to inspire us with the love of all Christian virtues; and therefore, though we may justly expect, that every thing which relates to this latter, which is the essential of religion, should be delivered with all possible clearness, it would be absurd to expect the same satisfaction about the former. Those less important points, many of which are well worth inquiring after, make a branch of Christian philology, in which every man, being forced to supply the want of evidence with probable conjectures, is intitled to differ from others, whenever he thinks his own better grounded. But though, in points like this we have been upon, it be almost lawful to err, yet those are more excusable, who keep a constant regard to the sacred original above all things, than those who manifestly depart from it to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the *Jews*.

² 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

³ 2 Kings xv. 35. & 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

gate in *Chronicles*, where the guard of the king's house stood; this will make no variation in the main; for, as it is rightly supposed to have been in the front of the palace, it was the first gate they met coming from the LORD's to the King's house over the terrace, or ascent.

(N) This we do remark, because *Ezekiel* (71) speaks of the *higher gate that lieth toward the north*, the same, it seems, with that which *Jeremias* (72) calls the *high gate of Benjamin, which was* בְּרִית *bebeth, in or by the house of the LORD.*

(71) *Cap. ix. 2.*

(72) *Cap. xx. 2.*

Now, as we have drawn the greatest part of our light from the former, we are sensible, that those, who have been conversant with all the pompous descriptions we have extant, will be surpris'd to find this come so vastly short of the boasted magnificence of that sacred building. But let it be remembered, that, as this was designed to contain no more than could be met with, or fairly deduced from the sacred writings; so the reader will at least reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what is, or is not, authentic in other plans of this structure, than he could have been without it.

A Description of JERUSALEM.

AFTER the account we have given of the holy city's greatest ornament, *the temple of SOLOMON*, we have thought it would not be unacceptable, for a more comprehensive view of the whole, to subjoin a description of the city itself, according to the sacred historians.

IT is a general supposition, though, as we presume, *Its origin* without any solid argument to support it, that *Melchisedek's Salem* stood in the same place, where afterwards was built the city, the subject of our present inquiry (A). We will not, at this time, undertake to decide the question; but shall only take notice of the habitations of the *Canaanites*, who dwelt here, and in the adjacent parts, being called *Jebus* and *Jebusi* ^a. *David*, having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their *strong-hold*, made it his place of residence ^b; and this is commonly called *Zion*, or the *city of David* ^c. Under *Solomon* the name of *Jerusalem* either first began, or first got the better of the other; but there being no sure reason

^a Josh. xv. 8. xviii. 28, & alib.

^b 2 Sam. v. 7—9.

^c Pf. xlvi. & pass. 1 Chron. xi. 5.

(A) What is generally alleged, that the tabernacle was in *Salem* (1), proves only that it was the shortened or abridged name of that city, like that of *Solyma*. Some even have said *Solymus* for *Hierosolymitanus* (2).
Solymo migrantem pulvere frontem.

(1) Psalm lxxvi. 3.

(2) Valer. Flav. l. i. Argonaut.

assigned

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assigned for this, nor any determined signification affixed to the name, we will dwell no longer upon these uncertainties ^c, but enter into the matter in hand, by considering *Jerusalem*.

Holiness.

IN regard to its *holiness*; we must not imagine this attribute has been given to it by the rabbies only, or by the legend of the shekels, which is *Jerusalem the holy* ^d. *Isaiab* ^e tells us, that the *Israelites* call themselves of the *holy city*. *Nebemiah* twice qualifies it by that title ^f; all which doth sufficiently shew it was generally called so. In the New Testament ^g the same title is several times given to it. Besides, it is well known, that in the *Psalms* it bears the name of *city of GOD* ^h; in the *prophets* ⁱ we read, that it shall be called the *throne of the LORD*; our Saviour himself calls it the *city of the great KING* ^k, as being hallowed and consecrated in a particular manner by God's residence in the temple. The rabbies add, that there was a penalty forbidding the leaving a dead corpse in it the space of a night, and that the importation of dead mens bones was unlawful: notwithstanding this, in it were contained the *tombs* of the royal family ^m. It is further added by the rabbies, that within its walls were not to be seen gardens, trees, dung, or lime-kilns, or even cocks. In it no houses were to be lett; and this, I think, means only that the inhabitants were obliged to exercise hospitality by entertaining their brethren, on whom it was incumbent to resort from all parts to *Jerusalem* on the days of the great *festivals*.

Extent.

It is no easy matter precisely to determine the *extent* of this city in its different changes. Its most antient state of perfection was under the flourishing reign of its founder's successor, we mean *Solomon*; in whose time this city, before embellished by his father *David*, appeared in its greatest lustre and beauty; and there is no great likelihood that it was enlarged by those that came after him. The general and indeterminate descriptions, to be found in the authors of those times, will not permit us, as we have just now hinted, to settle, with any exactness, the bounds

^c De hoc nomine vide supra, vol. ii. pag. 465, (C).
^d וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׂרָאֵל. See vol. iii. pag. 215. ^e Isa. xlvi. 2.
^f Nehem. xi. 1. 18. ^g Matth. iv. 5, & pass. ^h Psal. xli. 4. ⁱ Jerem. iii. 17. coll. Ezek. xxviii. 25. Joel iii. 17. Zech. viii. 3. ^k Matth. v. 35. coll. Pl. xlviii. 3. ^l In Gemara Bava Kama & libro Siphra ap. RFLAND. ^m Vid. JOSEPH. ant. vii. fin. ⁿ Nehem. iii. 16. See before, vol. ii. p. 446, & seqq.

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of it. We will, however, venture to suppose its circumference, at first, to have been about seven or eight *stadia*, or a *Roman* mile. It was certainly twice, or probably three times, as large under *Solomon*. After the *captivity*, this city, being rebuilt, took up much the same space as before; as may be gathered from *Nehemiah's* ⁿ description of the ruins of the city, and its condition after it was repaired. This description of *Nehemiah* we shall take particular notice of; and, at the same time, shall not let that of *Josephus* ^o pass unheeded. According to this historian, the whole circumference of *Jerusalem* was 33 *stadia* ^p; which is about four miles and 125 paces. But *Hecateus*, who has described it such as it was in his time, under *Ptolemy Lagus* ^q, gives it no less than 50 *stadia* ^r, probably including the *out-parts*, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reason to believe, that there was any considerable decrease from the time of *Hecateus* to that of *Josephus*; so that we must stand to the measure of the last of these: we will only add, that *Hecateus's* assertion, that there were in *Jerusalem* one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, is very probable (B).

THE *situation* of this capital city of *Judea* has always *Situation* been extremely advantageous. The agreeable variety of rising grounds with which it was encompassed ^s, the fruitful meadows that lay between, interspersed with clear rivulets, and wholesome streams ^t; the hills on which it stood, which rose gradually one behind another, and looked

ⁿ Nehem. ii. iii. & xii. ^o Bell. Jud. vi. 4. ^p Ibid. No. iii. ^q DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. ^r Apud JOSEPH. c. Apion. ^s ירושלם הרים סביב לה. Psa. cxxxv. 2. ^t 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4.

(B) His words are, twelve myriads; now a myriad is 10,000; and 120,000 inhabitants may seem rather too few for such an extent as had *Jerusalem* of four miles. We see that in the siege perished, according to *Josephus* (8), 1100,000 men, *μυριαδων εκατα δέκα τριμυριαδων και εννακτα*, besides 97,000 taken prisoners during the war; and that this may gain more cre-

dit, *Josephus* adds, as an undoubted proof, that in *Citefar's* enrollment at the passover were reckoned 255,600 lambs. Now there were not less than ten men to each lamb; so that the number of those that were purified according to the law, besides the rest, must have been two millions five hundred and fifty-six thousand.

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like a natural amphitheatre, made up as pleasing and delightful a prospect as can well be conceived.

OF these hills the two largest, *Zion* and *Acra*, were directly opposite to each other; on *Moriab*, whose compass might be about three quarters of a mile, *Solomon* built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning by mount *Zion*.

THIS hill, as has already been shewn^t, bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and bounded by the valley of *Hinnom* (E), as the eastern was by that of *Jehosaphat*^u, which, it is thought, joined the other towards the south^w. Here were several springs, particularly that of *Gihon*^x, or *Shiloah*^y, which ran very plentifully with exceeding good water. To the north, *Zion* had another valley that lined it from one end to the other, named by *Josephus*^v the valley of the cheesemongers; probably the same as that distinguished in *Zephaniah*^a by the

^t See above, vol. ii. p. 401 (S), 465, & seqq. ^u Joel iii. 2. ^w KIMCHI in loc. ^x 1 Kings i. 33. ^y 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. ^v Isa. viii. 6. John ix. 7. ^a Ubi sup. in ephraim. ^a Cap. i. 11.

(E) הַנְּחֹם גֵּ' *ge hinnom*, so it is called (9) in *Josua*, where *Hinnom* is a man's name. In another place (10) it is the valley of the sons or children of *Hinnom*; and it is said, that in this valley was *Topheth*, where the children were made to pass through the fire in honour to *Moloch*. Upon this account it is thought this place took its name from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were kept beating, in order to drown their shrieks. But the text in *Josua* shews, that the valley bore

this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. At least, if we believe *Maimon*, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flame only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol (11). However, in later times, the carrion was thrown into this valley (12): and, when it did not waste away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix upon the word *Geenna* (which represents in *Greek* and *Latin* the *Hebrew* word) the notion of hell-fire (13).

^a (9) *Josua*. xv. 8. ^b *dis Sy is*, *lynt. l. cap. 6.* ^c 22. 29, & 30, *pass. vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 413.*

(10) 2 Kings xxiii. 10. (12) 2 Kings ubi sup.

(11) *Seld. de* (13) *Matth. v.*

epithet of the *Machabees* (G), translated by the *Sepuagint* τὴν κατακεκομμένην, *that was cut into*, or made hollow (H).

ACRA (I), with the said valley to the south, stood to Acra. the ^b north of *Zion*; its declivity was equal on every side, as *Josephus* says ^c; according to whom, *Jerusalem* was built upon the two hills, *Zion* and *Acra*, directly opposite one to another, and separated by the valley of the *cheesemongers*. The first was higher, and its length formed a much straiter line than the second. Upon it, that is, *Zion*, stood the *high city*, in the author's time called the *high market-place*. The *lower city* stood upon *Acra*; but, before that, bore other names, as hath been already observed in the description of the temple ^d.

LET us now examine these mountains, in relation to their different wards or quarters, streets and public places, as well as palaces, and most remarkable buildings.

^b Ubi sup. in cephressi. ^c Ibid. ^d Vid. sup. p. 216.

(G) Which word signifies a mortar, or any hollow thing. Thus the מַחְבֵּית שֶׁבַע, which so seasonably refreshed *Samson's* thirst, is universally rendered the hollow of the rock *lechi*, so called from its resemblance to a jaw-bone (20).

(H) In the same manner, 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20. *hahbor* (in our translation *a pit*, in which *Benaiah*, in time of snow, *slaw a lion*), literally *the pit*, was probably a known place, so named from its cavity and hollowness, and may very well be the deep valley here mentioned. What seems to favour this conjecture is, that *Benaiah* was one of *David's mighty men* or captains. Now, it is very possible, that he, being upon duty at the gate of the city of *David*, on mount *Zion*, and hearing, in the valley at

the foot of the palace, the roaring of a lion, whom want of food, in time of snow, had brought thither, desirous of signaling himself by so singular an action, immediately went down, encountered and destroyed the hungry rapacious beast.

(I) This name seems to be borrowed from the Greek ἀκρᾶ, an eminence; and sometimes a citadel, or fortress (21). It is well known, that there was one built upon this hill by *Antiochus*, and afterwards laid even with the ground by *Simon* (22). And to this reason it must be ascribed, that *Acra* had been since distinguished by that name; notwithstanding the *Targum* (23) makes sometimes use of this expression, the *Acra*, that is, the *citadel*, of *Zion*.

(20) *Jud.* xv. 17, & seq. *Joseph.* antiq. xii. & xiii.

(21) 1 *Maccab.* i. 35. (23) *On 2 Sam.* v. 7.

(22) See

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Wards.

THE principal quarter was called the city of David ^e, on the top of mount Zion, towards the west. This was a fortification which inclosed that king's palace; and it is likely that near this, afterwards, stood that of Herod, which served as a citadel ^f. To the west of the fort was מצפה *Mizpah*, or *Maspha*: the difficulty would be to prove that *Mizpah* was a part of *Jerusalem*, it being sure, that near it was a small town that bore that name ^g. These are the words of *Nehemiah* ^h: "Shallum, the son of Col-hose, ruler of the פלך *Pelec* of *Mizpah*, repaired the gate of the fountain." Now *Pelec* in *Hebrew* is a staff ⁱ, and so may signify a district, ward, or quarter, subject to a particular jurisdiction or inspection, in the same manner as שבת *shebet*, a rod, signifies a tribe. The *Chaldee* dialect makes use of *Pelac*, and פלכא *Pileca*, in the same sense as is here given to *Pelec*. The *Arabians* give this name, which they pronounce *Felce*, to a sphere; so that it would be a pretty good translation of *παροικια*, *parish*, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The *Septuagint* translate it here *part*, or *portion*; but everywhere else in this chapter it is a περιχωρος, *circumference of land*, a district of more or less extent. We shall therefore venture to say, that *Mizpah* was one of the quarters of *Jerusalem*, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are speaking of, to the west, and the other, where stood the *arsenal*, and where *Ezer* was ruler ^k, to the east of the fortrefs.

ANOTHER quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of *Jerusalem* ^l, which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which *Josephus* ^m calls the city, with respect to the citadel; and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which, it seems, might be looked for in *Acra*, viz. *Beth-akerem*, *Bethzur*, and *Keilah*.

Streets.

As for the streets, in *Hebrew* הוצות *Hhouzoth* ⁿ, all we know concerning those of *Jerusalem*, at that time, is, that as there was one bearing the name of *Haophim*, i. e. *Bakers-street* ^o; so there might be others, which

^e 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Nehem. xii. 37, & alib. ^f Bell. Jud. ^g Jerem. xl. 10. ^h Nehem. iii. 15. ⁱ 2 Sam. iii. 29. ^k Nehem. iii. 19. ^l Ibid. 9, & 12. ^m In ecphrasi, & bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 6. ⁿ Pf. cxliv. 13. Prov. vii. 12, & alib. ^o Jerem. xxxvii. ver. ult.

bore the names of other trades ; thus the valley, in *Joseph's* time, was called *Tyropeon* ^p.

רחוב *Rehob* properly is an open place (K) : in the *Re-Places*. *hoboth*, according to *Ezekiel* ^q, were built the high places. In the book of *Esther* ^r, an officer of the king of *Persia* goes out to *Mordecai*, in the *Rehob* of the town, over-against the gate of the palace, which seems to have been made use of by the courtiers to walk it. In the *Rehob* of *Jerusalem* ^s, *Hezekiah* assembled his generals, and made a speech to them. The people were gathered together by *Ezra* ^t in a *Rehob* of the temple, and the priests and *Levites* by *Hezekiah* ^u in the eastern *Rehob* ; we must suppose these two to have been parts of the vacant space that surrounded the courts of the temple. Lastly, there was a *Rehob* near the water-gate ^w, which must have been vastly large, since it contained all the people of both sexes, that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear *Ezra* read the law, upon a scaffold, or stage, erected upon this occasion at one end of the place, in such a manner, that *Ezra* had the whole assembly facing him.

IF we have not yet taken notice of *מללו* *Millo*, it is because we do not find it in Scripture distinguished by any of the above-mentioned names, or indeed by any other name than *Millo*. When *David* took from the *Jebusites* the top of mount *Zion*, he then built round about from *Millo* and inwards, says the text of *Samuel* ^x, where it is easy to understand, a castle was built on this mount, surrounded with strong walls, and probably of a circular form. This building had on the east what is called *Millo*, and on the other sides was bounded by the hill itself ; in-
somuch that the city of *David* was within mount *Zion* on the north, west and south, but was bordered eastward by *Millo* (L). Although it is said in the text ^y *Solomon* built

^p Bell. Jud. ubi sup. ^q Ezek. xvi. 24. ^r Esther iv. 6. ^s 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. ^t Ezra x. 9. ^u 2 Chron. xxix. 4. ^w Nehem. viii. 1. 4. Add the Rehob of the gate Ephraim, ibid. 16. ^x 2 Sam. v. 9. coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8. ^y Vid. 1 Kings ix. 15. 24. & xi. 27.

(K) The root *רחב* signifies to enlarge ; so that *Rehob* is literally a large place, and is made use of to signify the place, or square, of a town, *Judges* xix. 15.

(L) Without doubt *Millo* doth signify something either full, or to be filled ; at least, this may be deduced from the two *Hebrew* words that come nearest to it, *me'lo*, fulness, and

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built it; yet the context shews, that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did *Hezekiah* in his time ^a. Who the first was that built it, we do not know; but it seems to have been a work of the *Jebusites*, whose government was almost a *democracy*, like that at *Athens*.

Buildings. LET us next visit the public buildings in *Zion*: the first that offers itself is the palace of king *David*, on the top of the mount in the midst of a fortress ^a. There was a flight of steps to go up to it ^b; to the north of these steps, or stairs, stood the tomb of *David*, of which *Josephus* tells many wonderful stories at the end of the seventh book of his antiquities. At the bottom of the steps was the house of the *Mighty* ^c. This, in my opinion, served as a guard-house to the palace, or at least was the station of some chief commanders, without whose leave no one was permitted to go up to the house;

^a 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5.

^a 2 Sam. v. 9, & seqq.

^b Nehem. iii. 15.

^c Ibid. 16.

miluath, bezel, or collet, in which are inclosed precious stones. So *Moses*, receiving orders about the breast-plate, is bid to fill the bezel, *miluath*, with a stone (24), that the stones shall be set in gold in their inclosings (25), and that they were inclosed in ouches of gold in their inclosings, *bemilluotham* (26). So then *Milso* was something filled up; and this we are very ready to allow; for, to make it fit for the use we have been speaking of, it was required, that in some places this spot of ground should be made level, and in others filled up, in order to its being uniform, and of a piece.

For this reason, and from what is said in Scripture, there

would be no absurdity in supposing it to have been a spacious open place, such as the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*, where the people met for their recreation, on festival and other rejoicing-days, or about private or public affairs. It may be placed at the foot of the city of *David*, going to the valley between *Zion* and *Acra*, in the centre of the whole circumference of *Jerusalem*. Others imagine it to be a street, beginning at the steps of the city of *David*, and reaching as far as *Acra*, or *Moriab*; or else a wall along the valley between the two hills; and lastly, the valley itself. But this seems less probable than what we at first hinted.

(24) *Exod.* xxviii. 17.

(25) *Ibid.* 23.

(26) *Ibid.* xxxix.

such as we suppose the thirty-one worthies^d, among whom was *Uriah the Hittite*.

NEXT was the *arsenal*, or *armoury*^e, at the turning of the wall^f, in *Hebrew* called *Mikzoah* (M); but the *arsenal* itself, by a compendious expression, or way of speaking, was called *הנשך Hannefhek*, for *Nefhek* is a weapon, or arms. The word *baith*, a house, must therefore be understood.

NOT far from the *arsenal*, and more towards the middle of the city was, if not the palace of an high-priest, at least a *pontifical place*, then in the possession of *Elishib*^g. *Nehemiah* mentions it only occasionally, when he speaks of the repairs of the walls of the city; but even from the little that is said of it, we may gather, that it was a spacious building. Lower, at a very little distance, we find the house of *Azariah*, a man of distinction of the tribe of *Benjamin*^h. But it is time to come to the *palace* or *palaces*.

AND here the books of *Kings* indeed mention three houses built by *Solomon*; the first they call the house where he dweltⁱ; the second, the house of the forest of *Lebanon*^k; and the third was that which he made for *Pharaoh's* daughter^l; but this last I take to have been only a spacious apartment (N) added to the first house, whose situation it is not very difficult to fix. For on

^d 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, & seqq.
hem. iii. 19.
vii. 1. 8.

^e Ibid. 20.

^k Ibid. 2.

^e Ibid. 39.

^h Ibid. 23.

^l Ibid. 8.

^f Ne-

^g 1 Kings

(M) *מקצוע* is properly the opening of an angle, which consequently forms a space; but *פinnacle* *פנה* is the point of angle, or, as it is called by artists, a *salient angle*; so the wall had a turning out here, and this justifies the translation; and any one may see, that it formed a corner, or open place, in the interior angle. For this reason, such an opening in *Ezekiel's* temple is called *Mik-*

zoah; *Bobold*, says he (28), in every *מקצוע* corner of the court there was a court.

(N) *Beth* is often taken in that sense, as when *Rebeckah* runs to her mother's *beth* (29), apartment, or lodging; and so is the house of the women (30) to be understood in the book of *Ester*; the said house probably not being separate from the king's, but part of it.

(28) *Ezek.* xlvi. 21.
ii. 9.

(29) *Gen.* xxiv. 28.

(30) *Ester*

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one side, this palace was almost parallel to the *water-gate* ^m, and on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the *terrace* built by *Solomon* over the *valley* ⁿ. I am apt to think that the second was a summer-retirement, since we have it upon record, that *Solomon* built it in the forest ^o. But yet I would not contradict those who are of opinion, that it was only another wing or apartment of the palace, which very probably took its name from the cedars of *Lebanon*, that may be supposed to have been the chief material employed in it ^p (O).

NOT far from this palace, I think, was the *Mattara*, translated *Prison* ^q; but, if it was one, it was only like the *Tower of London*, or like our courts of law, or even the main *corps-de-guarde* at the avenues of the palace. For, in the court of this *Mattara*, *Jeremiah* was confined; but at the same time was allowed a good deal of liberty, since it was here he made the purchase of an estate in presence of several witnesses, who signed the deed of agreement, and of all the *Jews* that lived there ^r. We read moreover ^s, that afterwards the prophet was taken going out of *Jerusalem*, and by *Zedekiah's* order transferred to the *Mattara* again, where ^t he prophesied in the hearing of all the people; and the prophet remained in the above-mentioned *court* till the taking of *Jerusalem* ^u (P).

THERE

^m Nehem. iii. 26 ⁿ 1 King. vii. pass. ^o Ibid. ix. 19. 2 Chron. viii. 6. ^p See before, vol. ii. p. 397, & 470. ^q Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2. ^r Jerem. xxxii. 12, & seqq. ^s Ibid. xxxvii. 12. ^t Ibid. xxxviii. 1. ^u Ibid. 28.

(O) The following consideration adds a great deal of weight to this side of the question; *viz.* That in this house (31) were placed the targets and shields of beaten gold; for the distance from *Lebanon* to *Jerusalem* would have made it very troublesome to bring them up whenever they were wanted, besides the risk of being

taken, to which such costly armour would have been exposed by the way; and indeed they were carried away by *Shibbak* when he came up against the city (32).

(P) All this sufficiently shews the *Mattara* to have been different from a prison commonly so called. But it is not so easy to determine the situation of this

(31) 1 Kings x. 17.

(32) Ibid. xiv. 25, 26.

THERE are two distinct indications of the reparations made by *Palal* in the wall mentioned in the last note, one near the turning of the wall going up to the water-gate, the other near the adjoining tower; and the situation of this tower is specified as well by its distinguishing height, as by its relation to the palace, and the neighbourhood of the court in question. So that, to fix this to a point, we must look upon these buildings as being within the verge of the court, and under the immediate cognizance of king *Solomon*, and his successors. Men were there intirely under their protection, neither could they be meddled with but by the kings express command; although it was by their orders only, they were restrained within the bounds of these buildings.

WE are now come to buildings, much less remarkable for their dignity, magnificence, or embellishments; but whose situation cannot well be omitted in the particular description we are about; I mean the station or post of the *Nethinims* *. It is said indeed they dwelt in *Ophel*, eastward, near the valley; but their מושב *moshab*, or dwelling, should not, we presume, be confounded with their house, בית *beth*, or, as in our version, their place. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, *harokelim* †, who, I believe, are the same as the *Colly-*

* Nehem. iii. 26. 31. † Ibid.

building, although it seems *Nebemiab* has undertaken to describe it exactly; and, if to us he does not appear to have so well succeeded in it, the fault lies neither at his door, nor at that of the language he wrote in, but to its being a dead language, many expressions of which are not so familiar to us as to be perfectly intelligible. However, *Nebemiab*, as we understand him, says (33), "That *Palal* repaired the walls of *Jerusalem*, over-against the turning of the wall, and the tower belonging to the king's

house, the high tower that was by the court of *Mattara*." But, though it be well susceptible of this sense, when joined to that sequel of the king's house, this phrase may well admit of another signification, when without it; and this signification we then take to be that of a great extent (34); so as the *Mattara*, its court included, being called by the name of this high tower, that set it off exceedingly, was, it seems, a long series of buildings and walls, distant about fifty paces on the west side of the water-gate.

(33) *Nehem* iii. 25.

(34) *Jerem.* xxxii. pass.

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biffæ, for money-changers ^a, a sort of dealers very usual at the gate of the temple, whither abundance of strangers resorted from all parts.

LITTLE is said concerning the walls of the city; but that little which is said, we will here put together: 'Tis well known, after *David* had taken the strong-hold of ^o *Zion*, he called it the city of *David*, and dwelt in that fort, having built round about from *Millo* and inward ^f. *Solomon* and his successors took no less care to improve those works, and to add new ones round the city; concerning which the sacred historians have left us no particulars worth mentioning, excepting that *Hezekiah* built up that part of it which had been demolished by *Joash* king of *Israel*; and added another without ^g. *Manasseh* likewise is recorded to have built a wall without the city of *David*, on the west side of *Gihon*, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate, and compassed about *Ophel* ^h. Here you have almost the whole circuit of *Jerusalem*, from south; to north-by-west, and to the south-east. Now to one of these latter buildings the prophet seems to allude, when speaking of the breaches of the city of *David*, he adds, the houses of *Jerusalem* were broken down to fortify the walls ⁱ; though it may also be taken for a prophecy of the calamitous times that were to follow. Lastly, it is reported, that when the city was broken up by the *Chaldees* ^k, the soldiers fled by the two walls by the way of the king's garden, which was on the south ^l; one of these walls being built by *David* or *Solomon*, adjoining immediately to the city; and the other, the new one without, by *Hezekiah* or *Manasseh*. We read also, the army of the *Chaldees* brake down the wall of *Jerusalem* round about ^m, which was left till *Nehemiah's* ⁿ time with open breaches on every side.

Gates.

IN ancient *Jerusalem* the gates, שַׁעֲרֵי *Shaharim*, were ten in number ^o, viz. five from west to east-by-south, and five others by north: here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and translation;

^a Matth. xxi. ver. 12. and parallel. in Mark and John.
^c 2 Sam. v. 7-9. ^f Ibid. ^g 2 Chron. xxvii. 1. xxxii. 5. ^h Ibid. xxxiii. 14. ⁱ Isaiah xxii. 9, 10. ^k 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4. ^l Nehem. iii. 15. ^m 2 Kings xxv. 10. ⁿ Chap. ii. 12. 15. ^o Ibid. conf. iii. & xii.

By

By south,	1. Dung-gate,	<i>Haaspoth.</i>
	2. Fountain-gate,	<i>Hain</i> or <i>-en.</i>
	3. Water-gate,	<i>Hammajim.</i>
	4. Horse-gate,	<i>Hafusjim.</i>
	5. Prison-gate,	<i>Hamiphkad.</i>
By north,	1. Valley-gate,	<i>Haggui</i> or <i>-ge.</i>
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	<i>Ephaim.</i>
	3. Old-gate,	<i>Haieshan.</i>
	4. Fish-gate,	<i>Hadaggim.</i>
	5. Sheep-gate.	<i>Hazon.</i>

Now as to that which is called *of the valley*, the entrance was on the west : by this gate *Nehemiah* went out of the city, in order to visit the ruins of *Jerusalem* ; he likewise placed himself upon this gate, or upon the wall close to it, when he made the dedication of the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, by a double procession of the people, one half going to the right, or south, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the east to the temple. As they did not go through this gate, from which they set out, no mention is made of it in the account given of the places through which the processions passed^p, but only where the particulars are given of the repairing the walls and gates of *Jerusalem*^q. Neither in this account of the processions is the *horse-gate* mentioned, probably because the rubbish stopped up the passage, which was the reason that they turned to the left to go to the temple. This gate is placed to the east by *Jeremiah*^r, and it was through it that *Athaliah* went from the temple to the palace : but we must confess it is not so easy to assign the cause for which the *dung-gate* is omitted on this account : however, it is spoken of in the rebuilding of the wall ; and when *Nehemiah* viewed the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the *dung-port*^s.

As to the *water-gate* turning to the east^t, it is likely that it answered the southern part of the palace, by the place or square in which *Ezra* read the law to all the people^u.

THE *prison-gate* is in *Hebrew Miphkad*^w. This word, which is kept in the translation, signifies *visitation*, and by deduction, *judgment, correction, ward, prison*. It is

^p *Nehem.* xii. 27, & seqq.
xxxi. 38.

^q *2 Kings* xi. 15, & seqq. conf. with *Nehem.* xii. 37. & iii. 14.

^r *Ibid.* xiii. 1, & seqq.

^s *Ibid.* iii. 13.

^t *Jer.*

^u *Ibid.* iii. 25. viii. 1.

^w *Ibid.* iii. 25.

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also called *the gate of Mattara* (S); in our translation, *prison-gate* *. It stood eastward of the palace and city both.

IT is plain the gate of *Ephraim* took its name from its joining the highway leading to that tribe. This may serve to ascertain the truth of the situation we have given of the city.

THE *sheep-gate* furnishes us with means of explaining the word *προβατικὴ*, in the gospel according to St. *John*, where our translation has, *there was a pool near the sheep-market*, in the text, and *gate* in the margin, viz. *ἀγορὰ*, or, *πυλὴ*. And the translation in the text seems the most probable; for a *sheep-market* was there near the gate of the same name, and seems to have been between the gate and the pool, that of *Bethesda*, on the north-east of the temple (T).

LASTLY, the *fish-gate* † answered to one afterwards built in the *new city*, and called *the gate of Joppa*, a sea-port on the *Mediterranean*.

* Nehem. iii. 25.
† 2 Kings xiv. 13.

‡ John v. 2. Neh. xii. 39, & al.

(S) Of the *Mattara* itself we spoke above, as being near the palace that lay northward of it: and what seems to have given the name of either *Mattara* or *Miphkad* to this gate, is, that those words well agree in their general notions; which reason appears to us more likely, than that the great *sanhedrim* had there its ordinary sittings, it being at least dubious whether at that time this court had any jurisdiction, or even existed. Yet we do not deny but that courts of justice were kept at the gates (41); and therefore prisons might be there also, and houses of correction besides.

(T) Though *Josephus* does not mention it by name, yet he (42) places a pool there; and thereabouts Mr. *Maundrel* found a large empty basin, of which he gives the following description (43): “ It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up. These some will have to be the five porches in which sat that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is contiguous on one side to St. *Stephen’s* gate, on the other to the area of the temple.”

(41) Vid. Deut. xvii. 8. Amos v. 15. Zech. viii. 16, & al. (42) Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 2.

(43) See his journey, &c. p. 107.

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THESE, we think, are all the gates of *Jerusalem*, either as it stood before the captivity, or as, after the return from it, it was repaired by *Nehemiah*. It cannot be denied, but a few others seem to be mentioned in that space of time; but we take them to be only different names given to those already mentioned. And first, the *corner-gate* ^a, which, in our opinion, must be the same with the old-gate, as may be gathered from *Jeremiah's* occasionally giving the circuit of *Jerusalem* from the north-east, over-against the temple, [*i. e.* from *the tower of Hananeel*] unto the gate of the corner (U), going along to the north-west, where stood the hills *Gareb* and *Goath* ^b (X), afterwards called *Golgotha*, or *Calvary*. Then, according

^a 2 Chron. xxxi. 9.

^b Jerem. xxxi. 39.

(U) Although the translation here somewhat differs from that above, the word in both places in the original is *happinnah*. It is true, in *Zechariah* it is read *happinnim*, as if one should say *the corners*; but the sense is the same, if (44) translated *the corner*. Lastly, this our translation, in the parallel to *Kings*, answers (45) the Hebrew word *Happoneh*, where the margin has *the gate of it that looketh*; which is not easy to be understood, unless, by supposing it to be an elliptical expression, the sense be made up what we find added elsewhere (46), *viz.* *Zaphonah*, to the north, which is a true indication of the said gate. However, it may be thought this various reading is owing to the carelessness of the transcriber, as it seems may be collected from the *Septuagint's* having here *πύλης γωνίας*,

corner-gate; yet notice should be taken that this gate did lie towards the *ακρότος*. By this name was called (47) not only the eminence, from whence coming from the north, one first discovered *Jerusalem*, but also the plain next to the city on that side. Now that in Hebrew would be *Phoneh*, or *Happhoneh*, which we leave to our reader's consideration.

(X) As the word *גולגותא*, may be better pronounced either *Goatha* or *Gotba*; and as the word *גול*, admitting of two sounds in the composition of known names, *Galbed* and *Gilbad*, does as naturally sound *Gal*; we should think the etymology of *Golgotha* is found to our hand, and its signification most plain, *viz.* the *heap of Gotba*. However, the great likeness the sound of this same word *Golgotha* had to *Gagutha*, in *Syriac* (which dialect is

(44) See above, p. 221, (M).
viii. 3.

(47) *Vid.* *Joseph. de bell. Jud. ubi sup.*

(46) *Ezek.*

called

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According to the directions in the prophet, one turns towards the south, through the valley of Hinnom, and the south-east fields called the fullers fields, unto the corner of the horse-gate to the east ^b. So also in Zechariah ^c, All the land shall be as a plain to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem, and inhabited from Benjamin's gate (Y), unto the corner-gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's wine-presses. Here first you have Jerusalem, on the south, an hilly country there, to be turned into a plain; which is easily apprehended to be figuratively spoken. But further, the northern side is traced here from a gate going to the neighbour-tribe of Benjamin ^d, to the old gate, here called the first; the following words unto the corner-gate being an explanation of the former unto the first gate. So you go up to the east by the tower there, returning to the south, where was the royal garden. Another gate is mentioned by Jeremiah ^e, where he is bid to go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate, but should be rather the brick-gate (Z), or of the brick-

^b Jerem. xxxi. 38—40.
xxxvii. 13, &c.

^c Zech. xiv. 10.

^d Jer.

^e Ibid.

called Hebrew in the gospel (48), because a mixture of both was what was generally spoken at Jerusalem, it seems to have been commonly understood, as having a near relation to *Gulgaltba* (49), a scull, and therefore well expounded by *Calvary* (50).

(Y) There is a gate called the high gate of Benjamin (51), which is said to have been by the house of the LORD. It might also be translated, in the house. If this sense be followed, the gate is none of the ten we are inquiring about; if the former, this is the gate

that led into the land of Benjamin, and is further called the higher gate, which lieth towards the north (52).

(Z) It may be thus translated, supposing only here (53) an easy and common permutation of letters, as appears in the pronunciation of *Sibboleth* for (54) *Sbibboleth*. This is the more probable, because there is already in the text a various reading of *Harsouth* for *Harsith*: however, *Heres*, in the Hebrew שׁוּר, is a brick, and *Hereseth*, in Chaldee חרם, the sun. So we chuse to take it here, as if it was written

(48) *John* xix. 17.
xxvii. 33.

(49) *Targ.* on *Kings* ix. 35.

(50) *Mat.*

(51) *Jerem.* xx. 2.

In Hebrew it is ג, which is read in that sense, *Num.* xxxvi. 37, 38.

Jerem. xiii. 5. xxxii. 5, & al.

(52)

Ezek. ix. 8.

(53) *Jerem.* ix. 2.

(54) *Jud.* xii. 6.

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brick-bats, it being the same with the *dung-gate*, where was the valley of ashes^f. But we do not take the *city-gate* g to be one of the ten of *Jerusalem*, but rather a gate of the city of *David*, or *Zion*, to the north-west, leading to the valley-gate, and since called *Zion-gate* h.

THE situation of (שַׁבָּר הַחֹדֶךְ *Shabar Hattavech*) the *middle-gate*, may be deduced from what is said in *Jeremiah*ⁱ; *Nibuchadnezzar*'s army, after having entered into *Jerusalem* by the north, advanced as far as this *middle-gate*; of which *Zedekiah* being informed, he made his escape, as has already been observed^k, through his garden to the south. This plainly shews, that this gate must have stood in the *midst of the valley* between *Acra* and *Zion*.

A WORD or two more concerning *the towers*, as related *Tow.* by *Nehemiah*. They were four. Indeed, it is said of *Uzziab*^l, "He built towers in *Jerusalem*, at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall;" but how many he built, is not said. However, the names of the said four towers were *Maab*, eastward; *Hananeel*, north-east-ward; *Hattanourim*, of the furnaces, westward; and *Ophel*, south-eastward. The first-named of these was also the first built^m; near this they passed going to the sheep-gate, in the dedication of the wallsⁿ; the second called *Hananeel*, lay more to the north; and the third quite to the west. From beyond this tower it is said^o they, in the dedication, went to the *broad wall*. Lastly, from the fourth, *Ophel*, a ward so called^p, and the wall itself joining to it^q, took their name; but properly it is a tower^r, and supposed to be very high (A), and we should think was made use of as a

^f Jerem. xxxi. 38, & seq. ^g 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. ^h See MAUND. ubi supra. ⁱ Jer. xxxix. 2, &c. ^k See above, p. 234. ^l 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. ^m Nehem. iii. 2. ⁿ Ibid. xii. 39. ^o Ibid. xii. 38. ^p Ibid. iii. 26. ^q Ibid. 27. ^r Conf. ibid & Habak. ii. 1.

חֹרֶשׁוֹת, looking upon it as the *dung-gate*; that opened into the valley of *Hinnom*, and that of *ashes*.

(A) This seems to appear

by the very etymology of the word; for which we are beholden to the prophet's saying *ophla* (55), for what is in the translation *hsted np*.

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watch-tower^a; from whence one might see and observe afar off. It is said king *Manasseh* raised it up to a great height^t; and of this tower *Josephus* speaks, when he says, "That the wall, passing through *Ophlas*, was carried on so as to join the east portico of the temple".

OF the waters and springs in or about *Jerusalem* we have had occasion to say something before^w; but for a further knowledge of the same, it will be proper here to add what Mr. *Maundrell* tells us concerning the *pool of Gibon*: "It lies, says he, about two furlongs without *Bethlehem* gate, westward; it is a stately pool, 106 paces long, and 67 broad, and lined with wall and plaster, and was, when we were there, well stored with water." This helps to understand the better what is related of *Hezekiah*^x: "He stopped the upper watercourse of *Gibon*, and brought it strait down to the west of the city of *David*." These naturally ran to the south and east out of the city; but the king turned off the course of this stream, in order to make it run towards the west in *Zion*. According to the *Targum*, *Gibon* is the same as *Shiloh*; nevertheless it is plain there were there two pools, since *Gibon* is named the upper pool. Now as there was a lower pool, this last might be *Shiloh*, of which the upper was the spring. Notwithstanding, one might be apt to think, that *Gibon* was only a basin or reservoir, into which the water came from *En-rogel*, that is to say, the *fullers fountain*, where *Adonijah* offered his sacrifice^y at the time of his aspiring to the throne. But it is possible, this may have no other foundation than the situation given to *Gibon* in the *fullers field*. And although the word *rogel* may signify a fuller, yet the word^z כִּיבּוּם, which is made use of, more properly implies it. However, since in the time of *Hezekiah* the water of *Shiloh*, or *Gibon*, was brought into the city, and, in all appearance, when the city rose again from its ruins, it was restored to the same advantage; it is no wonder, that^a *Tacitus* places here *fontem perennis aquæ*.

THE *king's pool* is mentioned in *Nehemiah*^b, as being near the fountain-gate, that is, to the south-west of *Zion*.

^a See *Isai*. xxxii. 14. in the margin.

^t 2 *Chron.*

xxxiii. 14.

^w *Bell. Jud.* vi. 6.

^w See before,

p. 226. & vol. ii. p. 440, & seqq.

^x 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 30.

^y 1 *Kings* i. 9.

^z 2 *Kings* xviii. 17.

^a *Hist.* l. v. c. 12.

^b *Cap.* ii. 14.

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It is called by *Josephus* ^e *the pool of Solomon*, and placed (which comes to one) winding towards the east. *Isaiah* ^g speaks of the *old pool*, whose water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the same as that made by *Hezekiah*, barely called *the pool made* ^o, which might be named *the artificial pool*; not but that it was a natural spring, but because art had been made use of in order to make it water the eastern parts of *Zion*. However, one of the most renowned waters of *Jerusalem* was the *brook of Cedron*, whose head-spring did not run very plentifully, for in summer it was generally dried up; but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increased it so prodigiously, that it looked rather like a river than a brook. In the *Hebrew* its name is pronounced *Kidron*, as our translation has expressed it; as where it is said, “*King David* passed over the brook “*Kidron*, toward the way of the wilderness.” What the word signifies seems not of great consequence; yet it may be remarked, that, according to *St. Jerom* ^z, it is stiled *a tenebris*; and truly קדר *kadar* is to be dark or black. Accordingly *Josephus* ^h, who often calls *Cedron* a valley, says it was very deep, and at the foot of the *mount of olives* on the east ⁱ; but in one place ^k he names it χείμαρρος, and in the *New Testament* we find it called χείμαρρος τῆς Κεδρῶν ^l.

To conclude; we dare flatter ourselves we have faithfully represented *Jerusalem* as it antiently stood, from about the times of *David* to the *Babylonish* captivity: for though it may be objected, that *Nehemiah*, from whom most of our proofs are borrowed, lived several years after the return of the *Jews* to the holy city, yet it must be allowed, that it was not raised upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its antient foundations. The walls, indeed, had been pulled down, the gates burnt to ashes; but the remains, or at least some marks or out-lines of them all, were still to be seen, and parts of several of them were still subsisting. So, as we read in *Nehemiah* ^m, *the breaches were stopped*, the buildings re-edified, and the whole city restored, as much as possible, to its former condition.

^e In *ecphrasi*.
iii. 16.

^d Chap. xxii. 11.

^e *Nehem.*

40.

^f 2 *Sam.* xv. 23.

^g In *Jerem.* xxxi.

^h *Antiq.* viii.

^b *Bell. Jud.* l. vi. c. 7.

ⁱ *Ibid.* l. vii.

^k *coll.* vi. 1.

^l *John* xviii. 1.

^m *Chap.* iv. 7.

C H A P. VIII.

The history of ASSYRIA.

S E C T. I.

The description of ASSYRIA.

Its name. **W**^E have already accounted for the name of this country, deriving it from *Ashur*, its first planter after the flood^a; and have observed^b, that its name extended very far westward over the whole country of *Aram*, or *Syria* (A), which at this time gives appellation to most of the country between the *Euphrates* and the *Mediterranean*. Eastward, southward, and northward, it must also have extended its name where-ever its monarchs had established themselves by the fortune of their arms (B). If

^a See vol. i. p. 368.^b Ibid. p. 255.

(A) *Bochart* (1) divides the *Assyrians* into two sorts, the first properly so called, beyond the *Tigris*, and derived from *Ashur*, and those on this side the *Euphrates*, who derived their name from *שור Sur*, or *Tyre*, (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in *אשור אשורין Assurim*; but, whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The descent of the two nations is so different, the one from *Ashur*, the other from *Aram*, and their distance from each other so wide, that we can never think so slight an accident as an article prefixed to *Sur*, should cause the potent and antient na-

tion of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* to be called by all the nations around the *Assyrians*; and particularly when there is so much to be said against it as may be found in the next note.

(B) Where-ever this monarchy extended itself, it is apparent, that it extended itself together with its dominion: so *Mesopotamia*, the *Aram Nabaraim* of the *Jewish* writers, is said (3) to have been called the *Mid Assyria*; and so also *Babylon* and *Chaldea* were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the rest, we may suppose, that owned subjection to the kings of *Nineveh*. In conformity to this, we are told by *Trogus*

(1) *Phalag.* l. iv. c. 34.
man. caped. l. vii. p. 453
 200

(2) See vol. ii. p. 322.

(3) *Ar-*(4) *An. mian. Marcel.* l. xxiii. c.

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If we consider the monarchy of *Assyria* geographically, it comprised several countries, which we have already described; and others, which we shall hereafter describe in their proper places. It is not therefore our design to give here a description of the monarchy or empire of *Assyria*, but to confine ourselves to the *Proper Assyria*, agreeably to the method we have hitherto pursued.

THIS country was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of *Armenia*, and mount *Niphates*; on the west by the *Tigris*; on the south by *Sufia* and, on the east, by part of *Media*, and the mountains *Cboatra* and *Zagros*. The country within these limits is, by some of the antients, called *Adiabene* ^a (C), and, by others ^b, with

^a PLIN. I. v. c. 12. AMMIAN. I. xxiii. c. 20. ^b STRABO, I. xvi. sub init.

Pompeius (5), that the *Assyrians*, by contraction, came to be called *Syrians*. It was the first great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in process of time, even to those who had formerly suffered by its power; and hence, out of vanity, or from a long settled custom, the nations round about affected to call themselves *Assyrians*; or else others affected to call them so; or, thirdly, they may have been commanded so to denominate themselves by the conqueror. To dismiss this, we would take notice, there seems to be nothing more uncertain than what the *Greeks* and *Latins* mean by *Assyria* and *Assyrian*; they are of such comprehensive latitude with these writers, as to take in all the country and people between the *Mediterranean* on

the west, and the river *Indus* on the east.

(C) The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it. So *Pliny* observes (10), that the country of *Adiabene* was in former times called *Assyria*: the same says *Ammianus Marcellinus* (11), who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, rejecting the common opinion, which derives it from the Greek word *διαβαινεῖν* *transire*, διὰ τὸ εἶναι πλείους ποταμούς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ δυσχερῆσαι ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν, *because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass* (13). Thus is it also that *Suidas* (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulously, that here is the mouth of *Avernus*, which sends

(5) *Just. J. i. c. 2. See vol. ii. p. 254.*

(11) *Ubi sup. l. iv. c. 19.*

(12) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ad vocem Ἀδριαβήνη.*

(10) *Hist. nat. l. v. c. 12.*

(13) *Vid. Bockart. Phalæg.*

with the transmutation of one letter, as *Dio Cassius* observes, *Aturia*, or *Atryia* ^c (D). It is divided by *Ptolemy* into the following provinces or districts, *Calachene* or *Calacine*, *Arrapachitis*, *Adiabene*, *Arbelitis*, *Apolloniatis*, *Sittaene*, and *Chalonitis* ^d. *Calachene* was bounded on the north by the mountains of *Armenia* and *Arrapachitis*; on the west by the *Tigris*; on the east by the *Lycus*; and, on the south, by *Adiabene*. It contained the following cities, *Marde*, *Calash*, *Bessara*, *Resen*: *Calash*, built by *Job*, as we read in holy writ ^e, gave name to the whole province. *Bochart* takes this to be the same city with *Halab*, where the king of *Assyria* placed the captive *Israelites* ^f. It stood probably upon or near the *Tigris*; for, of the two other cities, which were built by the same person, and at the same time, viz. *Nineveh* and *Resen*, the former, we know for certain, stood

^c *DIO* in *Trajan.*
c. x. ver. 11.

^d *PTOL.* l. vi. c. 1.
^f 2 *Kings* c. xvii. ver. 6.

^e *Gen.*

up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence also it was called *Adiabene*, or *impassable*. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), *Bochart* (16) gives it an *Assyrian* or *Chaldean* origin, forming it from the *Chaldee* אֲדַיָּב, or אֲדַיָּב, *Hadjab*, or *Hadyab*, as it is called by the *Talmudists*, and the *Chaldee* interpreter; as also אֲדַיָּבָא *Hadjaba*, or *Hadjawa*; whence he deduces (17) *Amnianus Marcellinus's* (18) *Adiavena*, which whence it became the name of this part of *Assyria*, may be observed anon.

(D) This also, though but a small district of this country,

extended itself over the whole; and, according to *Bochart* (19), was a name synonymous with *Assyria*, allowing only for the difference of dialect; the former being the *Hebrew*, and the other the *Chaldee* way of writing this name; the *Chaldees* constantly converting the *Hebrew* שֵׁן into the טָן; so that what the *Hebrews* pronounce *Assyria*, they pronounce *Atryia*. Whatever there may be in this, the *Greeks* plainly took *Aturia*, or *Atryia*, to be no more than a province or district of *Assyria*. *Strabo* (20) divides *Aturia* from *Arbelitis* by the river *Lycus*; whence it is plain it was by the *Greeks* reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(15) *Vid. Cellar. geogr. antiq. vol. ii. l. iii. c. 17.*
ibid. ubi sup. (17) *Ibid.* (18) *Ubi sup.*
leg. u. i. sup. (20) *L. b. λ vi. ineunt.*

(16) *Pba-*
(19) *Pba-*

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upon or near that river; and that the latter had the like situation, is highly probable, since it is placed by *Moses* between *Nineveh* and *Calach*, or *Calab*. *Rochart* conjectures *Resen* to be the *Larissa* of *Xenophon*, which, according to that historian, stood near the *Tigris*, had been formerly a great city, and inhabited by the *Medes*; but was then quite destitute of inhabitants, and lay in ruins^b. Of *Marde* and *Bessara* we know nothing besides their names.

ARRAPACHITIS, the most northern province of *Assyria*, is only mentioned by *Ptolemy*; and the towns he places in it, are to us, and seem to have been in like manner to the antient geographers, utterly unknown. This country was watered, according to *Ptolemy*, by the *Gyndes*.

ADIABENE was the chief province of *Assyria*, and sometimes gave its name to the whole country, as we have observed above. It was so called, according to *Ammianus*^l, as we have already observed, from the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*. *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus*^k place *Ninus* or *Nineveh*, *Gaugamela*, and *Arbela*, in this province; and with them *Strabo* agrees; for, though he places *Ninus* and *Gaugamela* in *Aturia*, and *Arbela* in a district of its own name, yet he makes both *Aturia* and *Arbela* parts of *Adiabene*^l. *Pliny* too calls *Arbela* part of *Adiabene*^m: so that this province had *Calachene* to the north, the *Tigris* to the west, *Apolloniatis* to the east, and *Sittacene* to the south. *Stephanus* and *Tzetzes*ⁿ confound *Adiabene* with *Mesopotamia*. In this part of *Assyria*, and near or upon the *Tigris*, stood the famous and so much celebrated city of *Ninus*, as the profane writers call it, or *Nineveh*, as it is styled in holy writ. It was founded by *Ashur*, as we have hinted above, and shall have occasion to relate anon. The extent and greatness of this city is sufficiently described by the prophet *Jonah*^o. *Strabo* allows it to have been much greater than *Babylon*^p; and *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was 480 stades in circumference, or 47 miles, and that it was surrounded with lofty walls and towers; the former being 200 feet in height, and so very broad, that three chariots might drive on them

^l Gen. x. 12.

^b XENOPH. exped. Cyr. Min. l. iii.

p. 182.

^l AMMIAN. l. xxiii. c. 20.

^k Id in

ibid.

^l STRAB. l. xvi. sub init.

^m PLIN. l. vi.

c. 13.

ⁿ TZETZ. LYCORH. Alexandr. ad ver. 704.

^o *Jonah*, c. iii. ver. 3.

^p STRAB. l. xvi.

abreast; and the latter 200 feet in height, and 1500 in number. That historian was certainly mistaken, or rather his transcribers, in placing *Nineveh* on the *Euphrates*; since all the historians, as well as geographers, who speak of that city, tell us in express terms, that it stood on the *Tigris* ^r. It was ruined by the *Medes*, as had been foretold by the prophet *Nabum* ^s; for *Strabo* tells us expressly, that *Ninus*, upon the downfall of the *Syrian*, that is, the *Assyrian* empire, was utterly ruined ^t. *Salmasius* finds fault with *Ptolemy* for reckoning it among the cities of *Assyria* that were still standing in his time. He might in like manner have found fault with *Tacitus* ^u and *Ammianus* ^w; for they both speak of *Ninus* as still a city, at the time they wrote. A new city was, no doubt, built out of the ruins of the antient, which bore the same name, as it happened to *Troy*, and other cities without number. In *Auria*, that is, in the part of *Adiabene* lying between the *Tigris* and the *Lycus*, was the town, or rather the village, of *Gaugamela*, as *Arrian* styles it ^x. It was at this place that *Alexander* gained a complete victory over *Darius* ^y; but of this glory it was robbed by the neighbouring city of *Arbela* ^z, the conqueror choosing, that his victory should be rather named from a city of note, than from an obscure village. *Arbela* stood in the same country, 600 stades east of *Gaugamela* ^a. *Ptolemy* places it on the river *Capros*; but *Strabo*, at an equal distance from that river and the *Lycus*, near mount *Nicatorius* ^b, so called by *Alexander*, from the above-mentioned victory. It is called a village both by *Diodorus Siculus* ^c, and *Curtius* ^d; but *Arrian* distinguishes it with the name of a city ^e. It must have been in those times a place of some strength, since *Darius* kept his treasures there ^f. From this village, or city, the neighbouring country was called *Arbelis* and *Arbelitis*.

APOLLONIATIS lay east of *Adiabene*, and was so called from its metropolis *Apollonia*, which is placed by *Ptolemy* between the rivers *Gorgus* and *Silla*. Both the country

^r DIOD. SIC. l. ii. c. 3.

^s ISID. PTOL. STRAB.

ibid. PLIN. l. vi. c. 13. & HERODOT. l. i. c. 193. & l. ii. c. 150.

^t Nahum, c. iii. per totum.

^u STRAB. ib.

^w TACIT. l. xii. c. 13.

^x AMMIAN. l. xxiii. c. 20.

^y ARRIAN. l. vi. p. 399.

^z STRAB. ib. & ARRIAN. l.

iii. p. 173.

^a ARRIAN. ib. & l. vi. p. 399.

^b Idem

ibid.

^c STRAB. ib.

^d DIOD. SICUL. l. xvii.

c. 53.

^e CURT. l. iv. c. 9.

^f ARRIAN.

l. vi. p. 399.

^g Id. l. iii. p. 193.

and the town are mentioned by *Polybius* 8, and *Stephanus*, who reckons *Apollonia* the twentieth town between *Babylon* and *Susa*. *Artemita*, called by *Strabo* a city of great note, stood in the same province, 500 stades east of *Seleucia* ^h. It is mentioned by *Tacitus* ⁱ, *Isidorus Characensis* ^k, *Stephanus*, *Pliny* ^l, *Ptolemy*, &c. *Isidorus* places it on the river *Silla*. *Pliny* was certainly mistaken in reckoning it among the towns of *Mesopotamia* ^m. Both this city and *Apollonia* were, without all doubt, of *Greek* origin, as is manifest from their names. The other cities placed by *Ptolemy* in this tract were *Charrasura*, *Thebura*, *Arrapa*, &c. but we find no mention made of them by other writers.

SITTACENE, or *Sitacene*, lay south of *Apolloniatis*, and had *Sittace* for its metropolis. *Sittacene* and *Apolloniatis* were, according to *Strabo* ⁿ, but different names of one and the same province; and *Pliny* extends the name of *Sittacene* to *Arbelis* and *Palestine* ^o. There is some disagreement among authors concerning the situation of the city of *Sittacene*. *Ptolemy* and *Pliny* place it at a great distance from the *Tigris*; but *Xenophon*, who travelled all over that country, and had been himself at *Sittacene*, tells us in express terms, that the great and populous city *Sittacene* stood only at the distance of 15 stades from the *Tigris* ^p. The other cities in this province are utterly unknown.

CHALONITIS was the most southerly province of all *Assyria*. In this part of *Assyria* stood the cities of *Chala* and *Ctesiphon*. All we know of *Chala* is, that it gave name to the province ^q. *Ctesiphon* stood on the *Tigris*, a little below *Seleucia*, and on the opposite bank. It became, in process of time, the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. *Ptolemy* mentions several other cities in this province, but none that deserve particular notice.

THIS country lay between the 33d and 39th degrees of north latitude, and must in its happy times have been

⁸ POLYB. l. v. c. 43. & 51, 52.

p. 512.

ⁱ TACIT. l. vi. c. 41.

^h STRABO, l. xvi.

CHAR. p. 5.

^l PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.

^k ISIDOR. CHA-

^m PLIN. ib.

ⁿ STRAB. l. xv. p. 503.

^o PLIN. l. vi. c. 27.

^p XE-

NOPH. Arabic. l. ii. p. 167. edit. Steph.

^q ISIDOR.

CHAR. p. 5.

a land of plenty (E); but has, almost ever since the fall of its empire, been decaying; a misfortune which has been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderness, a desert, excepting some little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders, so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

AMONG the rivers of *Assyria*, we may justly reckon on the *Tigris* (F), not only because it bathed all the western skirts

c RAUWOLF'S trav. part ii. c. 9.

(E) A land of plenty and pleasure it must undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country designated in Scripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive, and of boney*, as Bochart thinks (7), and Rauwolf (8); for Rabshakeh's words, who speaks of this (9), may be understood of some of the new-conquered provinces of *Assyria*, and not of *Assyria* itself, properly so called; so that this does not amount to a positive proof of what is asserted concerning the fertility and amenity of the *Proper Assyria*; though indeed it must be confessed to be a very strong circumstance to make us believe it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above. We may easily conceive the conqueror would have seized on the best for himself, and not have bestowed it on the foreign

captives he made and transplanted.

(F) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the *Lycus* and *Caprus*, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (25); others derive it from a *Persian* word, signifying an arrow (26); by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course. But this is contradicted by *Pietro de la Valle* (27), who says it is a slower stream than the *Euphrates*; and *Thevenot* (28) seems to assign a reason why the *Tigris* should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only very crooked, and full of meanders, but also choaked up with islands, and great banks of stone. Bochart derives it from its old *Hebrew* name *Hiddekel*;

(6) 2 Kings xviii. 32.
his travels, part ii. c. 9.
Cellar. ubi sup.

(7) Phaleg. l. iv. c. 19.
(9) 2 Kings ubi sup.
(26) Vid. Gregor. p. 189.

(8) In
(25) Vid.
(27) In

(23) In his travels, part ii. c. 13.

skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of this kingdom fall into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom^h, *Nineveh*, *Ctesiphon*, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the *Lycus*, the *Caprus*, and the *Gorgus* (I), at almost an equal

^h Vid. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. tom. ii. l. iii. c. 17.

and the *Arabs*, at this day call it *Dijlat*. The inhabitants hereabouts call it *Hiddekel* to this day (29).

(I) The *Lycus* and the *Caprus*, according to *Bochart* (30), are the two rivers *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or *Diava* and *Adiava*. דִּיבָא *Diuva*, he observes, is *lupus*, or *lupinus*, wolf, or wolfish; דִּיבָא *di-va* being *Chaldee* for a wolf; and hence he derives the *Greek Lycus*, which signifies the same. *Haidaba*, the name of the other, he derives, or at least is ready so to do, from an *Arabic* word signifying swift; but this is a most obscure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that these two rivers are now called, or supposed to be so, the great *Zab* and little *Zab*. According to *Bochart* (31), this latter name is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the *Hebrew* דָּבָב *zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. *Thevenot* (32) calls these rivers *Zarb*, but speaks as of but one, which he saw fall into the *Tigris*; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the *Tigris*, and observes that it is very

rapid, that its water is whitish, and very cold; which he would seemingly account for by its falling from the mountains of *Curdistan*, and being merely snow-water. This agrees very well with *Bochart's* thoughts of the smaller of the two rivers above, the *Adiaba*, which he would have to derive its name from the swiftness of its course; but, for dimension, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illustrates, in some sort, a passage in the *Nubian* geographer (33), who, as he is translated, says, the two *Zabs* are great rivers; and, when united, equal to above one half of the *Tigris*; though he says a little before, their mouths were six-and-thirty miles from each other. It is asked, how in this case these two rivers ever should unite; and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be above one half of the *Tigris*, or fill the same river one half fuller than it would be without them. *Thevenot* seems to answer this question by affirming they do.

(29) *Rauwolf's travels*, part ii. c. 6.

(30) *Phalæ. ubi sup.*

(31) *Ibid.*

(32) *In Lis travels to the Levant*, p. 11. chap. 13.

(33) *Clim. iv. part vi.*

equal distance from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of *Ninus* or *Nineveh* and *Senlucia*.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land, we find nothing worthy of notice; and therefore shall close this section.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Learning, and Trade, of the Assyrians.

Antiquity. ASSYRIA, which stands the foremost of all in profane accounts, is in Scripture the second most antient kingdom after *Babel*, or *Babylon*. It was founded by *Ashur*, and not by *Nimrod*, as some have contended (K), who embrace the *Chesian* system; and was in the beginning

Bochart (34) also seems to think the *Gorgus* and the *Caprus* are two names in *Ptolemy* for one and the same river; and particularly, because he finds none but the two above-mentioned elsewhere; but *De Lisle's* maps have three, one to the northward of the two *Zabs*, which is the westernmost of the three, and therein differs from *Ptolemy's*, which make the *Gorgus* the easternmost; we leave the reader to take his choice. *Hardouin* would have this river to be the *Zerben* of *Pliny* (35). *Cellarius* (36) knows not what to say to it, observing only that *Γοργυδς* is *Velox*; which might have tempted *Bochart* to think it the same with his *Adinaba*, which he would have to be denominated from its swiftness.

(K) The text (37), which

mentions the first foundation of this kingdom, is variously interpreted; either, *Out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh*, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the *Greek*, the old *Latin*, and the *Dutch*; or, *He* [meaning *Nimrod*] *went out into Assur, and builded Nineveh*; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by *Vatablus*, *Junius*, *Bochart*, *Cocceius*, *Schotan*, *Heidegger*, *Spanheim*, and *Le Clerc*. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word *Ashur*, in the text, signifies the son of *Shem*, or whether it signifies the country of *Assyria*; for both ways it is often assumed in Scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being

(34) *Ubi sup.*
geogr. antiqu. vol. II. l. iii. c. 17.
Perizon. origin. Babylon. c. 4. p. 39.

(35) *Hist. natur.* l. vi. c. 26.

(37) *Genes.* x. 11.

(36) *Geo-*
(38) Vid.

beginning a kingdom distinct from *Babylon*, though in process of time they coalesced into one, in consequence of

obliged to supply a defect in the *Hebrew*, by inserting a particle [*into*] to serve their purpose; while those who vindicate the other, follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original, as they stand. But, not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we choose to recur to such arguments as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of *Asbur*,* or *Assyria*, derived its name from *Asbur* the son of *Sbcm*; and, according to what we read in Scripture (39), it must have been he that went out of the land of *Sbinar*, where all the descendants of *Noah* were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose, that the text before us is meant of this migration of his? And who so likely to have founded *Nineveh*, and the other cities, as himself? except we can imagine it likely, that *Nimrod* made a conquest of this country before *Asbur* had well settled himself in it. If this had been the case, the country, it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his great uncle. We elsewhere (40) read, indeed, that *Asbur*

founded *Babel*; but no-where is it even suggested, that *Nimrod* went into *Assyria*, and founded *Nineveh*.

It is objected as an improbability, that *Moses* should introduce a passage relating to a branch of *Sbcm*, when he was professedly writing about that of *Ham*; but this is frivolous. Parentheses of this sort are common enough in Scripture; as in that concerning *Mephibosheth* (41), and in that concerning *Hiram's* fleet (42) introduced in the midst of another discourse. A late author (43) affirms, the Scripture expressly calls the land of *Assyria* the land of *Nimrod*. *Bochart* shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing were really so; tho', if it was truly the case, we might cite the text in *Isaiab* in the note above, in opposition to the text in *Micab*, which seems to favour this notion. *Micab* expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrance thereof*. By this the land of *Nimrod* seems to be quite distinguished from the land of *Assyria*: so far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the *and* is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45),

(39) *Gen. x. 11.*

(40) *Isai. xxiii. 13.*

(41) *2 Sam. iv. 4.*

(42) *1 Kings x.*

(43) *Bedford, in his Script. chron. demonstr. p. 773.*

(44) *Cb. v. 6.*

(45) *Perizon. ubi sup. p. 47.*

of mutual conquests. *Asbur* departed from the land of *Shinar* upon *Nimrod's* usurpation, and built *Nineveh*, and other cities, as *Rebboth*, *Cala*, and *Resen*; in *Nineveh* it is likely he resided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which, borrowing his name, was called *Asbur*, or *Assyria*. We have nothing, therefore, to object against the antiquity of the *Assyrian* kingdom, even as delivered by *Ctesias*. But we must make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom, and the grand monarchy which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that, for reasons to be found in the ensuing section.

Govern-
ment.

BEING so destitute as we are of sufficient authorities, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages, is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related of their neighbours the *Syrians* and *Mesopotamians* (L). When,
in

¹ Genes. x. 10.

^{*} Ibid. ver. 11.

both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand thereby the two countries of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, which were both united in the *Assyrian* monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for *Manasseh*, the son of *Hezekiah*, under whom *Micah* flourished, was carried away captive to *Babylon* by the army of *Assyria*, when *Esharaddon* was king both of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46) we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his own way, and citing the text in *Isaiab*, which we think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of Chaldeans; this people was not*

till the *Assyrian* founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; takes the liberty of inserting the word *Nimrod* after the word *Assyrian*, distinguishing it by an *Italic* letter, and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is intirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with *Sir Isaac Newton* for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). *Sir Isaac Newton*, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought he might have overlooked a liberty in *Sir Isaac*, which he resolved to take himself.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard

(46) *Bedford*, ubi sup. in his preface to the reader, p. 2.
(48) In his chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 68, & 217.

(47) *Ibid.*

in after-times, they rose up to the sublimity of empire, their government seems to have been truly despotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can safely say of it.

WE have nothing to build upon, or to say in particular of their laws. They were in all likelihood few, and depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for these emperors, affecting even divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and setting themselves above all the gods of the people they vanquished P, and sometimes requiring, that none other under heaven should be worshipped but themselves Q, and even presuming to pass sentence on the whole world R by the word of their own mouth; it cannot be imagined there could be any settled form of

P 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c.
ii. ver. 2.

Q Judith iii. 8. Ibid.

to *Mesopotamia*, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when *Cushan-rishathaim* came over the *Euphrates*, and made conquest of the children of *Israel*, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years. Who this *Cushan-rishathaim* was, and how he came to be so great a king as he seems to have been at first, is a deep obscurity. But by the Scripture (50), it appears, this *Mesopotamian* kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the successes of *Othniel* against it (51). *Le Clerc* (52) observes, there is no mention made of this *Cushan-rishathaim*, in the *Ctesian* series of *Assyrian*

kings; and that, according to *Eusebius's* computation, he should have been cotemporary with *Belochus*, the nineteenth *Assyrian* king according to him (53); and though *Josephus* (54) calls him *Chusarth* king of *Assyria*, misled by the *Ctesian* history, he does not see why we should depart from Scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in the Scriptures, as the calling of this man an *Aramite* of *Mesopotamia*, if he had been an *Assyrian*. All we would add is, that this *Mesopotamian* kingdom or monarchy was but short-lived, and, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there, in the preceding part of this history, many ages afterwards (55).

(50) *Jud.* iii. (51) *Ibid.* (52) *In Judic. cap. iii. 8.*
(53) See the series of the *Assyrian* kings in the following section. (54) *Antiq. Jud. l. v. c. 3.*
(55) See vol. ii. p. 301.

law for the government of this people, except we suppose their kings to have approached so very near to the divinity they would have imperiously arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the same, which cannot be supposed.

Religion.

WE are also pretty much in the dark as to their religion: in general we know they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and temples. *Nisroch* is likely to have been their principal god, at least at one time; but *Selden* declares^r he knows nothing at all of him (M); and therefore any inquiry after so palpable an obscurity would be needless. *Nergal* was not properly, it seems, an Assyrian deity: *Adramelech* may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is said to have been represented as a mule, or a peacock (N): *Anamelech* (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as an horse, or a pheasant, or a quail^t; but these are all rabbinical dreams, and ought to be looked upon as such. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of *Babylon*, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the Scripture, and the *Jews*: the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere; and accordingly look back to the superstitions of the *Philistines*, *Syrians*, and *Phoenicians*.

^r De diis Syris, syntagm. ii. c. 10.
c. 9.

^s Vid. eund. ibid.

^t Vid. eund. ibid.

(M) All that can possibly be said of him is mere conjecture. *Beyer* (56), who takes upon him to supply, in this respect, what is wanting in *Selden*, supposes he may have been *Saturn* or *Belus*, or, with *Kircher* (57), that he was represented in the form of a ship, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we shall

have occasion to shew in the course of this history, and that of *Babylon*. He is, in the *Septuagint*, called *Mefarach* and *Alarach*.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to *Juno* (58).

(O) Both *Adramelech* and *Anamelech* are supposed to have been the same with *Moloch* (59).

(56) *In additam. Seld. syntagm. ii. cap. 10.*
(58) *Beyer. additam. ubi sup. c. 9.*
syntagm. ii. c. 9.

(57) *In panthe.*
(59) *Selaen de diis Syris,*

DERCETO (P), who, according to *Cæsius* ^a, must have been an *Assyrian* deity, has been supposed to be the *Philistine Dagon*; but we have denied it ^w, and already given the reasons for our rejecting this notion ^x; and though we have ventured to call her the goddess of *Ascalon* ^y, we considered the country then in subjection to the *Assyrians*. *Derceto*, as the *Greeks* call her (what her *Assyrian* name may have been, we cannot guess), is plainly an *Assyrian* deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in subjection to a goddess our author ^z calls *Venus*, who may have been the *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis* ^a, or the *Phœnician Astarte* on mount *Aphac* ^b. Thus we conjecture; but this *Assyrian Venus* will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of *Babylon*, which was doubtless the same with that of *Assyria*, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by *Ptolemy*, who calls the kings of *Babylon*, in his astronomical canon, *Assyrians*. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the *Assyrians* ^c, and *Syrians* ^d, paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess *Derceto*, of *Ascalon*, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort ^e; and that they honoured *Semiramis* in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either because she was nursed by them when exposed after her birth ^f, or because they attended her at her death, when it is fabled, she was changed into a bird of that sort ^g; which is all we can say of the *Assyrian* religion, without repeating what we have said before ^h.

THEIR customs, arts, learning, and trade, must certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what will *be found of the same concerning the Babylonians*; so that *their customs, arts, &c.*

^a Apud DIODOR. SIC. l. ii.

^w See vol. ii. p. 222.

^x Ibid. in the notes.

^y Ibid. in the text, p. 223.

^z DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii.

^a See vol. ii. p. 283.

^b Ibid. p. 338, note (N).

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

^d See vol. ii. p. 286.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Idem ibid.

^h See vol. ii. p.

285.

(P) She is called by other names, as *Adergatis*, *Atargatis*, *Atergatis*, and the like; but we shall forbear saying any further of her till we come to treat of the *Babylonian Venus*.

we shall suspend what might be gathered in relation there-
to, till we come to the *Babylonian* affairs, only referring
Their lan- the reader back to the language of *Syria*, and the alpha-
guage and bet of the *Syrian* character, for the language and character
alphabet. of this people, which we have declared to have been the
same ⁱ.

S E C T. III.

*Of the ASSYRIAN Chronology, to the Fall of the
Empire.*

WE shall doubtless be excused, if we are very ample,
and even diffuse, in our researches after the *Assyrian*
chronology, it being not only of the greatest importance
towards the fixing the chronology of antient kingdoms,
but also for vindicating the authority of Scripture, which
is quite averse to the common profane account.

The causes BUT first we would premise, that the causes which
why the may have induced or misled historians so to err, when
antient they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently
profane hi- two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance must have
story is so principally proceeded from the loss of records, and the
monstrously neglect of the earliest people of the more antient nations,
corrupt and to keep any sort of register of what concerned them.
false, in The world was peopled by succession, and the progress of
what re- wealth, power, and learning, was gradual, taking rise in
gards As- the more early parts; so that nothing is more natural to
syria, &c. assert, than that some nations began to keep records before
others were in being.

SOME nations there were, who never kept any records
at all, as may have been the case of the *Scythians*, and as
appears by their contest with the *Egyptians* for antiquity ^k;
and those who did, could not possibly do it at once, or
from the beginning, for want of letters, and other mate-
rial conveniences; and besides, supposing them to have
been ever so early in a condition to register their affairs,
they could for a long time have had nothing worth pre-
serving, and much less reading. The first ages must
have been employed in husbandry, and providing for the
necessities of life; mankind increasing into multitudes,
and nations growing populous, contests, it is likely, arose
among them about property and dominion; and these

ⁱ See vol. ii. p. 293, 294.^k JUST. 1. 2. c. 1.

broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing else. In short, we must suppose the world to have been in a calm of peace, and some nations to have made great progress in learning, before we can, with any reason, suppose any historical monuments, truly such, to have been taken in hand; and, ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the rise of themselves, may have been quite perverted, or totally lost.

BUT, supposing there may have been other nations besides the *Jews*, who had preserved their primitive traditions entire, they may have perished by various means. These nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been destroyed by the malice, or, what is the same, the zeal of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predecessors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by posterity; of a humour with that *Chinese* emperor, who reigned about 209 years before Christ^o; or perhaps, to establish an æra, as *Nabonassar* P.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular descent of history to us; though wars, whether foreign or domestic, must have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been almost ever the policy of conquerors to destroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquished may formerly have been; as also to remove all monuments, which, by the sight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors also there have been, who were moved merely by ignorance or superstition to do the same; as may be observed of the *Mohammedans*, wherever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be said, that the *Romans* were, in this respect, favourable to the *Greeks*, we do not understand, that these last were over and above indulgent to those they conquered, the *Egyptians* excepted, whom they may have spared for the same reasons they themselves were spared by the *Romans*; because they beheld them as their masters in literature and knowledge.

IF then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder why the antiquities of the several parts of the world are so utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, so deeply involved in fable.

^o MARTIN. hist. Sinic. l. vi. p. 239. COUPL. tab. chron. Sinic. p. 17.

^P SYNCCELL. p. 207.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldees*, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the *Mosaical* writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the *Chaldeans*, from whom the *Jews* were descended. But this *Babylonian* account has been long since destroyed, and absurd traditions, and ridiculous tales, have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by *Josephus* † it was greatly to be valued.

FOR 'us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote history of nations, they should, from the beginning, have communicated their records with each other; and the historians of every country should have been as sedulous in collecting and digesting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms and states, and actions they knew, as of their own: and in this case nothing but an universal ruin could have made the desolation their succeeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be observed by those who are conversant in very ancient transactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be said to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A COUNTRY no sooner began to flourish and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increased with its splendor and prosperity; and presently it could admit of no competitor, but must look on all its neighbours round with contempt; this begets a national pride, than which nothing is so unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reason and good sense, and nothing, in the main, so destructive to the peace and happiness of mankind. And this vanity, added to the complete ignorance of what has past in the preceding ages, has been productive of the monstrous births, which are a reproach to history.

WE might point out many glaring instances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining of; but shall on this head just touch upon the *Greeks*, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the ancient profane history, confining ourselves to what at present is before us, till we have occasion to resume them hereafter. They, we may aver

† Contr, Apion.

of them, were more infected with this folly or vanity, or at least as much as any nation that has ever subsisted. It is plain they despised the history of all other nations besides their own, never concerning themselves therewith any farther than it interfered with themselves; and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preserve any thing to us by way of information.

AND this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their fighting, and even destroying, the *Persian* records, when they became masters of that empire; no one of their historians, that we know of, ever consulting them to complete a series of the *Persian* affairs: nor was there a nation they were solicitous about but the *Egyptians*, who affected a deep silence, and cared not to satisfy their curiosity. Some of the *Greeks* indeed, whose good sense got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as *Eratosthenes*, *Hecateus* the *Abderite*, *Menander* the *Ephesian*, may be quoted, as exceptions to what we have been saying, as well as some foreigners, such as *Berosus*, *Manetho*, and some others, who were encouraged to write the histories of their respective countries for the use of the *Greeks*. But all this only adds weight to the guilt of that assuming people. It is plain, they did not in the least regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor so much as one *Greek* that had made any large extracts from them, if we except *Josephus*, and the *Christian* chronologers, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Synellus*, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiously faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they seem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with history, though their own, but themselves; as may be seen by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, in writing of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, never mentions a word of *Berosus* and *Manetho*, preferring his own crude indigestions, to any thing in them. And so, with regard to *Assyria*, instead of resorting to such as might truly inform him, he takes *Ctesias* for his guide, a most fabulous writer, as will be amply demonstrated in the course of this section: but, being a *Greek*, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his history has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have suffered the fate which *Ctesias* and *Diodorus* had deserved; the fate which *Trogus* has undergone, who, by his epitomiser, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like most of our moderns, who, for what concerns the *Mohammedan* history, consult the *Byzantine* historians; or, by listening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endless errors they might have avoided, by looking into the translations and extracts the learned would furnish them with, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point; there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages past been no more: of this number are, the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Lydians*. Their records and their historians have long since been annihilated. The *Greeks*, by a vain negligence and insolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the *Jews* excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reasons to be hereafter subjoined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the *Assyrians*. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But, as our design is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, as *Marsham*, *Newton*, *Cellararius*, *Montfaucon*, *Du Pin*, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

A TABLE of the successions of the ASSYRIAN kings, according to Eusebius and Syncellus.

According to <i>Eusebius</i> .					According to <i>Syncellus</i> .	
*	*	*	*	*		
					Years.	Years.
1	<i>Ninus</i>	reigned	- -	52	1	<i>Belus</i> reigned - - 55
2	<i>Semiramis</i>	- -	- -	42	2	<i>Ninus</i> - - - 52
3	<i>Zameis</i> , or <i>Ninyas</i>	- -	- -	38	3	<i>Semiramis</i> - - - 42
4	<i>Arius</i>	- - - -	- -	30	4	<i>Ninyas</i> , or <i>Zames</i> 38
5	<i>Aralius</i>	- - - -	- -	40	5	<i>Arius</i> - - - - 30
6	<i>Xerxes</i> , or <i>Baleus</i>	- -	- -	30	6	<i>Aralius</i> - - - - 40
7	<i>Armamitres</i>	- -	- -	38	7	<i>Xerxes</i> - - - - 30
8	<i>Bel-ochus</i>	- - -	- -	35	8	<i>Armamitres</i> - - - 38
9	<i>Bal-cus</i>	- -	- -	52	9	<i>Belochus</i> - - - 35
10	<i>Altadas</i>	- -	- -	32	10	<i>Baleus</i> - - - - 52
11	<i>Mamirus</i>	- -	- -	30	11	<i>Sethos</i> - - - - 32
12	<i>Manchaleus</i>	- -	- -	32	12	<i>Mamyrbus</i> - - - 30
13	<i>Sphærus</i>	- -	- -	20	13	<i>Aschalius</i> - - - 28
					14	<i>Sphærus</i> - - - - 22

Ma-

C. VIII. *The History of the Assyrians.*

According to <i>Eusebius.</i>				According to <i>Syncellus.</i>			
		Years.				Years.	
14	<i>Mamitus</i>	- - -	30	15	<i>Mamylus</i>	- - -	30
15	<i>Sparetus</i>	- - -	40	16	<i>Spartheus</i>	- - -	42
16	<i>Aftacadis</i>	- - -	40	17	<i>Aftarades</i>	- - -	38
17	<i>Amyntes</i>	- - -	45	18	<i>Amyntes</i>	- - -	45
18	<i>Belochus</i> (Q)	-	25	19	<i>Belochus</i>	- - -	25
(R)							
19	<i>Bellepares</i>	- - -	30	20	<i>Belatores</i>	- - -	30
20	<i>Lamprides</i>	- - -	32	21	<i>Lamprides</i>	- - -	30
21	<i>Sofares</i>	- - -	20	22	<i>Sofares</i>	- - -	20
22	<i>Lampares</i>	- - -	30	23	<i>Lamphraes</i>	- - -	30
23	<i>Panyas</i>	- - -	45	24	<i>Panyas</i>	- - -	45
24	<i>Sofarmus</i>	- - -	19	25	<i>Sofarmus</i>	- - -	22
25	<i>Mitreus</i>	- - -	27	26	<i>Mitræus</i>	- - -	27
26	<i>Tautanes</i> (S)	-	32	27	<i>Teutamus, or Tautanes</i> (T)	- - -	32
27	<i>Teuteus</i>	- - -	40	28	<i>Teucus</i>	- - -	44
	* * * * *			29	<i>Arapelus</i>	- - -	42
	* * * * *			30	<i>Chalauis</i>	- - -	45
	* * * * *			31	<i>Anebus</i>	- - -	38
	* * * * *			32	<i>Babios</i> (V)	- - -	37
							28 <i>Thi-</i>

(Q) Or *Bolochus*; he had a daughter called *Atossa*, as also *Semiramis*, who reigned with him twelve years (60).

(R) *Bion* and *Alexander Polyhistor* (61) divide this series of kings into two dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasm. This *Belochus*, who finishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors (62) *Belleus* the *Dercetad*; and in him, say they, the race of *Semiramis* became extinct; when *Beletaras*, *Beletores*, or *Bellepares*, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under *Sardanapalus*. The first dynasty of these kings,

then, ending with *Belochus*, must be called *Dercetadae*, from *Derceto*, the mother of *Semiramis* (63).

(S) According to *Eusebius* (64), under this king *Troy* was taken.

(T) *Syncellus* (65) transcribes the same from *Eusebius* in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world 4124.

(V) Though *Syncellus*, in the note above, seems to agree with *Eusebius*, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of *Affyria* when *Troy* was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the *Greeks* called *Tithon*, the father of that *Memnon*, who was by his father sent an auxi-

(60) *Euseb. Pampb. chronic. lib. poster. p. 30.*

lib. ii. pag. 63.

(62) *Ibid.*

(64) *Ubi supra, p. 90.*

(65) *Cronograph. p. 151.*

(61) *Apud Agath.*

(63) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.*

(66) *Ibid. p. 125.*

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
28	Thibaneus - - -	33	* * * * *
29	Dercylus - - -	34	Dercylus - - -
30	Eupales - - -	35	Enpacmes - - -
31	Laosthenes - - -	36	Laosthenes - - -
32	Pyriatides - - -	37	Pertiades - - -
33	Ophrateus - - -	38	Ophrateus - - -
34	Ophratenes - - -	39	Ephceres - - -
35	Ocraxapes - - -	40	Acraganes - - -
36	Tonos Concoleros, } by the Greeks, } Sardanapalus }	41	Tonos Concoleros 15
Total - 1240		Total - 1460	

liary against the Greeks, and fell by the hand of Achilles. He tells us the copy of a letter from Priam to him was handed about in his time; and also, that he was called Tautanes the Second. This story is borrowed from Ctesias (67), who calls this king Teutamus, with Syncellus, but makes him a distinct person from Tithon the father of Memnon. This romantic author [Ctesias] tells us, he sent 10,000 Ethiopians, with as many Susians, people widely distant from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king Priam, who was his tributary. Tithon, according to this same author, was at that time governor of Persia, in high favour with the king;

and his son Memnon, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of Susa, which retained the name of Memnonia to the times of the Persians, and had paved a public way, which preserved his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68), the Ethiopians next to Egypt denied all this story; and pretended Memnon was their countryman, and made shew of his palace, which, in our author's days, they continued to call Memnonia. More is said in contradiction to Ctesias's story: but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head; and therefore drop the subject for the present.

(67) Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. bibl. l. ii. p. 77. *ibid.*

(68) *Vid. eund.*

A TABLE of the successions of the ASSYRIAN kings, according to the canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this history.

According to Scripture.	According to this history.
1 <i>Pul.</i>	1 <i>Pul.</i>
2 <i>Tiglathpileser.</i>	2 <i>Tiglathpilesar.</i>
3 <i>Shalmaneser.</i>	3 <i>Shalmaneser.</i>
4 <i>Sennacherib.</i>	4 <i>Sennacherib.</i>
5 <i>Affar-baddon.</i>	5 <i>Affar-baddon.</i>
* * * * *	6 <i>Saosducheus, or Nabu- chadonosor.</i>
* * * * *	7 <i>Chyniladan, or Sarac.</i>
* * * * *	

It is surprizing how many sagacious and inquisitive *The first* men, historians and chronologers, both in antient and *table.* modern times, have blindly given into the errors, and general forgery, of the first table. To reconcile it with Scripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raised such hypotheses as are contradictory to all history sacred and profane, though at the same time nothing is easier than to detect the whole imposture, so gross and palpable it seems to be. The two lists, which form this first table, are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one formed by *Ctesias*, who concluded his history of the *Assyrians* with a list of kings from *Ninus* to *Artaxerxes* ¹. *Castor* copied him, who was again copied by *Eusebius* ²; and *Eusebius* begins, as *Ctesias* had taught him, with *Ninus*, while *Syncellus*, on the other hand, begins with *Belus*, and assigns him a reign of fifty-five years, though *Castor* ³, whom in this he follows, declares the length of *Belus's* reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; *Syncellus* has in his list four kings, which are wanting in that of *Eusebius*, and which are no-where else to be met with: whence this might arise, we shall forbear to inquire (W); and

¹ PHOT. bibliot. p. 134. tmemat. 72. Vid. etiam DIODOR. SIC. l. xiv. ² Vid. MARSHAM, can. chron. secul. 17. de regib. Assy. ³ Apud SYNCCELL. p. 206.

(W) Though it may be in ing interpolation of no less than
vain to inquire after this seem- four kings in *Syncellus*, we may
offer

and the rather, as we shall endeavour, with the concurrence of several great men before-mentioned, to destroy the whole on both sides; but first we would observe, that *Syncellus* exceeds all the rest in the number of years he allows for the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; for while *St. Augustin* ^u allows it but 1305, *Castor* 1280, *Eusebius* 1240, *Velleius* 1070, *Syncellus* gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author *Ctesias*, and his two transcribers *Diodorus* and *Trogus*, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from *Ctesias*, and lengthened and shortened apparently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to inquire what foundation he builds upon, whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falsehood. *Aristotle*, who was almost his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit; and whoever peruses his *Indica*, must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sincerity: *Aristotle* was not the only one of the antients that has declared against him; nor are his *Indica* the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character much better established than it is, his list of the *Assyrian* kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire; nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them ^w; and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in *India* as never were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, Might not *Ctesias* as well forge his *Assyrian* history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in *India*? And might not we as justly suspect him of falsehood, when he pretends to have compiled his history

^u De civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 20.

^w DU PIN's histor. biblio.

th. des histor. p. 284.

offer it as an argument to prove the unsettledness of the whole series. It was certainly a vague period of history; and, from the variations of it, may be shrewdly suspected of being raised upon no sure foundation, upon no such solid basis as

truth. As the whole must have been a fable, those who treated of it used it as such, by altering it as they thought fit; or else we cannot see why the several authors and transcribers should not agree together in essentials, which we find they do not.

from

from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal man alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the *Indies*, and his history of the *Assyrians*, are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see *Ninus* at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this without arraigning the historian of falsehood and forgery? Or who can read his story of *Semiramis*; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of *Babylon*; her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature; and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his *Assyrian* history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the *Assyrian* kings of the grossest forgery, is, that it is a medley of *Greek*, *Persian*, *Egyptian*, and other names. *Sphærus*, *Lamprides*, *Laosthenes*, *Dercylus*, are *Greek* names, and very common ones. *Amyntas* is the name of a king of *Macedon*; *Arius* is the name of a king of *Sparta*. *Piritiades* is regularly, as should seem, formed from *pyritis*, a medicinal herb, which *Ctesias*, as a physician, must have been well acquainted with. *Xerxes*, *Armanithres*, *Mitbræus*, are *Persian* names. *Sofarmus*, according to himself, is the name of a king of the *Medes*, which how it should have happened, may not be so very unaccountable, considering the empire passed from the *Assyrians* to the *Medes*; but how *Sethos*, the name of an *Egyptian* king, should also have been the name of an *Assyrian*, is what we are wholly at a loss for. Nothing is more obvious to those who have dived into genuine history, and especially the Scripture, than the wide difference between the *Assyrian* names and the *Persian*, and the still wider between the same and the *Greek*; so that nothing can be said in his behalf, except that he translated some of the original names, which is absolutely false; nay, he is confessedly so ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the *Assyrian* names, how they were pronounced or uttered; so far was he from knowing how they were compounded,

pounded, and whence they were formed; a most glaring instance of which will be seen anon.

AGAIN, in all long lists of kings, the same names, or some such, are observed often to return; and this is nowhere more remarkable than in the five names of the *Assyrian* kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of Scripture. *Pul*, or *Phul*, *Tiglath-pileser*, or *Tiglath-pul-assur*, *Sbalmaneser*, or *Shalman-assur*, *Esaraddon*, or *Assur-baddon*. For the *Assyrians*, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods*, or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. These gods seem to have been *Bel*, or *Pul*, *Chaddon*, *Hadon*, *Adon*, or *Adonis*, *Melech*, or *Moloch*, *Asur*, or *Assur*, *Nebo*, *Nergal*, *Mero-dach*; as for instance in the following, besides the names above, *Adra-melech*, *Sbar-assur*, *Nabonassar*, or *Nebo-adon-assur*, *Bel-adon*, *Chyniadan*, or *Cben-el-adon*, *Nebo-pul-assur*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nabuchadonosor*, or *Nebo-chaddon-assur*, *Nebuzaradan*, or *Nebo-assur-adon*, *Evil-merodach*, or *Ilvoradamus*, and many more that might be brought to illustrate this point. After this, who can forbear rejecting the wild and arbitrary names in *Ctesias*? who is so ignorant, as to suppose *Sardanapalus* to have been the Greek name for the last *Assyrian* king, though so naturally derivable from *Assur-adon-pul*, while he pretends his *Assyrian* name to have been *Tonos Concoleros*, a name which bears no manner of relation to the *Assyrian* language, or any other that we at present are aware of; a name most evidently coined to amuse and catch the ear.

IF in seven *Assyrian* names, all that are mentioned in the canon of Scripture, five of them belonging to so many kings, and two to the two sons of *Sennacherib*, there appear such similitude and near relation, would not the same, in all likelihood, have been often repeated, with some variation, in a long list of 36 of them, according to *Eusebius*, or 41 according to *Syncellus*? but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be observed; the names of all are different and independent, except in a case or two; and to crown all, in neither is there a single name belonging to any of the *Assyrian* kings in Scripture. To suppose these names unknown to the *Greeks*, would be next to supposing they were perfect strangers to the *Assyrian* affairs; and so all that *Ctesias* has written, and others after him, would fall self-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very safely contradict; they were actually

* Vid. SELDEN. de diis Syr.

known to the *Greeks*, or the most curious of them, and particularly to *Herodotus*, who, though he mentions but one king of *Assyria*, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, *Sennacherib*; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that, had he completed the history of *Assyria* he promised, we should have read the names of the rest of the *Assyrian* kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his conforming with Scripture, in the names of several of the *Egyptian* kings: in consideration of which, and the contradictory writings of *Ctesias*, it may be justly wondered, why *Herodotus* should labour under so much obloquy and contempt with many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of *Ctesias*, though obvious to every sense, are swallowed, and received for granted, even though he in every particular clashes with Scripture, while the former confirms it, where-ever he happens to speak of things there handed down to us. A monstrous partiality some of the best and most religious of us have been guilty of; a partiality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf, but ignorance, and want of discernment!

THE great antiquity of the *Assyrian* empire may also be urged against *Ctesias*, and particularly, as he writes in direct opposition to the Scripture. *Ninus*, according to him, must have reigned before the days of *Abraham*, and conquered *Persia*, *Media*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, and all *Asia*; and his wife *Semiramis*, his immediate successor, adds *Libya* and *Ethiopia* thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of *Genesis*? The *Canaanites* were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after *Abraham*; the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Midianites*, the *Edomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Philistines*, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword of *Israel*. *Egypt* seemingly enjoyed a profound peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till *Sennacherib*, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards *Egypt* with design to invade it. In proof of all this, we need only refer to the histories of these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that no *Assyrian* enemy was in these parts for many ages after the pretended dates of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*; and that all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* were free also from any subjection to *Assyria*, may be as plainly proved.

THE Syrian monarchy was confessedly older than the *Assyrian*, and extended on both sides of the *Euphrates*, under *Haddadezer* king of *Zobah*; and rose afterwards to its meridian under the race of the *Damascene* kings, and particularly in the days of *Benhadad* and *Hazael*^y: these ruled a mighty empire. Where then were the *Assyrian* monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their power? *David*, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this side the *Euphrates*^z, and had no *Assyrian* to dispute the honour with him. The *Phœnicians* continued in independence and freedom, till the days of *Shalmaneser*, who was set at defiance by the *Tyrians*^a, though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of *Judea*, *Syria*, and *Phœnice*, and you will perceive no glimpse of an *Assyrian* monarchy till the days of *Pul*.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of *Ctesias*, and therewith the first table of the *Assyrian* kings from *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the *Assyrian* empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of *Syria*, and the neighbouring countries, it appears, the *Assyrians* had no power in the western parts of *Asia* till the reign of *Pul*, who made his first appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, in the decline of the kingdom of *Damascus*: what they had before that time done in the east, does no-where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by *Pul*, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer home, is not to be doubted. The *Assyrian* monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of *Menahem*; and this is not only to be demonstrated by Scripture, and *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon, but by several of the most unexceptionable profane writers.

HERODOTUS¹, that venerable and much injured historian, observes, that the *Assyrians* had been masters of the *Upper Asia* 520 years, when the *Medes* threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the *Scythians* ruled *Asia*. These two sums, added together, amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*; which

^y Vol. ii. p. 302. ^z Ibid. p. 249, & seqq. ^a MENAN. apud Joseph. antiq. Jud. l. iv. c. 14. Vol. ii. p. 371. ¹ L. i. c. 95.

being added to the epoch of *Cyrus* before *Christ*, which is universally stated at 559 years, will make 1220, the whole interval between the first rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy and the birth of *Christ*, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common profane accounts; though it will exceed the æra of *Nabonassar* by 458 years; and therefore *Herodotus's* numbers, as they stand with us, are doubtless too long, though so much short of those of *Ctesias*, and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that *Herodotus's* computation is not above 200 years later than the days of *Chusban-rishathaim*, king of *Mesopotamia*, or *Aram-Nabaraim*, who kept the children of *Israel* in subjection for the space of eight years, till they were delivered from him by *Othniel*^m. In what sense this *Chusban-rishathaim* may have been considered as an *Assyrian*; we take not upon us to say; but it is certain that he was not, properly speaking, of that nation, seeing he is in Scriptureⁿ called a *Mesopotamian*, and seeing we might with as much justice call *Chedorlaomer* an *Assyrian*, though he is expressly said to have been an *Elamite* or *Persian*: and this care in the sacred penman, thus to distinguish the men, who, from the beginning, made inroads upon the countries on this side the *Euphrates*, expressly saying the first was an *Elamite*, the second a *Mesopotamian*, and expressly calling *Pul* an *Assyrian*, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of *Assyria*: but that *Herodotus* should not be quite exact in his date; will not perhaps be wondered at by those who rightly consider what we have urged in the former part of this section.

AGAIN, *Herodotus* tells us^o, that *Semiramis*, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus*^p, or *Ctesias* rather, was the wife of *Ninus*, was but five generations before *Nitocris*, the mother of *Labyntus* [*Nabonadius*] the last king of *Babylon*: as five generations, by the largest computation, cannot exceed 200 years^q, she may have been the wife of some one of the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon, and perhaps of *Nabonassar* himself.

FOR these reasons is *Herodotus* much to be relied on; and for the same are we much to regret the loss of his history of *Assyria*, if he ever published it. He actually travelled into the country, and conversed with the natives;

^m Jud. c. iii. ver. 8. ⁿ Ibid. & ver. 10. ^o Ubi sup. c. 184.
^p L. ii. p. 67. ^q MARSH. can. Chron. p. 522.

which though a late author^r makes slight of, presuming the inhabitants might be mistaken themselves, and consequently lead him into errors; yet it must be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of *Herodotus*, since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

HE is supported and followed by some of the best among the antients. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*^s takes notice, that the *Assyrian* antiquities are run up into fable; that, though the monarchy was antient, it did not extend over a very great part of *Asia*; and that it was not so potent as the empire of the *Medes*, which arose upon its ruins. *Appian*^t affirms the duration of the three empires, the *Assyrian*, the *Median*, and the *Persian*, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which, being added to 336, the epoch of *Alexander* before CHRIST, will remove the rise of the *Assyrian* monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before CHRIST, which will exceed the chronology of *Herodotus* above, by no more than seven years; upon which, we cannot but wonder St. *Jerom*^u, who follows *Ctesias*, should roundly assert, that *Ninus* was the first that ruled over all *Asia*, and that all the *Greeks*, as well as the *Barbarians*, were of the same mind.

SUCH are the sentiments of the most judicious of the profane historians, concerning the duration of the *Assyrian* monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of *Homer* on their side, who, in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when *Troy* was besieged, is quite silent as to any *Assyrian* monarch, though after the rate *Ctesias* reckons, that ten years war was waged within the *Assyrian* dominions.

BY what we have said against the first table of the *Assyrian* kings, according to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second, according to Scripture and this history, it must appear to an attentive reader, that the *Assyrian* monarchy is of late date, in comparison of what has been imagined; even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in Scripture that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; the rather, as *Ptolemy's* canon reduces the *Assyrian* æra very near the bounds

^r BEDFORD, in his Script. chronol. p. 774.

E. I.

^s In præfat. p. 5.

^u In Hoseam, c. ii.

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of Scripture-history. For, though *Pul* himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

To fix the exact æra of the *Assyrian* monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of *Pul's* first appearance on this side of the *Euphrates*, which was about the second year of *Menahem*, twenty-four years before the æra of *Nabonassar*, 1577 years after the flood, and 771 years before CHRIST.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The texts of Scripture, which give us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relate to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drop us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the *Apocrypha*, and *Ptolemy's* canon, for the successors of the great *Esarhaddon*. The book of *Judith* so very nicely corresponds with *Herodotus*, in what he says of the war between the declining *Assyrians*, and the rising *Medes*, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and seeing the reign of *Nabuchadonosor* most naturally coincides with that of *Saosducheus*, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king: as for *Sarac*, which name we borrow from *Polyhistor*^x, and whom we also call *Chyniladon* and *Sardanapalus*, from a similitude of his story and unhappy end in the same historian, with what is related thereof by *Ctesias*, we must confess ourselves considerably in the dark, as we may note hereafter in the body of our *Assyrian* history. In the mean time it may be objected to us, that *Polyhistor* is a follower of *Ctesias*, and as such we have considered him; but we answer, with *Sir Isaac Newton*^y, That there may be something of truth at the bottom of the *Ctesian* history, as there uses to be in romances; as that *Nineveh* was destroyed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*.

^x Apud SYNCELL.
amended, p. 267.

^y Chronolog. of ant. kingdoms

But

But whence it is, that we have no such name as *Sarrac* in the *Nabonassar* canon, we shall here forbear to inquire; seeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore, since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the *Assyrian* monarchy, we here conclude this section.

S E C T. IV.

The history of ASSYRIA, according to Ctesias of Chidos, and his followers.

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery and falsehood, yet, as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and, as we may say, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensable obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is with great solemnity, and all possible confidence, handed down to us. *Ninus* (X), a prince of martial genius, and immense ambition,

(X) We will not take upon us to say, there never was such a king as *Ninus*, or as his pretended predecessor *Belus*; but, it is very likely, these names were forged by the *Greeks*, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, *Nineveh*, and *Babel*, or *Babylon*. However; thus far we know; he cannot have been *Nimrod*, or *Asbur* rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69); and therefore it is impossible *Ninus* should have been the first king. We would do all we safely could to reconcile the sacred history with the pro-

fane; and will allow with several, that *Nimrod* may be *Belus*, and *Asbur*, *Ninus*; or let *Nimrod*, as others (70) think, be the son of *Belus* (whom they will have to be *Cush*), and *Ninus* the son of *Nimrod*; but then let their works and exploits be suitable with the early times they lived in, not such as we read of in *Diodorus Siculus* (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and cost; let them reign agreeably to the state of things in the first ages, without pomp, without luxury; let them wage war, but

(69) See before, p. 250.
(71) *Biblioth. histor.* l. ii.

(70) *Petav. de doctr. temp.*

bition, resolved to make a conquest of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them: with this view he assembled together the most robust of the youth in his dominions, diligently trained them up to the exercise of arms, inured them to hardship and labour, and fitted them for war ^z (Y).

BEING now in a condition to execute his ambitious designs, but apprehending he might be stopped in his career by the *Arabians*, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league with *Ariæus* their king; whereby, if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But *Ariæus*, joined him, and marched with him

^z Apud DIODOR. SICUL. bibliot. histor. l. ii. p. 90—95.

let it be in their neighbourhood, not in far distant countries; with a few thousands under their command, not with millions; with undisciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained soldiers.

(Y) We cannot forbear thinking, that the whole story of *Ninus* is, with some variation, a copy of that of the great *Egyptian Sesostris* (72); and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the same person; for *Tixetxes* (73) expressly calls *Sesostris* king of *Assyria*, and observes he is the same *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Sesoofis* (74); that he was monarch of the *Assyrians*; that he ruled over all lands; and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In short, he at length relates the story we have upon

the same occasion told of the *Egyptian Sesostris* (75), without the least variation, except that he calls him an *Assyrian*.

The parallel is plain; *Amenophis* trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exercises of war, to serve under his son in the conquests foretold of him (76); *Ninus* does here the same, and with the same intent, except that those he trained were designed to serve under himself.

(Z) It is made an objection to the *Ctesian* history of *Assyria*, that it introduces a king of the *Arabians* before the *Arabians* were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of *Ishmael* the son of *Abraham*: but this cannot hold good; for the country was before planted by *Joktan* (78). But what is more

(72) See vol. ii. p. 47. Herodot. p. 676.

(76) *Ibid.* p. 52—59. *univ. des histor.* p. 286.

(73) *Cbil.* 3. v. 83. *ad calc. edit. Gal.*

(74) See vol. vi. p. 47.

(75) *Ibid.* & seq.

(77) *Bern. Montfauc. apud Du Pin. biblioth.*

(78) See vol. i. p. 381, 382.

him into *Babylonia* (A). The city of *Babylon*, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unskilled

martial and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these antient *Arabians*, How it was they were in *Ninus's* days so famed for war, and love of liberty? How came *Ninus* to know this? We understand by this history, that *Ninus* was the first that invaded the rights of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these *Arabians* had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, *Ninus* was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that *Sesoftris* king of *Egypt* subdued the *Arabians* (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and *Ninus* is interrupted. But is *Sesoftris* older in these parts than *Ninus*? Our author (80) insinuates, that he is not. According to profane authors, they must have been nearly of an age. Now, if *Sesoftris* conquered the *Arabians*, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not. *Justin* (81) reckons them the two first that disturbed the peace of the world in *Asia*. If *Asia* had been free from war till the days of *Ninus*, and if he

was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the *Arabians* must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if *Ninus* was later than *Sesoftris*, and if this last actually subdued the *Arabians*, what had *Ninus* to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such absurdities should ever have passed with men for history: they scarce deserve the name of a romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(A) If *Ninus* resided in the country we now call *Assyria*, and if this mighty *Arabian Ariæus* ruled over the country we now call *Arabia*, he could not with more conveniences have joined his *Assyrian* friend, than by marching through the kingdom of *Babylon*. Now, if these *Babylonians* had been so feeble as here represented, our warlike *Arab* might have subdued them in his march, and made a present of them and their country to *Ninus*, upon their first greeting; and the rather, because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(79) See vol. ii. p. 59.
i. c. 1.

(80) *Diador. Sicul.* l. ii.

(81) *Lib.*

in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to the aspiring *Ninus*, who imposed on them an annual tribute; and carried

(B) Why the *Babylonians* should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the *Arabians* should have been so particularly versed therein. If the *Arabian* had been what he is represented,* it is very strange the *Babylonian* should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we must observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what has been said in the note next above, the *Arabians* must have been famous warriors, before the *Assyrians* themselves were acquainted with that art; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose, that the *Babylonians*, who lay between them, should have improved themselves in the art of war before the *Assyrians*; and that for several reasons, and particularly because it behoved them to be on their guard against such an enemy as the *Arabian*. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse; the *Babylonians* knew nothing of the art of war, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the *Arabians* were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour the

king of *Assyria*; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge; and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the *Babylonian* kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of *Babel* (83); and the people to have been a warlike and enterprising nation, so early as the days of *Abraham*, when we read of a king of *Sbinar* or *Babylon* making excursions upon the *Canaanites* and others in company with the king of *Elam* (84). This *Babylonian* king was plainly a warrior; and, according to computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than *Ninus*. The city of *Bactra* was, we find by our author, so strongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But *Babylon*, it seems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province, and its more antient cities, were subdued at once. How this agrees with the Scripture, we leave the reader to judge; it flatly contradicts it; as may be more amply observed hereafter.

(82) *Cres. apud. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supr.*
(84) *Genes. xiv.*

(83) *Sec. vol. i. p. 323.*

carried away their king, and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon *Armenia* with a mighty hand, bore down all before him, and struck such a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king *Barzanes* himself waited on him with rich gifts, and made submission to him; which had this effect, that *Ninus* courteously left him in possession of his kingdom of *Armenia*; but upon this condition, that he should be to him as a vassal, and serve him in his wars, whenever he should require it (D). Encouraged thus to proceed, he makes an attempt upon *Media*, and overthrows its king *Pharnus*, though at the head of a mighty army. Most of the army of the *Medes* he slew: the king himself was taken prisoner, together with his wife and seven children, and crucified ^a (E).

AND

^a Apud eund. ibid.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expose the absurdity of this position; but though the *Babylonians* should have been more ignorant in war than the nations around them, it must have been because they had never known what war was. In this case, it must be supposed their neighbours, not excepting any, must have been as ignorant therein as themselves. One warlike nation always makes another.

(C) What this prince should have done to provoke *Ninus* to use him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at; but it is plain he could give him no great offence; his weakness and inactivity seem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the *Assyrian*; and that these were the crimes he suffered for, may be unnatural to suppose. In a word, it seems to have been the first thing that came uppermost, and to have been said at a venture; perhaps for variety-sake.

(D) This king of *Armenia*, it is plain, at first, made some resistance; but, finding himself unequal to his adversary, submits to be his vassal; and, in consideration of this, his life is spared. This looks as if he not only resisted at first, but made terms for himself afterwards; or we cannot possibly perceive why he should be suffered to live, any more than the apparently innocent and inoffensive king of *Babylon*; whose case, if true, must have redounded much to the dishonour of this new conqueror; and, if not, must reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero so cruel and undistinguishing a man; so that here *Ninus* does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is generally proposed for a pattern of true justice, and magnanimous prowess.

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in respect to the resistance made by those three nations that

AND now he must make himself master of all *Asia* between the *Tanais* and the *Nile*; and that he might, with the more safety, enter upon this enterprize, he commits to an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conquest, *Media*, while he marches away against the other provinces of *Asia*, which, in seventeen years time, he reduced, all but *Bactria* and *India*. The number of the nations he subdued, it seems, are no-where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one described and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himself master of the sea-coasts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cilicia*, *His con-*
Pamphylia, *Lycia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Troas*, *quests.*
and *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont*, the *Propontis*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, together with the barbarous nations from *Pontus* to the *Tanais*; the *Caddusians*, *Tapyrians*, *Hyrca-*
nians, *Dacians*, *Derbicians*, *Carmanians*, *Choramneans*, *Borchanians*, and *Partbians*, not excepting *Persia*, the *Susiana*, and what was called *Caspiana*, which he penetrated by the passes called the *Caspian Streights* (F). Other nations

that were first attacked, upon the supposition, that the world in those days knew not what war was. The *Babylonians*, who were first attacked, make no resistance at all: the *Armenians*, whose turn was next, make some faint shew of resistance; and now the *Medes*, who come third in turn, resist indeed. For here we find they had regular armies in the field to cope with *Ninus*; and a most bloody battle is fought. *Pharnus*, according to this, must have made a very extraordinary progress in the art of war, and must have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vassal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and so he is put to death, with all his family. But this *Mede* seems to have been as much too strong, as the *Ar-*

menian and *Babylonian* were too weak; the whole has the air of untruth and inconsistency.

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy, according to our author. All these conquests were made, with uninterrupted success, by *Ninus*; and these numerous nations, and others, were ever after considered as parts of the *Assyrian* monarchy, till its dissolution; a falsehood which may be proved by what we know of the history of every one of these nations; who, if they were in very early days conquered by any ancient *Assyrian* king, *Ninus*, or any other, their subjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the history of the several nations that precede in this work, that they were free from an *Assyrian* yoke, from the first times we know

nations of less account he now subdued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impression on the *Bactrians*, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G); and therefore

know of, down to the days of *Pul*; an interval of many ages, during which no *Assyrian* monarchy existed on this side the *Euphrates*. So that if any such there had been, and if its duration was such as *Ctesias* and his followers report, it must, according to the *Hebrew* computation, or the *Samaritan*, have taken rise many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time these nations, and particularly all on this side the *Euphrates*, began to have any being that we know of: for, from the days of *Abraham* down to *Pul*, there is no vestige of an *Assyrian* power extended over the western parts of *Asia*. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the person of *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* king, according to Scripture; after him, these nations, or many of them, and particularly those on this side the *Euphrates*, did confessedly pay obedience to the *Assyrian* throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at least for any continuance; so that there could have been nothing of this pretended *Assyrian* monarchy from *Abraham* to *Pul*, which is an interval of about 1225 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between *Abraham* and

the flood, will remove the rise of this monarchy so near to us, in comparison of what profane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How these *Bactrians* came to be such very hardy warriors, seems unaccountable; they could never have had the experience of a single campaign before they had to do with the ambitious *Ninus*. The same arguments may be brought to prove, that *Ninus* could not possibly know what soldiers they were, as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonstrate, he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the *Arabians*; for if we suppose, with our author, and *Trogus* (86), that *Ninus* was the first real warrior, we cannot allow there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conquests; and though some nations, during his progress, may have put themselves in a posture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, *Ninus* could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their stature and strength of body; which may, it is most likely, have been the same in all these

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fore he defers his war with them, till he should be better assured of making his attempt with success ^b.

LEADING his army back again into his own country *Returns* [*Syria*, as it is called] (H), he determined to raise him-into his self as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he own coun- hoped he should enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; try. and, with this design, marked out a spot of ground where- on to erect a city, which, for extent and stateliness, should not only far surpass all that had ever before been in the world, but also be such as should, with the greatest difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having dismissed the *Arabian* king, who had *Dismisses* followed him in his wars, with high honours, and noble the king of gifts (K), and having got a multitude of hands about Arabia. him, and amassed a treasure proportionable to his under- taking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which rose to that stupendous degree of grandeur, as was never after beheld in any city whatsoever. This city, which he honoured Nineveh with his name, *Ninus* [*Nineveh*], he gave for a possession *built, and* to the most eminent of the *Assyrians* (L), with liberty, *described.* at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding to it a large territory ^c.

THIS work being dispatched, in what space of time *Ninus* a- we are not told, *Ninus* takes the field again to subdue *gain makes* the *Bactrians*, whom he had left unconquered; and, *war with* though in this expedition success and triumph crowned the *Bactri-* his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than *ans.*

^b Apud eund. *ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

neighbouring nations. In short, considering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as also the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to suppose he could dread any one of these nations more than another.

(H) We have already observed, that *Syria* and *Af- syria* are promiscuously used for each other, and that this is the cause of much confusion in geography.

(I) This is *Sesostris* exactly: thus he, returning from the conquest of *Afa*, *applied his mind to such stupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good* (89).

(K) Thus also did *Sesostris* to his army (90).

(L) This again is almost the very story of *Sesostris*, *who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army* (91).

(89) See vol. ii. p. 64.

(90) *Ibid.*

(91) See vol. ii. p. 66.

Semiramis,
her birth.

for his marriage with *Semiramis*; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation. Her birth and extraction were, to be sure, more than merely mortal; for she sprang from a goddess, *Derceto* by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from *Ascalon* in *Syria* (M), and was represented as half a woman, and half a fish (N), upon the following remarkable occasion: this goddess is said to have laboured under the displeasure of *Venus*, who, to punish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love with a youth, who, among others, happened to be offering sacrifice to her; and, unfortunately conceiving by him, she was delivered of a daughter; but, ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desert, and, overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O). The unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves or pigeons (P), which kept her warm with their wings,

(M) As much as this city was in *Syria*, it was a city of the *Proper Palestine*, and belonging to the *Philistines* (95): so, by this account, *Semiramis* was a *Philistine* by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of *Assyria*, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of *Pul* many ages after this pretended time.

(N) Hence she is taken to have been the same with the *Philistine Dagon*, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, *Dagon* was not the peculiar god of *Ascalon*, but of *Asdod* or *Azotus* (97); and therefore very

unlikely to have been the *Derceto* of *Ascalon*.

(O) Hence, perhaps, the worship of fishes at *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (98), where near the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess was a lake for preserving them, which we have at length described (99). But, whether *Ascalon* or *Hierapolis* was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is quite uncertain.

(P) Hence it should be, that *Ascalon* was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of the contrary (1).

There are those who are

(95) *Picl. l. v. & Strabo. l. xvi. p. 522.*

(96) *Vol. ii. p. 221, 222.*

(97) *Ibid.*

(98) *Ibid. p. 286.*

(100) *Ibid. p. 290.*

(1) *Philo, apud Euseb. præpar. evangelic. l. viii. p. 398.*

wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages; when, at a year old, the child required a substantial food, they were observed to convey cheese to her. The neighbouring shepherds having thus discovered her, they took her home with them, and sent to the chief of the king's shepherds, *Simma* by name (Q), who, being

ready to believe *Semiramis* may have borrowed her name, as *Diodorus* insinuates (2), from a word in the *Syrian* tongue, signifying a dove (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, reject the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of *Assyria* was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the *Assyrian* shield in these terms; *The field Sol, a dove volant proper* (7). So that *Semiramis* is reckoned (8) to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the *Vulgate* we read (9), *Quia facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie iræ columbæ*; where, in our translation, instead of the *anger of the dove*, we read, the *fierceness of the oppressor*; and, in the *Septuagint*, ἀπό προσώπου τῆς μαχαίρας, *the face of the sword*; which, in a very ancient *Saxon* translation in the

library of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* (10), was thus taken, *The face of the sword of the culver*. That the dove was a peculiar distinction of *Assyria*, may be collected from *Hosea's* (11) *dove out of the land of Assyria*. In fine, it is by *Cornelius a Lapide*, and others who follow the interpretation of *St. Jerom*, related, that *God* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the *Syrian* dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expressive of the lascivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the shameless figure of her, in the temple of the great *Syrian* goddess at *Hierapolis*, with a dove on its head (14); all this is extremely dark.

(Q) The name of this man, *Simma*, has made some mistake him for *Sem* or *Shem*; and so, according to them, *Semiramis* must be the daughter of that son of *Noah* (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any-body who is, by the various authors, supposed to have laid the foundations, either of the king-

(2) *Biblioth. hist. l. ii.*

Scalig. in not. ad fragm. p. 43.

eund. ibid.

(9) *Jerem. xxv. 38.*

xi. 2.

(14) *Vol. ii. p. 285,*

(3) *Gregor. in posthum. p. 235.*

(5) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.*

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) *Ibid. p. 236.*

(10) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.*

(12) *Vid. Gregor. ubi sup.*

(15) *Vid. Gregor. posth. p. 235.*

(4) *Joseph.*

(6) *Vid.*

(8) *Ibid.*

(11) *Chap.*

apud eund.

being childless, adopted her, and called her *Semiramis*, borrowed from a word in the *Syriac* tongue, signifying doves or pigeons (R), which the *Syrians* ever afterwards adored as divinities ^d.

Is married, and carried to Nineveh. SHE grew up, and, as she far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, no wonder she captivated the heart of one *Menon*, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though at the same time no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all *Syria*. *Menon* had sight of the divine *Semiramis* at *Simma's* house; and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her consent, conducted her to *Nineveh*, where he married her, and had two sons by her, *Hypates* and *Hydaspes* (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom ^e.

HAVING said thus much, by way of introduction to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow *Ninus* in his *Bactrian* war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions; and, resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did or thought he should before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 sithed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible; but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of *Asia*; and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men *Darius* led against the *Scythians*, and the numberless army that followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew ^f.

Why not incredible. HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the

^d Apud eund. *ibid.*

^e *Ibid.*

^f *Ibid.*

dom of *Assyria*, or of that of *Babylon*.

(R) This was particularly the practice at *Ascalon*, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a custom, more or less, with all the people within

the limits of the *Assyrian* empire.

(S) These are the *Greek* names, void of all affinity with any names, either *Assyrian* or *Babylonian*. *Hydaspes* was, according to the LXX. the name of a river not far from the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (16).

(16) *Vid. Ortel. thesaur. geograph. ad vocem,*

incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that *Ninus*, as he advanced towards the streights and passes into *Bactria*, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemies country ^g.

BUT, before we proceed, we must, by the way, take *Bactria* a notice, that *Bactria* was, in those days, adorned with ^{populous} many large and noble cities; that the capital was called ^{and well} by the name of *Bactra*; that one *Oxyartes* was at this ^{fortified} time king there; that he called in all his subjects that were ^{country.} able to bear arms; and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admision into his country, and quietly suffered *Ninus* to enter with part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the *Assyrians* into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was *Ninus* repulsed by the *Bactrians*; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the *Bactrians* with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. *Ninus* with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong-holds, but the ^h city and fortrefs of *Bactra* itself, which held out a long and tedious siege (T).

DURING this siege, *Semiramis's* fond husband, then *Semira-* attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire ^{is goes to} to see his wife; and, sending for her, she, as desirous to ^{the camp} display the superiority of her understanding, and other ex- ^{before Ba-} cellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out ^{ctra.} for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty, and conceal her sex, and at the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress

^g Apud eund. *ibid.*

^h *Ibid.*

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare these *Bactrians* were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that profession. Here you have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city

impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of *Ninus*; tho', if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the *Bactrians* to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question *Ctesias* could never have answered with any propriety or consistency.

which

which so took with the fancy, that the *Medes* are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the *Persians* also ¹.

SHE no sooner arrived before *Bactra*, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege; and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some, who had a particular dexterity at climbing up rocks, and with these she got possession of part of the citadel, and immediately made signal to the *Assyrians* to give the assault in that quarter: the city, being thus thrown into the greatest confusion, was immediately reduced ² (U).

NINUS, astonished at this action, at first rewarded her as she deserved; and presently fell a slave to her irresistible beauty, endeavouring by all means to persuade her husband to surrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

(U) Whoever reflects on the history of this woman hitherto, must at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than an arrant romance-writer, and an aukward one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preservation by doves, and now her behaviour at this siege, are all circumstances completely and self-evidently romantic. But the story had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of *Sesostris*, his daughter *Athyrté* is the adviser of his conquests, and assures him success would attend him in his wars (17); and has, as it were, the honour of all his conquests. So is it now with *Semiramis*; she here, by her sagacity and intrepidi-

ty, performs what, without her, perhaps had never been brought to pass. Where is the difference between *Athyrté* and *Semiramis*? The one advises, the other executes. They look very much like the same person in different employments; nor must we wonder that *Tzetzes* talks, after this, of an *Assyrian Sesostris* (18), or if any other should write of an *Egyptian Ninus*. We would now add, that the *Bactrian* king, who is here called *Oxyartes*, is by others (19) called *Zoroastres*; concerning whom, or the name at least, we shall have so much to say in a more proper place, that we shall not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(17) *Vol. ii. p. 59.*
l. i. c. i.

(18) *Ibid. in the notes.*

(19) *Juss.*

with the promise of giving him his daughter *Sofand* in marriage; but, this making no impression on him, *Ninus* changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor *Menon* into such a fit of rage and despair, that he immediately dispatched himself. Thus was it that *Ninus* became possessed of the incomparable *Semiramis* (V), who was now advanced to the imperial dignity ¹. *marries*

NINUS, now lord of *Baëtra*, returned with immense ^{ber} spoil, particularly of gold and silver; and some time afterwards had a son by *Semiramis*, called *Ninyas*, whom, ^{at has a son} at his death, he committed to the care of his wife, appoint- ^{by her.} ing her regent of the empire (W). She deposited her husband

¹ Apud eund. *ibid.*

(V) *Scaliger* (20) will have it, that *Semiramis* was married to *Asbur* the son of *Shem*; which is much the same as making her the daughter of *Shem*, as we have observed some would have her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son *Ninyas* better agrees with the *Hebrew* way of writing the name of the city of *Niniveh*, than that of her pretended husband *Ninus*; a name he will have to have been imposed by the *Greeks* upon the patriarch *Asbur*, the grandson of *Noah* (22). According to this notion, *Shem* himself must have been the vulgar *Belus*, the supposed father of *Ninus*, and not *Nimrod*, who was three generations later, and descended from *Ham*. The absurdity of all this, though our author pleases himself in it (23), we have demonstrated already by several arguments.

(W) Thus was it then that she became queen of *Assyria*; but by another author (24) we

understand, that, as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them, though in right of the minor her son: that, to conceal this, she clothed herself so as not to be known from her son, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and that thenceforward they retained the habit. This account of the dress which she is said by *Diodorus* (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) relates concerning the habit; that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in *Babylon* and *Persepolis*; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to *Herodotus* (27); for the latter,

(20) *Nct. in fragm. ad calc. emend. temp. p. 43.*

(22) *Ibid. hist. l. ii. p. 67.*

(23) *Ibid.*

(26) *Ibid.*

(24) *Juss. l. i. c. 2.*

(27) *Lib. v. c. 193.*

(21) *Ibid.*

(25) *Biblioth.*

husband in the palace, and raised over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimensions, no less than nine stades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conspicuous over all the plain, where the city of *Nineveh* stood, which it long survived, remaining a stupendous monument many ages after the subversion of the empire ^m.

Semiramis's character ; SEMIRAMIS, as may be gathered from what has been said before, was a woman of an aspiring mind, and immense ambition, and now thought of nothing less than eclipsing her husband's glory (Y) ; to which end she determined to erect

^m Apud eund. *ibid.*

to the sculptures of the ruins of *Persepolis*.

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son *Ninyas*, is exploded by Sir *Walter Raleigh* (28) ; since, according to the historian, *Ninyas* must have been but a child when his father *Ninus* died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother ; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never, by any arts of concealment, have passed for a child.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight stades or furlongs to the mile. And by the same rule it must have been a mile and half a quarter in height.

(Y) *Rollin* supposes she wanted to cover the meanness of her extraction, by the greatness of her deeds and enterprises (29). But his historian warrants him in nothing of the sort, that we can perceive. Another writer tells us, that she was a *Syrian* by birth, a servant-maid to one of the king's servants, and the king's concubine ; and that at length she got such an ascendant over the

great *Ninus*, that she obtained of him to let her sit on the throne, and command, for one day ; and that, perceiving all her orders to be most exactly executed, she at last ordered her guards to seize on *Ninus* himself, bind him, and put him to death ; and that thus it was she became queen of *Asia* (30). This same story, with some variation, is also told by others. If the former part of this be true, she had some reason to be ashamed of her extraction ; and, if the latter, it was but policy in her to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor ; who, according to this, must have been such a *Ninus* described by *Phœnix Colophonius* (31), who is represented exactly as another *Sardanapalus*, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same ; for we cannot conceive how so very effeminate a character can suit with the great *Ninus* the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroyed him ; but, for such a prince as *Ninus* is on all sides

(23) *Hist. of the world*, c. 12. §. 2. tom. ii. p. 26.

(30) *Plutarch. Epwtwvdc*, p. 75.

(29) *Rollin. h. st. des Assy.*

(31) *Apud Athenæ.*

æ. Joseph. l. xii. p. 530.

erect a city in the province of *Babylon*; making incredible preparation for the work, and assembling together two millions of men to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided by the *Euphrates*, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360 stades in circuit (Z), of such thickness, that six chariots might drive abreast thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with 250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen; and between this wall and the houses was left a space of two plethra, or 200 feet ⁿ.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dispatch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatnes of the surface required; assigning to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed no more than the short space of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and, to join the divided parts of the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as strongly built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypress, and palm-trees; but the breadth of it, seemingly too small for the length, which was five stades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each side of the river she raised a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred stades in length; and at each end of the bridge she erected two palaces, whence she might reciprocally survey and awe both parts of the city. The *Euphrates* passing through the midst of *Babylon*, from north to south, these two palaces stood, the one to the east, the other to the west; both of them sumptuous and magnificent to the utmost. The western was surrounded by a lofty

ⁿ Apud eund. *ibid.*

allowed to have been, we cannot apprehend it could have been in her power, either to have pacified her new subjects; or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) As we shall have occasion hereafter to describe this

city, we here confine ourselves to what *Ctesias* relates of it, regardless whether true or false; which we reserve for a particular inquiry, in the history of the *Babylonian* kingdom.

wall of brick, full sixty stades in circuit, within which was a second, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, so curiously were they formed, and so naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 stades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathom high, and thereon were raised towers of 70 of the same measure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or inclosure, far surpassing the second in height and breadth; on which, and its towers, were represented all manner of living creatures, as before; and more especially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beasts, each four cubits in height, and upwards; in the midst of which appeared *Semiramis* herself, mounted on a steed, darting through a leopard, and her husband *Ninus* near, in close combat with a lion, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 stades about. To this palace she had three gates, under which were rooms of brass, for the celebration of festivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance ^o.

THIS palace far exceeded that on the other side of the river, both for dimension and magnificence; for the outermost wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermost wall of the former; and, for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have described. So our author tells us, though with some seeming inconsistency, when in the same breath he informs us, that besides the brazen statues of *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, their great officers, and *Jupiter*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Belus*, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewise the representation of various kinds of hunting, to the great delight and satisfaction of the beholder ^p.

*The lake
she dug.*

ALL this being completed, *Semiramis* sunk a vast lake; each side whereof was 300 *stadia* in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 feet in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the *Euphrates*, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was 20 bricks thick, 12 feet high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its antient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the *Persian* conquest ^q.

^o Apud eund. *ibid.*

^p *Ibid.*

^q *Ibid.*

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, she built a temple to *Jupiter Belus*, concerning which our author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of a surprising height (A); that, like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that, on the top of it, *Semiramis* placed three statues of beaten gold, viz. of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Rhea*. The statue of *Jupiter* was upright, and, as it were, walking; forty feet high, and weighing 1000 talents of *Babylon*: the statue of *Rhea* was of the same weight, and sat on a golden throne, with a lion standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: the statue of *Juno* was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she, with her right-hand, grasped a serpent by the head, and, in her left, held a sceptre enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 feet in length, 15 in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flacons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two censers, but these weighed 500 talents each; as also three drinking-bowls, or vases, of which that dedicated to *Jupiter* weighed 1200 talents of *Babylon*, the other two 600 (B).

ALL this, and a great deal more, is ascribed to *Semiramis*. *Babylon* was not the only city she raised; she built several others on the banks of the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguished by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of *Armenia*, 125 feet high, five broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by multitudes of oxen and asses; and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to *Babylon*, and erected it in a remarkable part

^r Apud eund. ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and must refer the reader

back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(B) *Pliny* (35) takes notice of *Semiramis*'s bowl or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(34) *Vol. i. p. 331, & seqq. edit. Frobet.*

(35) *Hist. nat. l. xxxiv. c. 3. p. 564.*

of the neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world^a.

*Wars upon
the Medes.* WHEN *Semiramis* had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, marches into *Media*, and there encamps near a mountain called *Bagistan*, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: it was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, or *Belus*, and 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said to have “ascended from the plain “to the top, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts “of burden that followed her.” At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, as attended by 100 of her choicest guards^b.

FROM hence she marched till she came to *Chaan*, a city of the *Medes*; and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and amours (C); for, jealous of her power, and high command, she would take no partner to her bed, but chose rather to admit the comeliest men of her army to her embraces; which were fatal to all that enjoyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to death^c (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and in her way levelled the mountain *Zarcæum*, which was many stades in extent; and, for its frequent precipices, impassable but by much labour. This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to facilitate the passage to all who should have occasion to travel that way (E). She did it with infinite labour and expence, and hence the work came to be called *SEMIRAMIS'S ROAD or WAY*. When she came to *Ecbatan*, she there built a most magnificent palace, and did more than she had any-where

Apud eund. *ibid.*

Ibid.

Ibid.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband

Ninus, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) *Plutarch*, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with *Sesostris* for valour and magnificence.

else done. The city, till then, had laboured under want of water; a defect which she amply supplied with her usual toil and expence^w.

FROM *Media* she continued her progress through *Persia*, and the rest of her *Asiatic* provinces, leveling both rocks and mountains before her; and, on the contrary, in plain and champain tracks, raising hills to vary and adorn them, and at the same time to serve for monuments to her captains and chief commanders. In some places she built towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an eminence, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in *Asia*, and to have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS^x.

HAVING thus visited her dominions in *Asia*, she next went to *Egypt*, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of *Libya* to her other acquisitions. She then paid a visit to the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; and, inquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, "She should vanish from the sight of men, and obtain immortal honour and worship from some of the *Asiatic* nations, at such time as her son *Ninyas* should plot against her life." How she took this, we are not told; but from hence she made war upon *Ethiopia*; and, having settled things there, and taken a view of the rarities of that country, she marched back into *Asia*, and halted at *Bactra*^y.

HERE she for some years enjoyed herself in peace; but *Resolves* at length, impatient of so quiet and calm a way of life, ^{to invade} she meditated a war against the king of *India*. As she had ^{India.} been informed of the transcendent amenity of the country, its double fertility, its immense riches, and matchless elephants; she resolved upon nothing less than the conquest of that most extensive part of the old world. But, being apprised of the difficulty of the undertaking, she ordered all her governors to select the choicest of the youth in their provinces, to arm them completely, and to take care they rendezvoused at a place appointed in *Bactria*, within the space of three years. She sent for shipwrights out of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, and other maritime places; and, preparing a store of timber answerable to her designs, she ordered, that they should frame her a certain number of vessels, to be transported in pieces by land,

^w Apud eund. *ibid.*^x *Ibid.*^y *Ibid.*

wherewith to cross the *Indus*, whose adjacencies were destitute of wood *.

*Her mock-
elephants.* SHE in the next place considered, that she laboured under a great disadvantage for want of elephants, in which *Stabrobates*, the king of *India*, at that time was mighty and strong. How to get any, she knew not; art therefore must be used, and she ordered a number of counterfeit elephants to be contrived, thinking to terrify the *Indians* by this stratagem, they being possessed with a notion, that the elephant was no-where bred but in their country. Accordingly 300,000 black oxen are slaughtered, and their flesh distributed to poor people, who were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which were to be stuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and guided each by a man without. The people who wrought at this were surrounded by a lofty inclosure, and nobody suffered to go in or out, that none might know what they were about; and convey the news to the *Indian* king *.

HER vessels and elephants being ready, and all in two years, she, in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of *Bactria*, to the amount of three millions of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000 in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen

* Apud eund. *ibid.*

* *Ibid.*

(F) These numbers, says *Suidas* (35), she levied by her lieutenant *Dercetes*, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said *Dercetes*, "Go, and prepare for an expedition in three years, beginning from the *Hellepont* and *Libya*, to *Bactra*; and levy three millions of foot, one million of horse, 100,000 sithed chariots, and the like number of men to fight

" upon camels; 200,000 camels for other uses; and let there be 300,000 ox-hides prepared, and 3000 ships built in *Bactria*, with brazen prows, and manned by *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cypriots*, *Cilicians*, and others on the sea-coasts, quite to 'the *Hellepont*.'" This is a notable addition to the *Ctesian* story, and a great instance of credulity or presumption in the writer; and tempts us to say, that the *Greek* historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvelous, and to have

(35) *Ad verbum* *Σουσπαυό.*

(36) *Ibid.*

men endeavoured to familiarize to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle^b.

STABROBATES heard of this, and prepared for the Stabrobates storm; and first he built 4000 boats of the great canes ^{tes, king of} [bamboos] which grew in the rivers and fens of *India*; *India, pre-* and with great diligence got together a far greater army ^{compares to} than that of *Semiramis*. He added to the number of ele- ^{receive} phants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for ^{her,} that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might make them dreadful to an enemy; that by their number and armour they might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to *Semiramis*; then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without the least provocation; by a private letter, at the same time, he upbraided her with her infamous life, vowing by heaven, that he would crucify her, if he conquered. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, "The *Indian* should ere long be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions c."

WHEN she came to the banks of the *Indus*, she discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up against her; where- ^{Semira-} upon she prepared and launched her own, which she ^{mis on the} manned with the bravest of her people, and gave battle, ^{banks of} ordering it so, that those on shore might be aiding and ^{the Indus.} assisting on occasion. The fight was obstinate; but *Semiramis* in the end came off victorious, sunk 1000 of the *Indian* barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this, she fell on the cities and islands of the river, and made 100,000 captives^d.

UPON this *Stabrobates* draws off his army, as if afraid, ^{Stabroba-} but, in truth, to decoy *Semiramis* over the river; and she, ^{tes feigns} ignorant of his meaning, no sooner perceived his retreat, ^{a retreat.} than she ordered a broad bridge of boats to be stretched across the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying *Indians*. She marched with her

^b Apud eund. ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that

no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(37) Raleigh's hist. of the world, ubi sup.

mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy; and it seems that herein she did not contrive amiss; for the *Indian* scouts, mistaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and struck a terror into their countrymen, who could not conceive whence the *Assyrians* should have furnished themselves with these tremendous animals: but the deceit was soon discovered; for some of *Semiramis's* people, deserting over to the *Indians*, for fear of punishment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and *Stabrobates* immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army.

Semiramis on the other side of the Indus. SEMIRAMIS, in the mean time, advanced towards the *Indian* army, with her false elephants in front, which came up with the *Indian* horse and chariots, disposed at some distance before the main body of the foot, and the elephants.

Her fight with the king of India. They charge, and the *Indian* horses, frightened and offended at the scent of the hides, either threw their riders, or carried them into the midst of the *Assyrians*. *Semiramis*, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the disordered *Indians*, completely routed them, and drove them back again to the groves of their army. *Stabrobates*, in some consternation, charges with his foot, sustained by his elephants, himself mounted on a stately one in his right wing, opposite to *Semiramis* then in her left. The shock was violent, and the slaughter great, caused particularly by the elephants. *Semiramis's* mock-elephants now proved useless and cumbersome, and the whole *Assyrian* army betook them to a precipitate flight.

Her overthrow and flight. In the midst of this battle, the *Assyrian* queen and *Indian* king fought hand to hand; the king wounded her first in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in the shoulder, as she was turning about to fly from him; for she fled in the end, and the whole army with her.

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was such, that many who had escaped the hand of the enemy, were miserably pressed to death, or perished under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or pushed into the river. *Semiramis*, when the body of her army had crossed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut down, while chiefly laden with *Indians*, and many of them perished by this means. And now she was safe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and, besides, the *Indian* was admonished not to be eager in the pursuit, by

• Apud eund. ibid.

f Ibid.

the intervention of prodigies. An exchange of prisoners was afterwards made, and *Semiramis* returned to *Babylon* with scarce a third part of the army she had carried out (G).

AND now, under this eclipse of glory, she draws near her end; the time foretold is come; and an eunuch attempts to assassinate her, unnaturally employed by her son (H); and thereupon, calling to mind the answer she had

* Apud eund. ibid.

(G) *Arrian* (37) and *Strabo* (38) say she died in the midst of this expedition, and never returned out of *India*; though by this last (39) she should have made her escape, but with no more than twenty men in her retinue: but Sir *Walter Raleigh* thinks this number too small a remnant of such an infinite multitude.

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forbore to animadvert on apprehending we have said abundantly enough in the former part of this section to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow; which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages; we must now inquire into her end, and particularly how it should come to pass, that her son *Ninyas* fought her life. We are told (40), that she would unnaturally have tempted him to commit incest with her; and that thereupon

he conceived such an hatred of her, that he could not bear she should live any longer, and therefore murdered her. *Diodorus*, or his author *Ctesias* rather, here tells us her son employed an eunuch to dispatch her, but that she escaped, and vanished from sight. We have seen, by the same author, that she gave herself up to wanton dalliances in the plains of *Media*, and cruelly sacrificed her gallants to her furious lust; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of her to seduce her son; Now, according to the course of this history, there seem to have been two provocations that may have stirred up *Ninyas* to get rid of her: the one, her scandalous way of life; and the other, her usurpation of his right, as king and sovereign; which, how he should so long have submitted to, is what we cannot account for; though we may just touch on it anon. It is here somewhat to our purpose, that *Conon* (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother of *Ninus*; and that lying with

(37) *In lib. xiv. Indicav.*

(39) *Ibid. hist. of the world, ubi sup.*

(40) *Apud Pbot. biblioth. p. 427.*

(38) *Geograf. l. xv. p. 636, 722.*

(41) *Iust. l. i. c. 2.*

had received from *Jupiter Ammon*, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge for what had been caused, as it were, by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him, commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle had foretold. It was fabled she left the world in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which settled upon her palace just at the time; and, say they, it was hence the *Assyrians* were addicted to the worship of a dove (1). In fine,

him by accident, she afterwards acknowledged him publicly for her husband. According to this reading (42), *Ninyas* should be the person meant; but Sir *Walter Raleigh* acquits her of all faults of this kind, and ascribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying *Grecians* (43). *Gregory* (44) would offer it as an argument of her chastity, that she, as *Ammianus* relates, first instituted eunuchs to attend her in her bedchamber.

(1) Concerning the *Semiramidan* dove, we have treated largely already (45); and may have occasion to resume the subject hereafter, when we are to speak of the *Babylonian* religion; and the rather as *Semiramis* is more likely to have been a *Babylonian* than an *Assyrian*. And now, that there was such a woman as *Semiramis*, we doubt not in the least; but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what is here re-

ported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death, are all extraordinary, and unnatural, nay, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but, above all, her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by *Joseph Scaliger* (46) and *Rainecius* (47), is a matter so easily disproved by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. *Conon* (48) makes her to have been the same with the *Atossa* or *Semiramis* who reigned 12 years with her father *Belobus*, the 18th king of *Assyria*, according to *Ensebius* (49), and in the same place calls her the daughter and not the wife of *Ninus*; though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) mother instead of daughter. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning,

(42) *Vid. Gregor. posthum. p. 234.*

xii. §. 4. (44) *In posthum. ubi sup.*

(46) *Ibid. p. 285, (V).*

Pbot. biblis rb. p. 427.

Gregor. posthum. p. 234.

(43) *Hist. of the world, chap.*

(45) *See before, p. 280, (P).*

(47) *Apud Gregor. posthum.*

(48) *Apud*

(49) *See before, p. 261, (Q).*

(50) *Vid,*

fine, she was queen of all *Asia*, *India* excepted; and continued in the sight of men sixty-two years, forty-two of which she reigned ^h.

NINYAS (K) succeeded his mother *Semiramis*; and, ^{Ninyas.} taking neither after father nor mother, he chose to enjoy himself

^h Apud eund. *ibid.*

who makes her the *Atossa* of *Belochus*, who were confessedly daughter and father (51) *Belochus* then must have been the *Ninus* of *Ctesias*; and he, instead of being the first or the second king of *Assyria*, is according to *Eusebius* (52), the eighteenth king: this takes much from the antiquity of both; and we are ready to subscribe to the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with *Herodotus*, and is much more conformable to what we know of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be said to have discovered and invented the use of metals, to have been the first queen, and, in short, to have been called the goddess

Rhea (54). She may be compared with the *Egyptian Isis*, and the *Pœnician Astarte*; as her husband *Ninus* may with the *Egyptian Osiris*, *Sesestris*, &c.

(K) He is also called *Zames* (55): the German writers will have him to have been called *Trebeta*, and to have built the city of *Troves* (56); he is also called *Tbouras* (57), or *Thouras* (58), or *Ares* [*Mars*], and is said to have had the first statue erected to him, which they called *Βαδλ Θεῶν*, *Lord God*. In short, he is said to have waged war, and to have slain the tyrant *Caucasus* of the tribe of *Japhet*, or *Iapetus*, and to have been consecrated into the planet *Mars* (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful *Ninyas* in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of *Ninus*, without any mention of *Semiramis*, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from *Eusebius* observed in the note above, that she was the very *Atossa*,

(51) See before, p. 261.

(52) *Ibid.*

(53) *Raleigh, hist. of*

the world, ubi sup. §. 4.

(54) *Suid. ad vocem Σαυραμίδ.*

(55) See

before, p. 260

(56) *Vid. Gregor. posthum. p. 239.*

(57) In

MSS. Gr. anonym. apud Gregor. posthum. p. 226, 239.

(58) *Suid. ad*

vocem Θεῶν.

(59) *Idem ibid. vid. etiam Joan. Malal. p. 27, &c.*

Calan: p. 15.

Ninyas's
Sloth.

His policy

himself in peace: and, indeed, if what we have related of his parents be true, he could only make war upon his subjects or vassals¹. A war with *India* had been found by experience impracticable and dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such an habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army, by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it, we may suppose; and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. By this step of policy he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who, having scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to secure himself from insults

¹ Vid. *JUR. J. i. c. 2.* & *DION. SICUL. l. ii. p. 108.* & seq.

the daughter of *Belochus*; and that she reigned with her father, as his colleague and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with *Sir Walter Raleigh* (61), how she should have been able to keep the reins in her own hands, in prejudice of her son, who was her lawful sovereign. He has no way to account for this, but by supposing he had regard to his pleasures only, and cared not how much trou-

ble his mother eased his shoulders of (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to, will, among other things, be observed in the next note.

(L) *Diodorus, Athenaus, Justin,* and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestered himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them, but by messages; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed

(60) See before, p. 261.
(61) *Ibid.*

(62) *Hist. of the world, chap. 12. §. 2.*

insults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace; in which he was an unworthy example to his successors; concealing himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal^k.

AFTER this manner reigned all his successors in the great empire of *Assyria*; so that they have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they lived and died in their palace at *Nineveh* (M); and hence it is, that we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them^l.

SAR-

^k Apud. eisd. ibid.^l Ibid.

with none but that sex: and yet we see him here consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant, and consummate politician; and may thence conclude, that, if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that, according to this, he must have been an haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to savour strongly of absolute sway, and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on, to prove that he did not succeed *Semiramis* in the manner our historian writes;

which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that, if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of *Ninyas* and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning we perceive no footsteps of it anywhere within our knowledge, in the very long interval, of 1200 years at least, between *Ninyas* and *Sardanapalus*? We apprehend that nobody can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder how *Sir Walter Raleigh* should ever take it into his head, that this *Ninyas*, this mighty *Assyrian* monarch, might be the petty king of *Sbinar-Amraphel* in *Genesis* (63); or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine the monarchy had, even in *Abraham's* time, even in its very infancy, received a *downright fall*, as he calls it (64).

(M) This vast chasm of inaction in the *Assyrian* monarchs, from *Ninyas* to *Sardanapalus*, a vacancy, as we may

(63) See his *hist. of the world*, c. 1. §. 9. l. ii.(64) *Ibid.*

Sardana-
palus's
character.

SARDANAPALUS (M) exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury. He sunk into such a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very sex and nature; he cloathed himself as a woman; he spun amidst the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himself out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the most lascivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman; and buried himself in the filth of an unbounded sensuality, quite regardless of sex, and the dictates of nature ^m (N).

UNDER

^m Apud eisd. ibid.

call it, of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof, that the profane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable, that, in so long a succession of princes, there should have been one only, that did any thing worth the recording? Or is possible, that, in so very long a succession of years, there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at *Nineveh*? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains, and the burden of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of *Babylonia*, no king of *India*, to rouse them from their lethargy? Had *Ninus* destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his successors for his sake? Many more queries of this kind may

be made. So many pacific ages, such a series of the calmest peace, both from within and from without, may shock the easiest credulity. The monarchies which succeeded this were of short duration in comparison of it; and why the *Assyrian* should have the sole privilege of standing so long, is not easily accounted for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and subject to such sudden and violent convulsions as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(M) This name is not the only one said to belong to him, he is also called *Tonos Concoleros*, *Concoleros*, *Mascoleros*, and by other such names (65).

(N) *Dio Coccaianus* (66) has taken much pains to let us know he was the most libidinous and abandoned wretch the sun ever shone on; and says, That no one could tell what he did, and that nobody would bear to hear it; though he descends to several particulars bad enough; but, as they may be built upon no solid foundation, merely traditionary, and be-

(65) *Vid. Geor. Syncel. & Euseb. Pamp.*
p. 762.

(66) *In excerpt. Palest.*

UNDER this wretch (O) happened the downfall of the *His reign.*
Assyrian monarchy. He grew odious to his subjects, and,
parti-

fides unfit for us to relate, we pass them over. *Nicolas of Damascus* (67) is more moderate, and accuses him chiefly of passing his time with his women, and contending with them about dress and ornament, in the very words used to the same purpose in *Suidas* (68). *Trogus* (69) also seems to have described his way of life much to the same purpose. *Davis* (70) says, he turned woman, dressed as such, painted himself, and spun; all to the same purpose, and therefore we need say no more about it.

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teaches us; and, for the proof of which, we need go no farther than *Constantinople* to take a view of the great *Turk*: but nevertheless he may have been a man, who, at some intervals, minded business: such a man, we are told, he was; for he is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day (71); in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΙΑ-
ΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ
ΑΙΧΜΑΑΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛ-
ΛΑ ΝΤΗ ΤΕΘΗΚΕΝ. *Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyn-*

daraxis, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day; but now is dead. This is a grave epitaph, and might besit any prince; but we find it varied a little to disadvantage; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to this magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΖΕ, ΩΣ Τ' ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ. *Eat, drink, and be merry; for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers* (72): this monument and statue are said to have been not far from *Anchiale*. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city *Tarsus*, where *St. Paul* was born; and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.* However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription, and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between the action recorded, and the reflection that ensues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty

(67) In excerpt. ejusd. p. 424.

(69) *Justin.* l. i. c. 2.

(71) *Athenæus deipnosoph.* l. xii. p. 529. *Vid. etiam Georg. Syncell. chronograph.* p. 165. & *Euseb. Pamph. chron. can.* p. 110.

apud *Athen.* ubi sup. p. 520.

(68) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*

(70) *Apud Athen. deipnosoph.* l. xii. p. 529.

(72) *Aristob.*

(73) *Crozer. in posthum.* p. 243.

king,

The
Medes,
Babyloni-
ans, and
Persians
revolt.

particularly to *Arbaces* the *Mede*, and *Belesis* the *Babylonian*; *Belesis* was not only a captain, but a famous priest, and great astrologer; and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure *Arbaces*, a man of valour and prudence, "That he should dethrone *Sardanapalus*, and become lord of all his dominions." *Arbaces* hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over *Babylon*, if his prediction proved true: at the same time he took care to cultivate the friendship of the other governors of the provinces then at *Nineveh*, and began to affect popularity, wherein he succeeded to his wish. But, above all, he endeavoured to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life, and describe him accordingly. This he brings to pass, by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into his presence. *Arbaces* saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his *Chaldean* friend; and, impatient to put in execution his design, he disposes the *Medes* and *Persians* to an open revolt: *Belesis* does the same with the *Babylonians*; and the matter was disclosed to the king of *Arabia* ⁿ.

THE year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the *Persians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, assisted by the *Arabs*, came not with design to guard *Sardanapalus*, but to subvert the empire. Their number amounted to four hundred thousand men; and, being all combined together in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. *Sardanapalus*,

ⁿ Apud eisd. ibid.

king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, *Eat, drink, and be merry; the rest is not worth caring for*. If this was anywhere the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption, that he was the idle effeminate wretch he is

painted. *Callisthenes* (74) writes there were two *Sardanapalus*'s, the one a bold, the other an effeminate man. Others do the same, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Suidas* (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks it may belong to the masculine *Sardanapalus*, tho', with what propriety, we may consider a little farther.

(74) Apud Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.

(75) Ibid. . . .
apprised

apprised of this revolt, and resolved to stifle it in its infancy, leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels; and, coming to a battle with them, he routs them with great slaughter, and pursues them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of Nineveh. The rebels, however, drew out again to engage the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill *Arbaces* the *Mede*; and twice that sum, together with the government of *Media*, to the man who should take him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning *Belesis* the *Babylonian*. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured *Sardanapalus* in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of *Belesis*, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, tho' in despair they had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man return to his home. They fight a third battle; and *Sardanapalus*, victor, as twice before, drives them into the mountains of *Babylon*; though *Arbaces* did that day all that man could do, he was forced to retreat considerably wounded.

SARDANAPALUS had now certainly put an end to the war (P); if *Belesis*, who had been all night in deep consultation with the stars, had not with all imaginable assurance persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance; for that the gods had

° Apud eosd. *ibid.*

(P) It seems a little strange, that so degenerate a wretch should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing relating to war; and yet, being forced into the field, we find

him behaving and defending himself as well as if he had been *Ninus*, or even *Semiramis* herself. From this dissimilitude of *Sardanapalus* from himself, it is likely we have the two mentioned by *Callisthenes* in the note above, *Sardanapalus* the warrior, and *Sardanapalus* the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

fo signified to him by the aspect of the heavens: he intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Being thus persuaded to wait the event, and the time being near expired, sudden advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from *Bactria*. *Arbaces*, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the *Bactrians* to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them; and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the *Bactrians* joined *Arbaces*; a transaction unknown to *Sardanapalus*, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and an high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army P.

The Bactrians revolt to them.

They attack the imperial camp by surprize.

IN the mean time the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of *Arbaces*, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out *Sardanapalus*, and all his army, with great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to *Salemenus*, his brother-in-law,* undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and once under the walls of the city, when *Salemenus* fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinged with the gore of the slain for a long while q.

They besiege Sardanapalus in Nineveh.

SARDANAPALUS was now closely besieged: many other nations, eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates; and the king, perceiving things at so desperate a pass, sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into *Papblagonia*, where one *Cotta*, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), issuing out orders

P Apud eosd. ibid.

q Ibid.

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency in this, if we consider what follows; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feast with his army after their successful toils.—

It seems a little uncharitable to think otherwise of him in this case.

(R) Where this *Papblagonia* should have been situated, and who this *Cotta*, a more modern name, should have been, we forbear to inquire, as favouring too

orders at the same time (S), for all his subjects to hasten to his assistance (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not succumb, fully possessed with notions of a prophecy, *That Nineveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy*; which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened him^r.

WHILE *Sardanapalus* pleased himself with this imagination, the confederates, elated with their late success, *They take the city.*

^r Apud eund. *ibid.*

too grossly of fable; but, by the way, we cannot help asking how this *Cotta* should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before *Arbaces* the *Mede* bribed his way to a fight of him: this does not hang at all with the other parts, all inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of *Nineveh*: nor is it even easy to conceive, how he should have sent away any part of his family and treasure; the enemy having, as we may well suppose, certainly secured the passes. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author *Ctesar* as if he quoted him, that *Sardanapalus*, perceiving himself forepressed, and ruin coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of *Nineveh*. What city of *Nineveh* this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for; and so we leave this palpable obscurity

as we find it, except we infer, that, through this seeming mistake, the error sprang of making two *Sardanapalus*'s, as well as two *Nineveh*'s, which we meet with no-where else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so solicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when, according to his belief, they could nowhere have been in more safety? and why should he be so busy with his orders, and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? They could have been of no use in such an impregnable place as was proof against every thing, even famine itself, but the waters of the river.

(76) *Aben. Vaisnoph.* l. xii. p. 529.

considered their work as completed, tho' in those days, they could make no impression on such walls; ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented for that purpose. *Sardanapalus* having taken care to be well stored with what was necessary to enable him to hold out a long time, the confederates sat two years before the city without any visible effect: but in the third year the river, swelled by unusual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no less than 20 stades of the wall. The unfortunate *Sardanapalus*, now sensible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope; and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he caused a vast pile of wood to be raised; and, heaping upon it all his gold and silver, and royal apparel, and at the same time inclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he set fire thereto, and so destroyed himself and the rest (V); which the

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate *Sardanapalus*; but the circumstances are most prodigiously exaggerated by *Athenæus*, who seems (77) to borrow what he says from *Ctesias*, whom *Diodorus*, perhaps, abridged, and *Athenæus* transcribed at length. He says, *Sardanapalus* within his palace erected a pile of four jugera, or acres, in dimension; that therein he placed 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that, in the midst of it, he built an hall or room of 100 feet; in which he had beds for himself and his wife, and others for his concubines; that it was all a solid piece of timber-work; and that it was so fenced about with huge timbers, that nobody could get out; that within this were no less than a thousand myriads of talents of

gold, and ten thousand myriads of silver, together with riches of apparel and furniture unspeakable: that he ordered this pile to be set on fire; and that it burned no less than fifteen days together; that, by the smoke, those without thought he had been sacrificing; and that, during the time, the whole was a secret to every body but his eunuchs. *Suidas* (78) seems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. *Amyntas* (79) relates there was a great mount in *Nineveh* raised, as tradition went, as a sepulchral monument to *Sardanapalus*; the same, we may safely suppose, that is said to have been erected by *Semiramis* in honour of *Ninus* (80); and that, on stone pillars, the following epitaph was engraved in *Chaldee* cha-

(77) *Athen. ibid.*
Athen. ubi sup.

(78) *Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*
(80) See before, p. 286.

(79) *Apud*
racters;

the rebels hearing, entered the city by the breach, and became lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with

ractions; why not *Assyrian*? which were thus rendered into *Greek* by *Charilus* the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΩΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΘΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ ΗΦΗΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΔΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΤΑΣ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ, ΔΕΟ ΚΑΓΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΡΑΙΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. *I reigned, and, while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I eat, and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys, I leave behind, pass on to others; knowing this, I never missed a day from pleasure.* This inscription, or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at *Nineveh* (82); but we may fairly suppose there never was any such as either of them erected at that place: for this ancient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen and

been known under the same name afterwards: and, secondly, *Sardanapalus* having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him, at an immense expence, on the spot where *Nineveh* was to stand no more; and, besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by *Cyrus* (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of *Nineveh*. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us, of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious, we say, the rather because we find him deified in the temple of *Hierapolis* in *Syria* (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt as he is represented. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the *Assyrian* empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that, though he was despoiled of the empire of *Syria*, or *As-*

(81) *Apud Athen. ubi sup.*(83) *See before, p. 286.*(82) *Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*(84) *Amynt. apud Athen. aetnaisoph. ubi sup.*(85) *See vol. ii, p. 285.*

with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of *Nineveh* itself was laid level with the ground. And thus ended the *Assyrian* empire, subverted by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, after it had, according to our author *Cicero*, subsisted no less than 1400 years*.

S E C T. V.

The History of ASSYRIA, according to Scripture, and the more approved Authorities.

Year of
the flood
1957.
Bef. Chr.
771.

WE now come to the true and only history of *Assyria* that may be depended upon. *Pul* (W), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance in

Apud eund. *ibid.*

Assyria, he died in a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous prince, it may be that we have another reason why it should be through mistake imagined there were two kings of *Assyria* of this name (87). *Suidas* (88) talks of a *Sardanapalus* slain by one *Perseus*: he has two of the name; and, though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of profane authors tell us, concerning the reign of *Sardanapalus*, and the rest of the *Assyrian* history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true

history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(W) He is also called *Pbul*, and by the LXX *Phua*, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek Λ *lambda*, and α *alpha*; so that it is no great wonder this name should, in the Greek character, have been written $\PhiΟΥΑ$ *Phua*, instead of $\PhiΟΥΛ$ *Pbul* (89). He is the first king of *Assyria* mentioned in Scripture from the time that land was planted by *Abur*, and not to be confounded with the kings of the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*, as the custom usually is (90). This *Pbul* was by his name a pure *Assyrian*, and not a *Chaldean* or *Babylonian* (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92), who would have

(86) *Cleitarch. apud Athen. ubi sup.*
p. 307.
Cicero. in 2 Reg. cap. xv. ver. 19.
Nalig. de mundi. temp. l. vi. p. 577.
xv. 19.

(88) *Ad v. in*

Εαρδανάπαλος.

(90) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

(87) See before in the notes.

(89) *Vid.*

(91) *Vid.*

(92) See Patrick upon 2 Kings

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in Scripture in the reign of *Menabem* king of *Israel*, who just about the same time had forced his way to the throne

him to have been the *Belefs* of *Ctefias*, who, in conjunction with *Arbaces*, overthrew the *Assyrian* power, than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of *Assyria*, appears by his name, which is simple, and not compounded, as the rest we read of are. The *Assyrian* names are, for the most part, compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in these parts, as in *Tiglath-Pul-Assur*, *Nabo-Pul-Assur*, and the like. From this circumstance, and the affinity of the name itself, he is with seeming certainty said to have been the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, or *Tyrian Belus* (94). *Pul* is pronounced *Pol*, and *Pal* (95); whence, without any straining of the point, we may derive the *Bal*, *Bel*, or *Belus*, of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That he should have been the *Belus* of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and other places, will not be wondered at by those who consider, as will be seen in the course of this section, that the *Assyrians* imposed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as also that they

consecrated all their kings into deities. It was the custom of the ancient *Syrians*, long before them, to deify their kings (97): we have seen their *Adad*, king of gods, was no more than their dead king *Bynbabad II.* (98), or perhaps his unfortunate successor *Hazael*, who, as a king of *Syria*, was also called *Adad*, or *Hadad* (99). We have already asserted (100), that *Adad*, and *Cronus*, and *Astarte*, are of late date in comparison of what the learned have generally thought; and we now say the same of *Belus*, who was no other than the *Pul* before us, and consequently later than the ancient gods of the proper *Syria*. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumstances, nor can we but subscribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of Scripture, for the idle tales of profane authors, who confound rather than inform us. It were odd, that we should rely on what are confessedly fables, in contempt of what can be so self-evidently gathered from the text of Scripture-history (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and historians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length: we shall therefore pass

(93) *Vid. Scallg. ubi sup. Seld. de diis Syria.*

chron. of ant. kingdom. amend. p. 279.

(98) *Ibid. p. 283.*

p. 30, 33. in the notes.

(99) *Ibid. in the notes.*

(1) See *Sir Is. Newt. chronol. of ant. king-*

(94) *Sir Is. Newt.*

(95) *Hern. Mansfauc. apud Luc*

Pjn bibliob. univers. des b. b. p. 285.

(97) See vol. ii. p. 202.

(100) See u. ii.

Year of thronꝰ of that kingdom, by the murder of *Shallum* ^u, the flood His march into the country struck the tottering usurper with

1577.

• Bef. Chr.

^u 2 Kings xv. 10.

771.

them over with this bare observation, that, by embracing the *Ctesian* fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the history of Scripture, and by their scrupulous adoption of each others hypotheses, they have almost all run into most intricate mazes, and endless errors. Our business, then, is to prove this man to have been the first founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy; which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we shall here only exhibit his arguments. None of the prophets, who preceded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Israel* afterwards suffered from the *Assyrians*, ever name that nation, but only speak of a people that is to be raised up against *Israel*. Thus *Jonah*, who prophesied about sixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Nineveh*, but nowhere that of *Assyria*. The city of *Nineveh* had some time before shaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own; but his territories were of (3) no great extent, as is plain from the said prophecies; neither was he called king of *Assyria*, but only of *Nineveh*. *Amos* prophesied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conquests; and foretold, that God would raise up a nation, that should

humble the house of *Israel*, at that time elated with their success against *Damascus* and *Hamath*; but what nation, he names not. In the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, and *Zecbariab*, which were written after the *Assyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occasions. Therefore, as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who prophesied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Assyrians*, tho' those who flourished after his reign, frequently do, it is pretty plain, that, in the days of the former, the *Assyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raised up against *Israel*; and, by consequence, rose in the days of *Pul*, who is the first upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatening *Syria* and *Israel* with captivity. Besides, we know from Scripture, that, till *Pul* made his appearance on this side the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Sesac* and *Memnon* were great conquerors, and subdued *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Bactria*, &c. but, in their histories, no mention is made of any opposition they met with from an *Assyrian* empire then standing. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Memnon* kings of *Egypt*

(2) *Idem* *ibid*.(3). *Jonah* iii. 6, 7.

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with such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he might have meditated, *Pul* received from him 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of *Israel* into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land ^w. What else this king did in particular, is no-where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already, that he either conquered, or received voluntary homage from *Syria*, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from *Israel*; and that he became the founder of a very great empire.

TIGLATH-PILESER succeeded him (Z); and is supposed, upon good grounds, to have been his son (A). ^{p.ilefer.}

Upon Year of the flood 1601.

^w 2 Kings xv. 19.

Def. Chr.

and *Persia*, but knew nothing of an *Assyrian* empire (12). Whence it is manifest, that the *Assyrian* empire, which *Ctesias* makes as ancient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the above-mentioned nations.

of *Israel*; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(Z) He is also called *Tiglath-pileser*, *Theglath-phalasar*, *Theglath-phellasar*, *Tbilgamas* (14), as supposed, and also *Ninus* junior, according to *Castor* (15). *Prideaux* (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for *Arbaces* the *Mede*. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from *Dijlat*, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river *Tigris* (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to strike fear into the nations, by barely shewing itself, than by pretending to over-run the world by dint of force. How much more natural is this; that what we read of the sort concerning the pretended *Ninus*! *Pul* seems rather to have laid the foundations of the *Assyrian* monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(A) Some are so far from thinking him to have been the son of *Pul*, that they make him a stranger to his line, a *Mede*, as we have seen in the note above. *Rollin*, misled by

(12) See Sir Isaac Newton's chronol. of ancient kingdoms, p. 265.

(13) See Patrick's comment. upon 2 Kings xv. 19. and upon 1 Chron. v. 26.

(14) *Ælian. Hist. anim. l. xii. c. 21.*

(15) *Apud Euseb. chron.*

(16) *Connect. of the Old and New Test. book l. part. i. at the beginning.* (17)

See Patrick, *ubi sup. ver. 29.*

(18) See before, in the notes, p. 248,

249.

(19) *Cleric. ubi sup. com. 29.*

Year of Upon what particular motive we know not, he fell upon the flood the kingdom of *Israel*, and took *Ijon*, and *Abel-beth-maacbah*,

1608.
Bef. Chr.

740. that great and otherwise learned guide archbishop *Usher* (20), makes *Pul* to have been the father of *Sardanapalus* (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbishop, who thought it must have been so, because, in the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardan-Pul*, he could perceive a relation between this last and this first *Assyrian* king; forgetting, that, for the same reason, *Tilgath-pul-assur* might have appeared his son, especially as he is expressly said to have succeeded him in Scripture. By what byassed him above to make this mistake, he might also, and very naturally, have concluded, that *Tiglath-pul-assur*, and *Sardan-pul*, were one and the same person, and so have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The first and second monarchy, according to the scheme of archbishop *Usher* (22), adopted by *Prideaux* and *Rollin*, so intirely repugnant to all history, sacred or profane, may serve to shew how irreconcilable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is so sensible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of Scripture (24) which first makes mention of *Tiglath-pileser*, that, if the common accounts of the *Babylonians* and

Medes are true, of their having held the east under subjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words; adding, that the learned are now sensible there were several sorts of independent kingdoms in those days to the eastward of the *Euphrates*; and that sometimes one of them was uppermost, and sometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the *Assyrians* were most powerful; who, now crossing the *Tigris*, had carried their arms through *Mesopotamia*, and from thence over the *Euphrates* into *Syria* and *Palestine* (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king to have been the son of *Pul*. From the time of *Pul's* appearance to the first of this king's appearance, is a space, according to *Usher* himself (26), of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeed one another. It is, therefore, an eyesore to see them so disjointed as they are in *Rollin* (27), from whose judgment, as he is conversant in the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but, as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid the same, as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to

(20) *Annal. Vet. Test. ad A. M.* 3233.

(21) *Ubi supr.*

(22) *Ubi supr.*

(23) *Ubi supr.*

(24) *Ubi supr.*

(25) *Ubi supr.*

(21) *Ubi supr.*

(23) *Journ. Cleric.*

(24) *2 Reg.*

(25) *Journ. Cleric. in 2 Reg. 14 d.*

(26) *Ubi supr.*

maachab, and *Janoah*, and *Kadsh*, and *Hazor*, and *Gilead*,* and *Gatilee*, and all the land of *Naphtali*, and carried them captive to *Assyria* †, thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivity must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring so hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. But, whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himself obliged to do much more of the kind soon after. For, receiving an embassy from *Abax* king of *Judah* ‡, with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of *Rezin* king of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* king of *Israel*, who were in confederacy against him; upon this prayer, and present, and acknowledgement from the king of *Judah*, *Tigath-pileser* marched against *Damascus*, took that city, transplanted the people of it to *Kir* (C).

† 2 Kings xv. 29.

‡ See vol. ii. p. 315, 316.

instruct the mind as to the reality and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue, and a good life.

(B) *Tigath-pileser* here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could possibly be taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors, as we may suppose, for the same reasons. This their constant practice is in all its circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that, if *Ctesias* had known any thing perfectly of the *Assyrian* affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forbore to have improved it after his manner, which we no-where find that he did.

(C) There are printed copies of the *Septuagint*, which say not whither the people of *Damascus* were transplanted; others have it, the place was *Kophvn*, or *Cyrene*, in *Africa*, deceived by some similitude of the names; but it is impossible to suppose the king of *Assyria* could send them into those parts, when he was not yet master even of *Egypt* (28). *Josephus* (29) makes it a place in the *Upper Media*. *Bechart* (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpose. It will be in vain for us to think of settling with any degree of certainty, the site of this, and many other places hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obscure than this; but we shall offer by-and-by our conjectures concerning some of them.

(28) Vide *Jean. Cleric. in loc. ubi supr.*

(29) *Antiq. Jud. l. ix.*

(30) *P'balg. l. iv. c. 32.*

flew *Rezin*, and so put an end to that ancient kingdom (D).

HE was succeeded by *Shalmaneser* (E), who obliged, on what pretence we know not, *Hoshea* king of *Israel* to become his tributary ^b. Some years after, *Hoshea* resolved

Year of the flood to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, and courted, with that view, the alliance of *So*, then king of *Egypt*. But *Shal-*
1628. *Bef. Chr.* *maneser*, apprised of his design before he could put it in execution, entered, at the head of a powerful army, the

land of *Israel*; and, having laid it waste to the very gates of *Samaria*, closely besieged that metropolis. The place held out almost three years, but was, in the end, obliged, with the rest of the kingdom, to submit to the conqueror, who carried the king, and all his subjects, into captivity (F), replacing them with strangers from *Babylon*, *Cushub*,

2 Kings xvi. 7, 8, 9.

^b 2 Kings xvii. 3.

(D) So that the race of the ancient *Syrians* became, as it were, extinct in this country; which gives room to assert what we have only surmised formerly, concerning the alteration the old religion of this country must have undergone, when conquered by the *Assyrians* (31). How is it to be imagined, that the strangers, who were brought to take possession of this country, should continue the ancient rites and superstitions of its first inhabitants? Well may we say, then, that *Adad* now gave way to *Belus*, and other *Assyrian* gods (32) unknown on this side of the *Euphrates* till now.

(E) His name also is variously written, as *Salmaneser*, *Salmanassar*; he is called *Ene-massar* by *Tobit* (33); and is

supposed to (34) be the *Salman* or *Shalman* of *Hosea* (35). Most chronologers confound him with *Nabonassar* (36); which we shall not here discuss.

(F) We promised, in the last chapter, where we gave an account of the sad extinction of the *Israelitish* kingdom (37), to point out to our readers the most probable countries into which its captive tribes were carried. The text only says, that they were transported into *Assyria*, and placed in *Halab* and *Habor*, by the river of *Gozan*, and in the cities of the *Medes* (1), beyond the river *Euphrates*; and that the country was re-colonized by people from *Babylon*, *Cushub*, *Avva*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim* (2): from which short account three

(21) See vol. ii. p. 283.

(32) *Ibid.*

(33) *Cb.* i. 12.

(34) See *Sir Jf. N. uti chronol. of ant. kingd. amend.* p. 277.

(35) *Cb.*

x. 14.

(36) *Vid. Gregor. Psephum.* p. 246, & *Gregor. Syneccl. chron.*

p. 274.

(37) See *before*, p. 161.

(1) 2 Kings xvii. 6. xviii.

30, & seq. & *Cb.* v. v. ult.

(2) 2 Kings xviii. 11, 34.

C. VIII. *The History of the Assyrians.*

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Cushab, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim c. This was the fatal end of the kingdom of *Israel*, as we have related more at length in the history of the *Jews*.

He

2 Kings xvii. 18—24.

principal questions have been started by the ancient fathers, and other commentators; viz. 1. Where those countries lie, whither the ten tribes were carried: 2. Whether they continued there, or returned along with that of *Judab* at the end of the *Babylonish* captivity: and, 3. Who those *Cuthbeans* were, who were sent to re-people the cities of *Samaria*.

As to the first, we have formerly hinted, we are much in the dark concerning the true situation of those countries; and *Josephus*, who makes express mention of this captivity (3) is so far from offering any conjecture about them, that he doth not so much as name those places out of the sacred historians; but only says in general, that they were transported into *Media* and *Persia*; so that we must be content with the best conjectures which the learned have been able to give us of those provinces or cities.

The first named in the text is that of *Halab*, or, as the *Hebrew* writes it, *Chalab*; which is, not without great probability, supposed to have been the metropolis of *Chalaceni*, and to have given name to the whole province;

and this was situate on the north of *Kurdistan*, between *Assyria* and the *Gordian* mountains. *Habor*, or rather *Chabor*, by the *Greeks* *Chaboras*, and by *Ezekiel*, who dates his prophecies from thence, *Chebar* (4), seems to be a long tract in *Mesopotamia*, or *Kurdistan*; and running along the banks of the river of its name, from which it was so called, and which empties itself into the *Euphrates* on the eastern or farther side. We know but little of its true situation, except that it was between *Assyria* and *Media*. We can give a better guess at the land of *Gozan*, which is mentioned by the sacred historians (5) as a country, or rather as one of those provinces which were conquered by the *Assyrians*, and was probably so called from the river of its name (6). Accordingly *Ptolemy* places the province of *Gauzanitis* in *Mesopotamia*, and mentions the city of *Gauzanis* as capital of it; and *Pliny* takes notice of a province, which he calls *Elon Goxina*, which spread itself up quite to the head-spring of the *Tigris*. We likewise read of a tract named *Gauzan*, in *Media*, said to have been situate between the rivers *Cyrus* and

(3) *Antiq. l. ix. c. ult.*
ix. 12. l. 1. xxxvii. 12.

(4) *Ch. i. 1.*

(5) *Vid. int. al. 2 Kings*

(6) *2 Kings xvii. 6. xviii. 11.*

He afterwards invaded *Phœnice*; but, a peace being soon concluded between him and the *Phœnicians*, he quitted their

Cambyfes; and this is all that we can meet with in ancient authors: from all which we may conclude, that *Gozan*, or *Gauxania*, lay near the *Caspian* sea, if not upon it, and on the northern parts of *Gbilan* in *Persia*, as *Media* did on the south and west coast of the same sea. And thus far we may extend our conjectures concerning the countries into which the *Israelitish* tribes were transported. As for the *Jews*, it is in vain to consult them; since, among other rabbinic stories, they pretend, that the river *Gozan*, from which that country takes its name, is the same with the *Sabbatic* river, which they affirm never to have run on the sabbath, but to be guarded on both sides all the way, by a miraculous fire, to prevent people's approaching it. A fabulous traveller of theirs, who assures us, that those ten tribes are still *in statu quo*, and governed by their own kings, and strict observers of the *Mosaic* law, adds, that *Gozan* is in *Media*, about four days journey from the city of *Hemdan* (7); but that author is too well known to deal in *Jewish* romance, to deserve any credit from any but his brethren. All that we shall add to what has been said, is, that *Rabshakob* the *Assyrian* general mentions the countries of *Haran*, *Rezeph*, *Hamath*, &c. in his threatening letter to

king *Hexekiah*, as provinces lately conquered by the kings his masters (8), and immediately after that of *Gozan*. Now *Haran*, or, as the *Hebrews* call it *Cbaran*, and the *Greeks*, *Cbarres*, was a famed city of *Mesopotamia*, and seated between the *Cbabor* and the *Euphrates* above-mentioned. *Rezeph*, mentioned by the same sacred historians, and by others called *Reseph*, *Resapha*, *Rixapha*, and, by *Ptolemy*, *Rhadzapha*, was a city of *Syria*, according to *Peutinger*, and the *Notitiæ Orientales*; and is by *Ptolemy* placed in *Palmyrene*. *Hamath* is reasonably supposed the same with the ancient *Emessa* on the *Orontes*. The other cities or countries of *Ava*, *Sepharwaim*, &c. out of all which the *Assyrian* monarchs sent their new colonies into the *Samaritan* kingdom, were all seated on the same route; so that those conquerors seem to have swept away all those countries, as they lay in their way to *Palesine*, and to have exchanged their captives from the one to the other; among which the *Israelitish* tribes were sent into the most remote parts from their own land.

The next question is, whether they returned into it with the *Jews* either under *Cyrus*, or any of his successors, or whether they continue still there. The generality of both *Jews*.

(7) *Herod. de Tudeh. itinerar.*
12, c. 17.

(8) *Isa. xxxvii. 11. 2 Kings xiv.*

their country, and returned home with his army. Not long after, the cities of *Sidon*, *Acc*, and *Palatyrus*, with several *

and *Christians* have declared for the latter opinion ; but we shall have occasion in the sequel, when we resume their history from the *Babylonish* return, to shew, that great numbers of them came back into *Judea* along with *Exra* and *Nehemiah*, and are accordingly mentioned by those two inspired writers, who, in their account of that memorable transaction, and of some others that happened soon after, seem to include all the twelve tribes without exception. And it is indeed plain, from the tenor of the several prophecies concerning their captivity and return, that the *Israelites*, as well as the *Jews*, had a share in the promises of being recalled, and dwelling again in their own land. However, it plainly appears upon the whole, that but a small part of any of the ten tribes, nor even of those of *Judah*, *Levi*, and *Benjamin*, did return, in comparison of those who chose to continue in the land of their captivity ; and that those of the former lost, in process of time, the distinction of their particular tribes, and became incorporated with the latter, and comprehended under the common name of *Jews* ; whereas we find them still dispersed, both before and since the promulgation of the gospel, in most provinces of *Asia*, &c. and that many of them were converted to Christi-

anity. Accordingly *St. Peter* addresses his first epistle to the *Jews* dispersed in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Asia*, &c. soon after which we find them in greater number, not only in *Asia*, but in *Europe* and *Africa*, though all blended under the general name of *Jews*, as the *Europeans* are in the *Turkish* dominions under the name of *Franks*.

But, with respect to the ten tribes, whatever portion of them might come back with *Exra* and *Nehemiah*, or even since ; for it is plain, that numbers kept still coming from all parts, perhaps enough to verify the prophecies above-mentioned ; yet it plainly appears, that a much greater number staid behind ; and, if we may believe the *Jewish* historian, all the ten were still in *Media* and *Persia* in his time, and so numerous, that they could not be computed (9). All the rest of the *Jews*, in consequence of their expecting an universal restoration of their whole nation, not only believe, but affirm, those ten to be still extant, and distinguished by their particular names under their respective heads, and all under one common prince, or supreme monarch. They tell us wonders concerning the regularity and splendor of his government. But, as they do the same concerning that of *Judah* likewise, which appears to be a mere fabulous kingdom, invented only

(9) *Antiq* l. xii. c. 5.

several others, revolting from the *Tyrrians*, to whom they were subject, submitted to him. This encouraged him to attempt the reduction of *Tyre* itself. But of the bad

to keep up their faith in *Jacob's* prophecy, of the sceptre not receding from that tribe till the coming of the *Messiah* (10); and as they differ greatly in their accounts of both, and have stuffed them with many rabbinic fables, fit only for a *Jewish* creed; we shall forbear saying any more of them: those, who are curious enough in such things, may, among the many authors who have written upon that subject, consult *Calmat's dissertation concerning the return of the ten tribes*. All that we shall add to this second point is, that we are not without some better evidence than that of the *Jews*, that there are still great numbers of their descendants, inhabiting those lands of their captivity, who, we are told, observe the law of *Moses*, and speak the *Hebrew* as their mother-tongue, though they can give no account how they came into those parts. Among others, a late traveller through the northern and eastern parts of *Europe* and *Asia* (11), who has conversed among them, tells us, they are called *Kuba* or *Kubazin*, and that they inhabit a mountainous tract near *Derbent*, whose territory is known to be almost contiguous to that of *Shirwan*, which was formerly part of the antient *Media*; so that they live near

the borders of the *Turks*, *Muscovites*, and *Persians*; near the *Caspian* sea; and have inhabited those parts during so long a series of ages, as to have lost all accounts and remembrance how they first came thither. What confirms our conjecture, for we only offer it as such, that they are the descendants of the ten tribes, rather than of that of *Judah* carried away by *Nebuchadnezzar* into *Babylon*, is their northern situation with respect to the land of *Palestine*; agreeable to which, the prophet *Jeremiah*, speaking of the general return of *Judah* and *Israel* into their own land, says, that they shall come together out of the land of the north, to the land which I have given to their forefathers for an inheritance (12). But, whether he there speaks of the *Babylonish* captivity, or, as others think, of a future one, at the second coming of the *Messiah*, at the beginning of the millennium, is a point too much controverted, and out of our province, to dwell longer upon.

The third question, *viz.* who those *Cuthceans*, and other colonies, were, whom the *Assyrian* monarch sent to repeople the kingdom of *Samaria*, more properly belonging to the second part of the *Jewish* history, will be examined in a subsequent volume.

(10) *De hac vid. Sup. vol. iii. p. 317, & not. (G).*

(11) *Strahlenberg's descr. of the north-east parts of Europe and Asia, p. 398.*

(12) *Jerem.*

iii. 12, & 18.

success that attended him in the attempt, we have spoken already.

SHALMANESER was succeeded by *Sennacherib* (M); who, finding that *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* failed in the payment of the tribute which both he and his predecessor had paid to him, marched against him with a powerful army, and reduced a great many of his fortified towns. But hereupon *Hezekiah*, acknowledging his fault, agreed to pay to the *Assyrian* a yearly tribute of 300 talents of silver; and 20 of gold. Though this was all he demanded, yet he soon after sent his army, under the command of *Tartan Rabsharis* (N), and *Rabshakeh* (O), to invest *Jerusalem*. These, presenting themselves at the foot of the city-wall, demanded a parley with *Hezekiah's* ministers; which being granted, *Rabshakeh* addressed them in an haughty speech, setting forth the power of his matter, and treating with the utmost contempt not only *Hezekiah*, and the king of *Egypt* (P), in whom he supposed *Heze-*

° See vol. ii. p. 371, 372..

(M) His *Hebrew* name is *Sanberib*; and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called *Jareb* (45).

(N) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the name of a person, signifying, *The chief of the eunuchs* (46).

(O) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, *The chief cup-bearer* (47).

(P) It is thought this was done more out of mere rage, than any thing else, *Sennacherib* disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon *Egypt*, according

to the story we have of it in *Herodotus* (48); but, however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we are right, to be busied in the siege of *Lachish*. He had not made his attempt upon *Egypt* yet. We think we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the *Egyptian*; for *Sethon* was then king of *Egypt*, who, being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder *Sennacherib*, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise the then king of *Egypt*.

(45) *Hofca* v. 13. & x. 6.

ennd. ibid.

(48) See vol. ii. p. 79.

(50) See vol. ii. *ibid.*

(46) *Vid. Joan. Cleric. in loc.*

(47) *Vid.*

(49) *Vid. Joan. Cleric. in loc.*

kiah to have placed great confidence, but even the God of Israel; observing, that as the gods of Hamath and of Arphad, the gods of Sepharvaim, Henab, and Iuah (Q), had not been able to withstand the Assyrian power, so neither would theirs. But, in the mean time, Sennacherib

(Q) Sir Isaac Newton (51) uses this boast concerning the nations, and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the Assyrian monarchy in these days, observing that this desolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the Jews (52). *All the above-cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquered by the Assyrians oftener than once: but these being small kingdoms, the king of Assyria soon overflowed them: Know ye not, saith Sennacherib to the Jews [2 Chr. xxxii. 13. 15.], what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your God deliver you out of mine hand? He and his fathers, therefore, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquer-*

ors; and, with a current of victories, had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy (53). This is a just remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateness of the Assyrian monarchy, in comparison of the common computation; and may account for what we have as good as asserted (54), That the religion of the Phœnicians and Syrians, as known to the Greeks, or even to themselves, to all appearance, was of Assyrian origin; which may not only be amply proved by the strange nations who were transplanted thither, but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be stronger than the gods of the vanquished; which, as fallacious an argument as it may seem to us (55), was, in those days of idolatry and superstition, found and indisputable doctrine: so Belus, or Pul, the Assyrian god, having proved himself too strong for Adad the Syrian god, the former gives place to the latter, of course; and Belus thenceforward becomes the god of the Syrians, instead of the unfortunate Adad (56).

(51) Chronol. of ant. kind. amend. p. 273, 276.

(52) Ibid. p. 276, 277.

Jean. Cleric. comment. in loc.

(54) See vol. ii. p. 283.

(55) See vol. ii. p. 282.

(56) Ibid. p.

(55) Vid.

being informed, that *Tirhakah* (R) king of *Ethiopia* was in full march to invade his dominions, he hastened back to defend them; and his generals, leaving *Jerusalem*, marched with all expedition after him (S). *Sennacherib*, before his departure, sent a threatening letter to *Hezekiah*, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by *Assyria*, *Rezeb*, and the children of *Eden*, which were in *Tibkafar* † (T). He returned soon after against *Judah*; but

† 2 Kings xix. 8, 12.

(R) According to the course of the *Egyptian* history, this *Tirhakah* can have been no other than the *Sabbaco* (58) of *Herodotus*, who was an *Ethiopian*, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered *Egypt*, and held it 50 years (59): he retired from *Egypt* at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into *Ethiopia*; and by that means *Setbon* the priest of *Vulcan*, as he is called (61), came to be king of *Egypt*. *Setbon* being more strictly a priest than a king, and *Tirhakah*, or *Sabbaco*, the great *Ethiopian*, conscious *Setbon* could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as *Sennacherib*, and perceiving *Egypt* to be in imminent danger of subjection, he puts himself at the head of his army to protect *Egypt*, and at the same time secure his own country *Ethiopia*. *Sabbaco*, though an *Ethiopian*, must have had a great concern for the liberties of *Egypt*, not only as it was his barrier, and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still

alive, though he must have been a man in years; for he did not die on the throne of *Egypt*, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of *Egypt* in Scripture, that we fancy the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(S) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy: we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of *Judah*, and perhaps some others; that he besieged *Lachish*; sent to insult *Jerusalem*, and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about *Tirhakah* king of *Ethiopia*; and finally, that the gros of his army was miraculously destroyed.

(T) The most probable opinion is, that these places were

(58) See vol. ii. p. 77.

(61) *Ibid.* p. 79.

(59) *Ibid.* p. 78.

(62) *Ibid.* p. 78.

(60) *Ibid.*

but his army being smitten by an angel (U), and 185,000 of them found dead next morning in their camp^u (W), he marched back into *Assyria*, and took up his abode at *Nineveh*^w; where finding himself fallen in the esteem of his people (X), he grew fullen and tyrannical; particularly venting his rage against the captive *Hebrews* in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death^v, in revenge for his great downfall, which he may have attributed to them. In short, he behaved in such a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own sons, two of whom, *Adrammelech* and *Sharezer* (Y), slew him

^u 2 Kings xix. 35. ^w Ibid. ver. 36. ^v Tobit i. 18.

somewhere in *Syria*. There is a city called *Reseph* in *Mesopotamia*, near the mouth of the river *Saacoras* (73); and a city called *Resaph*, in the *Palmyrene* of *Syria*: which of these may have been *Rezep*, we decide not; the other cities are not so easy to be found.

(U) This is a figurative expression common with the *Jerus*. Some suppose this havock to have been made "by a plague, "or perhaps by lightning, or "a fiery wind, which blows "sometimes in the neighbouring deserts, or rather by being surprised by *Sethon* and *Tirbakab*; for the *Egyptians*, "in memory of this action, "erected a statue to *Sethon*, "holding in his hand a mouse, "the *Egyptian* symbol of destruction (74)."

(W) Where his camp was at this time, is no very clear matter. It is also uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided,

part under himself, and part under *Rabshakeb* (75); and consequently whether it was the army under himself, or that under *Rabshakeb*, that was thus swept away, or whether they both suffered. After what we have already said, we leave the reader to satisfy himself about this obscurity.

(X) Returning so baffled, with such shame and dishonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in comparison of his predecessors; though *Sbalmaneser*, his father, does not seem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have seen him shamefully beaten by the *Tyrians* in a sea-fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect (76).

(Y) It is supposed he had, in the midst of his danger, threatened to sacrifice them to his god; and that they took this opportunity of sacrificing him, that they might not be

(73) *Ptolem tab. A, geograph. iv. ant. vind. amend. p. 282.* See also *Pilhaux's connect. of the Old and New Test. book i. part 1. p. 24.* (75) See *Patrick ubi sup.* (76) See *vol. p. ii. 371.*

(74) *Sir Jf. Newt. chron. of*

him as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god *Nisroch*, in a short time after his precipitate return from *Judea*. They slew him, and fled into the land of *Armenia*; perhaps to avoid the punishment due to their parricide (Z): thus was he slain in the temple of his favourite god (A), and his third son *Esar-haddon* reigned in his stead ^z (B).

ESAR-HADDON (C) [may be said to have succeeded to *Esar-had-*
don.

^z 2 Kings xix. ver. 37.

sacrificed themselves (76): what grounds there are for this, we know not. We no-where read, that any such unnatural superstition prevailed among the *Assyrians*: we may inquire into this, when we come to treat of the *Babylonian* religion, which must at least have included that of *Assyria*.

(Z) If the supposition in the note above be true, they had reason to fly for their disobedience and murder; but, if not, we cannot perceive but they might have justified themselves with the people, who may not have been very sorry for *Sennacherib's* death, upon the principle of self-preservation; which might have served for a plea of some validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or superstition.

(A) We have it from *Josephus* (77), that *Nisroch* or *Arafcus*, as he calls him (78), was his most esteemed god. Concerning his history, we have said all we thought necessary, in the former part of this history (79).

(B) *Herodotus* makes express

mention of *Sennacherib*(1), and tells us, that, as he lay before *Pelufsum* with his army, such swarms of field-rats and mice entered his camp one night, as destroyed all their shield-straps and bow-strings. This, bishop *Patrick*, with some seeming passion, calls an *horrible lye* (2); and a lye it is, or rather a falsehood; but nevertheless confirms in some degree what is written concerning the sudden destruction of the *Assyrian* army (3). *Herodotus* calls *Sennacherib* king of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, perhaps because the *Assyrians* at that time, with *Peræa*, or the land of *Gilead*, and *Hamath* or *Iturea*, possessed great part of the neighbouring *Arabia*. It is plain from Scripture, that they were, in *Sennacherib's* time, masters of *Ivab* (4), which was, according to *Junius* (5), a province of *Arabia Deserta*.

(C) He is also called *Afar-haddon*, *Afordan* by the *Septuagint*, *Assuradin* in *Ptolemy's* canon, *Sarchedon* by *Tobit* (80), *Sargon* by *Isaiab* (81), and *Asnapper* by *Exra* (82).

(76) *Patrick ubi sup.*

(79) See before, p. 254.

upon 2 Kings xix. xvii. 34. xix. 13.

i. 21.

(77) *Antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 2.*

(1) *Herod. l. ii. c. 141.*

(3) See *Joseph. antiq. l. x. c. 1.*

(5) *Jun. on 2 Kings xvii. 24.*

(81) *Isaiab xx.*

(82) *Exra iv. 10.*

(78) *Ibid.*

(2) *Comment.*

(4) 2 Kings

(80) *Tobit*

Year of the ruins, as it were, of the *Assyrian* monarchy founded by the flood *Pul*, and enlarged and established by *Tiglath-pileser*. Under 1638. *Sennacherib* it fell to decay, either by his imprudence or ill-fortune, or a mixture of both. The *Medes*, taking

710.

advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the sudden and general destruction of his army, revolted, and were never after, it seems, reduced to the *Assyrian* yoke, though *Esar-baddon*, in the course of his reign, seems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of supporting and enlarging the empire. He was, to all appearance, a mild and a gracious personage, and particularly kind to the *Jews*, who had been so cruelly abused by his father,

Year of after his hasty return to *Nineweh*. He, in the beginning of his reign, seems to have continued quiet in his capital, 1667. and perhaps had enough to do to support his dignity at home; till after some years, his kindred race of the *Babylonish* kings being extinct, or some other cause producing

681. an inter-reign in that kingdom, he laid hold of the opportunity, and united it to the crown of *Assyria*.

Year of GROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to establish the flood his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire; and marches into *Syria*, and against the remnant of 1671. *Israel*, and the kingdom of *Judah*. The remnant of *Israel* he transplanted, as he may have done by the rem-

nant that may have been left of *Syria*; so that they now utterly ceased to be nations; and, in their stead, he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged *Israel* and *Syria* from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of *Judah* to the state of dependence it had professed in the time of king *Ahaz*, took *Manasseh* their king, bound him in chains, and sent him captive to *Babylon*.

ELATED by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he conti-

² Tobit i. 15. ¹ PTOLEM. can. astronom. ³ Ezra iv. 2, 10. ⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

(H) His being now called of *Israel*, recorded in the reign king of *Babylon* has been the of *Sabalmaneser*, to his time; cause that commentators have concerning which we have declared our mind already (§2). postponed the transplantation

(82) See before, in the notes, p. 313.

nues his march, resolving to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* (I), which he did accordingly; and, having subdued both the flood countries, and carried with him into captivity great numbers of the inhabitants, he held those kingdoms in subjection to him three years † (K). In the course of this war, he

Year of 1675.
Bef. Chr. 673.

† *Isaiah* xx. 4.

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all *Syria* and *Palestine* in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*. Besides, *Tirhakah* or *Sabbaco*, may have been now dead; for, according to the history of *Egypt*, (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from *Setbon* (84), who was now unsupported; and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This reduction and captivity was foretold by *Isaiah* (85); *In that day shall there be an high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians.* In this war the city of *Diospolis*, *No-Ammon*, or *Thebes*, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably wasted, and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and an-

other; the former adding (87) to what is above, *So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot . . . to the shame of Egypt. And they [the Jews] shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory:* and the latter (88), who, prophesying the destruction of *Nineveh*, and speaking of the calamity of *Egypt* as a transaction of late date, says, *Art thou better than the populous No [No-Ammon], that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this, in our opinion, can have been effected by no king of *Assyria*, *Ezar-baddon* excepted. Archbishop *Usher* (90) and *Prideaux* (91) ascribe the conquest of *Egypt* to *Sennacherib* his predecessor. But, from what we read in *Herodotus* (92) we cannot help concluding him to have suffered some considerable loss before *Pelufium*, and to have been thereby deterred from any further attempts upon *Egypt*. Besides, as he had not

(83) *Vol.* ii. p. 78. (84) *Ibid.* p. 79. (85) *Isaiah* xix. 23.
(86) See *Prid. connect. of the Old and New Test.* book i. part i. p. 22. 8vo.
(87) *Isaiah* xx. 4, 5. (88) *Nabum* iii. 8, 10. (89) *Ibid.* (90) *Ush. ad A. M.* 3292. (91) *Prid. connect.* l. i. part i. p. 22. edit. 8vo.
(92) *Herod.* l. ii. c. 141.

he particularly took, by his general *Tartan*, the city of *Ashdod* or *Azotus* ^u, which cost *Pſammetichus* ſo much

Year of time to wrest from his ſucceſſors ^w. Thus did he extend the flood his dominions (L), and once more ſpread the terror of 1685. the *Assyrian* name far and near. After a reign of many Beſ. Chriſt years, glorious eſpecially in the latter part of it, he died; 668. and ſeemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had while living; whence, and for other reaſons,

^u Iſaiah xx. 1.

^w See vol. ii. p. 83.

yet thoroughly ſubdued *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, he had erred againſt the rules of common prudence and policy, in attempting the reduction of *Egypt* before he was maſter of thoſe countries. To *Aſar-baddan* a moſt favourable opportunity offered, after the reduction of *Syria*, to invade *Egypt*, that kingdom being then divided into twelve principalities. Of this diviſion *Eſar-baddon*, in all likelihood, took advantage, or of the diſturbances attending it, and made himſelf maſter of *Egypt*. *Tartan*, who took *Aſhdod*, was, as *Prideaux* obſerves (89), one of *Sennacherib's* generals; but we cannot well conclude from thence, that it was taken in his time, ſince *Tartan* might have ſerved in that quality, both under *Sennacherib*, and his ſon *Eſar-baddon*, according to us, the *Sargon* of *Iſaiab* (90).

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which muſt, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predeceſſors, is not a little uncertain; though *Sir Iſaac Newton*, in a manner, ventures to

deſcribe it, in theſe words: “ In the reign of *Sennacherib* and *Aſſerbaddon*, the *Assyrian* empire ſeems arrived at its greatneſs, being united under one monarch, and containing *Assyria*, *Media*, *Apolloniatis*, *Sufana*, *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and part of *Arabia*, and reaching eaſtward into *Elymais* and *Paratcene*, a province of the *Medes*; and if *Chalaſh* and *Chabor* be *Cochis* and *Iberia*, as ſome think, and as may ſeem probable from the circumciſion uſed by thoſe nations till the days of *Herodotus*, we are alſo to add theſe two provinces, with the two *Armenias*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, as far as the river *Halys*; for *Herodotus* tells us, that the people of *Cappadocia*, as far as to that river, were called *Syrians* by the *Greeks* (91).” *Media* was not at this time ſubject to the *Assyrians*. The *Medes* had thrown off the yoke in his father’s time, and were never afterwards thoroughly reduced, as

(89) *Prid. ib.*
amend. p. 283.

(90) *Iſai. xx. 1.*

(91) *Cbronol. of ant. kingd.*

sons (M), we cannot be induced to think he can be, in any respect, the *Sardanapalus* of *Ctesias*, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

He was succeeded by *Saosduchinus*, or *Saosducheus*, the *Saosduchinus* • *Nebuchadonosor* of Scripture, a warlike and active prince, particularly remarkable for the great advantages he gained over the *Medes*, who, after subduing several of the neighbouring nations, had, under the conduct of their second king *Phraortes*, invaded *Assyria*. *Nebuchadonosor* raised a powerful army to oppose them, summoning the whole force of his wide-spreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the east to his assistance. Though most of the nations he summoned received his ambassadors with contempt (R), yet he took the field in the 12th year of his

Year of the flood 1680. *Bef. Chr.* 668.

* *Judith* i. 55 & seq.

we shall make appear in the history of that people.

(M) He is styled *the great and noble Asnapper* (92). It is impossible he should have been represented as a slothful and effeminate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may, it is possible, have been known to the ancient *Greeks* by the name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Affar-baddon-Pul* (93); but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94); and is said to have built *Tarsus* and *Anchiale* in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called *Sardanapalus*; for there were two of the same name, very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the *Sardanapalus* of profane authors, in the se-

tion before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(R) *Herodotus* confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the *Assyrians*, Those I mean, says he (96), who lived at *Nineweh*, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deserted by their friends or vassals, though nevertheless in a good state to defend themselves; against these, says he, did *Phraortes* the *Mede* make war. This *Phraortes* is the *Arphaxad* above, as we shall have occasion to observe in the history of the *Medes*. It appears, then, that *Nebuchadonosor* had led a quiet and peaceable life, till the 12th year of his reign, when, perceiving himself and his kingdom in danger from the victorious and insulting *Medes*, he takes the alarm, and invites all the nations of the east to his assistance. No two histori-

(12) *Fazri* iv. 10. *b. jar.*, in the notes, p. 307.

(93) See before, p. 301.

(See

(95) *Ibid.* p. 301. (96) *L. i. c. 102.*

his reign (S) with what forces he had ; and, joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and, pursuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him, and put him to death. After this victory, he entered *Media*, took many strong-holds, and, pushing on his conquests, stormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this perhaps more than expected success, he returned to *Nineveh*, where he feasted and revelled with those who had attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days ^b (T).

AND, now resuming his martial spirit, he talks of nothing less than being avenged on the whole earth ; and, chooling *Holofernes* for the instrument of his vengeance,

^b Judith i. 5, & seq.

cal pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than *Herodotus*, and this book of *Judith*. And here, by the way, we may, in this distress of *Nebuchadonosor*, perceive some likeness of the case of *Sardanapalus*, who, when he was besieged in *Niniveh*, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour ; though thereupon we have noted, that, in his case, it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city ; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the romantic historian *Ctesias*.

(S) Thus we read in the *Latin* translation of the book of *Judith* done by *Jerom* from the *Chaldee*, at the request of

Paula and *Eusochium*. But the author of the *Greek* version, after telling us, that *Nebuchadonosor* waged war with *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes*, in the great plain of *Ragau*, in the 12th year of his reign (1), contradicts himself in the same chapter, saying, that this war was waged, the victory obtained, and the king of the *Medes* killed by *Nebuchadonosor*, in the 17th year of his reign (2). The same mistake is to be found in our version.

(T) This successful war of *Saosduchinus*, or *Nebuchadonosor*, against the *Medes*, is exactly almost what *Ctesias* writes of *Sardanapalus* (3) : it is the same story most carelessly told ; and this feast is certainly the same *Sardanapalus* is said to have given his victorious army (4).

(9) See before, p. 324, 305.

pp. 13, 14, 15.

(1) *Judith* i. 1.

(3) See before, p. 303.

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.* p. 304.

as he was the commander in chief of his troop, he orders him to go forth at the head of a powerful army, to put all to the sword who should oppose him, and reserve such as submitted to be punished by himself ^e. As to the cruelty with which these orders were executed; the dread and terror that merciless general struck into the countries through which he marched; the courageous resolution taken by the *Jews* to withstand the mighty conqueror; the great streights to which the city of *Bethulia*, and the whole nation, were reduced; their miraculous deliverance; and, lastly, the slaughter of the *Assyrian* army; the reader will find a distinct and minute account of these particulars in the book of *Judith*, and to that we refer him ^d.

SAOSDUCHINUS was succeeded by *Chynalydan*, or *Sarrac* (Z), as *Polyhistor* calls him. In his reign the *Medes*, having *Cynares*, the son of *Phraortes*, at their head, a young and warlike prince, not only recovered what the *Assyrians* had taken from them after their victory in the plains of *Rogau*, but utterly defeated them in a pitched battle, and obliged them to shelter themselves behind the walls of *Nineveh* their metropolis, to which they laid close siege. But they were soon obliged, by the irruption of the *Scythians*, to abandon the enterprize, and employ their arms in the defence of their own country ^e.

IN the mean time *Nabopalassar*, a *Babylonian*, whom *Chynaladan* had entrusted with the command of his troops in *Chaldea*, taking advantage of the low ebb, to which the *Assyrian* power was reduced, revolted from him, and

^e *Judith* ii. 1—13.
l. i. c. 104. l. ii. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 20.

^d *Ibid.* i. — xv.

^e *HEROD.*

(Z) This name may have been contracted from *Sarchedon*, as *Sarchedon* was from *Afferbadon*, *Afferhadon-pul*, or *Sardanapalus* (16). Here we seemingly see, then, whence we are to derive the two *Sardanapalus*'s in profane authors (17), and particularly those in

Suidas (18) distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate man (19). The great *Afferhadon* (20) was the former; and this king, who, according to our supposition, must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(16) *Sir Jf. Newt. chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p. 293.*
before, in the notes, p. 300.

(18) *Advocem Σαρδανάπαλος.*
(20) *See before, p. 323.*

(17) *See*

(19) *See*

Chynala- feized on the kingdom of *Babylon* for himself ^b. *Chynala-*
dan burns dan, terrified at the news of this revolt, and dreading the
his palace calamities ready to befall him, set fire to his palace, and
and him- was consumed with all his wealth in the flames ^c (A). The
self. *Assyrian*

^b POLYHIST. apud Syncel. chron. p. 210. et in Græc. Euseb.
 Scal. p. 38, 39. ^c Id. ibid.

(A) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of *Cyaxares*, the son of *Phraortes* (35), who was determined to avenge his father's death, who must have been the same with the *Arpaxad* of the *Apocrypha* (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivity, or a private life, but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even burning himself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burnt themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the *Indians*, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But, in the case of *Sardanapalus* and others, who may have dreaded a severe constraint of person, or a loss of life by the hand of a remorseless enemy; it is

no such great wonder, that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the thirst of his rage with their blood, or enrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him a sufferer even by their destruction.

We have made it our business, in several preceding notes, to shew, that there are two *Sardanapalus's* in profane writers; and that these two can have been no other than the great *Afferhadon* king of *Assyria* (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of the present, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The profane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as *Tarsus* and *Auchiale*, and to have died peaceably and quietly in his bed (39); the other a sluggard, who pe-

(35) *Herodot. l. i. c. 102.*
in not. ad Athen. l. xii. c. 7.

(39) *Athen. deipnos. l. xii. p. 529.*

(36) *Judit. i. c. 1.*

(38) See before, in the notes, p. 323.

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Assyrian empire subsisted several years after his death (B); but, as to his successors, we are left quite in the dark. All we know for certain, is, that it was in the end overturned by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*. Thus fell the

Year of
the flood
1722.
Bef. Chr.
626.

rished in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures (40). The former then must have been the great *Afferbadon*, or *Sardan-pul*, of Scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince *Sarac*, *Sarchedon*, or *Sardon-pul*.

(B) *Josephus* was of this opinion (1), and likewise *St. Jerome* (2); and it is intirely agreeable to the computation of the best chronologers, those especially whom we have followed. For, according to them, *Chynaladan*, or *Sarac*, came to the crown of *Assyria* in the year of the world 3356, of the flood 700, before CHRIST 648; and reigned, according to *Polyhistor*, 22 years; so that he must have died in the year of the world 3378, of the flood 1722, before CHRIST 626. Now that the kingdom of *Assyria* subsisted many years after his death, is manifest both from Scripture, and profane history. From Scripture we learn, that, when *Ishtab* was killed by *Pharaoh-necho* king of *Egypt*, there was still a king of *Assyria* (3); and his death happened 16 years after that of *Chynalad:in*. Among the profane historians, *Herodotus* tells us (4), that *Nineveh* was not taken, nor, of course, the *Assyrian*

empire overturned, till the *Scythians*, who had broken into *Asia*, were driven out; and their expulsion happened 20 years after the death of *Chynaladan*, that is, in the year of the world 3398, of the flood 1742, before CHRIST 606. In that very year a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Lydians*, which lasted five years (5). During that time the *Medes* were not in a condition to renew their attempts against the *Assyrian* empire, which had been interrupted by the sudden invasion of the *Scythians*; and the revolted *Babylonians* had not yet sufficient strength to reduce that power by themselves. But no sooner was a peace concluded between the two nations at war, than the *Mede* and *Babylonian*, that is, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*, his father *Nabopolassar* being then dead, entering into an alliance, marched with their combined forces against *Nineveh*, and, in the end, made themselves masters both of that metropolis and empire (6). And thus have we settled the time of this great event, which, according to this computation, happened in the year of the world 3403, of the flood 1747, before CHRIST 601.

(40) See before, p. 206.

(2) *Hier. prefat. in Jonam.*

l. i. c. 106.

Tebit c. ult. ver. u. r.

(1) *Joseph. antiq. l. ix. c. 11. & l. xx. c. 6.*

(3) *2 Kings xxiii. 29.*

(4) *Herodot.*

(5) *Id. ibid. c. 73, 74.*

(6) *Id. l. i. c. 106, &*

empire of *Assyria*, or in some such manner, pursuant to what had been foretold by the prophets^m, who can be understood of no other than the monarchy founded by *Pul*, who first began to afflict *Israel* and *Judah*, and the neighbouring nations; and whose successors were the first that attempted to extinguish the great nations on this side of the *Euphrates*, but were in the end extinguished themselves; so that *Assyria* being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long since no more, falsehood has been invented and propagated to preserve her the honour which truth could not pay her. Concerning her we should have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain assistance of Scripture, and the most inestimable concurrence of *Ptolemy's astronomical canon*.

C H A P. IX.

The History of the BABYLONIANS.

S E C T. I.

The Description of the Country of BABYLON, or CHALDÆA.

Names. THIS country was known, in the most antient times, by the names of *Shinar*, *Shinaar*, &c. The name of *Shinar* it seems to have retained even in *Daniel's* timeⁿ. As for the name of *Babylon*, it is universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower of *Babel*, and the name of *Chaldæa* from the *Chaldæans*, or *Chasdim*^b.

Division. THESE two names sometimes extend to the whole country, being indifferently taken for each other, and sometimes are limited to certain parts; by *Babylon*, or *Babylonia*, being meant the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city of *Babylon*; and by *Chaldæa*, that which extends southward to the *Persian gulf*. *Chaldæa* is used by the sacred writers for the whole country^c;

^m See *Isai*. x. 5—20. xiv. 25. xxx. 32. xxxi. 8, 9. *Ezek.* xxxi. 3, 17. *Nahum* iii. 18, 19.

ⁿ *Dan*. i. 2. See vol. i. p. 323.

^b *Joseph. antiq.* l. i. c. 7. See vol. i. p. 368.

^c *Jerem.* xxiv. 5. xxv. 12. l. 8, &c. *Ezek.* xii. 13.

and *Babylonia*, generally speaking, by the profane ^d. It lies between 30 and 35 degrees of north latitude; and was bounded, according to *Ptolemy* ^e, on the north by *Mesopotamia*, on the east by the *Tigris*, on the west by *Arabia Deserta*, and on the south by the *Persian* gulf, and part of *Arabia Felix*. In *Babylonia*, properly so called, *Cities of* or as a distinct province from *Chaldea*, were the following *note in* *ba-* *cities*; *Babylon*, the metropolis of that kingdom, which *bylonia*. we shall describe in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, to whom, in great measure, it owed its grandeur; *Vologesia* or *Vologesocerta*, built on the *Euphrates* by *Vologesis* king of the *Parthians* in the time of *Vespasian* ^f; *Barfita* ^g, probably *Strabo's* *Borsippa* ^h, sacred to *Diana* and *Apollo*, famous in *Strabo's* time for a woolen manufacture, and the seat of a certain sect of *Chaldeans*, thence called *B-risippeni* ⁱ; *Idiccara* on the *Euphrates*, and the borders of *Arabia Deserta*; *Coche* in the island *Mesene*, formed by the *Tigris*, *Sura*, and *Pombedithe*, of which the situation is very uncertain.

In *Chaldea* *Ptolemy* places the following cities; *Spunda*, *Batracharta*, *Sbalatha*, *Altha*, and *Teridon*, all on the *Tigris*. In the inland country were, according to the same geographer, *Chuduca*, *Chumana*, *Bethana*, *Orchoe*, *Biramba*, and several others, equally unknown. Some will have *Orchoe* to be the *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*, where *Abraham* was born; but others, perhaps upon better grounds, suppose the *Ur* mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* ^k, and placed by him between the *Tigris* and the city of *Nisibis*, to have been the birth-place of that patriarch ^l. 'Tis true, that the *Ur* mentioned by *Ammianus* stood in *Mesopotamia*; but, that part of *Mesopotamia*, namely, that which lay on the *Tigris*, was antiently comprised under the name of *Chaldea*, appears plain, not only from profane writers, but from Scripture ^m.

In antient times the *Babylonian* name, extending far beyond the limits both of *Babylonia* and *Chaldea*, comprised all, or the greater part, of the provinces subject to the

^d DIODOR. l. ii. c. 11, 12. STRABO, l. xvi. sub init. COLIN. l. v. c. 12. ^e PTOL. l. v. cap. ult. ^f Idem ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 26. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. c. 20. ^g PTOL. ibid. ^h STRABO, l. xvi. p. 509. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k AMMIAN. l. xxv. c. 26. ^l Vid. BOCHART. l. ii. phaleg. c. 10. & GROTIUM in Genes. ii. 31. ^m See Acta vii. 2, 4.

Babylonian empire (L). But as we have already described some of those countries, and shall speak of the others

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(L) The limits of the *Babylonian empire* were much the same with those of the *Assyrian empire*, after the revolt of the *Medes*; and hence the *Babylonian* name was almost as widely extended as the *Assyrian*; and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems the most generally to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, superior to the former. “*Berosus* saith, That *Nebuchadnezzar* held *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*; and *Strabo* adds *Arbela* to the territories of *Babylon*; and, saying that *Babylon* was antiently the metropolis of *Assyria*, he thus describes the limits of the *Assyrian empire* [or more properly the *Babylonian*]: *Contiguous*, saith he [l. xvi.], to *Persia* and *Susiana* are the *Assyrians*; for so they call *Babylonia*, and the greatest part of the region about it; part of which is *Atturia*, wherein *Ninus* [or *Nineveh*], and *Apolloniatis*, and the *Elymeans*, and the *Parætacæ*, and *Chalonitis* by the mountain *Zagrus*, and the fields near *Ninus*, and *Dolomene*, and *Chalachene*, and *Chazene*, and *Adiabene*, and the nations of *Mesopotamia* near the *Gordyæans*, and the *Mygdones* about *Nisibis*, unto

“ *Zeugma upon Euphrates*; and a large region on this side the *Euphrates*, inhabited by the *Arabians* and *Syrians*, properly so called, as far as *Cilicia*, and *Phœnicia*, and *Libya*, and the sea of *Egypt*, and the *Sinus Iflicus*.” And a little after, describing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he “ bounds it on the north with the *Armenians* and *Medes*, unto the mountain *Zagrus*; on the west side, with *Susa*, and *Elymais*, and *Paratacene*, inclusively; on the south with the *Persian gulf*, and *Chaldæa*; and, on the west, with the *Arabes Scenitæ*, as far as *Adiabene* and *Gordyæa*.” Afterwards, speaking of *Susiana* and *Sittacene*, a region between *Babylon* and *Susa*, and of *Parætacene* and *Cossæa*, and *Elymais*, and of the *Sagapeni* and *Siloceni*, two little adjoining provinces, he concludes [lib. xvi. p. 745.], “ And these are the nations which inhabit *Babylonia eastward*: to the north are *Media* and *Armenia*, exclusively; and westward are *Adiabene* and *Mesopotamia*, inclusively; the greatest part of *Adiabene* is plain, the same being part of *Babylonia*: in some places it borders on *Armenia*; for the *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*, warred frequently on one another (60).” We

(60) *Sir J. Newt. chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p. 324, 325.*

in their proper places, we have confined ourselves here to *Babylonia* and *Chaldæa*, properly so called.

THIS country enjoys an air very temperate and wholesome for the most part, though at certain seasons of the year no air can be possibly more dangerous. The heats are so extraordinary here, that the richer sort were used to sleep in tubs and cisterns of water^p; nor could they bear to live without this pernicious practice, which still continues, as is well known to all, who have travelled into those parts: at certain seasons this country is exposed to a pestilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers. It seldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; so that the inhabitants in the northernmost parts, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, the engines and wheels which they make use of for that purpose being so numerous, especially along the banks of the *Euphrates*, as sometimes to hurt the navigation of the river^q. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year^r; nay, it has been sometimes known not to have rained here for two years and an half together; and the inhabitants reckon, that, if it does but rain twice or thrice in the year, it is enough for their purpose^s: this is remarked by *Herodotus*^c, who says, that in the land of the *Assyrians* it seldom rained; and that, though the country was quite like *Egypt*, its fertility was not caused by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for its refreshment and fecundation; though, however, the same sort of labour is necessary even in *Egypt*^d. The soil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the industry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility used to vie with any other spot on this face of the earth. We have seen it compared to *Egypt*, as above; and the southernmost parts of it between

^p PLUTARCH. sympos. l. iii. p. 640. ^q See LEON. RAUWOLF'S travels into the eastern country, part ii. c. 6. p. 160. ^r Vid. PURCH. pilgr. vol. i. c. 12, p. 62. ^s RAWWOLF ubi sup. p. 152. ^c L. i. c. 193. Vid. & STRAB. l. xv. p. 692. ^d See vol. i. p. 416.

here see *Assyria* and *Babylonia* empire, but as the same country most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same

the

the rivers may be particularly compared with the *Delta* of that country, it being, like that, made up of endless islands, some formed by nature, and some by art; and is besides almost under the same parallel of latitude: nor is the other part of it, *Chaldea* properly so called, between the *Euphrates* and the mountains of *Babylon*, as they are commonly termed, much less watered by rivers and canals conducted from the *Euphrates*, and large reservoirs or lakes borrowed from the same river. And hence it is that *Herodotus*^e compares this country with *Egypt*; and hence, together with the excellence of its soil, it was so fruitful, that the same author^f thinks that what he could say on that subject would appear incredible to such as had not, like himself, been eye-witnesses of its fertility; he adds, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of *Asia*, that is, of the *Persian* empire; and that, in the same year, it yielded three hundredfold, but two hundred most commonly.

Productions.

BEING a country well watered, for the most part low and flat, it may have abounded with willows: whence it came to be called *The valley of willows*, as *Prideaux*^g would, after *Bochart*, mend the text^h. The palm also flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date-kind, as we understand our authorⁱ, which afforded them, as he expresses himself^k, meat, wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree, were what this otherwise happy country could not boast of^l, no more than her sister *Egypt*. But, for grain, it exceeded every other land; the millet and the sesame shot up here to the size of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were usually four good fingers broad^m. The sesame afforded them oil, instead of the olive; and the palm wine, instead of the grapeⁿ. In short, for vegetable productions it may be justly compared with *Egypt*; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already said^o.

Rivers, canals.

ALL this fertility must have been greatly owing to the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which in the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, overflowing their banks, laid the country under water; the snow in those months melting in great quantities on the mountains of *Armenia*. But these

^e HEROD. l. i. c. 193. ^f Ibid. ^g Connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Test. part i. book i. p. 105, 8vo.
^h Isai. xv. 7. ⁱ HERODOT. ubi sup. ^k Ibid. ^l Ibid.
^m Ibid. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o See vol. i. p. 417, & seqq.

inundations proving very detrimental, the inhabitants guarded against them by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were distributed, the country in general benefited, and an easy communication effected between the inhabitants. As to these canals, the antients are not only confused, but often contradict each other, in the descriptions they give us of them. We shall, however, transcribe here what we have been able to gather from the most exact geographers of antiquity concerning them. The *Euphrates*, according to *Ptolemy*^r, above *Babylon* near a town in *Mesopotamia* called *Sipphara*, divides itself into two branches, the one running to *Babylon*, and the other to *Seleucia*, where it falls into the *Tigris*. The latter was, if we believe *Pliny*^q, partly at least, artificial; for he places *Seleucia* at the confluence of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, adding, that the *Euphrates* was conveyed to it by a canal. But a modern learned writer, upon his authority, supposes that branch to have been wholly artificial, and ranks it among the stupendous works of *Nebuchadnezzar*^r. Between the two above-mentioned branches, an artificial chanel was cut from the *Euphrates* above *Babylon* to the *Tigris* at *Apamea*, 60 miles and upwards, below *Seleucia*. As this chanel was so large as to be navigable by great vessels, it was thence called, in the *Chaldaean* language, *Naarmalcha*, which answers *Ptolemy's* *Basileios Potamos*, or *Royal River*. Instead of *Naarmalcha*, we read, in *Isidorus Characenus*^s, *Narmacha*; in *Zosimus*^t, *Narmalaches*; in *Abydenus*^u, *Armacales*; and, in *Pliny*^w, *Armalachar*. But *Ammianus Marcellinus*^x calls it by its true name *Naarmalcha*, which he rightly interprets *the Royal River*. From the *Naarmalcha* the emperors *Trajan* and *Severus*, in their wars with the *Parthians*, dug a new canal to the *Tigris* near *Coche* on the west, and *Ctesiphon* on the east side of that river^y. As these canals were all dug by kings or emperors, they all justly claimed the title of *Naarmalcha*; but most authors agree in bestowing it, by way of pre-eminence, on one only. *Pliny*^z, *Ammianus*^a, and *Polybius*^b, by the *Naarmalcha* seem to understand the branch

^r PTOL. l. v. c. 17. ^q PLIN. l. vi. c. 26. ^r PRÆP. connect. book ii part i. p. 103. ^s ISID. Charac. in Stath. Parth. ^t ZOS. l. iii. c. 24. ^u ABYD. apud EUSEB. præp. l. ix. c. 41. ^w PLIN. l. vi. c. 26. ^x AMMIAN. l. xxiv. c. 21. ^y ZOS. l. iii. c. 24. ^z PLIN. ubi supra. ^a AMMIAN. ubi supra. ^b POLYB. l. v. c. 51.

of the *Euphrates*, that fell into the *Tigris* at *Seleucia*. But *Ptolemy's Naarmalcha*, or *Basileios Potamos*, extended from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris* at *Apamea* ^c; and with him *Bochart*, and most of the modern geographers, agree. This canal was dug by *Nebuchadnezzar*, as *Abydenus* informs us ^d, to convey the waters of the *Euphrates*, when it overflowed, into the *Tigris* before they reached *Babylon*. One of these chanel is mentioned by *Ezekiel* under the name of *Chebar* ^e, or, as the *Greek* versions have it, *Gobar*, which most interpreters suppose to have been borrowed from *Gobaris* or *Gobryas*, the name of the governor, who was appointed, as *Pliny* informs us ^f, to overlook the work, and probably the same *Gobryas*, who afterwards revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*, as will be related in a more proper place; which of the above-mentioned chanel the prophet spoke of under that name, we will not take upon us to determine. At some distance to the westward of *Sippbara* was another river, called, by *Ptolemy* ^g, the *Naarsares*, but, by *Ammianus*, the *Marses* or *Marsias* ^h. This too was, according to *Ptolemy*, a branch of the *Euphrates*, running west of *Babylon*, and mixing again with the *Euphrates* near *Vologesia*. *Bochart* supposes this river to be the *Narraga*, mentioned by *Pliny* ⁱ, among the streams that watered the country of *Babylon*. At the distance of 800 furlongs from *Babylon* to the south was another canal, called by *Arrian Pallacopas* ^k, and by *Appian Pallacotta* ^l, derived from the branch of the *Euphrates* that passed through *Babylon*, and conveyed to certain lakes or marshes in *Chalæa*. On this canal or river, as *Arrian* calls it, *Alexander* sailed from the *Euphrates* to the above-mentioned lakes ^m. *Strabo* describes the course of this canal, though he does not name it ⁿ, as will plainly appear, if we compare what he writes of one of these canals, with what we read of this in *Appian* and *Arrian*. But it would be labour in vain to attempt the tracing out, even with the best helps, these and the other numerous branches and canals, which watered the antient country of *Babylon*. Many of them that have been formerly considerable, are now no more; and others have been formed since, that

^c PTOL. l. v. c. 17.^d APUD EUSEB. ubi sup.^e Ezek.

i. 3. & iii. 15, 23.

^f PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.^g PTOL.

l. v. c. 20.

^h AMMIAN. l. xxiii. c. 21.ⁱ PLIN, l. vi.

c. 26.

^k ARRIAN. exped. Alex. l. vii.^l APPIAN.

bell. civil. l. ii. sub fin.

^m ARRIAN. ubi supra.ⁿ STRABO,

l. xvi. p. 519.

were not in antient days; for a country so prodigiously watered, so low withal, and so subject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two such great rivers as the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and so neglected, as it has been for several ages, must have often and considerably changed face since the time *Ptolemy* flourished; and it is next to impossible to describe it, such as it was while the seat of empire, or when it had strength and riches sufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

THUS far of the branches of the *Euphrates*: we shall now speak of the river itself. We have already taken notice of its name ^y: as for its source, it springs from the mountains of *Armenia*, continues its course southward, washing the eastern skirts of *Syria*, south-eastward dividing *Arabia* from *Mesopotamia*, and north-eastward, separating likewise *Chaldæa* and *Babylonia* from *Mesopotamia*, till, mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Tigris*, it falls at length into the *Persian* gulf. This great river is slow; for the most part, in its course ^z, and, not well adapted throughout for navigation, some parts of it being shoal, and some rocky. It is not navigable, we are told, by the larger sort of barks, lower than a place called *Roufvaine* ^a; but the smaller craft may go down quite to *Balsora*. Beyond *Roufvaine* there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger vessels ^b, but easily avoided by the smaller. Our author is of opinion, that the *Euphrates* might, with very little trouble, be made navigable, even by great barks, quite to the *Tigris*, only by clearing the chanel of the stones with which it is choked up in some places. At *Roufvaine*, a village at a small distance from the *Euphrates*, the goods are put ashore, and carried upon camels to *Bagdad*, a day's journey distant, where they are embarked on the *Tigris*, and conveyed to *Balsora* ^c. The *Euphrates*, in some places, divides itself into so many broad branches, that the pilots are at a loss what way to steer ^d. Though it is not, as we have observed above, rapid in its course, its water is so continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has settled for a time, or been passed through a cloth or a strainer ^e; and then it is lighter, and preferable to any other in these parts: whence the river is known to the neighbouring peo-

^y See vol. i. p. 118. ^z RAUWOLF ubi sup. part ii. c. 1. p. 126.

^a THEVENOT. voyage au Lev. part i. c. 9. p. 40.

^b Idem ibid. ^c RAUWOLF ubi sup. ^d Idem ibid.

^e Idem ibid.

ple, by a name which signifies the *water of desire* ¹. The fish of the *Euphrates* are also reported to be excellent in their kind; and particular notice is taken of one somewhat like a carp, which sometimes weighs 17 or 18 pounds ^m.

THE ancient way of navigating this river has something very singular and extraordinary in it. The vessels they used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and no better than great wicker-baskets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars, or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and some of them capable of carrying a burden of palm-wine, or other merchandize, to the weight of 5000 talents, having, according to their size, asses on board. When they had thus fallen down the river to *Babylon*, and unloaded their cargo, they sold the vessel; but kept the hides, and, loading their asses with them, returned home by land, the rapidity of the stream not allowing them to return by water ⁿ.

THE *Euphrates* now disembogues itself into the *Tigris*, below *Bagdad*; and the river, made up of these two joined in one, is called by the *Arabs* *Schat-al-Arab*; that is, *the river of the Arabs*. It is highly probable, that the *Euphrates* at first emptied itself into the sea by a mouth of its own; and that its waters were afterwards conveyed, by art, partly into the *Tigris*, and partly into the marshes of *Chaldæa*, which we have mentioned above. Of this opinion, among the antients, was *Pliny*, who, speaking of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, tells us, that the mouths of these two rivers were, according to some, 27, according to others, only 7 miles distant; that they were both navigable; but that the *Orabeniensians*, and other neighbouring people, had long ago stopped the course of the *Euphrates*, to water their lands; so that it was no longer conveyed into the sea by a mouth of its own, but by that of the *Pasitigris* ^o. But of this river, before it was branched out by art into the several chanelis we have mentioned, we can give no tolerable account, having been left quite in the dark, as to its primitive state, by the sacred as well as the profane writers. The former only tell us, that there were several rivers at *Babylon* ^p; and that one of them was called *Chebar*, as we have observed above; an account of that river, in the more early times, being foreign to their purpose. As for the profane writers, some of those chanelis were more

¹ THEVENOT, ubi sup.
 ΡΟΔΟΥ. l. i. c. 194.
 CXXXVII.

^m RAUWOLF, ubi sup.
^o PLINE. l. vi. c. 27.

ⁿ Hæ-
 Ρ Pſal.

antient than the most early among them, who consequently must have been no less in the dark than we are.

THIS country is particularly remarkable for having inclosed, according to the most rational opinion, within its limits, at least great part of *Paradise*¹. Here also was the great plain of *Shinar*, now *Senjâr*, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they dispersed themselves over the face of the earth². The ruins of *Babylon*, and what remains of the tower, as supposed, of *Babel*, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work³.

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the Babylonians.

BABEL is the first kingdom we find mentioned in Scripture, and, in point of antiquity, was prior to that of *Affur*, though, according to the common course of history, it must appear after it. *Nimrod* was the founder of it; but, for many ages, it evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the *Affyrians* paved the way to the empire it attained. Should it be allowed, that, even under *Nimrod*, it rose to any height of power, nothing seems more natural than to conclude, that it suddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below some of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for, so early as the days of *Abraham*, we meet with a king of *Sennaar*, the antient *Babylon*, in the army of *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*⁴, as a vassal, seemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly used to destroy the boasted antiquity of *Affyria*⁵, might be alleged here to destroy that of this empire: but, not to repeat what we have so fully urged, and which must of course affect this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former, we shall only observe, that the Scripture makes no mention of any king of *Babylon* from the

¹ See vol. i. 115, & seqq.

² Ibid. p. 322, & seqq.

³ Ibid. p. 329.

⁴ Genes. xiv. 9.

⁵ See before, in the preceding chapter, passim.

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king of *Shinaar* above in the army of *Elam*, till the days of *Merodach-Baladan*, who was contemporary with *Hezekiah*^x; as also that, by the several histories of the nations already spoken of in this work, it is plain, that no *Babylonian* prince awed any of them, till many years after *Merodach-Baladan*. So that though we confess this to have been the most antient kingdom of the world, yet we cannot allow it to have attained the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in comparison of what has been vainly boasted, and unwarily believed.

THE *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, however, laid claim to a most extravagant antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the *Egyptians*, or any other nation. They pretended to have registred the transactions of 150,000 years^y, according to some, or 473,000 years, according to others^z, reckoning down to *Alexander*, from the time they first began to observe the stars; a monstrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deserve some animadversion (M).

THE

^x 2 Kings xx. 12.^y Vid. SYNCELL. chronogr. •^z DIOD. SICUL. bibl. hist. l. ii. p. 81.

(M) This extravagant and senseless desire of several nations to be thought antient, has not only been, in good part, the destruction of history, but has, to all appearance, also been considerably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have shewn (61), first introduced the forging of records to supply the want or loss of them. As antiquity was thought the most honourable distinction of a people, the *Babylonians* and *Egyptians* no sooner came to be great and powerful, than, ashamed of the mean figure their predecessors had made but a few years before, and scorning to be inferior, in point of antiquity, to any other nation, they removed their origin so far

back, as to date the reigns of some of their princes many centuries before the creation, and to transform them into gods. Of this vain pretension we have given a glaring instance in the later *Syrians*, who, as *Josephus* observes, celebrated the memory of their kings *Hadad* and *Haxael*, in his time; and, carrying their statues about in procession, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to set off the gods of their own country; for though they were strangers in *Syria* at first, and introduced to supply the place of the natives, who were carried away captive, they had

(61) See before, p. 256.

then

THE government of this nation, if the character which *Their go-* generally prevails concerning its founder *Nimrod* ^a may be *government.* relied on, was, in its very infancy, tyrannical and despotic ; but that it continued so, is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived, that its first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own character. After him it certainly fell to a level with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the *Affyrians*, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the *queen of the east*. And, as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain,

^a See vol. i. p. 388.

then been in the country many ages, and reckoned themselves as the original proprietors; tho', in reality, they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country. By vaunting of their gods *Hadad* and *Haxael*, they meant to reflect a dishonour upon the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, whose gods they knew by tradition or history to have been younger ; and hence you have *Adad, the first of gods* (62).

If the want of regular history was not, in some measure, the support of idolatry, which it certainly must have been, it was doubtless what gave birth

to the notion of the world's being eternal. For some philosophers, at a loss for the origin of things, and destitute of a guide to direct them, had recourse to false principles, and groundless notions, each of them taking his own imagination for his guide. Hence arose that disagreement among authors, never to be reconciled ; and hence the variety of opinions concerning the antiquity of different nations, striving to exceed each other, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow :

	Years.
<i>Zoroaster</i> lived before <i>Plato's</i> death - - -	6900
before the <i>Trojan</i> war - - -	5000
<i>Chaldees</i> had accounts of - - -	470000
From the first <i>Chaldæan</i> astronomer to <i>Alexander</i> - - -	43000
<i>Sais</i> in <i>Egypt</i> had chronicles of - - -	8000
<i>Athens</i> built before <i>Sais</i> - - -	1000
From <i>Vulcan</i> to <i>Alexander</i> - - -	48863
<i>Kings of Egypt</i> before <i>Amasis</i> , reigned - - -	13000
From <i>Osiris</i> to <i>Alexander</i> - - -	10000
Or - - -	13000
<i>Men</i> reigned in <i>Egypt</i> after the gods - - -	15000

(62) See before, in the notes, p. 282.

(63) *Ludov. Viv. in not. ad August. civit. Dei. xii. 10.* See the appendix to *Whiston's* essay towards restoring the true text of Scripture.

than that it adhered to the practices of its founder ; and the rather, as these *Babylonians* themselves were *Assyrians*, descended from *Pul* the great *Assyrian*, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made appear in the sequel. The government, therefore, of *Babylon*, like that of *Assyria* ^b, was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, it seems, hereditary. The whole centred in the person of the king ; all decrees issued from his mouth ^c : and how could it be otherwise, when he affected even deity, and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes ? And here, by the way, it may be observed, that this political and impious arrogance was but natural to men who had nothing less in view than to lord it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed in what manner they pleased. For, without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next to impossible to maintain dominion over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence ; and no doubt the argument they used, of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far than they, carried a conviction with it, which not only served all present, but future purposes. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the east have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes ; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the *Assyrian* race, as well on the throne of *Nineveh*, as on that of *Babylon* ; and is, as we have said, one of the most politic methods of keeping in subjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who must be a stranger to almost all of them. These proud potentates, however, administered their government by officers of several sorts, civil and military ; and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages in all the empire ^d : the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage ; and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like : the second took cognisance of

His offices, civil and military.

^b See before, p. 253.

^c See Dan. iii. 29. iv. 6.

^d STRAB. l. xvi. p. 45.

thefts; and the third of all other crimes ^e. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, and counsellors ^f; so that it is plain nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulation: as for what relates to religion, and superstitious matters, that will fall under another head.

THIS great king of kings ^g had an household equal to *His household*. the sublimity of his station, the chief officers of which seem to have been the captain of his guard ^h, the prince of his eunuchs ⁱ, and the prime minister ^k, in the nature of the *Turkish* vizier, who more immediately represented the person of his great master. The first of these had the execution of the arbitrary and sanguinary commands ^l; the second had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace ^m; and the latter sat in the king's gate, as it was called ⁿ, to hear complaints, and to pass judgments. Besides these, there seems to have been a master of the magicians always at hand ^o, to satisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognostication. None was allowed the honour of serving in his presence, that was not remarkable for beauty of person ^p, and excellence of parts (N); and his wives and concubines, which

^e Vid. eund. *ibid.* ^f Dan. iii. 2, 3. ^g Dan. ii. 37.
^h *Idem* *ibid.* ver. 14. ⁱ *Idem*, i. 10. ^h *Idem*, ii.
 48, 49. ^l *Idem* *ibid.* ver. 14. ^m *Idem*, i. 7, 8, 9,
 10, &c. ⁿ *Idem*, ii. 49. ^o *Idem*, iv. 9. ^p *Idem*,
 i. 4—10—20.

(N) This has always been the custom in the eastern countries; and, at this day, “The youths that are designed for the great offices of the empire [in *Turky*] . . . must be of admirable features, and pleasing looks, well-shaped in their bodies, and without any defect of nature; for it is conceived, that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit in a serene and ingenuous aspect; and I have observed, not only in the “raglio, but also in the courts “of great men, their personal “attendants have been of “comely lusty youths, well- “habited, deporting them- “selves with singular modesty “and respect in the presence “of their master. So that “when a pasha, aga, or spa- “hee travels, he is always at- “tended with a comely equip- “age, followed by flourishing “youths, well-clothed and “mounted, in great numbers; “that one may guess at the “greatness

which were doubtless the most beautiful of their sex, seem to have been in very great number^q.

BUT though these kings seem to have claimed such high honour, to have placed themselves at such a distance from the greatest even of their officers and subjects, and to have considered the whole world as created for their use and service; yet we understand, that they sometimes condescended to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read that a thousand were at one time entertained by *Belshazzar*^r. The common style of accosting this mighty sovereign was, *O king, live for ever*! and the man, who was so happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or scarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and invested with some government^t.

Laws.

THE laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, must have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which seems to have been irrevocably fixed: it was calculated to increase the number of the inhabitants, and to oblige all, especially the poorer sort of people, to marry, lest they should choose rather to live single, than be burdened with a wife and family. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage^u; but they were to be disposed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

Punishments.

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, arbitrary, and rigorous, in proportion to the tyrant's present rage and fury. Beheading^w, cutting to pieces^x, turning the criminal's house into a dunghil^y, and burning in a fiery furnace^z, are punishments we know to have been executed by the order of the kings of *Babylon*.

^q Dan. v. 2, 3.
v. 10.
& STRAB. l. xvi. p. 745.
ii. 5.

^r Idem, v. 7.
^t Idem ibid.

^u Vid. HERODOT. l. i. c. 196.
^w Dan. i. 10.
^x Idem,
^z Idem iii. 19.

“greatness of this empire, by
“the retinue, pomp, and num-
“ber of servants which ac-
“company persons of quality
“in their journeys; whereas,
“in the parts of Christendom
“where I have travelled, I

“have not observed (no not
“in attendance of princes)
“such ostentation in servants
“as is amongst the *Turks*,
“which is the life and orna-
“ment of a court” (64).

(64) *Sir Paul Ricaut's pres. state of the Ottoman empire, c. 5. p. 46.*

THE religion and boasted learning of the *Babylonians* ~~are~~ *Their* re-
 so blended together, that we hardly know how to separate *ligion*.
 them into distinct heads; for the *Chaldees*, properly so call-
 ed, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; *Chaldees,*
 whose whole science seems to have been subservient to the *their*
 purposes of superstition and infatuation. These *Chaldeans*
 were perhaps more distinguished from the people than the
 clergy are from the laity with us; and were as much re-
 vered in their country, as the *Egyptian* priests were in theirs;
 and are said to have enjoyed the same privileges*. They
 were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious
 religion; and pretended to prophecy, and to the gift of pre-
 diction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the
 inspection of victims; they explained dreams, and all the ex-
 traordinary phenomena of nature, as portending good or evil
 to men or nations; and were thought, by their enchantments
 and invocations, to affect mankind either with happiness or
 misery^b. Having, by their situation, been early addicted to ce-
 lestial observations, they, instead of conceiving, as they ought
 to have done, just notions concerning the omnipotence of the
 creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being con-
 firmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed
 by tradition down to men by *Noah* and his sons, fell into
 the impious error of esteeming those bodies as gods, and
 the immediate governors of the world, in subordination,
 however, to the Deity, who was invisible, but by his works
 and the effects of his power^c. They concluded, then,
 that GOD had created the stars, and great luminaries, to go-
 vern the world; that he had accordingly placed them on
 high, and substituted them his ministers; and that it was
 but just and natural they should be praised, honoured, and
 extolled; and that it was even the will of GOD they should
 be magnified, feared, and worshiped; just as a king de-
 sires his servants should be respected in honour of him-
 self^d.

*Are the
 authors of
 the Sabian
 religion.*

PERSUADED of this, they began to build temples, or *First stage*
facella, to the stars; to sacrifice to them, to praise them, *of idolatry*
 and to bow down before them, that, through their means,
 they might obtain the favour and good-will of GOD^e; so
 that they esteemed them as mediators between GOD and
 them; for, that there was a necessity for a mediatory office

* DIODOR. SICUL. bibl. hist. l. ii.

^b Idem ibid.

^c Vid. eund. ibid.

^d RAB. MOS, MAIM. in more Nevoch.

^e Idem ibid.

between God and man, is observed^f to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning: “ Conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, and unable to conceive how it was possible for them, of themselves, alone to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and supreme Governor of all things; they considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves as too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address to him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the Mediator, whom God had appointed, because, as yet, he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address themselves unto him by mediators of their own choosing; and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that those intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them; and therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their *gods mediators*, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours, which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as such; and here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world.” For, persuading themselves of this doctrine, they became anxious about the most effectual means of making their worship acceptable to the several deities; whence they first began to build temples or tabernacles to them, as we have seen, dedicated to their service, and to be as places of abode for them: but, as in matters of this kind there can be no stable form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men actuated either by fear, or avarice, or ambition, or aught else, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing of, in pro-

^f See PRIDEAUX, and the authors he cites, POCOCKE, GOLIVS, HOTTING. HYDE. ^g PRIDEAUX’S connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Test. part i. book iii. p. 177, in 8vo.

cesses of time impostors arose, and gave out, that they had *Second* had it enjoined and commanded from God himself, that *stage of* this star, or that, or all of them, should be worshiped in *idolatry.* this or that manner, and represented under this or that form; and that none, of any age or degree, should be exempt from the worship thereof: and this they impudently gave out, in a solemn manner, for revelation. Upon this it was that men began to furnish the *facella*, tabernacles, or temples, with images, and to erect the same under trees, and upon the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they assembled themselves together to pay them worship, and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them, and to honour them with the deepest reverence, and to fear them^h; and their priests, sensible of the sweets of the trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be observed by the credulous and deluded multitudeⁱ. Other impostors there were, who improved upon the first, and pretended to have been honoured with particular instructions from particular stars, concerning the exact mode of the worship due or peculiar to them, and what ought, and what ought not, to be done to please them; so that, in process of time, the name of God became obliterated among men, and the most stupid idolatry possessed the place of true religion^k.

SUCH was the rise and first progress of idolatry, and such were the original *Sabian* doctrines; which, taking root first among the *Chaldeans*, afterwards spread their branches so far as to keep in darkness, at one time, all the nations of the east. For it must be difficult to conceive how men could have been led into so gross an absurdity, as to worship wood, stone, or metal, formed and fashioned by their own hands; if it be not at the same time allowed, that they must have imagined their images to have been animated or informed with a supernatural power, by some supernatural means. A late author^l thinks it more natural to suppose, that their loss to know how to address themselves to the planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what first suggested to them the use of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in their tabernacles, or *facella*, they directed their worship towards the planet; which they may have

^h Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup.ⁱ Vid. PRIDEAUX

ibid. p. 178.

^k Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup.^l PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

thought of none effect, when he was absent and hidden from sight; and that therefore they thought to supply his absence by a representation. Thus it may have been, though it may be as natural to suppose, that as their priests observed the stars as their gods, and made them the chief subject of their study, and persuaded themselves, that each star or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that those superior beings had revealed their will to them, just as their crazy imaginations, or designing craft, may have suggested to them.

BE that as it will, it is certain, that the first image-worshippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, stone, or metal, and that the *Sabians*, in their transition from planet-worship to image-worship, pretended to have infused the virtues of the planet into the image that was meant to represent it: which they thought to effect by forms of consecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the stars their several intelligencies into their respective idols; and hence came all the foolish superstition of *telesms*^k, or *talisman*s; and upon these pretended principles of communicative operation all the branches of magic and sorcery must have had their foundation.

THAT this was the first origin of image-worship, is evident; and that the same was first derived from the heavenly bodies, the most conspicuous and glorious to sight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathens in general, which are *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*; by which we can understand no other than the sun and moon, and the five greatest luminaries next to them^l.

THIS was the religion of the *Babylonians*, *Affyrians*, and *Mesopotamians*, even before the days of *Abraham*; nay, in the days of *Enos*, the son of *Seth*^m, whose descendants are said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy and astrologyⁿ; the *Sabians* themselves boasting the origin of their religion from *Seth*, and pretending to have been denominated from a son of his called *Sabius*, as also to have among them a book, which they called *the book of Seth*^o.

^k See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

^m Rab. Mos. MAIMONID. ubi sup.

^o See PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

^l Vid. eund. ibid.

ⁿ See vol. i. p. 163.

THIS was the state of the old *Babylonian* religion, till *Third* they came to deify mortal men, as well as the celestial *bo-stage of* dies. In this we are apt to think they were not the *first, idolatry.* and that the *Syrians*, whose empire was confessedly older than either the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* ^p, shewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, *Benhadad* the second, and *Hazael* ^q. A late learned author ^r is inclined to think, that the first *Sabians*, or idolaters, desirous to have all the mediation possible with the supreme God, and imagining that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, deified many of those they thought to be such; and that thus they increased the number of their gods. This opinion is very favourable to them, but reflects not a little upon the purity of the *Roman* church, which teaches the same doctrine, and allows of the same practice; and this calls to our mind how frequently *Rome* is supposed to be signified under the type of *Babylon*; and, perhaps, there may not be so wide a difference between some parts of the two religions, as may be generally imagined. But, to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather choose to think, that they deified their greatest and most powerful men; and that, however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods were their warriors and most potent kings.

ACCORDING to this, we are told ^s, That, *by the vain-glory of men, idols entered into the world . . . That, in process of time, an ungodly custom, grown strong, was kept as a law, and graven images were worshiped by the commandment of kings, or [as it is in the margin] tyrants: That whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end that by their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he was present.* This was most certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being less than gods. The same author ^t assigns two other reasons for this practice, which must strongly co-operate with the former; first, “The grief of a parent for his child, “untimely snatched away, whose image he may have “been tempted to honour as GOD, when dead, and to “deliver to those beneath, or in subjection to him, ce-

^p See before, passim.

^q See vol. ii. p. 282, 283. in the

notes. ^r PRIDEAUX, ubi sup.

^s *Wisd. of Solomon,*

xiv. 14, 16, 17.

^t *Ibid.* ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

“remonis

“remonies and sacrifices of duty and commemoration;” and secondly, “The skill of the workman, who by his art might greatly contribute to the deception of the ignorant; for that, ambitious to flatter some great man, he may have exerted all in his power to represent him beyond what he truly was; and so, by the beauty of his work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who took him now for a god, whom a little before they honoured but as man; and that thus men, subject either to calamity or tyranny, ascribed unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name of God.”

SUCH were the causes of idolizing dead men, tyranny, immoderate affection, and the exquisite skill of the workman. That the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians* were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the first of these, must appear by the histories of their several kings, who seem, at least, to have been as absolute tyrants as were ever suffered to live: and that they did give into this error, is plain, both by sacred and profane writers; the latter, for the most part, asserting, that the *Affyrians* were the people who first deified their kings; though, that this was false, we have seen in the history of the *Syrians* ^u.

Pul meant HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that *Ninus* was the first
by Belus. who set up images to be worshiped, and particularly one to his father *Belus* ^v, and granted privileges and pardons to those who resorted to it. Who this *Ninus* should have been but *Tiglath-pileser*, the son of *Pul* or *Belus* in Scripture, we know not: and therefore we must conclude, that *Pul* was the first that was worshiped in these parts as god; and that consequently he, who was the undoubted founder both of the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* empires, and no other, was the boasted *Belus* of the later *Babylonians*, *Phaenicians*, and others, over whom the descendents of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple.

THIS *Belus* had a temple erected to him in the city of *Babylon*, and was revered as their primary god, he being the first founder of all the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* grandeur, and source of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his successors, both at *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. To him they erected the tower we have formerly described, so famous in all ages since; though it should seem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have

^u See vol. ii. p: 282, 283, in the notes.

^v AMBR. in

epist. ad Roman. c. 1.

observed before, consisted of eight towers raised upon one another; and in the uppermost was a bed magnificently set forth, and a golden table near it, but no image^y; nor was any body suffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the priests gave out, was in an especial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this place they taught that he used to come and repose himself^z; so that they must have considered him as the supreme God, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of *Jupiter* [*Belus*], all of gold, with a table before him, all of the same metal; his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him; insomuch that the whole work was valued at 800 talents of gold^a. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for we think we read of another, all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height^b; but, whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and dimensions above, as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true God.

- HOWEVER, this great *Jupiter*, who we think cannot be any other than the great *Pul*, or *Belus*, by being thus placed in subordination, it seems, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him; for by this they must, to all appearance, have implied, that *Belus*, or *Pul*, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that, as he was LORD above, the other was lord below; that, as the former was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible ruler of all things. Thus much, we think, we may infer from the account we have of the temple of *Babylon* (P); and the rather, as it is of a piece

^y HERODOT. l. i. c. 180.

^z Idem ibid. c. 182.

^a Idem ibid. c. 183.

^b Idem ibid.

(O) The *Babylonians*, it is plain, must have attributed to him what the *Egyptians* did to their god *Cneph* (65).

(P) It may be disputed, whe-

ther or no the *Babylonians* did not actually mean the sun, rather than GOD himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that

a piece with their other superstitions, and suits the character of their first warrior *Belus*.

The two altars, and the different sacrifices upon them. As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it also two altars; they stood without, one of gold, of a moderate size, and another much larger; upon the golden altar none but sucking victims might be sacrificed^c, and on the great one, none that were not full-grown^d; concerning which, we leave the reader to make his own conjectures, only observing, that as they were evidently two distinct gods they sacrificed to, the golden altar seems to have been devoted to the supreme GOD, and the other to his subordinate *Jupiter*; for by the sucking victims they seem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nourisher of all things, and that the full-grown ones being brought to the perfection he designed them, he committed them to the care and government of his vicegerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures sacrificed to him. But, as here they plainly sacrificed to them separately, they at other times seem to have sacrificed to them in common: for the priests reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of libanotus, or precious incense^e: this may seem to have been intended for both; but, that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgement from *Belus* to the GOD above him, might be conjectured, were we fond of such conjectures.

SUCH was the god *Belus* among the *Babylonians*, and such his temple, and the rank he held in it; but, that he

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 183.
ibid.

^d Idem ibid.

Idem

the *Syrians* never did (66), who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous (67): and we have supposed, that they sometimes paid adoration to the sun and moon immediately (68); but it does not seem likely, that these *Babylonians* should ever give it out, that the sun himself was wont to come and repose himself upon the

top of this tower, as we have seen; they never could have persuaded the people to that absurdity; so that, if they had not an immediate view to the great GOD, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they must have designed it for the intelligence of the sun, and that may, with them, have amounted pretty much to the same thing.

(66) See vol. ii. p. 285.

(67) *Ibid.*

(68) *Ibid.* p. 284.

was the inventor of astrology, as some would ^f have it, must not be wondered at, after what has been attributed to his daughter-in-law *Scmiramis*, as we have partly seen already ^g, and shall see farther in a more proper place. This *Belus* or *Baal* must not be confounded with the others we read of in Scripture, before the rise of the *Aff- syrian* empire, as the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites* ^h, the *Baal*, or *Moloch*, of the *Ammonites* ⁱ; the title signifies lord with all these people, who are those particularly that are said to have *passed their seed thro' fire*, and meant there- by the sun, whose heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be sacred; which must have been one of the first doctrines of the *Sabians* in *Chaldæa* (Q), by whom, as we have said, this error was first broached, and communicated, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of *Abraham*, who left his country on the other side of the *Euphrates*, for the idolatries of the land; and, to avoid them, came into the land of *Canaan*, where he found the sentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion, and the duties we owe to GOD; for *Melchisedek* was then alive in *Canaan*, and stiled the priest of the most high GOD; and the people there were, for the most part, in a state of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about must also have been; nay, in these days we do not find, that even *Egypt* was much, if at all, infected with idolatry; the charge of the *Greeks* against the *Egyptians*, as the first authors of idolatry, is plainly confuted by the book of *Genesis*, which sufficiently informs us, that, while the country on the other side of the *Euphrates* was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this side were, as yet, strangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, *Canaanites*, and *Philistines*, was only the old *Sabian* religion of the *Chaldees* ^k.

^f PLIN. hist. nat. l. vi. c. 26.
notes, p. 280, & seqq.
p. 140.

^g See before, in the notes, p. 280, & seqq.

^h See vol. ii. p. 125.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k See before, in the religions of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites*, &c. p. 125, & seqq.

(Q) The religion of the *Magians*, who worshipped fire, as we shall observe a little farther on in this section, was derived from the *Sabians*,

BUT, upon the building of *Babylon* by the *Assyrians*, the old religion, it seems, fell into some discredit, and especially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that, if ever they had, before the days of *Pul*, deified any heroes, he must have soared above them all, since they were not, properly speaking, *Babylonian* gods, the city of *Babylon* not being built in their time. For all authors allow *Belus* to have been the immediate founder of the *Assyrian* greatness, and therefore deified: who this *Belus* was, we may find in Scripture °; and what we find there is confirmed by *Ptolemy's* canon; and therefore we are not to look so far back as *Nimrod*, or any man else that lived a thousand years or more after him. From what we have said it appears, that by *Bel*, or *Baal*, the *Babylonians* understood either the sun, or their founder *Pul*; but, whether or no they transformed him into the sun, or whether they kept the worship of their planet, and their hero, so distinct as never to confound them with each other, is a question which we will not take upon us to decide.

Succoth THE deity, next in order to this, seems to have been
Benoth, the *Venus* of later days in the west; and, that she was no
the *Assyri-* other than the goddess *Astarte*, of the *Bœnicians*, may
an *Venus.* be gathered from what follows. *Succoth Benoth* is mentioned as an idol of the *Babylonians* ¶, though it was rather the shrine or shrines of an idol belonging to some deity, which deity we have since translated into *Venus*; for the import of the word is, the tabernacles of *Benoth*, or, the tabernacles of the daughters ¶; though there are those who render it, a tabernacle of wings †, and suppose the idol itself to have been represented as an hen brooding over her chickens, and that she was designed in honour of the constellation called vulgarly the hen and chickens, but more learnedly, the *Pleiades*; but this seems an idle and quite groundless notion. It is more likely, that these tabernacles of the daughters belonged to *Venus*, whom the *Babylonians* stiled *Mylitta* ‡, signifying mother, and the *Greeks* *Urania*; for it was to her, that the daughters or women of the country were, once in their life-time, bound to make a sacrifice of their modesty and virtue; a practice which we shall find among the customs of this

° See before, in the notes, p. 309. ¶ 2 Kings xvii. 30.

‡ Vid. SELDEN de diis Syr. syntagm. ii. c. 7. † KIMCHI

& JARCOMI, apud. eund. ibid. ¶ HERODOT. l. i. c. 131.

people. From this practice a learned writer ^t thinks he may well conclude the *Affyrian Benoth* to have been no other than *Venus*; nay, he derives the latter name from *The derivation of* the former, by changing the *B* into *U*, and *T* into *S*, *variation of* and thereby forming *Venus* (R). This opinion is, in some *the name* degree, countenanced by *Suidas*, who seems to call *theof* *Venus*. *Affyrian* goddess *Binos* ^u: we may add, that in *Africa* was a town called *Sicca Venerea* ^w, with a temple, in which women were obliged to purchase their marriage-money by the prostitution of their bodies ^x. This practice observed here in honour of *Venus*, and so near akin to that which obtained among the *Babylonians* in honour of their *Succoth Benoth*, are a strong proof, that they were one and the same goddess; nay, and that the name of *Sicca Venerea* was formed from that of *Succoth Benoth*. This goddess had a temple at *Aphac*, at *Babylon*, and probably in other places; but, for the convenience of those who had no such temples among them, the priests, it seems, carried about small tabernacles, or models of different temples, consulting, at the same time, the devotion of the people, and their own interest.

- THIS god, or goddess, for she is understood to have *Both masculine* been both *Mars* and *Venus*, though here placed second *and* to *Belus*, is generally understood to have been of much *feminine* greater antiquity than he; but this opinion is grounded upon a supposition, that the profane historians, poets, and mythologists, are not out in their computations. If that supposition be allowed, the authority of *Æschylus* is alledged to prove her antiquity; for that poet calls *Phœnice* the land of *Aphrodite* or *Venus* ^a; and his scholiast adds, that it was called sacred to her on account of her temple at *Aphac*. But this argument carries no great strength with it; for the *Affyrians*, of whom the *Phœnicians* had this *Venus*, are not, and consequently neither is their goddess, near so antient as is pretended.

^t SELDEN de diis Syr. syntag. ii. c. 7. ^u SUIDAS, ad vocem.
^w VALER. MAXIM. l. ii. c. 6. ^x Idem ibid.
^z HERODOT. l. i. c. 199. ^a In Supplicib.

(R) *Vossius* (69) subscribes though with no great strength to this. *Beyer*, in his *addimenta* to *Selden*, disputes it, of argument.

WE have seen, by some parallel circumstances, that she was, to all appearance, the same with the *Phœnician Astarte*; and we shall produce several others, to confirm it. In the mean time, to begin with this *Benoth*, from whom the whole tribe of great goddesses seem to be derived; she is called the celestial *Venus*, and said to have been first of all worshiped by the *Assyrians*^c; whereby though our author probably means the *Syrians* properly so called, we shall plainly discover, that the former were the first authors of this worship, and transmitted it to the latter. This goddess was of both sexes; and accordingly she was worshiped by her votaries sometimes in the attire of men, and sometimes in that of women^d, the men and women mutually changing dresses with each other^e; whence it is supposed, that *Moses* forbids^f *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment*. According to this, the worship of this planet, or idol, must have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us are meant of this mode of worshiping, is understood by *Maimonides*^g, who observes, that in the book of magic, composed by one *Centir*, as he calls him, it is written, that a man should put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he stood before the star of *Venus*, and a woman the arms and armour of a man, when she stood before the star called *Mars*ⁱ; and hence the *Assyrian* priests are said^k to have been unfit to wait on the goddess *Venus*, except they effeminated their countenance, and assumed all the softness and dress of a woman. A *Greek* author^l, who calls her the moon, says, that men sacrificed to her in the habit of women, and women in the habit of men; because she was both masculine and feminine; whereby it is plain, that he speaks of the *Assyrian Venus*. That this *Urania*, or celestial *Venus*, of the *Assyrians* was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank she holds next to *Bel*, or the sun; that she was likewise the *Syrian* goddess, is no less plain from the description we have of the latter, and also from her rites.

^c PAUSAN. in Attic.^d Vid. SELDEN de diis Syr. Syn-

tagm. ii. c. 4.

^e Vid. eund. ibid.^f Deuteron.

xxii. 5.

^g In more nevoch. part iii. c. 38.^h MAI-

MONID. ubi sup.

ⁱ JUL. FIRMIC. c. 4.^j PHILO-

CHOR. apud Macrobian. Saturnal. iii. c. 8.

SHE was called *Juno*, and her statue was contrived so *She is the* as to partake of *Minerva, Venus, Luna, Rhea, Diana, same with Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*, as if she included them all; *the great* and that she did, has been sufficiently proved by great Syrian men^m. She was drawn or supported by lions, had rays *goddes* on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the cestus or girdle of the celestial *Venus*. As she was designed for the source of all idolatry, with respect to the female sex; we find her to have been equally honoured by *Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians* and *Babylonians*^o, who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddess of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*, which, in this respect, seems to have succeeded the city of *Babylon*; whence she had been banished by the *Persians*. Her eunuch-priests, by taking on them the habit and offices of women^p, declare her to have been one and the same with the *Assyrian Mylitta*; and the *Babylonians*, by paying liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

IF it is plain on one side, that this great Syrian goddess *She is the* was no other than the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, it is *same with* no less manifest on the other, that she must have been the *Phœnician Astarte*. We have seen her the *queen of heaven*, the moon, *Lucifer, Juno, Venus, Minerva, and Io*, and married to an *Assyrian*. We have seen her the goddess of pleasure, and the god of war, and accordingly addressed to under both sexes. It would therefore be needless to allege the monstrous effeminacies of the men at *Aphac*, or the mercenary prostitution of the women at *Byblus*, to prove that the one of these goddesses is a faithful copy of the other.

NOR shall we find, that the *Atargatis*, or *Derceto*, of *She is the* the proper *Palestine* in general, or of *Ascalon* in particular, *same with* was any other than the *Babylonian* or *Assyrian Venus*. *Derceto* For although she is supposed distinct from the great *Venus*, of *Ascalon* and is said to have incurred her displeasure, and in consequence of that to have been transformed into a fish; the worship that was paid to fishes, under the eye of the great goddess at *Hierapolis*, declares *Derceto* and the *Babylonian Venus* to have been one and the same deity: and this is not conjecture only; for a very judicious author assures us, that *Atargatis* was worshiped at *Hierapolis*; and thereby

^m Vid. LIL. GYRALD. de diis gent. SELDEN, de diis Syr. Vos. de idololat. Vol. ii. p. 283, & seqq. ^p Ibid. p. 334. & seqq.

makes her the same with the *Syrian* goddess^a. Others are of the same opinion^b, and among them *Macrobius*^c, who styles her the mother of the gods, *Astarte*, and the *Hierapolitan* or *Assyrian* goddess. In short, *Atargatis*, was *Venus*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Astarte* the *Syrian* goddess^d, and consequently the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*. So that we see her the same goddess transported from the banks of the *Euphrates*, into which she is said first to have plunged herself, to escape the fury of the 'inexorable *Typhon* (S); and but just varied so far as to leave room for each particular country to brag of her origin. So the *Syrians*, who seem to have received her first, and were nearest to the place of her native abode, preserved her, it is likely, in the most genuine form; the *Phœnicians*, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a *Phœnician*; and the *Philistines*, or *Ascalonites*, who were a little farther off, that they too might make her their own, turned her into a monster, woman upwards and fish downwards^e; and, rather than not have her, were willing to allow her to have been in subordination to some other goddess, who had such a power over her as to chastise her by a change from her first shape^h.

It appears, then, that the worship paid to this goddess came originally from *Assyria* and *Babylonia*; and was established in the countries we have mentioned, by the prevailing power of those two empires; but they being overturned by the *Persians*, who had an aversion to *Sabianism*, each of them, forgetting the source whence they derived their superstitions, claimed them as peculiar to themselves, and new-modelled them accordingly.

Is worshipped as Semiramis.

AND now it may not be amiss to inquire, how far the tradition concerning *Semiramis* agrees with what we are told of this goddess. In this inquiry we shall find several circumstances concurring to make us believe she was worshipped as the supreme goddess of the *Babylonians*.

^a STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748.

^b PLIN. hist. nat. l. v. c. 23.

^c MACROB. in Saturn. i. c. 23.

^d Vid. SELDEN, ubi sup.

^e MANIL. astronom. iv.

^f See vol. ii. p. 222. and in the notes, ibid.

^h See above, p. 280.

(S) We see here *Typhon* introduced into the *Babylonian* mythology, though he was an *Egyptian*; but we may perceive,

by some parallel circumstances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

C. IX. *The History of the Babylonians.*

We have seen her born of a goddess at *Ascalon*ⁿ, who, for the shame of conceiving her, plunged herself into a lake, and became a fish^o; and hence fish are said to have been worshipped. We have seen her miraculously fed by doves or pigeons in a desert^p; and hence that bird became sacred. We have seen it foretold, that she should not die, but vanish from the sight of men, and obtain divine honours from the *Asiatic* nations. We have seen it was pretended she disappeared in the form of a dove, and went off attended by a flight of them^r; and hence another reason is given why the dove became sacred. We have seen her the abandoned prostitute^s, and the martial heroine^t; and hence she may have been the celestial *Venus* adored under both sexes, and the *Phœnician Astarte*, now painted in armour, and now represented as the patroness of lewdness and effeminacy. In short, we have seen her the first that made eunuchs; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch priests, or *Galli*, who attended upon the *Syrian* goddesses; which was certainly more probable than what is pretended in the idle story of *Combabus* and *Stratonice*, who lived some hundred years after *Semiramis*.

UPON the whole, we may well conclude, that the celestial *Venus* of the *Assyrians*, the *Astarte* of the *Phœnicians*, and the *Derceto* or *Atargatis* of the later *Philistines*, were all derived from *Semiramis*, or whatever else her true name was, the first foundress of *Babylon*; who seems to have been translated into the queen of heaven, the moon, as *Belus*, or *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* monarch, was into the sun; that all the *Jupiters* and *Junos*, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source; and that, on this *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* foundation, the whole superstructure of the *Greek* polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the *Greeks* had their religion from the *Phœnicians* partly, and partly from the *Egyptians*, who had theirs originally from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as may be gathered from the religious state of the countries on either side of the *Euphrates* in the days of *Abraham*, as we have hinted before. The *Egyptians* seem, in

ⁿ See before, p. 280.

^p See before, *ibid.* & p. 281.

^s See before, p. 295.

^t *seqq.*

^o See before, *ibid.*

^r See before, p. 296.

^t See before, p. 290, &

The History of the Babylonians. B. I.

time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the *Babylonians*, as will plainly appear, if we compare them together. The *Phœnicians*, who had equally communication with the two nations, seem to have mixed both systems: in short, *Astarte*, who was the celestial *Venus* of the *Babylonians*, was also the *Egyptian* goddess *Isis*, there being scarce any difference between these two great and antient nations, in the main points of religion, or with respect to their chief and favourite gods, except in the names they have conferred on them, in order to appropriate them to themselves. Nothing appears in history more plain, than a perfect uniformity in the fundamentals of religion among the nations on both side the *Euphrates*. If, therefore, we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the same time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immense labyrinth of heathenism and idolatry; but, for want of this certain stand to take the survey from; for want of a due attention to the natural progress of idolatry, but especially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of profane authors, to the infallible oracles of Scripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the first great *Assyrians* or *Babylonians* that were deified and translated; our mythologists have rambled back to *Noah*, to *Nimrod*, and all the postdiluvian patriarchs, to discover in them what is designed for men who lived many ages after them: whereby they have most strangely perplexed this part of learning, but too intricate itself; and cast an impenetrable mist on this part of history, which ought to be looked upon as fabulous, if we make a few exceptions, till about the rise of the *Babylonian* empire, in the reign of *Josiah* king of *Judah*: for not only the art or method of writing a regular history was not discovered, or at least practised, as should seem, till the days of *Herodotus*, who lived about the middle of the *Persian* empire; but the gods of all these nations being supposed to have been once mere men, the priests and others had no other way to recommend them to the veneration of the people, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as possible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other instance of this than *Sanchoniathe's Phœnician history* ^f, it would be abundantly sufficient to justify us in what we say; and, if we had no other ex-

^f See vol. i. p. 303.

ample of this affectation than that of the *Syrians* in the days of *Josephus*, boasting of the antiquity of their great god *Adad*, who reigned about nine hundred years before CHRIST; it might be deemed enough for our purpose. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the most learned, who, inattentive to the history of the antient empire of *Syria*, suppose this *Adad* to have been an *Affyrian* or *Babylonian* deity¹; and for no other *properly* a reason, but because he is by profane authors called an *Affy-Babyloni-rian*, forgetting that the name of *Affyria* extended itself all over *Syria*, and the adjacent parts^k. He was then, to all appearance, no *Babylonian* deity, but one who had been deified by the antient *Syrians*, and perhaps revived again after the destruction of the *Babylonian* empire, whose new gods must have brought him into discredit, not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*, but also as being a stranger to the people transplanted into these parts, in the room of the first inhabitants, by the successors of *Pul. Adad*, thus degraded, and afterwards reinstated, was also the sun, as well as *Bel* or *Baal*, *Osiris*, and others. And this is what we have thought necessary to premise to what we shall hereafter say of the *Greek* mythology.

To return to our celestial *Venus*, or *Syrian* goddess, or *Fishes* and *Astarte*, or *Derceto*, or *Semiramis*, we find that fishes and doves were peculiarly sacred to her; and, whence this *worshipped*, superstition took birth, we have partly seen in the metamorphosis of *Derceto*, and the birth, education, and apotheosis of *Semiramis*. We have likewise seen, that both at *Ascalon* and *Hierapolis* they were equally revered; so that they may well deserve to be considered as deities with this people. As for fishes in particular, they are said to have been revered by the *Syrians*, or the *Affyrians* rather, not only on account of the metamorphosis above^w, but also because they were said to have saved one *Derce* [*Derceto*], a daughter to *Venus*, who happened to fall into the sea; or because she took refuge among the fish, when she fled from *Typhon*^x: for it is said, that *Venus* and *Cupid* being surpris'd by that giant on the banks of the *Euphrates*, they threw themselves into the river, and transformed

¹ Vid. LIL. GYRALD. hist. deor. SELDEN, de diis Syris. VOSSIIUM de idololat.

^k See before, in the notes,

p. 242.

^w THEON. apud GYRALD. hist. deor. syntagm.

i. p. 85.

^x MANIL. ubi sup.

themselves into fishes^y: in short, *Venus* and *Cupid* are said to have been translated into the zodiacal sign called *pisces*^z: such were the reasons given why they not only abstained from fish, but even worshiped them. As for doves, they seem to have been worshiped only as symbols of the voluptuous character of their goddesses (T).

Salambo. SALAMBO, as she is called^b, was also a goddess of the *Assyrians* or *Babylonians*; and is plainly *Astarte*, or some other goddess whom we have shewn to have been the same with her; but we particularly mention *Astarte*, because this *Salambo*, or *Salambas*, is said to have been a goddess, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her lost *Adonis*^c.

Sheshach. SHACH, *Saca*, or *Sheshach*, is another god or goddess of the *Babylonians*, as usually reckoned^d, and supposed to have been the earth, the same the *Romans* afterwards worshiped under the name of *Tellus* and *Ops*^e; and, if so, she was partly the same with *Mylitta*, or the *Syrian* goddess, whom we have already seen under the title of *Rhea*, and the mother of the gods^f, in whom all these titles and imaginary deities are said plainly to have centred. Some, however, have doubted, whether she was not more properly a *Persian* than a *Babylonian* goddess^g. But the prophet leaves no room for such a doubt, calling *Babylon* the land of *Sheshach*^h, before the *Persians* arose to any height

^y DIOGENET. apud HYGIN. in astronom. ^z Vid. VOSS. de idolol. l. ii. p. 254. ^b HESYCH. apud SELDEN, & alios. Etymol. magn. ad vocem. ^c Etymol. magn. ibid.
^d Vid. VOSS. SELDEN, &c. ^e WILLET upon Dan. i. 16.
^f See before, p. 358. ^g Vid. SELDEN de diis Syr. syn- tagm. ii. ^h Jer. li. 41.

(T) This goddess is said to have been produced from a vast egg, which, being rolled out of the water by the fish of the *Euphrates*, was hatched by a dove, who sat thereon (70). This must be the primigenial egg mentioned by *Helladius* (71); and, according to this, our great goddess must have

been the fabulous *Oannes* (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon so strange an inconsistency as this seems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the *Assyrian* goddess into the same with *Oannes*, may be a fruitless task.

(70) *Nigid. apud Voss. de idolol. l. ii. p. 254.* (71) *See vol. i. p. 197.*
 (72) *Ibid.*

of power: and at a time when *Babylon* was above receiving any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddess, the *Babylonians* used to celebrate a festival for several days together, which we shall take notice of among the customs of this people, and which consequently gave birth to the *Saturnalia* at *Rome*.

NEBO, or *Nabo*, was also an *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* deityⁱ; and partly of his name are compounded the names of several of the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings: he therefore may be concluded to have once been in high account with them; and bids fair to have been one of their most ancient gods. He is thought to have been the *Chemosh*, or the *Baal-peor* of the *Moabites*. By the prophet he is joined with *Bel*^m, and generally supposed to have been the sun. If we admit this supposition, we must allow him to have been prior to *Bel*, that is, according to us, to the deified *Pul*, who may, by the vicissitude of things, have taken place of him. Some, from those two deities being joined together, conclude *Nebo* to have been the moon^o, since *Bel* was undoubtedly the sun. This *Nebo* seems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as signifying prophecy or divination^q: but this, and whatever else may be advanced concerning him, is too obscure for us to dilate on; all we know for certain is, that he was one of the gods of *Babylon*.

HOWEVER, if it be true, that he was the same with *Sardanapalus*, *Chemosh*, or *Baal-peor*, or *Phégor*, and if what is said of the obscene rites of this god^r be just, we may with some probability assert, that the famous, or, according to the common notion, the infamous, *Sardanapalus* took the place of this shameless idol, in the latter days of the *Assyrian* family; and that, to all appearance, the *Babylonians* converted him into this god, when they destroyed the city of *Nineveh*, and the *Assyrian* empire. For that he was a god of theirs, is evident enough, by the place given him in the same temple with the *Babylonian Venus* at *Hierapolis*, the *Holy city*^s. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude^t; and, as all the kings of *Assyria* were deified, he might have been honoured as the god of pleasure and debauchery. This seems to be intimated by

ⁱ *Isai*. xlvi. 1.^m *Ibid*. ubi sup.^o *Vid*.^v *Ess*. de idololat.^q *HIERONYM.* in *Isai*. in loc. sup.

citat.

^r See vol. ii. p. 126.^s See vol. ii. p. 285.^t *Ibid*.

the common way of spelling his name, for the most part, in ancient manuscripts, with a double L^x, and seemingly with an allusion to *Phallus*, or *Pallus*: hence *Cicero* thought his name no less odious than his character^y; and the *priap*, which stood near him, in the temple at *Hierapolis*, may have been intended as a symbol of his character.

Rach. OTHER gods the *Babylonians* and *Affyrians* had, as *Rach*^b, who is generally thought to have been intended for the sun, and therefore may be ranked with the great *Sul*, or *Belus*.

Nego and Nergal. NEGO^c and *Nergal*^d were also gods of this people, if they were not one and the same; but, as they are generally agreed to have been worshiped as fire, we forbear farther mention of them, till we come to the religion of the *Magians*.

Merodach. MERODACH also was a god at *Babylon*; but, concerning him, we are quite in the dark.

IN a word, we may call in the gods of the several nations, whose histories precede in this work, to complete the list of the *Babylonian* idols; for they are confessedly sprung from the city of *Babylon*: and hence it is, that *Maimonides*, in speaking of the death of *Thammuz*, who died a martyr to the *Sabian* religion, relates, that all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the sun, at *Babylon*, and there mourned the death of *Thammuz*.

THUS we have seen, that the *Jupiters*, and other gods and goddesses of mortal origin, came from the banks of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and that, instead of being so ancient as mythologists and historians make them, they began to be worshiped not above 900 years before the birth of CHRIST.

Fire-worship. THE *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, had a veneration for fire; and therefore we might here consider them in that light, did we not reserve that subject for the section where we shall speak of the *Magian* religion, in the history of the *Persians*.

THE story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*^e might here claim a place, were we not well assured, that the whole is spurious. We therefore only add, that by the *dragon* here we

^x Vid. JOS. SCALIG. animadvers. ad Græc. Euseb. p. 64.

^y De republ. l. iii.

^b Vid. WILLET, ubi sup. SELD.

de diis Syris, syntagm. ii. c. 17.

^c Vid. eod. ibid.

^e In the Apocrypha.

should understand a *serpent* or *asp*, which the *Babylonians* used as the symbol of God, for which they had several reasons to give; as that this creature, without the assistance of limbs, and by a kind of virtue or power latent within itself, could not only move at a considerable rate, but also wind and turn itself into various forms; that it lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed its life with its coat every year; and that the acuteness of its sight might aptly enough qualify it to represent divine Providence, or God^k. Other reasons were given, both by the *Babylonians* and *Egyptians*, to justify this sort of worship; but we waive them, and shall only observe, that the same reptile, as the symbol of health, of prudence, and fraud, was worshiped by them^l.

THE *Babylonians* agreed with the *Egyptians* in most articles of religions especially in the worship they paid to fishes, to the goat, and to the onion, which, as mean an object as it may seem, was adored by both nations^o, for a reason which we have hinted at above^p.

OF their god *Thurras*, *Thourias*, or *Mars*, we have spoken already^q; and refer the reader, for the other religious rites and ceremonies of this people, to what we have said of the religion of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Canaanites*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Assyrians*.

WE have a general view given us of their temples, idols, *Their temples and priests*, in the epistle of *Jeremiah*^r. Their idols were of *ples, idols, gold, of silver, and of wood; and carried about in procession, and priests* surrounded with multitudes worshiping them. They were crowned, and cloathed in purple, and black with the smoke of incense. Their temples were full of smoke and dust, raised and caused by the numerous resort of votaries. The priests made sometimes free with the gold and silver presented to their gods, and either kept it for themselves, or bestowed it upon lewd prostitutes, who were accounted sacred. Whatever was offered a sacrifice to their gods, they were wont to imbezil, and appropriatè to themselves; and cloathe their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they

^k Vid. Voss. de idololat. l. ix. p. 233.
 itid. ^o ALEXAND. ab ALEXAND. l. vi.
 p. 484. ^q See before, in the notes, p. 297.
 vi. pass.

^l Vid. eund.
^p See vol. i.
^r Baruch

were sure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to sit in the temples with their beards and heads close shaven, uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, crying out before their gods as for the lamentation of some person deceased. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and such their practice; which must have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the sequel.

Human
victims.

THE *Babylonians* having given rise to all the idolatries and superstitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we must charge them with the horrible custom of sacrificing human victims to appease or conciliate their god or gods. That this custom prevailed among most of these nations, is manifest from the accounts we have given of them; and it is no less manifest, that it took birth among the *Babylonians*, who communicated the rest of their superstitions to all their neighbours. This custom, however, grew so shocking to human nature, that it seems, in the later days, at least, of the *Babylonians*, to have been confined to a particular sect or tribe. For the *Sepharvites* are said, by way of distinction from the other *Babylonians*, to have burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, *the gods of Sepharvaim* ⁿ. Who these two gods were, we have seen already ^w; and, that these *Sepharvites* were *Babylonians*, properly so called, would be past all doubt, should we agree, with the most learned geographers, that their city was that of *Sippara* in *Ptolemy*. Be that as it will, there are traces of this ancient cruelty to be discerned in the worship and rites of the *Syrian*, or rather *Affyrian* goddesses at *Hierapolis*, to whom parents, without remorse, sacrificed their children, by throwing them down a precipice in her temple ^x.

WE have already declared, in the history of *Egypt*, what we know concerning the intent and meaning of this idolatry; and therefore shall only add here, that, if the *Babylonians*, and others after them, in making gods of the sun, moon, or any other luminary, extended their view to the whole system of nature in the worship they paid to their great deities, or, by them, meant the earth itself, the air, or any other element, or created being, the whole must be attributed to a kind of mistaken gratitude

ⁿ 2 Kings xvii. 31.

^w See before, p. 254.

^x See vol. ii. p. 288.

^y See vol. ii. p. 479, & seqq.

at first for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into the most stupid idolatry. Thus much of idolatry ;

(V) Sir *John Maundeville* (73) has so judiciously summed up the history and progress of idolatry, that, for the curiosity of it, we cannot, though somewhat long, but present it to the reader, in his own words. Speaking of a people in *India*, he says, " Summe of hem worfchippe the sonne, summe the mone, summe the fuyr, summe trees, summe serpentes, or the first thing that thei meten at morwen ; and summe worfchipen symulacres, and summe ydoles. But betwene symulacres and ydoles is a gret difference ; for symulacres ben ymages made afre lyknesse of men, or of wommen, or of the sonne, or of the mone, or of any best, or of any kindly thing : and ydoles is an ymage made of lewed wille of man, that a man may not finden among kyndely things ; as an ymage, that hath four hedes, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of sum other best, that no man hath seyn, afre kyndely disposicion. And thei that worfchipen symulacres, thei worfchipen hem for sum worthi man, that was, sum tyme, as *Hercules* and many othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme. For thei seyn wel, that this be not goddes ; for thei knowen wel, that there is a God of kynde,

" that made all thinges ; the
 " whiche is in hevenc. But
 " thei knowen wel, that this
 " may not do the marvayles
 " that he made, but zif it had
 " ben be the specyalle zifte of
 " God ; and therefore thei
 " seyn, that he was wel with
 " God. And for be cause
 " that he was so wel with God,
 " therefor thei worfchipe him.
 " And so seyn thei of the
 " sonne ; be cause that he
 " chaungethe the tyme, and
 " zevethe here, and noriffch-
 " ethe alle thinges upon erthe ;
 " and for it is of so gret pro-
 " fite, thei knowe wel, that
 " that myghte not be, but that
 " God loveth it more than
 " any other thing. And for
 " that skylle, God hath ze-
 " ven it more gret vertue in
 " the world : therefore it is
 " gode resoun, as thei seyn,
 " to don it worfchipe and re-
 " verence. And so seyn thei,
 " that maken here resounes of
 " other planetes ; and of the
 " fuyr also, be cause it is so
 " profitable. And of ydoles,
 " thei seyn also, that the ox is
 " the most holy best that is in
 " erthe, and most pacyent,
 " and more profitable than any
 " other. For he dothe good
 " ynow, and he dothe non
 " evylle. And thei knowen
 " wel, that it may not be with-
 " outen specyalle grace of
 " God : and therefore maken
 " thei here god, of an ox, the
 " on part, and the other half-

(73) *Voyage and travel*, c. 15. p. 198.

latry; and less we could not have said in this place, where the whole seems to centre, and where the whole, or at least great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of use to us hereafter, in speaking of these deities, or some borrowed from them in climes far remote from this.

Their customs.

Sale of virgins.

It is now time to speak of the customs of the *Affyrians* and *Babylonians*; and, of these, one of the chief seems to have been their method of disposing of their young women in marriage. No man seems to have had a right to dispose of his own daughters; but, as soon as they were fit to

“ondelle of a man; be cause
 “that man is the most noble
 “creature in erthe; and also
 “for he hath lordschipe aboven
 “alle bestes; therefore make
 “thei the halfendel of ydole
 “of a man upwardes, and the
 “tother half of an ox down-
 “wardes: and of serpentes,
 “and of other bestes, and dy-
 “verse thinges, that thei wor-
 “schipen, that thei meten first
 “atmorwen: and thei worschipe-
 “en also specially alle tho that
 “they han gode meetynge of;
 “and whan thei speden wel in
 “here jorneye, afre here
 “meetynge; and namely suche
 “as thei han proved a
 “ed be experience of longe
 “tyme. For thei seyn, that
 “thilke gode meetynge ei may
 “not come, but of the grace
 “of God. And therefore thei
 “maken ymages lyche to tho
 “thinges, that thei han be-
 “leeve inne, for to beholden
 “hem, and worschipen hem,
 “first at morwe, or thei
 “meetten ony contrarious
 “thinges. And there ben al-
 “so summe cristene men, that
 “seyn, that summe bestes han
 “gode meetynge, that is to
 “seyn, for to meete with hem
 “first at morwe; and summe
 “bestes wykked meetynge;
 “and that thei han proved ofte
 “tyme, that the hare hath
 “fulle evylle meetynge, and
 “swyn, and many othere
 “bestes. And the sparhawk,
 “and other foules of raveyne,
 “whan thei steen afre here
 “praye, and take it before
 “men of armes, it is a gode
 “signe: and, zif he fayle of
 “takyng his praye, it is an
 “evylle signe. And also to
 “suche folk, it is an evylle
 “meetynge of ravenes. In
 “these thinges, and in suche
 “others, ther ben many folk,
 “that I sleeven, be cause it
 “happenethe so often tyme to
 “falle, afre here fantassyes.
 “And also there ben men
 “yow, that han no beleeve in
 “god. And these that Cristene
 “men han such beleeve, that
 “ben informed and taughte
 “alle day, be holy doctryne
 “where inne thei schold be-
 “leeve; it is no marvaylle,
 “thanne, that the *Paynemet*,
 “that han no gode doctryne,
 “but only of here nature, be-
 “leeven more largely, for
 “fympleness (74).”

(74) *Voyage and travel*, c. 15. p. 198.

marry,

marry, they, with others, were exposed in some public place appointed for the purpose, where, in the midst of a croud of men, who attended upon these occasions, they were sold one by one. The most beautiful were first put up, and delivered to the highest bidder. When all who were valuable for their charms were thus disposed of, the money, that was raised by this sale, was applied in behalf of some of them, to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. These were then offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poorer sort, who valued money more than beauty, were as eager in underbidding, as the wealthy men had before been in overbidding each other for the fair ones. The consequence of this was, that their young women were all disposed of in marriage; the poorer sort of the men were obliged to give security, that they would take those they had chosen, before they were in possession of the money they had agreed to take with them².

THE *Babylonians* thought themselves polluted even by *Purification* the use of matrimony; and therefore were not allowed to touch any thing after it, till they had purified themselves by perfuming and washing their bodies³.

EVERY *Babylonian* woman was once in her life-time *Prostitution* bound to prostitute herself to a strange man at the temple of *Venus*. They were crowned with knots and garlands, and ranged in long ranks before the temple, each rank being parted from the other by a line, that the men might conveniently pass between them, and choose those they liked best. They declared their choice by throwing money into the lap of the woman they most admired, and saying, as they threw it, *I implore the goddess Mylitta for thee*. The money, how little soever, was by no means to be refused, being accounted sacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accosted her in the form prescribed, but she was absolutely to retire with him, without delay (W). Having thus fulfilled the law, and per-

² HERODOT. l. i. c. 196. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 745. ³ HERODOT. *ibid.* c. 198. STRAB. *ibid.*

(W) We have this custom, *women, says he, also, with cords with some additional circumstances, in Baruch (75): The women, says he, also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if*

performed some ceremonies in honour of the goddess, she returned home; and nothing could tempt her to grant the same favours again to her new lover. Women of rank (for none were dispensed with) might be conveyed to the appointed place in a covered vehicle, and keep in it^b, while their servants waited their return at some distance.

Festival of Sacca. FOR five days together, every year, they celebrated a festival they called *Sacca*, or *Sacca*, during which the servants commanded their masters, one of them being, for the time, constituted chief over the house, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called *Zogana*^c.

Manner of treating the sick, and burials. THEIR manner of treating their sick was very extraordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented places, that every one might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the *Egyptians*^d.

The Babylonians; their character. THE *Babylonians* were excessively credulous, superstitious, and as lewd and debauched as a nation could be. Their credulity must appear from the high veneration they had for their *Chaldeans*, priests, or jugglers; and their superstition from what we have said of their religion. They were so prone to idolatry, that we even find an instance of their great *Nebuchadnezzar* falling down before *Daniel* to worship him^e. Debauchery reigned among them without controul; their princes, on whom it was incumbent to restrain it, living beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather from the banquet *Belshazzar* was giving when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall^f. Nor was the king's example all: their religion, as incul-

^b HERODOT. *ibid.* c. 199. STRABO, *ibid.* ^c BEROS. apud ATHEN. *deipnosoph.* l. xiv. p. 639. ^d HERODOT. l. i. c. 198. STRABO, l. xvi. *ibid.* ^e Dan. ii. 46. ^f *Ibid.* c. v.

any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been supposed they were cords of rushes (76); which might be easily broken.

(76) See *Purch. pilgr.* l. i. c. 12. p. 65.

cated by their priests, and as we have seen in the rites of their great goddesses, and others, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes &, completed them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands did not scruple to expose for money their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particularly said to have been; and their women were admitted to their debaucheries, who, upon these occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till, putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was practised both by the married women, and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to display all their charms without reserve ^h. Such was the character of the *Babylonians*, a character answering to, and countenanced by, their religion; though it cannot be supposed, that, in the beginning of their empire, they were quite so dissolute as here represented.

THEY seem to have affected pride and effeminacy in *Their habit*. their dress; their under-garment was a linen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woolen, and, over all, a white mantle, or cloke. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies anointed all ^l over with oil of sesame ^k. Each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff, or sceptre, adorned at the head with some particular ensign or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lily, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks, or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers ^l. Of their attire some traces are still to be found in the figures remaining at *Persepolis*, as we shall observe hereafter.

THE *Babylonians* were famed for learning, particularly *Learning the Chaldeans*, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers, &c. *Chaldea*. And, in respect of this pretended claim to learning, and supernatural knowledge, the *Chaldees* are distinguished quite from the *Babylonians*, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves, next to the *Arabians*, and the *Persian gulf* ^m, just where we have placed them. They were divided into several sects, as the *Orcheni*, the *Borsippenni*; and known by other names of distinction, borrow-

^g See before, p. 371.

^l HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 195.

^l HERODOT. STRAB. *ibid*.

p. 739.

^h QUINT. CURT. l. v. c. 1.

^k STRABO, ubi sup. p. 745.

^m STRAB. geograph. l. xvi.

ed either from particular places ⁿ, where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons, who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the *Greeks*, as *Adena*, *Naburian*, *Sudin*, and many others ^o.

WE have already considered this tribe as set apart for devotion or superstition; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of what they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

Whether
they had
their
learning
from the
Egyptians.

WE have already related their strange fable concerning their first instructor *Oannes* ^p; and shall now add, that, by what is said of his inventions, and useful communications to men, he may have been the *Egyptian Isis*, or *Osiris*, or both. Be that as it will, the report of *Oannes's* appearance in *Chaldæa* from out of the sea, has given birth to an opinion, that *Osiris* and *Oannes* were at least contemporaries; and that the *Babylonians* had all their learning from the *Egyptians*, not much earlier than the days of *Ammon*, and *Sesac* or *Shishak*; whom our author ^q will have to have been the same with *Sesofstris*, or not long before the days of *David* and *Solomon*. To prove this, he exhibits the testimony of several antient authors, one ^r writing, That the *Egyptian Belus*, the son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, carried colonies from *Egypt* into *Babylonia*; and that, settling upon the banks of the *Euphrates*, he instituted priests with the same privileges as in *Egypt*; and that these were called *Chaldæans*, and were to observe the stars after the manner of *Egypt*; another ^u declaring the *Babylonian Belus* had his name from the *Egyptian* of that name, the son of *Libya*. In a word, our author ^w concludes, that when *Sabaco* the *Ethiopian* invaded *Egypt*, multitudes of that country fled from him into *Chaldæa*, and carried with them their astronomy, astrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved in the æra of *Nabonassar*; and, as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the *Egyptian* pyramids. All this seems plausible enough.

BUT may not the preference, thus given by the *Greeks* to the *Egyptians*, be owing to their being better acquainted with them than with the *Babylonians*? May not the *Egyptians*

ⁿ STRAB. geograph. l. xvi. p. 739.

^o Idem ibid.

^p See vol. i. p. 190, 191. ^q Sir Is. NEWT. chron. of ant. king. amend. p. 210, 211, & seq.

^r DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 17.

^u PAUSAN. l. iv. c. 23.

^w Sir ISA. NEWT. ubi sup.

have imposed upon the *Greeks* in this point, as they certainly did in point of antiquity? The *Jews*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, have it by tradition, that the *Egyptians* were instructed in all their knowledge by the *Chaldees*, namely, by *Abraham*, who was one of that country. This tradition deserves, at least, as much credit, as any tradition of the *Egyptians*; however credited and adopted by the *Greeks*; the rather, as it is in some degree confirmed by most of the western writers ascribing the invention of the fideral knowledge to the *Affyrian* or *Babylonian Delus*. The *Chaldeans* themselves, at least, did not acknowledge themselves indebted to any other nation for their knowledge, as is manifest from their supposing their first instructor *Oannes* to have sprung from the primigenial egg^a. But, not to dwell on so dark a point, let us take a survey of the learning which both nations claimed the glory of inventing.

THEY acquired not their learning after the manner of *Their* the *Greeks*, but by tradition from father to son; and, being exempt from all offices, their only business was, to *manner of* apply themselves to the instruction they received. They institution, never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and, by a tenacious adherence to it, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed^b.

SUCH was the manner of their institution, such their obstinate adherence to what they had received from their forefathers, that they made little or no progress even in the learning they particularly professed, as may be discovered in the sequel.

THEY taught that the world was eternal; that it never *Their do-* had beginning, and never should have end. However, they *ctrine a-* acknowledged a divine Providence; and owned, that the *bout the* motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, *world.* or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but also certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity^c.

^a See vol. i. p. 191.
p. 82.

^c Idem ibid.

^b DIOD. SICUL. bibl. histor. l. ii.

They were more astrologers than astronomers. By this it appears, that, whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, a power of averting evil, and procuring good: hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers^d.

THE planets they called *interpreters*, and made the greatest account of their influence, particularly of the influence of *Saturn*: the next in degree of eminence with them was *Sol*, or the sun; then *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and *Jupiter*; which were all the planets they reckoned: these they called *interpreters*, because, by their motions and aspects, they in a more evident manner portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, of rain, or excessive droughts, as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular^e.

The system of their astrology. UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called *counselling gods*; half of these took notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half of what was done by men, or transacted in the heavens. they gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that, in return, one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same quality; and that this mutual correspondence was natural to them, and was to continue for ever. They reported, that the chiefs of these *counselling gods* were 12 in number; and assigned to each a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac^f.

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forebode whatever is to befall them of evil, or good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it, they called the *stars or constellations of the dead*; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: in short, the *Chaldeans* were com-

^d DIOD. SIC. bibl. histor. l. .p. 82.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ibid.

plete astrologers, and pretended to excel, in that respect, all other nations ^s.

ASTRONOMY, which ought to have taken place of the *Deficient* former, yielded it here, and was, it seems, only cultivated *in astrono-* as a science secondary to the other; and accordingly their *my.* notions were coarse and imperfect. They held the earth to be like a vessel or boat, and hollow within, supporting this doctrine by various arguments ^h.

WE have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: but they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun; and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the slowness of their motion; though by their theory of the moon the contrary should appear; for they taught that she completed her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumsolved in the heavens. They taught, that she shone with a light not her own; and that, when eclipsed, she was immersed in the shadow of the earth. But, for eclipses of the sun, they were quite at a loss; nor could they fix the time when they would happen ⁱ. In short, the whole of their philosophy and learning seems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial astrology; a science unworthy of that name, and as much contemned by the moderns, as it was prized by the antients.

NOR has this boasted knowledge and learning of the *Their Chaldees* been arraigned by the moderns only; it has also *boasted* been condemned by the antients, as inconsistent with the *learning* nature of things, and as implying a fatal necessity, and *condemned.* destroying the freedom of our will ^k. And this was the mighty learning for which the *Chaldeans* were so famed, as to become, in a manner, a distinct nation from the *Babylonians*: and indeed what we have said of their knowledge is confirmed by Scripture; for *Daniel*, speaking of them, divides them into four sorts or kinds; *viz.* magicians, astrologers, forcerers, and *Chaldeans* ^l, adding afterwards to these wise-men, such as divined by lots, or such as foretold events by the inspection of entrails ^m.

^s DIOD. SIC. bibl. histor. l. ii. p. 82.

^h Idem *ibid.*

ⁱ Idem *ibid.*

^k Vid. BARDESAN. apud EUSEB. præpar. evangel. l. vi. c. 10. p. 273, & alios apud eund. *ibid.*

^l Dan.

ii. 2.

^m *Ibid.* ver. 27.

And though some suppose the *Chaldeans*, as here distinguished from the five other sorts, to have been a particular sect, of deeper and more solid learningⁿ; we may easily perceive, that they, as well as the rest, pretended to divination, and were called upon, as well as the rest, to discover what was concealed from other men. For as their knowledge was communicated to them by tradition from father to son, what was dark and unintelligible to other men, must have been so to them too, who, with an implicit faith, received whatever was taught them. Whence we may safely conclude, that they were all, in their several ways, so many oracles; and that they were all devoted to the same end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining it; so that seemingly these *Babylonians* had their science branched out amongst them, much after the manner the *Egyptian* physicians had theirs^o. Their learning must have been made up intirely of superstitious practices, and delusive arts; and, if any better they had, they must have concealed it under such enigmas, and far-fetched resemblances and allegories, as must have rendered it quite a secret, even to themselves; and it seems not to have been without good reason, that many^p of later times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded that the *Greeks* were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them, or the *Egyptians*.

Babylonians in distinction of the Chaldees; their arts. As the *Chaldees* were peculiarly the men of learning in this nation, so the *Babylonians*, properly so called, applied themselves to the arts; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them, than the former, if true it be, that the former were wholly addicted to, and set apart for, the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For in this case the *Babylonians*, as distinguished from the *Chaldeans*, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as appears by the immense buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and geometry. This we may say in general; but to say how far they excelled in perspective, and the true harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a task; though, that their ornaments and decorations fell short of

ⁿ PURCH. pilgr. l. i. c. 12. p. 63. ^o Vol. i. p. 497, 498.

^p CÆL. RHODIG. JOSEPH. SCALIG. PEUCER, &c. &c.

what was afterwards seen in *Greece*, can never be doubted. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues fell vastly short of those which *Greece* produced.

MUSIC they had, but in what perfection we must never *Mus.* hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to attempt it. But that they had a variety of instruments, we are well assured; viz. flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and all kinds of music &c. What these instruments exactly were, we probably shall never know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony, by what we can discover of their painting and statuary, we must not equal them in that science to the *Greeks*.

WE are quite unacquainted with their poetry; but must *Poetry.* leave the reader to form a judgment of it, by that of the other eastern nations, their neighbours, both antient and modern. Neither do we pretend to say by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the *Chaldeans*, or the *Babylonians*; but as it has at all times been sacred to religion and superstition, we may suppose the former, as priests, laid claim to it, as part of their province.

THAT physic was no regular science among them, is *Physic.* manifest from what we have said above concerning their manner of treating the sick. But it grew into great repute with the *Persians* their successors, as we shall observe in a more proper place.

WE have already declared, there is no more difference *Language.* between the *Syriac* and *Chaldee*, the language of this people, than between the *English* and *Scots* &c. Their common alphabet we have already given &c; and as for the *Mendeau* character, which is also peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but so like the *Estrangelo* of the *Syriac* &c, that we have thought it unnecessary to insert it. *Bochart* &c supposes they had a sacred character as well as the *Egyptians*, but upon a very unsatisfactory foundation.

THE *Babylonians*, properly so called, were great *Archi-* architects, and ingenious in the casting of metals, and great *texture.* workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked, when we come to speak of *Babylon*, their great metropolis.

THEY were no less famous for their manufactures, *Manu-* particularly for their rich embroideries, sumptuous vest-*factures,* ments, magnificent carpets, and fine linen; infomuch *and fine* *linen.*

¹ Dan. iii. 5—15. ² See vol. ii. p. 293, 294. ³ *Ibid.*
⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Canaan*, c. 17. col. 773.

that we read of *Cato*, that he immediately sold a *Babylonian* cloak, or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was ashamed to wear ^w; and elsewhere, that at *Rome* there had been paid, for a suit of *Babylonian* hangings for a dining-room, six thousand four hundred fifty-eight pounds six shillings and eightpence ^x. It were to no purpose to quote authors for farther instances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb: or to aim at a detail of the several products of their industry; we would only add, that the *Babylonians*, as well as the *Tyrians*, had their purple, which they sent into the eastern parts by way of traffick ^y. This purple they had from a port called *Apologus*, near the *Euphrates* ^z; but as it is disputed, whether the art of dying purple was their invention, or whether they had it from *Tyre* ^a, we shall only observe here, that their country afforded the best materials for dying, *viz.* alum, both natural and artificial ^b.

Particular tribes. THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the *Babylonians* and *Chaldeans*, properly so called, but into other subordinate sects. Three of these are said to have fed upon nothing but fish ^c, and thereby seem to have infringed a sacred law among the *Babylonians*, who abstained from fish out of respect to their great goddesses. Thus we have seen, that some of the *Egyptians* worshiped the fish, which others fed upon. However, as these tribes lived in the fens, where no corn grew, it may not have been upon a religious principle, but out of necessity, that they departed from the practice of their countrymen. Their fish they dried in the sun, and made them dried into paste, having no other means to supply the want of bread ^e. Something yet more extraordinary we are told of the inhabitants of *Borsippa*, where the bats being much larger than in other places, they used to salt them for food ^f; but whether this practice proceeded from superstition, or want, is uncertain; though we can hardly believe it was owing to the latter in so plentiful a country.

Commerce. THE trade of this antient people is no-where, that we know of, professedly treated of; but that it must have

^w PLUTARCH. in vita Catonis.

^x PLIN. hist. natur.

l. viii. c. 48. See ARBUTH. of ant. coins, weights, and measures, p. 142.

^y ARRIAN. peripl. mar. Eryth. in minor.

HUDSON, vol. ii. p. 20, 21.

^z Idem ibid.

^a Vid.

BOCHART. phaleg. c. 7. col. 28.

^b Vid. eund. ibid.

^c HERODOT. l. i. c. 200.

^d STRAB. l. xvi. p. 746.

^e HERODOT. ubi sup.

^f STRAB. ubi sup. p. 739.

been very considerable, is not in the least to be doubted, especially when *Babylon* was in the meridian of her glory. Whosoever contemplates the splendor of this monarchy, the commodious situation of the country in general, and of its capital in particular, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. *Babylon* was situated, as it were, in the very midst of the old world; and, by means of the two great rivers, the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, had very easy communication with the western and northern parts, as also with the eastern, by means of the *Persian* gulf. As it was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own, to exchange with its neighbours, and lay so within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extensive here as any-where else. That the *Babylonians* had shipping of their own, and were considerable, as navigators, cannot well be disputed, since their city is stiled by the prophet a *city of waters*; and their extensive commerce is described in the book of *Revelation* (X).

(X) Besides what might be gathered to prove this point, in the *Prophets*, the book of *Revelation* (77), describing the fall of *Babylon*, has these words, which at once display the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they must have abounded in shipping; *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen . . . The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth her merchandize any more: the merchandize of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyme [or sweet] wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and*

wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men . . . The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas! alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and precious stones, and pearls! . . . And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried . . . Alas! alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness . . . is . . . made desolate (78).

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the Babylonians, from the first Rise of the Monarchy to its Dissolution.

WE are here to consider the *Babylonians* in two very different views; first, as composing a small, though perhaps, a formidable kingdom, immediately after the deluge, the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear^s; and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by, and at last rising upon the ruins of, the *Assyrians* their brethren^h; so that, in effect, we are here only to look back to the early times of the *Assyrian* monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed perhaps, by princes of the same blood, with those who filled the throne of *Nineveh*. We may refer the reader back to what we have said in the chronology of the *Assyrians*, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, viz. in *Pul* king of *Assyria*, and nearly at one and the same time. But, not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of *Babylon* from the kingdom of *Assyria*, and to exhibit, pursuant to our custom, a series of the kings of *Babylon*, according to several authors.

A TABLE of the Successions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Astronomical Canon, and the Ecclesiastical Account.

According to the most correct copies of Ptolemy's canon.	Years.	According to the ecclesiastical account in Syncellus.	Years.
1 Nabonassar reigned	14	1 Nabonassar or Salmassar reigned	25
2 Nadius - - -	2	2 Nabius - - -	8
3 Chinzirus and Porus	5	3 Chinzirus and Porus	5

^s See vol. i. p. 286, & seqq.^h Ibid.

According to the most correct copies of *Ptolemy's* canon.

According to the ecclesiastical account in *Syncellus*.

Years.		Years.	
4	<i>Fugæus</i> - - 5	4	<i>Illulæus</i> - - 5
5	<i>Mardoc-Empadus</i> 12	5	<i>Mardoempadocus</i> 12
6	<i>Arkianus</i> - - 5	6	<i>Arceanus</i> - - 5
7	Interreign I. - 2	7	Interreign I. - - 2
8	<i>Belibus</i> - - 3	8	<i>Belithus</i> - - 3
9	<i>Apronadius</i> - - 6	9	<i>Aporanadisus</i> - - 6
10	<i>Rigebelus</i> - - 1	10	<i>Iregiballus</i> - - 1
11	<i>Messismordacus</i> - 4	11	<i>Messismordacus</i> - 4
12	Interreign II. - - 8	12	Interreign II. - - 8
13	<i>Affar-Addinus</i> - 13	13	<i>Isarindinus</i> - - 13
14	<i>Saosduchéus</i> - - 20	14	<i>Saosduchius</i> - - 9
15	<i>Chyniladanus</i> - - 22	15	<i>Cineladanus</i> - - 14
16	<i>Nabopallasarus</i> - 21	16	<i>Nabopalasarus</i> - - 21
17	<i>Nabocolassarus</i> - 43	17	<i>Nebuchadonosor</i> for his son 43
18	<i>Ilvarodamus</i> - - 2	18	<i>Ebidan Merodach</i> - 5
19	<i>Niricassofassarus</i> - - 4	19	<i>Nireglesarus</i> , or <i>Baltasar</i> - - } 3
20	<i>Nabonadius</i> - - 17	20	<i>Nabonadius</i> , or <i>Asty-</i> <i>ages</i> , or <i>Darius</i> , or <i>Affuerus</i> , or <i>Ar-</i> <i>taxerxes</i> - - - } 17

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THIS table contains, on the one side, a genuine and most correct copy of *Ptolemy's* astronomical canon (Y), and on the other a corruption of it. We shall not here inquire into the differences between these two lists, or the liberty the author of this ecclesiastical account has taken with his original, which we may occasionally consider under the reigns of these kings. *Syncellus*, whence we have taken this ecclesiastical computation, has under the same head another, the authors of them being *Africanus*

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuscript in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, and sent by Dr. *Overal*, dean of *St. Paul's*, to *Seth Cavvifius*, and first published, with *Ptolemy's hypothesis*, by Dr. *Bambridge* (79), professor of the mathematics at *Oxford* (80).

(79) *Vid. Gregor. posthum. de æra & epoch. c. 7. p. 149. Marjb. can. chron. sæcul. xvii.*

(80) *Vid.*

and

and *Eusebius*¹. We shall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be necessary, to prove the first rise and duration of the *Babylonian* empire, which is so happily ascertained to our hands by *Ptolemy*, whose canon is so exactly agreeable to *Scripture* history, that if this latter could possibly stand in need of confirmation as to the historical parts of it, so far as it relates to the history of the great empires of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, nothing could be so effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous profane æras, that of *Nabonassar*, the first king in it, and without which there would be the most palpable darkness over the affairs of these people. Nothing is more surprising, than that this most noble monument should have been so little examined by the light naturally reflected on it from the sacred penmen, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and historians out of the labyrinth they have almost all bewildered themselves in, misled by the extravagancies of the fabulous *Greek* writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the modern Christians. This canon takes date from the first day of the *Egyptian* month *Thoth*, at noon, of the year of the world 3257, of the flood 1602, before Christ 747. The first of the month *Thoth* answers the 26th of our *February*, which in that year fell on a *Thursday*. The kingdom of *Babylon* then took rise in the 24th year of *Pul's* appearance on this side the *Euphrates*; which plainly shews it to have been immediately of *Assyrian* origin, according to the prophet^k; *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness; they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof.* The kingdom of *Babylon* was, then, founded by the *Assyrians*. This is so plain, that it may be needless to multiply words in proof of it, especially after what we have said in the chronology of *Assyria*, which tends directly to make it appear.

PTOLEMY, we may perceive, could discover no king of *Babylon* older than *Nabonassar*, and therefore begins with him; and *Scripture* mentions no king of *Assyria* before *Pul*, who appeared on this side the *Euphrates* about 23 years before the first year of the canon; and as *Nabonassar* is an *Assyrian* name, evidently compounded of *Nebadlon-assur*, we may be certain, that he was the son or grandson of *Pul*, who, upon his death, divided his mon-

¹ Vid. can. chron. sæcul. xvii.

^k *Isai.* xxiii. 13.

archy between his children. This is a most evident point, and abundantly helps us to understand what the prophet means in the text above, and without which it is impossible to understand how the *Assyrians* should have founded the land of the *Chaldees*. This kingdom of *Babylon* being then of *Assyrian* extraction, and considered as a sister-kingdom with *Assyria*, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with somewhat more certainty than that of the *Assyrian* empire; which we could have no notice of till the first appearance of *Pul* in the west. It may begin then with us in the twenty-fourth year of *Pul*'s appearance to the westward of the *Euphrates*, 1601 years after the flood, and 747 before Christ: it ends 1810 years after the flood, and 538 before Christ; so that its whole duration was no more than 209 years; to which if we add the 23 years of *Pul* before the date of this canon, we shall have a number not exceeding 232, for the years of the duration of the great *Assyrian* family, whether at *Nineveh*, or at *Babylon*, with respect to what we know of the rise of these kingdoms: and that *Nineveh*, which is confessedly the oldest, did not much exceed this number, must appear to any one that gives himself the trouble to recollect what we have so amply observed in the third, fourth, and fifth sections of the preceding chapter.

THE *Chaldees*, we are told, were founded by the *Assyrian*; and by the undoubted authorities of Scripture, and *Ptolemy*'s astronomical canon, this *Assyrian* can have been no other than *Pul*. If any one can prove the existence of another *Assyrian* conqueror or founder before him, we shall be very ready to congratulate him upon the discovery. The canon itself directs us when to date the fall of the *Babylonian* empire, meaning the 18th year of *Nabonadius*; tho', according to the canon, he reigned but 17 years; for every king's reign there begins with the last *T* both of his predecessor's reign.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and most famous monarchy, we must just take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. We have already exhibited the anted-

luvian princes of this part, according to the several authors; and said as much of its first founder *Nimrod* as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are said to have been his immediate successors in this infant kingdom; a list of which we have transcribed.

A TABLE of the kings of Babylon, that immediately succeeded Nimrod.

According to <i>Eusebius</i> .		According to <i>Syncellus</i> .	
	Years.		Years.
1	<i>Evechoos, or Nimrod,</i> } reigned - - - }	1	<i>Evochoüs, or Nimrod,</i> } reigned - - - }
2	<i>Chomasbolus</i> - - - 7	2	<i>Chofmabolus</i> - - - 7
3	<i>Porus</i> - - - - 35	3	<i>Porus</i> - - - - 35
4	<i>Nechobes</i> - - - 43	4	<i>Nechubes</i> - - - 43
5	<i>Abios</i> - - - - 48	5	<i>Abius</i> - - - - 48
6	<i>Oniballus</i> - - - 40	6	<i>Oniballes</i> - - - 40
7	<i>Zinzirus</i> - - - 45	7	<i>Zinzirus</i> - - - 45
224		224	

OUR authors, we see, perfectly agree as to these kings who are called the dynasty of the *Chaldees*; and, indeed, in this case, *Syncellus* has faithfully copied *Eusebius*. This dynasty, which lasted no more than 224 years, was no sooner expired, that the *Arabians* became uppermost, and produced a race of six kings at *Babylon*. This *Arabian* dynasty lasted 216 years, and the two dynasties together 440. The *Arabian* dynasty was succeeded by the *Affyrian*, beginning with *Belus*, and ending with *Sardanapalus*, as we have given it in the chronology of the *Affyrians* *. The *Affyrians* must then have erected their monarchy long before the call of *Abraham*; and the same must have continued at least a thousand years after him, without any intermission, according to the most common accounts, which may be sufficiently disproved by this one argument. Besides, there can well be no doubt but these *Arabian* kings were, according to Scripture, of the country of *Elam*, or *Persia*; for, under *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, we find *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, the undoubted *Babylonia*, warring upon the kings of the *Canaanites*: we may then as good as satisfy ourselves, that this *Arabian* dynasty, as it is called, subsisted after the call, when

* See before, p. 260, & seqq.

Abraham rescued his brother *Lot* from them; so that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the first monarchy, the *Elamites*, or *Persians*, are the people, as we shall observe in its proper place.

WE have no certain notice of any thing relating to the first kingdom of *Babylon*, except that, about the year 1912 before the Christian æra, it was governed by a king called *Amraphel*, who warred under the king of *Elam*¹. This is all we have to say concerning these early times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the *Ctesian* accounts of *Semiramis*, who, according to him, must be called the foundress of *Babylon*; and that is what we need not repeat.

First kingdom of Babylon, when founded. Amraphel.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the series we have given of the *Assyrian* kings, as they stand in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, is reckoned as the third dynasty of the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, and called the *Assyrian*; but, concerning this, we must refer the reader to our chronology of the *Assyrians*, where we hope he will meet with what may satisfy him concerning the little weight this succession of dynasties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in *Ptolemy's* canon should be called the fourth dynasty of the orientals, and distinguished by the title of the *Babylonian*; but this we must reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and especially with us, who distinguish so widely as we do, between the antient kingdom of *Babylon*, and the monarchy or empire of the same.

WE have now brought all the history we know of this people down to the æra of *Nabonassar*; but, before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of *Babylon* we can possibly acknowledge, from the days of *Amraphel* above to the said *Nabonassar*, we must relate what is fabulously reported of the man, who, according to some profane authors, must be accounted the first king of *Babylon*.

HE is by some called *Belesis*^m, and by others *Nany-brus*ⁿ; and both affect to give us an extraordinary story of *Belesis*, of him, which will be almost all we shall be able, in these or *Nany-brus* authors, to find concerning the *Babylonian* empire, till it was put to an end.

UNDER the name of *Belesis*, this first prince is represented as a crafty and mean-spirited knave, and, at the

¹ Gen. xiv. 9.

^m See before, p. 302.

ⁿ NICOL.

DAMASC. in excerpt. Valef. p. 424.

same time, as nothing less than an hero. It is said he was base enough to circumvent *Arbaces*, his colleague and friend, in the most shameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midst of the war, made to his god *Belus*. That if success was the event of it, and the palace of *Sardanapalus* was consumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the ashes, that were left, to *Babylon*, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to stand as a monument to all, who should navigate the *Euphrates*, of the subversion of the *Assyrian* empire. He, it seems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch, of the immense treasure which had been consumed in the conflagration at *Nineveh*; and, knowing it to be a secret to *Arbaces*, his avarice suggested to him this artifice. *Arbaces* not only granted him his request, but appointed him king of *Babylon*, with an exemption from all tribute. *Belesis*, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treasure with him to *Babylon*; but, when the secret was discovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs, who had been assistant in the war, and who, upon his confession of the crime, condemned him to lose his head. But *Arbaces*, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independent government of *Babylon*, saying, The good he had done ought to serve as a veil to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion.

IN process of time, and under the successor of *Arbaces*, he became a man of dress, shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. *Nanybrus*, for so we must now call *Belesis*, understanding a certain robust *Mede*, called *Parsondas*, held him in the utmost contempt, and had solicited the emperor of the *Medes* to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take *Parsondas*, and bring him to him. *Parsondas*, hunting somewhere near *Babylon* with the king of the *Medes*, and straggling from the company, happened to fall in with some of the servants of the *Babylonian Nanybrus*, who had been tempted with the promised reward. They were purveyors to the king; and *Parsondas*, being very thirsty, asked them for a draught of wine, which they not only granted, but prevailed upon him to take a meal with them. As he drank freely, suspecting no treachery, he was easily persuaded to pass that night in company of some
beautiful

beautiful women, brought to him on purpose to detain him. But, while he was in a profound sleep, the servants of *Nanybrus*, rushing upon him, bound him, and carried him to their prince, who bitterly reproached him for endeavouring to estrange his master, the king of the *Medes*, from him, and by that means place himself, in his room, on the throne of *Babylon*. *Parfondas* did not deny the charge; but with great intrepidity owned, that he thought himself more worthy of a crown, than such an indolent and effeminate prince as he was. *Nanybrus*, highly provoked at the liberty he took, swore by the gods *Belus* and *Molis*, or rather *Mylytta*, that *Parfondas* himself should, in a short time, become so effeminate, as to reproach none with effeminacy. Accordingly, he ordered the eunuch, who had charge of his music-women, to shave, paint, and dress him after the manner of those women, to teach him their art, and, in short, to transform him, by all possible means, into a woman. His orders were obeyed, and the manly *Parfondas* soon exceeded the fairest female in singing, playing, and the other arts of allurement.

IN the mean time the king of the *Medes*, having in vain sought after his favourite servant, and in vain offered great rewards to such as should give him any information concerning him, concluded he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chace. At length, after seven years, the *Mede* was informed of his state and condition by an eunuch, who, being cruelly scourged by *Nanybrus*'s order, fled, at the instigation of *Parfondas*, into *Media*, and there disclosed the whole to the king, who immediately dispatched an officer to demand him. *Nanybrus* pretended to know nothnig of any such person; upon which another officer was sent by the *Mede*, with a peremptory order to seize on *Nanybrus*, if he persisted in the denial, to bind him with his girdle, and lead him to immediate execution. This order had the desired effect: the *Babylonian* owned what he had before denied, promising to comply, without further delay, with the king's demand; and in the mean time invited the officer to a banquet, at which 150 women, among whom was *Parfondas*, made their appearance, singing and playing upon various instruments. But, of all, *Parfondas* appeared by far the most charming; insomuch that *Nanybrus* inquiring of the *Mede*, which he liked best, he immediately pointed at him. At this the *Babylonian* clapt his hands, and, falling into an immediate fit of laughter, told him, who the

person was, whom he thus preferred to all the rest; adding, that he could answer what he had done before the king of the *Medes*. The officer was no less surpris'd at such an astonishing change, than his master was afterwards, when *Parfondas* appeared before him. The only favour *Parfondas* begged of the king, for all his past services, was, that he would avenge on the *Babylonian* the base and highly injurious treatment he had met with at his hands. The *Mede* march'd accordingly, at his instigation, to *Babylon*; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Nanybrus*, urging, that *Parfondas* had, without the least provocation, endeavour'd to deprive him both of his life and kingdom, declar'd, that in ten days time he would pass the sentence on him, which he deserv'd, for presuming to act as judge in his own cause, instead of appealing to him. But *Nanybrus* having, in the mean time, gain'd with a large bribe *Mitraphernus*, the *Mede's* favourite eunuch, the king was by him prevail'd upon to sentence the *Babylonian* only to a fine; which made *Parfondas* curse the man that first found out gold, for the sake of which he was to live the sport and derision of an effeminate *Babylonian*. The eunuch endeavour'd to appease him, but in vain; deaf to all remonstrances, he meditated nothing but revenge; and in the end had the satisfaction of being fully revenged both on the *Babylonian*, and the eunuch his friend.

The genuine history of the *Babylonians*.

Nabonassar.

Year of the flood 1601.

Bef. Christ 747.

To proceed from this fictitious relation to the genuine history of the *Babylonians*, in which there is a chasm of many hundreds of years between the times of *Nimrod* and *Amraphel*, to the times we are now reach'd down to; the first *Babylonian* king we meet with after them, and those we have mentioned to have succeeded between them, is *Nabonassar*, the first in *Ptolemy's* canon. As we find nothing particular concerning this king, so well known from the æra that passes under his name, we shall supply that deficiency with some conjectures concerning the first rise of the *Babylonian* kingdom, which we are now writing of. That it rose much about the same time with the kingdom of *Assyria*, seems undeniable; since only twenty-four years after the appearance of *Pul*, whom we have prov'd above to have been the founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy, we find mention made of *Nabonassar* king of *Babylon*: That *Babylon* was govern'd by its own kings,

^p Ctes. apud Diod. SICUL. l. ii. p. 78. & NICOL. DAMASC. in excerpt. Valef. p. 424. & seqq.

even when the *Assyrian* monarchy was in its full glory, is no less certain, both from Scripture, and profane history.

These two kingdoms then rose much about the same time, and for several years subsisted together. But by what means did *Nabonassar* obtain; by what means did he, and his successors, keep possession of a kingdom bordering on the empire of the *Assyrians*, whom we have seen, under the conduct of their ambitious and warlike princes, grasping at nothing less than the sovereignty of all the east? They wage war with, and impose their yoke upon, all the nations around them. But no notice is taken in history, till the reign of *Esar-baddon*, their fifth king, of any attempts of this nature made even by their most warlike princes against the neighbouring kingdom of *Babylon*. Nay, we find them crossing both the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, in order to extend their dominions, and bring under subjection the distant nations, while that kingdom, which must have been more tempting to them than any other they could have in view, remained still unconquered. These, and many other difficulties of the like nature, can, in our opinion, be no otherwise solved but by adopting the system that has been suggested to us by a late chronologer*, supposing the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kings to have been two branches of one and the same family. For, according to that system, *Pul*, the first *Assyrian* conqueror, left two sons, *Tiglath-pileser* and *Nabonassar*. To the former he bequeathed the kingdom of *Assyria*; and that of *Babylon* to the latter. *Tiglath-pileser*, the elder son, resided at *Nineveh*, the original seat of the empire, while *Nabonassar*, who was the younger brother, held his residence at *Babylon*. As the two kingdoms were governed by princes of the same family, we may well suppose a perfect harmony to have reigned between them, the younger branch at *Babylon* acknowledging a kind of superiority in, and subjection to, the elder at *Nineveh*. If there had not been the strictest union between these two kingdoms, is it to be imagined, that the kings of *Assyria* would have crossed the *Euphrates* to make war at a great distance from their dominions, while they had so powerful an enemy as the king of *Babylon* behind them, who might have taken advantage of their absence to invade their country, when it was drained of the choicest of their soldiery? If the kings of the two countries had not been bound by the most solemn ties, can we suppose, that the *Babylonians* would have let slip

* Sir ISAAC NEWTON. chron. p. 277, & seqq.

so favourable an opportunity of attempting, at least, to humble so powerful and ambitious a neighbour? They could not but be well apprised, that the western nations, whom the *Affyrians* were harassing with endless wars, would, for their own quiet and safety, have readily joined them. And yet we read of no such attempts. May we not, therefore, infer from thence, that a good understanding subsisted between the two kings of the countries, free from all umbrage and jealousy? And on what else could, so lasting an harmony be founded, but on the natural ties of blood and parentage?

As *Nabonassar* was the first king of *Babylon*, after it was erected into a separate kingdom from that of *Affyria*, he bids as fair as any, to have been the *Belesis* of *Ctesias*; and is accordingly called *Belesius* and *Baleusius*, by *Nicolas of Damascus*^a, and by *Hipparchus*, *Nanybrus*, who was confessedly the same person with *Belesis*. But we shall not trouble our readers here with conjectures, which have little or no foundation in genuine history, nor attempt to reduce the fables of *Ctesias* to historical truths.

Nadius. NABONASSAR was succeeded by *Nadius*, who reigned two years, and *Nadius* by *Chinzirus* and *Porus*, who reigned five^b. They may have been brothers; but their names bear no affinity either with the *Chaldee*, or the *Affyrian*.

733. **Jugæus.** JUGÆUS reigned next: there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him, down to *Affar-addin*, did nothing worthy of notice, and that they may have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy.

726. **Mardoc-empad.** MARDOC-EMPAD^c: he is certainly the *Merodach-baladan* of Scripture, the same that sent an embassy to *Hezekiah* king of *Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in Scripture, agree exactly;

and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to *Hezekiah*. In *Isaiah*^d he is called *Merodach-baladan*, as we have written him above; but in the book of *Kings* he is called *Berodach-baladan*^e,

and in both places the son of *Paladan*; whence we gather, that the *Jugæus* above, who seems to have been his father, might perhaps be more properly called *Baladan*. He is the first *Babylonian* king we find in Scripture to have had any intercourse with the kings at *Jeru-*

^a NICOL. DAMASC. in eclog. Valef. ^b See before, in the canon, p. 386. ^c Ibid. ^d *Isai.* xxix. 1. ^e *2 Kings* xx. 12.

salem. He sent a special embassy to congratulate *Hezekiah* on his late recovery, and to inquire, as is generally supposed, about the sun's retrogression. As the kings of *Affyria* and *Babylon* were united by the strictest ties of blood; and mutual alliances, nothing less than such an extraordinary event, or prodigy, could excuse the king of *Babylon's* corresponding with a prince, then at open war with the king of *Affyria*. *Merodach-baladan* reigned 12 years, and was succeeded by

ARKIANUS^h; concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an interreign of two years^l.

BELIBUS^k succeeded to this interreign; but by what means, or by what right, we know not. He reigned but three years, at the end of which, whether he died, or was displaced, may be doubted, by the shortness of his reign.

HE made room for *Apronadius*, who reigned six years; and was succeeded by *Regibelus*, who, after one year's reign, gave place to *Mesessimordacus*. Four years after an interreign ensued, which lasted eight years^l. We are allowed to indulge conjectures, where history leaves us quite in the dark, we should conclude from the shortness of these kings reigns, that they did not succeed each other as father and son, but were appointed by the kings of *Affyria*, as they thought proper, out of the *Babylonian* family. The elder branch at *Nineveh* might in time have assumed over the younger at *Babylon*, and appointed them rather governors, for a certain term of years, than kings.

THE eight years of this interreign being expired, *Affar-addin*^m, the *Efar-baddon* of Scripture, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Babylon*. We have already said all we positively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of *Affyria*. It is remarkable, that he should deliberate so long as eight years, before he assumed the government of *Babylon* in person. Whether he seized on that kingdom by art or violence, is uncertain, as we have observed elsewhereⁿ. But, by what means soever the two kingdoms were united, it is certain, that after this union the *Affyrians* rose to a higher pitch than ever they had been, at least in the western parts, where under this king they established their power more firmly than it had ever been; and even conquered *Egypt*^o. He reigned at *Babylon* thirteen years, and was succeeded by

^h See before, in the canon; ubi sup. ^l See before, ibid.
^k Ibid. ^l See before, ibid. ^m See before, ibid. ⁿ See before, p. 324.
^o See before, p. 325.

Saosdu-
cheus.

'SAOSDUCHEUS, or *Saosduchinus*^w, who, as well as his predecessor, was king, both of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. We have already spoken of him, and related his exploits at length^x, as king of *Affyria*. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by

Chynalad-
dan.

CHYNALADAN, or *Sard*^e, who was, as well as his two predecessors, king both of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, and reigned twenty-two years. The length of these three reigns, which in sum make up fifty-five years, which exceeds the sum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between *Nabonassar* and *Affar-addin*, by two years, may convince us, that the kings of *Babylon*, during that interval, were little better than governors, placed and displaced by the kings of *Affyria* at their will and pleasure; and continued or discontinued just as they approved themselves more or less trusty and serviceable to the *Affyrian* kings. Hitherto the kingdom of *Babylon* had been dependent on the emperors at *Nineveh*; it now begins to make a very different figure, exalting itself on the ruins of the *Affyrian* monarchy.

Nabopal-
lazar.

FOR *Nabopallazar*^a succeeded *Chyniladan* in the kingdom of *Babylon*, and is said to have wrested that kingdom from

Year of the flood the man who transferred the seat of the *Affyrian* monarchy

1722. to *Babylon*^b. His name declares him to have been an *Aff-*

Bef. Chr. 626. *syrian*, and to have derived his origin from *Pul*, and *Na-*

bonassar his son, it partaking equally of both; for as *Na-*

bonassar is plainly compounded of *Nebo-addon-assur*, this

man seems to have rejected the *Addon* for *Pul*, and to

have had his name compounded from *Nebo-pul-assur*; to

declare thereby his descent from *Pul* by *Nabonassar*, and

his right to the kingdom of *Babylon*, of which his family

had been unjustly deprived by the elder branch of *Affyria*.

If so, he had a fair opportunity of asserting his right; for,

being appointed over *Chaldæa*, upon the death of *Saosdu-*

cheus, who left the *Affyrian* affairs in great confusion, and

at a time when the *Medes* were in the full vigour of their

pursuit against the kings at *Nineveh*, he took the ad-

vantage, and, seizing on the kingdom of *Babylon* for him-

self, he entered into an alliance with *Cyaxares* the *Mede*^d;

and, joining heartily in the war with him against the king-

dom of *Affyria*, they reduced it to a very low condition,

^w See before, in the canon, ubi sup. ^x See before, p. 327. & seqq.

^a See before in the canon, ubi sup. ^b See before, p. 329, & seqq.

^c See before, ibid. ^d ALEX. POLYHIST. apud SYNCEL. p. 210. EUSEB. in chron.

though, as we have made it appear^f, he did not live^g to see the final destruction of it; for the irruption of the *Scythians* put a stop to the progress of these new allies, for the space, as we are told, of twenty-eight years^h.

THIS prince is called, by contraction, *Nabulassar*^b; but by the same author he is also called *Nebuchadonosor*ⁱ, as he is by others^k *Nebuchadnezzar*; whence he is distinguished from his son, as the first of the name^l. As the *Assyrians*, as well as the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, were, at this time, wholly employed in defending themselves against the *Scythians*, who had made themselves masters of all *Upper Asia*, *Pharaoh-Necho* king of *Egypt* laid hold of so favourable an opportunity to recover the city of *Carchemish*, then subject to the king of *Assyria*. King *Josiah* attempted, upon what motive we know not, to oppose the *Egyptian* on his march; but his army was routed, and himself slain^m. This success, and much more the surrender of *Carchemish*, encouraged the satrapa or governor of *Cœlesyria* and *Phœnice* to revolt from *Nabopallasar*, who had reduced those provinces some time before, this battle having been fought in the sixteenth year of his reign. As he was then stricken, in years, he took his son *Nabocolassar*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, for his partner in the kingdom, and sent him at the head of a powerful army against the *Egyptians*, and revolted *Syrians*. Over the *Egyptians*, who were still at *Carchemish*, the young prince gained a complete victory, retook the place, and put the garison to the swordⁿ. That this happened in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth year of *Jehoiakim's* reign, is manifest from Scripture^r.

ELATED with this success, he marches into *Judæa*, takes *Jerusalem*, rifies the temple, and, seizing on *Jehoiakim*, puts him in bonds, with a design to send him, among the other captives, to *Babylon*; but upon his submission, and promise of paying a yearly tribute, the *Babylonian* changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him^s. The victorious prince, pursuing his conquests,

Year of
the flood
1742.
Bef. Chr.
606.

^f See before, in the notes, p. 331.
the notes, *ibid.*

^g See before, in the notes, *ibid.*
^h *BEROS.* apud *JOSEPH.* contr. Ap. l. i. p. 1044. & antiq. l. x. c. 11.

ⁱ *Idem* apud eund. antiq. l. x. c. 11.

^k In libr. *JUCHASIN.* p. 136.

^l *DAVID.* *GANTZ* ii. chron. l. ii. n. 285.

^m See before, p. 180.

ⁿ *Jerem.* xlvii. 2.

^r *Jerem.* ib. 8. & xxv. 1. & *DAN.* i. 1.

^s *DAN.* i. 2, & seqq. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 6. 2 *Kings* xxiv. 1.

turned his arms next against *Pharaoh-Necho*, and without opposition made himself master of the whole country between the *Nile* and the *Euphrates* ^t. But, in the mean time, his father *Nabopallasar*, dying at *Babylon* after a reign of twenty-one years, upon the first notice of his death, he hastened to *Babylon*, with a small retinue, by the shortest way of the desert, committing to his generals the command of the army, and the care of the captives, who were to be sent after him, with the spoils of the nations he had conquered ^u.

Nabocollasar.

Year of the flood

1743. Bef. Chr.

605.

BEING thus, by the death of his father, become sole king of *Babylon*, his first care was to adorn and enlarge the seat of his growing empire ^w. While he was thus busied, he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams. One especially, which he had in the second year after his father's death, gave him greater uneasiness, than all the rest, though he had intirely forgot it. Having, therefore, under great anxiety of mind, called together his magicians or *Chaldæans*, he required them not only to interpret his dream, but to remind him of what he had dreamt. The *Chaldæans* answered with one voice, That it was their province to interpret dreams; but that the gods alone could know what a man had dreamt. This answer provoked the king to such a degree, that he resolved to put them all to death; and gave orders accordingly to *Arioch*, the captain of his guard. But, before these cruel orders could be put in execution, *Daniel*, who had been brought, with his three companions, to *Babylon*, among the other *Jewish* captives, and was, as well as his companions, to undergo the same fate with the *Chaldæans*, expostulating with *Arioch* upon the rashness of the decree issued against them, prevailed upon him to introduce him to the king. Being admitted to his presence, he gave him assurance, that he would satisfy him in what he was so solicitous to know. Having, upon this promise, obtained a short respite, he repaired to his three companions; and, joining with them in an address to heaven, the secret was revealed to him in a night-vision. Thus instructed from above, he repaired to *Arioch*; and, being again by him introduced to the king, after instilling into the haughty prince some notions of the might and majesty of God, he not only told him his dream, but gave him such a

^t 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

^u BEROS. apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. x. c. 11. & contra Apion. l. x. et apud EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 40.

^w BEROS. ubi sup.

satisfactory interpretation of it, that the prince, amazed at what he heard, could not forbear falling on his face, worshipping *Daniel*, and acknowledging his GOD the GOD of gods, and LORD of kings. Not satisfied with these extraordinary demonstrations of esteem, he made him rich presents, invested him with the government of the whole province of *Babylon*, and appointed him chief of the governors of all the wise men of *Babylon* ^x.

In the mean time a peace being concluded between the *Nineveh Medes* and the *Lydians* by the mediation of *Labyntus*, taken, and that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Syennefis* king of *Cilicia*, an end put *Cyaxares* the *Mede* resolved to resume the siege of *Nineveh*, to the Af- which the irruption of the *Scythians*, and the *Lydian* syrian em- war, had obliged him to interrupt, and postpone to ^{pire.} this time. Having, with this view, entered into an alliance Year of the flood with *Nebuchadnezzar*, and confirmed it by a marriage 1747. between that prince and his daughter *Amyite*, the two Bef. Chr. kings marched against *Nineveh*, took that proud metro- 601. polis, levelled it with the ground, and put an end to the *Assyrian* empire ^y. As to the true epoch of this remarka- ble event, we have settled it above ^z.

WHILE *Nebuchadnezzar* was thus employed, *Jehoiakim*, laying hold of that opportunity, shook off the *Babylonian* yoke, after a three years subjection. But his revolt cost him dear; for the king of *Babylon*, highly incensed against him, dispatched an army into *Judæa*, consisting of various nations, who, having laid the country waste far and near, took and murdered that unfortunate prince; and, dragging his body out of the city, left it unburied, pursuant to *Jeremiah's* prediction ^a. He was succeeded by his son *Jehoiachin*, against whom *Nebuchadnezzar* sent first an army, upon what provocation we know not; and, arriving afterwards himself before *Jerusalem*, which his troops had invested, he ordered *Jehoiachin*, who came out to him with his mother, and his whole court, in a most submissive manner, to be arrested, and carried captive to *Babylon*, after a short reign of three months and ten days. Having made himself master of the city, he ransacked and plundered it a second time, together with the temple, palace, and treasury; and carried off with him an immense booty, and such numbers of captives of all ranks and conditions, that scarcely sufficient hands

^x Dan. ii. per tot. ^y HEROD. l. i. c. 106. ^z See above, p. 331. in the notes. ^a Jerem. xxii. 18, 19. & xxxvi. 30. See before, p. 185.

were left to cultivate the land ^f. Before he returned to his own dominions, he set *Mattaniah* on the throne of that desolate kingdom, changing his name into that of *Zedekiah*, and at the same time laying him under a certain tribute, and obliging him to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance ^g.

No sooner was this over, than *Jeremiah* ^h began to prophesy the increase of this prince's dominion; and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tigris* (G). This country must have been the *Susiana* of the *Greeks*, and lay so opportunely for him, bordering almost on his dominions, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy.

THIS mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of *Jeremiah*, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrrians*, and *Zidonians*, would have tempted *Zedekiah*, the thoughtless king of *Jerusalem*, to rise against the *Babylonian*, *Jeremiah* ⁱ sent to each of the ambassadors in his court, a present of yokes and bonds, to be

^f 2 Kings xxiv. 8—16. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20. Jerem. xx. i. xxix. 1, 2. Ezek. xvii. 12. ^g Jerem. xxxvii. 1. 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. ubi supr. 13, 14, 28. ^h Jerem. xlix. 34—39. ⁱ Ibid. xxvii.

(G) By the words of the prophecy, *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom: Behold, I will break the bow of *Elam*, the chief of their might. And upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of *Elam* shall not come. For I will cause *Elam* to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the LORD; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in *Elam*, and I will destroy from thence the king, and the princes, saith the LORD (12).

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carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the LORD of hosts, the GOD of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to *Nebuchadnezzar*; that they should all serve him, his son, and his son's son; that such as should but offer to reject his yoke, he would punish with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence, till they were utterly consumed by him; but that those who quietly submitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of *Babylon*, should find mercy, and remain in the possession of their country^k: such was absolutely to be their fate, if they resisted; and such their reward, if they behaved submissively under their bondage.

A MORE sublime elevation no man can be shewn in, than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, GOD's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But, how great and terrible soever he was represented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the western nations especially; who, notwithstanding the severe remonstrance and declaration of *Jeremiah*, were contriving how they should free themselves from the king of *Babylon*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, understanding that the *Egyptians*, the *Jews*, and the other nations, were contriving to withdraw themselves from his obedience, and that *Zedekiah*, whom he had appointed king of *Jerusalem*, had been encouraged by *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries* king of *Egypt*, to set him at defiance, resolved particularly to punish such ingratitude and infidelity^l in the most extraordinary manner; and, putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the same time to chastise all these presumptuous nations; where being arrived, and considering with himself, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in suspense for a while, dubious where he should first open the war; till at last he referred this important business to the ordinary methods of divination, in practice with the *Chaldees*; who, having consulted the entrails of animals, their images, or teraphim, and their arrows (H),
delivered

* Jerem. xxvii. ^l 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvii. 17. Jerem. xlix. 1. xii. 4.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the *Arabs* till *Mohammedism* prevailed, which absolutely forbids it (13); and appears to have been the very same in use with the *Babylonians* at this time. "The arrows used by

(13) See the *Koran*, c. v. p. 94, of *Mr. Sale's* translation.

" them

delivered it as their opinion, That the war should first break out against the Jews ^m. The Babylonian army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and, in a few days, became master of all their cities, except *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem* ⁿ; which, in the latter end of December, the same year, was blocked up by *Nebuchad-*

^m Ezek. xxi. 19—24.

ⁿ Jerem. xxxiv. 7.

“ them for this purpose were
 “ like those with which they
 “ cast lots, being * without
 “ heads or feathers; and were
 “ kept in the temple of some
 “ idol, in whose presence they
 “ were consulted. Seven such
 “ arrows were kept at the tem-
 “ ple of *Mecca*; but gene-
 “ rally in divination they made
 “ use of three only; on one
 “ of which was written, *My*
 “ *Lord hath commanded me*;
 “ on another, *My Lord hath*
 “ *forbidden me*; and the third
 “ was blank. If the first was
 “ drawn, they looked on it as
 “ an approbation of the enter-
 “ prize in question; if the se-
 “ cond, they made a contrary
 “ conclusion; but, if the
 “ third happened to be drawn,
 “ they mixed them, and drew
 “ them over again, till a deci-
 “ sive answer was given by
 “ one of the others. These
 “ divining arrows were gene-
 “ rally consulted before any
 “ thing of moment was under-
 “ taken; as when a man was
 “ about to marry, or about to
 “ go a journey, or the like.
 “ [*Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh,*
 “ & *al Beid.* in Kor. c. 5.
 “ *Al Mostaraf.* &c. Vid. *Poc-*
 “ *spec.* p. 327, &c. & *D’Her-*
 “ *belot.* biblioth. orient. art.

“ *Acdâh*]. This superstitious
 “ practice of divining by ar-
 “ rows was used by the ancient
 “ *Greeks* [Vid. *Pott.* antiq. of
 “ *Gr.* vol. i. p. 334.], and
 “ other nations; and is parti-
 “ cularly mentioned in Scri-
 “ pture [*Ezek.* xxi. 21.], where
 “ it is said, that *the king of Ba-*
 “ *bylon stood at the parting of*
 “ *the way, at the head of the*
 “ *two ways, to use divination;*
 “ *he made his arrows bright*
 “ (or, according to the version
 “ of the *Vulgate*, which seems
 “ preferable in this place, *he*
 “ *mixed together or shook the*
 “ *arrows*), *he consulted with*
 “ *images, &c.* The com-
 “ mentary of *St. Jerom.* on
 “ this passage, wonderfully
 “ agrees with what we are
 “ told of the aforesaid custom
 “ of the old *Arabs*, *He shall*
 “ *stand, saith he, in the high-*
 “ *way, and consult the oracle*
 “ *after the manner of his na-*
 “ *tion, that he may cast ar-*
 “ *rows into a quiver, and mix*
 “ *them together, being written*
 “ *upon, or marked with the*
 “ *names of each people, that he*
 “ *may see whose arrow will*
 “ *come forth, and which city*
 “ *he ought first to attack*
 “ (14).”

(14) See the prelim. disc. to the same, p. 126, 127.

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nezzar, with all his formidable army, and a close and vigorous siege ensued ^o.

WHILE he was thus employed, he had advice, that *Pharaoh Hophrah* was on his march to relieve the besieged; whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the *Egyptian* battle ^p, and attack him before he could be possibly joined by any of the discontented nations mentioned above; but, before he left *Jerusalem*, he took care to send all the captive *Jews* in his camp, amounting to 832 persons, under a good guard, to *Babylon* ^q. He then moved against the *Egyptians*, who, not daring to abide the onset, as should seem by the prophet ^r, retreated in proportion as *Nebuchadnezzar* advanced; tho' others ^s tell us they ventured a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

HAVING thus driven the *Egyptians* back again into their country, he renewed the siege with fresh vigour; and, having in the end made himself master of the place, vented his rage on the king, the inhabitants, and the city itself, in the manner we have already described ^t.

NEBUZARADAN, one of the *Babylonia* generals, carried with him several prisoners of great distinction to the king at *Riblah*, whither he had retired during the siege, who were all by his orders put to death. Among these were *Seraiah* the high-priest, *Zephaniah* the second priest, *Zedekiah's* chief general, and several of his favourites and counsellors ^u.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, having thus put an end to the *Israelitish* kingdom, and appointed *Gedaliah* as a kind of governor over the remnant of the meaner people, whom he left behind to cultivate the land ^x, returned once more to his metropolis, adding great strength and glory to it, by the immense booty he brought with him, and a numerous accession of new inhabitants.

WITH the gold he amassed in this expedition, it is thought he erected ^y the monstrous colossus of that metal, in honour of his god *Bel*, in the plain of *Dura*, in the province of *Babylon*. It was sixty cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and, having summoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges,

^o ^z Kings, ubi sup. Jerem. xxxix. 1. lii. 4. ^p Jerem. xxxvii. 5. ^q Idem lii. 29. ^r Idem xxxvii. 7.

^s JOSEPH. antiq. Jud. l. x. c. 10. ^t See before, p. 184. ^u ^z Kings xxv. 18—21.

^x Ibid. ver. 22. ^y PRIDEAUX ubi sup. l. ii. p. 87.

treasurers, counsellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, should no sooner hear the sound of various musical instruments, than they should fall down and worship the golden image *Nebuchadnezzar* the king had set up, on pain of being immediately thrown into a burning furnace. It was on this occasion, that the three Hebrew youths, *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego* (K), courageously refusing to comply with the king's wicked command, were miraculously preserved in the midst of the flames. *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was an eye-witness of the surprising prodigy, acknowledging the might and power of the GOD of *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, decreed, that whosoever should blaspheme his name, should be cut in pieces, and his house should be turned into a dunghill ^a.

Year of the flood 1763. Bef. Chr. 585. THIS mighty prince, in the twenty-second year of his reign, crossed the *Euphrates*, once more to make war on the western nations. It had been prophesied, that he should subdue *Egypt*, and treat her as he had treated *Judah* ^b; and that the same fate should befall the city of *Tyre* ^c. In completion of these prophecies, he sat down with his army before *Tyre*; but, after a thirteen years siege, had nothing but an empty city for his pains, most of the inhabitants having retired, with their best effects, before he entered it, to a neighbouring island ^d. During this long siege, he completely reduced, by detached parties, the *Sidonians, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites*, pursuant to

^a Dan. iii. per tot. ^b Ezek. xxix. 2—21. xxx. 4—26. xxxi. 18. xxxii. 2—32. Jer. xlv. 1—30. ^c Ezek. xxvi. 2—16. xxvii. xxviii. &c. ^d Id. xxix. 18. See before, vol. ii. p. 372.

(K) It may be thought strange, that *Daniel* was not accused as well as his friends, it being impossible to suppose he fell down and worshiped the image. To this it is answered (16), that he must have been either absent, or, if present, must have been too great a man to be accused. It is observed (17) to be most probable, that he was present, it being im-

possible well to conceive how so important an officer could have been absent upon so general a summons, and upon so solemn an occasion; but that his enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and chose to pave the way to his destruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculously delivered, *Daniel* escaped all danger, of course.

(16) See *Prid.* p. i. l. i.

(17) *Idem ibide.*

the several prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* ^d; and Year of sent *Nebuzaradan* with a party into *Judæa*, to revenge the the flood death of *Gedaliah*; which he did accordingly, carrying off ^{1776.} with him into captivity 745 persons, the poor remains of ^{Bef. Chr.} that unhappy people, and thus completing the desolation ^{572.} of the land ^e.

FROM *Tyre* *Nebuchadnezzar* marched strait into *Egypt*, which was promised him as a reward for the toil he and his army had undergone before *Tyre* ^f. That kingdom was then in great confusion and disorder, occasioned by a civil war between *Apries* and *Amasis*. Of this the *Babylonian* taking advantage, entered the country, slew great numbers of the natives, enriched himself and his army with the spoils of so wealthy a kingdom, and returned, carrying with him an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. That he made himself master of *Egypt*, that he spoiled and laid waste that kingdom, and carried great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity, is manifest from the prophecies of *Jeremiah* ^g and *Ezekiel* ^h. But whether or no he appointed *Amasis*, so famed among the *Egyptians*, his lieutenant or viceroy there, as some have conjectured, is what we will not take upon us to assert, since we know nothing for certain concerning this expedition, but what we learn from the above-mentioned prophets, the *Egyptian* priests having, as *Scaliger* well observes ⁱ, carefully concealed from *Herodotus* whatever could reflect the least dishonour on that haughty nation. It must have been about this time that he conquered the *Ethiopians*, *Libyans*, and the other nations mentioned by the prophet ^k.

THUS far we have seen him a warrior beyond all the *Babylonian* princes who went before him; and, having done with his martial exploits, we must retire with him to *Babylon*, and take a view of what he did there. As the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him; and it was under him it attained that splendor which raised it above all the cities of the east; we shall here describe it as one of the chief works of that monarch, equally great in peace and in war. In this description we shall tread in the footsteps, and follow the method, of a late learned author ^l.

^d Jer. xxvii. xxviii. xxiv. Ezek. xxv.

Ezek. iv. 5, 6. ^f Idem xxix. 19.

xlvi. ^h Ezek. xxix. xxx. xxxi.

ad fragment. ^k Ezek. xxx. 4—10.

his connect. book ii. part i. p. 94, & seqq.

^e Jerem. lii. 30.

^g Jerem. xliii. xlv.

ⁱ SCALIG. in not.

^l PRID. in

Babylon described. SEMIRAMIS is said by some ^t, and *Belus* by others ^u, to have founded this city. But, by whomsoever it was founded, *Nebuchadnezzar* was the person who put the last hand to it, and made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city, the temple of *Belus*, *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace, the hanging-gardens, the banks of the river, the artificial lake, and canals.

THE city was surrounded with walls, in thickness 87 feet, in height 350 feet, and in compass 480 furlongs ^w, or 60 of our miles. Thus *Herodotus*, who was himself at *Babylon*; and though some disagree with him in these dimensions, yet most writers give us the same, or near the same, as he does ^x (P). These walls formed an exact square ^y, each side of which were 120 furlongs, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen ^z, a glutinous slime, which issues out of the earth in that country ^u, and in a short time grows harder than the very brick and stone, which it cements. The city was encompassed, without the walls, with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides; and, as the earth that was dug out of it

^t See before, p. 287. ^u ABEYDEN. ex MEGASTH. apud EUSEB. præp. evang. ix. 457. QUINT. CURT. l. v. c. i.
^w HERODOT. l. i. c. 78. ^x PLIN. hist. nat. l. vi. c. 26.
 PHILOSTR. l. i. c. 18. ^y HERODOT. ubi supr. ^z Idem ibid. c. 179. QUINT. CURT. l. v. c. i. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 743.
 DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii. p. 69. ARRIAN. de expedit. Aiex. l. vii.
^a See vol. i. in the notes, p. 329, 330.

(P) *Diodorus Siculus*, diminishes the circumference of these walls very considerably, and takes somewhat from the height of them, as in *Herodotus*, tho' he seems to add to their breadth, by saying, That six chariots might drive abreast thereon; while the former writes, that one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each side of the top of these walls, which, according to him, were

but one story high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this respect. It is observed (29), that those who give the height of these walls but at 50 cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, who had caused them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have spoken of this city, would be both endless and fruitless.

(28) L. i. c. 179.

(29) *Vid. Prid. ubi sup. p. 95.*

served to make the bricks, we may judge of the depth and largeness of the ditch from the height and thickness of the walls. In the whole compass of the wall there were an hundred gates, that is, twenty-five on each of the four sides, all made of solid brass. Between every two of these gates, at proper distances, were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side, and each of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the walls where towers were needful for defence ^c. For some parts of them being upon a morass, and inaccessible by an enemy, there the labour and cost was spared, which, though it must have spoiled the symmetry of the whole, must be allowed, to have favoured of good œconomy; though that is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been so determined, as *Nebuchadnezzar* must have been, to make the city complete both for strength and beauty. The whole number, then, of these towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been necessary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the 25 gates in each side of this square, there was a strait street, extending to the corresponding gate in the opposite wall, whence the whole number of the streets must have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long; 25 of them crossing the other 25 exactly at right angles ^d. Besides these whole streets, we must reckon four half-streets, which were but rows of houses facing the four inner sides of the walls. These four half-streets were properly the four sides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 feet broad ^e, the whole streets being about 150 of the same. By this interfection of the 50 streets, the city was divided into 676 squares, each of four furlongs and an half on each side, or two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses, all of three or four stories in height, and beautified ^f with all manner of ornaments; and the space within each of these squares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleasure or convenience.

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii. p. 68.
c. 180.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii. p. 67.

^d HERODOT. ubi sup.

^f HERODOT. ubi sup. PHILOSTR. l. i.

A BRANCH of the *Euphrates* divided the city into two, running through the midst of it, from north to south, over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length ^h, or rather more, and indeed much more, if we hearken to others, who say it was no less than five stades or furlongs in length, though but 30 feet broad, a difference we shall never be able to decide: this bridge, however, is said to have been built with wonderful art ⁱ, to supply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At each end of this bridge were two palaces ^k; the old palace on the east side, the new one on the west side of the river; the former of which took up ^l four of the squares above-mentioned, and the latter ^m nine. The temple of *Belus*, which stood next to the old palace, took up another of the same squares.

THE whole city stood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil ⁿ; that part or half of it, on the east side of the river, was the old city ^o; and the other on the west was added by *Nebuchadnezzar* ^p, both being included within the vast square bounded by the walls aforesaid. The form of the whole was seemingly borrowed from *Nineveh*, which was also 480 furlongs; but, though it was equal in dimensions to this city, it was less with respect to its form, which was a parallelogram ^q, whereas that of *Babylon* was an exact square: it is supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had destroyed that old seat of the *Assyrian* empire, proposed that this new one should rather exceed it than not ^r; and that it was to fill it with inhabitants, that he transported such numbers of the captives from other countries hither ^s; though that is what may be disputed, seeing he therein only followed the constant practice of the kings of *Assyria*, who thought this the most certain means of assuring their conquests either to themselves, or their posterity.

BUT it plainly appears, that it was never wholly inhabited: so that, even in the meridian of its glory, it may

^h STRAB. ubi sup. p. 738. ⁱ DIODOR. SIC. l. ii. p. 68.
 HERODOT. l. i. c. 186. QUIN. CURT. l. v. c. 1. PHILOSTR.
 l. i. c. 18. ^k BEROS. apud JOSEPH. antiq. Judaic. l. x.
 c. 11. HERODOT. ubi sup. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. QUINT.
 CURT. ubi sup. PHILOSTR. ubi sup. ^l DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.
^m Idem ibid. ⁿ HERODOT. ubi sup. c. 193. ^o BEROS.
 ubi sup. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup. p.
 65. ^r Vid. PRID. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New
 Test. vol. i. l. ii. p. 97. in 8vo. ^s Vid. curd. ibid.

be compared with the flower of the field, which flourishes to-day, and to-morrow is no more; for, as we shall see in the course of this work, it never had time to grow up to what *Nebuchadnezzar* visibly intended to have made it; for, *Cyrus* removing the seat of the empire soon after to *Shushan*, *Babylon* fell by degrees to utter decay; and yet it must be owned, as we just now hinted, that no country was better able to support so vast and populous a city, had it been completed up to its first design (S).

THE

(S) But so far was it from being finished according to its original design, that, when *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us (31); “no more than 90 furlongs of it were then built: which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length; and, if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length (which is the utmost that can be allowed), it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained 14400 square furlongs, and therefore there must have been 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which, *Curtius* tells us, were plowed and sown. And, besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemeth to them safest. His words are, *Neither was the whole city built upon; for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited; but the houses were*

“not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other. Which words [they thought it safest] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better serving of health; for hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations, and other inconveniences, are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi*, the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage in those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house and house that is built in them; and old *Rome* was built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together, it will appear, that *Babylon* was so large a city in scheme rather than reality: for, according to this account, it must be by much

(31) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

Temple of
Belus.

THE next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* was the temple of *Belus* ^c. The wonderful tower, however, that stood in the middle of it, was not his work, but was built many ages before; that, and the famous tower of *Babel*, being, as is commonly supposed, one and the same structure ^f. This tower, as to its form and dimensions, we have described already ^u; and therefore shall only add here, that the way to go up was by stairs on the outside round it; whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent was, by the benching in, drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers, one above the other. The eight towers, as they are called, were each of them 75 feet high. Till the times of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it is thought this tower was all the temple of *Belus*; but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city ^v, so he did by this ^z, making great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it ^a, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of *Jerusalem* by 1800 feet ^b. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole; and, in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed ^c, that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and is so concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass ^d; which it is thought ^e may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had transported

^c BEROS. apud JOS. ant. l. x. c. 11.

^u Vol. i. p. 330.

^x BOCHART phaleg. part i. l. i. c. 9.

^y BEROS. apud JO-

SEPH. antiq. ubi sup.

^z Idem apud eund. ibid.

^v HERODOT. ubi sup.

^b Vid. PRID. connect. vol. i. part i.

l. ii. p. 100. in 8vo.

^c Idem ibid.

^d HERODOT.

ubi sup.

^e Vid. PRID. ubi sup.

“ the larger part that was never built; and therefore, in this respect it must give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it, that we are told of. And the num-

ber of its infants, at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which, the Scriptures tell us, were 120,000 in the time of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited.”

from

from *Jerusalem*; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils from that of *Jerusalem* ^f.

In this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen ^g, 40 feet in height, the same, as supposed ^h, with that which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura* ⁱ. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 feet high, which, tho' it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former, yet is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one ^k, by supposing, that in the 90 feet the height of the pedestal is included, and that the 40 feet are for the height of the statue without the pedestal; and, being said to have weighed 1000 talents of *Babylon* ^l, it is thence computed, that it was worth three millions and an half of our money ^m. In a word, the whole weight of the statues and decorations in *Diodorus Siculus* amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is estimated at above ⁿ one-and-twenty millions of our money; and a sum about equal to the same in treasure, utensils, and ornaments, not mentioned ^o, is allowed for.

NEXT to this temple ^p, on the same east side of the *The two* river, stood the old palace of the kings of *Babylon*, being *palaces*. four miles in circumference. Exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the river ^q, was the new palace built by *Nebuchadnezzar*, eight miles in circumference, and consequently four times as big as the old one.

BUT nothing was more wonderful at *Babylon* than the *The hanging-gardens*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* made in coming-gar- plaissance to his wife *Amyite*, who, being a *Mede*, and re- dens. taining a strong inclination for the mountains and forests of her own country, desired to have something like them at *Babylon*. They are said to have contained a square of four plethra ^r, or 400 feet, on each side; and to have consisted of terraces one above another, carried up to the height of the wall of the city; the ascent from terrace to terrace being by steps ten feet wide. ^s The whole pile consisted of substantial arches upon arches, and was strength-

^f DAN. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. ^g See before, p. 401.
^h Vid. PRID. ubi sup. ⁱ See before, p. 401. ^k Vid.
 PRID. ubi sup. ^l See before, ubi sup. ^m Vid.
 PRID. ubi sup. p. 101. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o Idem ibid.
^p STRAB. l. xvi. p. 731. ^q DIODOR. SICUL. ubi sup.
 PHILOSTRAT. ubi sup. ^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra,
 p. 70.

enced by a wall surrounding it on every side, 22 feet thick : and the floors on each of them were laid in this order : first, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of stones 16 feet long, and four feet broad ; over this was a layer of reed mixed with a great quantity of bitumen ; and over this two courses of brick, closely cemented together with plaster ; and over all these were thick sheets of lead, and on these the earth or mould of the garden. This floorage was designed to retain the moisture of the mould, which was so deep as to give root to the greatest trees which were planted upon every terrace, together with great variety of other vegetables pleasing to the eye. Upon the uppermost of these terraces was a reservoir, supplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terraces were supplied.

The banks, artificial canals, and lake. THE other works attributed to *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Be-rosus*^x and *Abydenus*^y, were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, said to have been sunk by *Semiramis*^z. The canals were cut out on the east side of the *Euphrates*, to convey the waters of that river, when it overflowed its banks into the *Tigris*, before they reached *Babylon*. The chief of these canals was the *Naarmalcha*, of which we have spoken above^z.

THE lake was on the west side of *Babylon*, and, according to the lowest computation, 40 miles square, 160 in compass, and in depth 35 feet, as we read in *Herodotus*^b, or 75, as *Megasthenes* will have it^c. The former, perhaps, measured from the surface of the sides, and the latter from the tops of the banks, that were cast up upon them. This lake was dug to receive the waters of the river, while the banks were building on each side of it. But both the lake, and the canal that led to it, were preserved after that work was completed, being found of great use, not only to prevent all overflowings, but to keep water all the year, as in a common reservoir, to be let out, on proper occasions, by sluices, for the improvement of the land.

THE banks were built of brick and bitumen^d, on both sides of the river, to keep it within its chanel ; and extended on each side throughout the whole length of the city^e, and even farther, according to some^f, who reckon they

^x Apud JOSEPH. ubi sup. ^y Apud EUSEB. præp. evang. ubi sup. ^z See before, p. 288. ^a See before, p. 337.

^b HERODOT. l. i. c. 185. ^c MEGAST. ubi sup. ^d ABYDEN. apud EUSEB. ubi sup. ^e HERODOT. ubi sup. ^f BR-ROS. ubi sup.

extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded^o they must have begun two miles and an half above the city, and have been continued an equal distance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. Within the city they were built from the bottom of the river, and of the same thickness with the walls of the city itself. Opposite to each street, on either side the river, was a brazen gate in the said wall^p, with stairs leading down from it to the river: these gates were open by day, and shut by night.

BEROSUS, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called *Nitocris*, who may have finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this historian gives her of the whole^q.

THE tower or temple stood to the time of *Xerxes*. But that prince, on his return from the *Grecian* expedition, having first plundered it of its immense wealth, demolished the whole, and laid it in ruins. *Alexander*, on his return to *Babylon* from his *Indian* expedition, proposed to rebuild it,^r and accordingly set 10,000 men on work to clear away the rubbish. But, his death happening soon after, a stop was put to all further proceedings in that design. After the death of that conqueror, the city of *Babylon* began to decline apace; which was chiefly owing to the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator*, as is said, out of spite to the *Babylonians*, and peopled with 500,000 persons drawn from *Babylon*, which by that means continued declining till the very people of the country were at a loss to tell where it had stood^s.

WE have now seen this first *Babylonian* monarch, properly so called, in all his majesty, both at home and abroad: what we have remaining to say of him, will be of a different nature; for we shall see him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly understood, degraded beneath the meanest of the race of mankind, and seemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, swollen with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themselves what they ought not.

He was scarce returned from his late wars, when he *Nebuchad* had the famous dream of the tree that was to be hewn *nezzar's* dream of

^o Vid. PRID. ubi sup.

^p Compare BEROS. ubi sup. with the tree.

HERODOT. ubi sup.

^q Vid. PRID. ubi sup. p. 105.

^r See

vol. i. p. 329, & seqq.

Year of down. His wife men, astrologers, and *Chaldeans*, whom the flood he consulted in the first place, not being able to give him
 1778. any satisfactory interpretation of such an extraordinary vi-
 Bef. Chr. sion, he at length revealed it to *Daniel*; which how he
 570. should have neglected to do at first, after the undeniable
 proofs he had of his wisdom, and the omniscience of his
 God, may not be easily accounted for, unless we suppose
 him to have laboured under some sort of distraction. Be
 that as it will, *Daniel* no sooner heard the dream, than
 he was *astonished for one hour, and his thoughts troubled
 him*^w. At length, after he had recovered from his sur-
 prize, he deprecated the evil omen, and excused himself to
 the king, who was very solicitous with him to utter the
 truth without fear or disguise. He told him, The tree he
 saw was meant of himself: that, by the order of the
 Watcher and the Holy one concerning the tree, it was sig-
 nified, that he should be driven out from the society of
 men, and become as a beast; and that, in fine, he should
 so continue till he had been brought to a due sense of the
 supremacy and omnipotence of God; that the stump of
 the tree, which was to be left, signified that the kingdom
 should nevertheless revert to him once more^x. Such was
Daniel's interpretation, which he closed with an exhorta-
 tion to him to abstain from sin, and to shew mercy to
 the poor, that so he might procure to himself a prolonga-
 tion of peace and tranquillity^y.

THIS extraordinary sentence, thus pronounced by a man
 whom he must intirely have relied on, seems to have made
 no lasting impression upon him; for, not being imme-
 diately executed, he probably wore off the terrors of it,
 before the time was quite come. So that about twelve
 His pride and meta- months afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as
 morphosis. some think^z the fact may have been, on the uppermost
 Year of of the terraces of his hanging-garden, and contemplating
 the flood the glories of the city he had adorned, unable to contain
 1779. the pride of his heart, he cried out, "Is not this great
 Bef. Chr. "*Babylon*, that I have built for the house of the king-
 569. "*dom*, by the might of my power, and for the honour
 "*of my majesty*^a?" He had no sooner vented himself in
 this insolent manner, than there fell a voice from hea-
 ven, saying, "O king *Nebuchadnezzar*, to thee it is

^w Dan. iv. 19.^x Ibid. ver. 26.^y Ibid. ver. 27.^z PRID. ubi sup. p. 105.^a Dan. ubi sup. ver. 29—31.

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“spoken, the kingdom is departed from thee^b.” And straight he was driven from the society of men, and dwelt with the beasts of the field, and he eat grass as an ox; and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws^c. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is sometimes taken in all the strictness of it; it being supposed, that, losing his senses, he wandered about in the fields, and there took up his abode with the cattle, till seven times, or seven years, had passed over his head^d; but, concerning this metamorphosis, and the duration (V) of it, there is a great variety of opinions.

DURING

^b Dan. iv. 31.

^c Ibid. ver. 33.

^d See PRID. ubi sup.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, “Origen (46) believed the thing to be impossible, and turned it into allegory. *Bodin* (47) thought he was really changed into a bull, and that he lost even the soul of a man; while others (48) maintain he was changed as to the body only, retaining his reason, as *Apuleius* did while an ass, and like the *Italians* mentioned by *St. Austin* (49), who, having tasted of cheese presented to them by certain magicians of the country, were immediately turned into beasts of burden, but at last recovered their first form, and condition of life. Some rabbins have pretended, that the soul of *Nebuchadnezzar* deserted his body, and, for a time, gave place to the soul of an ox; which degraded him into all the inclinations and sensations of

“that animal; while others (50) admit no more to have been the case than a vitiated imagination in the prince, and a kind of fascination in the eyes of his subjects, which made them fancy, as well as himself, that he was, for certain, become an ox, tho’ there was no such thing. The most received opinion is, that, by the power of God, *Nebuchadnezzar* fell into a black melancholy; and, under this oppression of mind, fancied himself an ox; as in a lycanthropy a man persuades himself he is a wolf, a dog, a cat; a change which exists nowhere but in the distempered brain, nor to be discovered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and desire to range the country, and fly from men: that after some such manner it must have been, that this king

(46) *Apud Hieron. in Dan. iv. in Dan. ubi sup. & Tertul. de punit. c. 12, 13. l. xviii. c. 18.*

(47) *Dæmonol. l. ii. c. 6.*

(48) *Mal-*

(49) *De civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 18.*

(50) *Medin, de rell. in Deum fide, c. 7. Hier. de præfig. dæmon. l. i. c. 24.*

“became

DURING this his disorder, it is said his son *Evil-merodach* administered the government^e; and that he behaved so ill, as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on

^e HIERON. in *Isai*. xiv. 19.

“ became an ox, and agitated
“ by all the affections and de-
“ fires of one: that his peo-
“ ple, astonished at such an
“ alteration; (51), bound him
“ as a madman; but that,
“ escaping from them, he fled
“ into the fields, and lived
“ after the manner of an ox.”

Our author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks nothing more than this last supposition is required to account for what, in Scripture, is said of this extraordinary event; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophet's prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, so there are varieties as to the continuance of it. “ Some, with “ *Theodoret* (53), maintain, “ that, as the *Persians* divided “ their year into two seasons, “ winter and summer, the se- “ ven years of *Nebuchadnezzar* “ must be reduced to three and “ an half. *Dorathheus* (54), “ and the spurious *Epiphanius* “ (55), affirm that God had “ actually condemned him to “ a seven years punishment, “ but was prevailed on by “ *Daniel* to shorten it into se- “ ven months; the *Pseudo-Epi-* “ *phanus* adding, that, as *Da-* “ *niel* ceased not to foretel the

“ restoration of the king, and
“ the great men continually
“ disbelieved him, and derided
“ what he said, he obtained of
“ God, that his time might
“ be shortened for the sake of
“ convincing them. Others
“ maintain he was changed
“ but for 21 months, explain-
“ ing these words of *Daniel*,
“ *Donec septem tempora mu-*
“ *tentur super eum*, as intended
“ for seven times the space of
“ three months; *tempus*, ac-
“ cording to them, being a
“ quarter of a year. *Peter*
“ *Comester* allows but seven
“ months, which he propor-
“ tions out in this manner:
“ For the first 40 days he al-
“ lows him to have been in a
“ phrensy, or mad; the 40
“ days following, he bewailed
“ his offences; and, the next
“ 40 days, he gradually reco-
“ vered from his infirmity:
“ but that, nevertheless, in
“ compliance with what he had
“ been exhorted to by *Daniel*,
“ he remained seven years in
“ the exercise of repentance,
“ abstaining from aught but
“ herbs and pulse, to atone for
“ his pride and folly.” But
“ our author (56) concludes, with
“ the bulk of commentators, that
“ we need no interpreter but *Da-*
“ *niel* himself, who plainly means
“ whole years.

(51) Hieron. *Theodoret*. Maldon. Pereri. Cornel. Sancti. in *Dan*. *Valof. de*
fact. philosph. c. 80. *Barbolin. de morb. bibl.* &c. (52) *Calmet. dict.*
of the Bible, art. *Nebuchadnezzar*. III. (53) *Ubi sup.* (54) *In synop.*
(55) *Dn. vit. & mor. prophet.* (56) *Calmet ubi sup.*

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him, when he came to understand what he had done; for, when his seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where *Jeboiachin*, the captive king of *Judah*, had lain 37 years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to GOD, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom a year longer; and then died, after having reigned 43 years alone, and about 20 months with his father.

Year of the flood 1786. *Bef. Chr.* 562.

His death.

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in Scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those who tell us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace; and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect, and in these words; “Behold, O *Babylonians*, I foretel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, nor our forefather *Belus*, nor our queen *Beltis*, may possibly avert. A *Persian* mule shall come, and, by the assistance of your own gods, shall load your necks with a most galling yoke; and this destruction shall befall you by the means of a *Mede*, in whom the *Assyrians* were wont greatly to glory themselves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people, were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in the depths of the sea; or that, hurried away into some lonely desert, he might there remain a wanderer, never to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to see aught but birds and beasts of prey! O grant unto me, before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share an happier end!” Thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from the sight of men: the same end *Semiramis* is said to have made.

His prophecy.

HE was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*^h, *Ilvoradam*ⁱ, *Ebidan-merodach*^k, and *Evil-naluruch*^l, who, by a false step he took in his father's life-time, may, perhaps, be said to have laid the foundation of that animosity in the *Medes* and *Persians*, which brought on the dissolution of the *Babylonian* empire. For, having, in a great hunting-match on occasion of his marriage with *Nitocris*, entered the country of the *Medes*, and some of his troops coming up at the same time to relieve the garisons in those places,

^f MEGASTH. ex ABYD. apud EYSEB. præp. evang. l. ix. c. 41. p. 456. ^g See before, p. 296. ^h Jerem. lii. 31. ⁱ See before, in the canon, p. 383. ^k Ibid. in the ecclesiastical account. ^l MEGASTH. ubi supr.

he

he joined them to those he had already with him, and, without the least provocation, began to plunder and lay waste the neighbouring country. Hereupon *Astyages* the *Mede*, attended by his son *Cyaxares*, his grandson *Cyrus*, then near 16 years of age, and such troops as could be assembled on so sudden an emergency, marched out to meet him, determined to repel force by force. The parties engaged, and *Evil-merodach* was put to the rout, and pursued, with great slaughter, quite home to his own bordersⁿ. This happened when *Cyrus* was about 16 years old, and consequently 13 years before *Nebuchadnezzar* was deprived of his senses, and twenty before he returned to himself.

Evil-merodach. EVIL-MERODACH, in the very beginning of his reign, delivered *Jehoiachin* the unhappy king of *Judah* from the prison to which he had been confined for the space of 37 years, and treated him ever afterwards as a king^o. We know nothing farther concerning him, except that, indulging himself in sloth and wickedness, he was treacherously murdered by his sister's husband *Neriglissar*, after he had reigned two years and somewhat more^p.

Neriglissar. NERIGLISSAR, *Niriglissaroor*, or *Niricassolassurus*^q, who is represented as the chief of the conspirators against *Evil-merodach*^r, usurped the throne. This prince, jealous of the growing power of the *Medes* and *Persians*, dispatched ambassadors into *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to raise the like jealousies in the princes of those countries, and stir them up against the two above-mentioned nations, as their common enemies^s. This obliged *Cyaxares* to call *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance; who, upon his arrival with a body of 30,000 *Persians*, was appointed commander in chief, both of the *Medes* and *Persians*, in the impending war with the *Babylonians*^t. Three years were spent by both parties in forming alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth, the *Medes* and *Persians* on one side, under the command of *Cyrus*, and the *Babylonians* on the other, with their allies, under the conduct of *Neriglissar*, and *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, took the field. The *Babylonian* army consisted of a mixed multitude of various nations. For *Cræsus*

ⁿ Cyropæd. l. i. ^o 2 Kings xxv. 27—30. Jerem. lii. 31.

^p BEROS. apud JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion. ^q See before,

p. 383. ^r BEROS. ubi sup. ^s XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i.

p. 36. ^t Idem ibid. p. 44, 45.

king of *Lydia* came with 10,000 horse, and upwards of 40,000 light-armed foot; *Artamas* king of the greater *Phrygia* brought 40,000 foot, mostly pikemen, and 8000 horse; *Aribæus* king of *Cappadocia* led with him 6000 horse, and 30,000 foot, mostly armed with missive weapons; *Maragdas* the *Arabian* conducted 10,000 horse, 100 chariots, and a great number of slingers^m. These were the confederates of *Neriglissar*, and such the quotas they respectively furnished.

As for *Neriglissar* himself, he headed no more than 20,000 horse, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable. Whether or no this confederate army received any farther addition, is not certain; but the *Carians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and some others, seem to have receded from their first engagements. The army of the *Medes* and the *Persians* did not amount to above a third of that under the *Babylonian* king, till they were joined by a considerable reinforcement under *Tigranes* the *Armenian*. In the midst of these great preparations for war, ambassadors arrived from *India*, to inquire into the grounds and causes of it, with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining those who should appear to have the most justice on their sideⁿ.

How this embassy concluded, is uncertain; but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of *Neriglissar*; for *Cyrus* subdued the *Chaldæans* in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of *Armenia*^o. These *Chaldæans*, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper *Assyrians*, who, for aught we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper *Chaldæans*, and their mountains, were at a great distance from any part of *Armenia*^p. These *Chaldæans*, according to our author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, carrying no other arms than a wicker shield, and two javelins; and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by *Cyrus*, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the *Armenians*, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them^q.

THE two armies now appeared in sight of each other: the *Assyrians*, or *Babylonians*, under *Neriglissar*, encamp-

^m *Cyropæd.* ib. l. iii. p. 62—76.
^{iii.} p. 62—76.

ⁿ *Cyropæd.* ib. p See before, p. 332.

^o *Cyropæd.* l. ^q *Cyropæd.* l.

ed and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians* covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Affyrians* leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle-array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them; and, closing in with the enemy, broke through their first battalions. The *Babylonians*, not able to stand the shock, immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight. *Cyrus* pursued them close to their entrenchments; but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, he sounded the retreat. But *Neriglissar* was killed in the battle, and *Cyrus*, returning the next day to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, killed great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, with the baggage of the whole army^r.

THE death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and wisdom; the preparations he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered, than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborsoarchod*, *Labassorasc*, or *Chabassorach*, who was in every respect quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at an hunting-match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but because he pierced with his dart a wild beast, which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man^s. These two acts of cruelty drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. The king took the field against *Gadates*; but, being met by *Cyrus*, he was put to flight, and obliged to retire to his metropolis. *Cyrus* pursued him to the very walls of *Babylon*, and there threw himself twice, in order to provoke him to battle. But, finding he could not draw him into the field, he spent the rest of the summer in ravaging the country, and then marched back into *Media*^b. As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborsoarchod*, being now in no

^r Cyropæd. ib. & l. iv. p. 87—104.

^s Ibid. l. iii. & iv.

^b Ibid. l. v. p. 123—140.

dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations, that were predominant in him; insomuch that his own subjects, no longer able to bear his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign ^c. As he did not complete a year, he is omitted in the canon.

LABOROSARCHOD was succeeded by *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder. He is called by *Herodotus*, *Labynitus*; by *Abydenus*, *Nabannidochus*; by *Josephus*, *Nabonadai*; and by the prophet *Daniel*, *Belsazzar*; as we shall shew hereafter. He was the son of *Evil-merodach* by *Nitocris*, and the grandson of the great *Nebuchadnezzar*. Had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* had not bettered themselves by the change of their monarch. But his mother *Nitocris*, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of all public affairs upon herself; and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done, by human prudence, to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*; raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high, and fifteen wide. She likewise built a bridge cross the *Euphrates*, and did several other works, which were afterwards ascribed to *Nebuchadnezzar* ^d. *Philostratus*, in describing this bridge, tells us, that it was built by a queen, who was a native of *Media* ^e; whence we may conclude this famed queen to have been by birth a *Mede*, though at the same time it must seem strange, if she was of that country, that *Evil-merodach*, who had just married her, or was upon the point of marrying her, should, at such a juncture, undertake the hostilities against the *Medes*, which we have taken notice of above. *Nitocris* is said to have placed her tomb over one of the most remarkable gates of the city, with an inscription to the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCRE, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT IT. This monument and inscription are said to have remained untouched till the reign of *Darius*, who,

^c BEROS. apud JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion.

^d Vide

HEROD. l. i. c. 185, 186, 188.

^e PHILOSTRAT. in vit.

Apol. l. i. c. 18.

^f HERODOT. l. i. c. 185.

considering the gate was useless, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immense treasure, broke it open; but, instead of what he sought, is said to have found nothing but a dead body; and another inscription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus far of *Nitocris* ^k; we must now return to her son, and see how the *Babylonian* empire ended under him.

HERODOTUS has a *Labynitus*, whom, in two places, he calls the king of the *Babylonians*, and a *Labynitus*, whom he calls emperor of *Affyria*, and reports to have derived his name from his father. It was, according to him, under this *Labynitus* that *Babylon* was taken. As for the *Labynitus*, who reconciled the *Medes* and *Lydians*, he could be no other than *Nebuchadnezzar*, as we have hinted above ^l.

OF the reduction of this proud metropolis of the east, in the reign of *Nabonadius*, *Labynitus*, or *Belsazzar*, as we shall prove anon, authors give the following account. *Cyrus*, having subdued the several nations inhabiting the great continent, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*, and likewise *Syria* and *Arabia*, entered *Affyria*, and bent his march towards *Babylon*. *Nabonadius*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle; but, being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked

^k HERODOT. l. i. c. 187.

^l See before, p. 395.

(X) *Plutarch* (57) mentions this monument and inscription as belonging to *Semiramis*. Thus the sepulchre of *Bel* himself is said to have been opened by *Xerxes*, who found nothing there but a glass vessel almost full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inscription on a small pillar hard by, That the man who should open it, should dearly repent of what he had done, if he did not

fill up the vessel with oil; which *Xerxes* in vain attempting, he went away heavy and sad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat, in his *Grecian* expedition. So *Darius*, by others, being said to have opened the tomb of *Semiramis*, a pestilence is reported to have issued thence, and to have destroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) *Ἄποπέφυματα*, p. 173.

(58) *Vid. Parcib. pilgr. part l. c. 12. p. 55.*

up, and closely besieged, by *Cyrus* ^a. The siege of this *Cyrus* lays an important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were ^{fige. 10} of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years ^b. However, these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design; but, despairing of being able to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch, reckoning, that, if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there were within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, appointing each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their high walls, and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour ^c.

CYRUS, having spent two intire years before *Babylon*, without gaining any considerable advantage over the place, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in possession of it. He was informed, that a great annual solemnity was to be kept in *Babylon*; and that the *Babylonians*, on that occasion, were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprize them; and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which had been lately dug by *Nitocris*, with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake ^d. At the same time he appointed one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march in by the bed of the river, which was two stades in breadth, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, that the water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained ^e. Then the two above-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, entered

^a HERODOT. I. i. c. 178, 188, 190.

Cyropæd. ib. ^c HERODOT. & Cyropæd. ib.

ib. c. 190, 191. Cyropæd. ibid.

^b Idem ibid. &

^d HERODOT.

^e Idem ibid.

Babylon the chanel, the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*; and, finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without opposition; and, meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them in pieces.

Those who were in the palace, opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace, and killed the king, who, sword in hand, came out to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest submitted, and the *Medes* and *Persians* became masters of the place ^f. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the prophecies, which the prophets *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel*, had uttered against that proud metropolis ^g. In that very night the king entertained, on occasion of the public rejoicings, a thousand of his lords at a great banquet; and, having profaned the sacred vessels, which his grandfather *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought from *Jerusalem*, he first saw written on the wall of his banqueting-room, and afterwards heard from the mouth of *Daniel*, the severe doom, which immediately overtook him ^h.

Year of
the flood
1810.
Bef. Chr.
538.

As there is a great disagreement among authors concerning *Daniel's Belsazzar*; before we dismiss the history of *Babylon*, we shall offer something in our notes to prove, as we have promised above, that the prophet's *Belsazzar* can be no other but *Nabonadius*, or *Labynitus*, as *Herodotus* styles him (P).

^f Idem ibid.

^g Isai. xlii. xlv. xli. xliii. xlv. xlvii.

Jerem. xxv. l. li *Dan.* v. 21. xi. 8. 12. 15.

^h *Dan.* v.

See the following note.

(P) As the whole history of *Babylon*, from the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus*, is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out *Daniel's Belsazzar* among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom succeeded by *Cyrus*. To proceed with all the perspicuity we can in so perplexed a subject, we shall, 1st, produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the last kings of *Babylon*; 2. what is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is confirmed by the concurrence of all the profane historians; and lastly, the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they allege to support them.

The

The prophet *Daniel*, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the visions he had in the first and third year of *Belshazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince, in the following manner (68): *Belshazzar*, having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaster of the wall of the king's palace. The king, who saw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wise men and soothsayers to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately sent for at the suggestion of the queen, who, on the alarm which that prodigy had occasioned, entered the banqueting-room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for profaning the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words are *Mene, Mene, Tekel Upbarshin*, which he thus interprets: *Mene*, God has numbered thy kingdom, and finished it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. The prophet adds, that in that night

Belshazzar king of the *Chaldeans* was slain, and that *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

The same prophet informs us, next (69), what order *Darius* established in the realm; and relates the visions which he had in the first year of *Darius*, and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifest, that *Daniel* speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belshazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were? a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile *Daniel*, and the profane historians.

Most historians agree, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a reign of forty-three years (or forty-five, though not complete, if we compute the 20 months which he reigned jointly with his father), was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two complete years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Neriglissar*. *Neriglissar* ruled four years, and was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod*, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

It is manifest, that *Belshazzar* was one of the four last kings of *Babylon*; and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, since in Scripture he is

(68) *Dan*, c. v. *pass.*(69) *Ibid*. c. vi.

often called his son; but authors are strangely puzzled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel's* prophecies.

Sir *John Marſham* takes *Belſhazzar* to be *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*: he founds his opinion on the authority of Scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belſhazzar*, and *Belſhazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that *Evil-merodach* and *Belſhazzar* muſt be one and the ſame perſon. *Beroſus* (70) repreſents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belſhazzar* in Scripture bears the ſame character. *Beroſus* tells us, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by ſome of his lords (71); the Scripture ſays, that *Belſhazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing theſe proofs may ſeem, and conſonant to Scripture, yet, upon examination, we ſhall find them to be of no force, and quite inconſiſtent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belſhazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, *And in that night Belſhazzar king of the Chaldeans was ſlain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom.* From theſe words it is plain, that, immediately after the death of *Belſhazzar*, the kingdom was given to

the Medes and Perſians (73). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was ſucceeded, according to *Beroſus*, and *Megaſthenes* (74), and Sir *John Marſham* himſelf, by *Nerigliffar*, his ſiſter's husband, who was at the head of the conſpiracy againſt him. This objection ſeemed of ſuch weight to Sir *John Marſham*, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his aſſertion without contradicting the Scripture, he was forced to ſuppoſe *Nerigliffar* to be *Darius* the Mede, and the *Medo-Perſian* empire to have begun in him; a ſuppoſition which we ſhall confute when we come to ſpeak of *Darius* the Mede. To what we have alleged out of *Daniel* againſt our learned author's ſyſtem, we ſhall add a proof no leſs convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (75), that *all nations ſhould ſerve him (Nebuchadnezzar), and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon.* If the kingdom was transferred from his ſon to the *Medes and Perſians*, as Sir *John Marſham* would have it, it is manifeſt, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What that author urges in defence of his opinion, *viz.* that *Belſhazzar* might be, according to Scripture, the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, though true in a more extenſive ſenſe, wherein any deſcendant is called ſon, and any anceſtor, father, according to the ſtyle of the Scripture; yet is not ſo in the literal one,

(70) *Beroſ.* apud *Juſt.* antiq. l. x. c. 11. (71) *Beroſ.* ibid. (73) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (74) *Beroſ.* & *Megaſthen.* ubi ſup. & apud *Euſeb.* præp. evang. l. ix. (75) *Jer.* xxvii. 6, 7.

in which the prophet seems to have couched it, as will appear further by-and-by.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Nerigliffar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son named *Laborosoarchod*, according to *Berosus*, or *Labassarafe*, as *Megasthenes* is pleased to call him (76). This prince came very young to the crown, and, betraying a most vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects, after he had reigned only nine months (77). And this is the reason why he is omitted in *Ptolemy's* canon, where the whole year is reckoned to the king that begins it, how soon soever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was said to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the said month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the case of *Laborosoarchod*.

But to return to our subject; *Joseph Scaliger* (78) will have *Laborosoarchod* to be *Daniel's Belshazzar*; and founds his opinion on the following arguments; *viz.* that he was the last of *Nebuchadnezzar's* race; that he was killed by conspirators; and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labyntus*,

who was, according to *Megasthenes* (79), a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumstance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight: the queen advised *Belshazzar* to consult *Daniel*. This queen, says he, could not be the king's wife; for his wives and concubines were at the feast; it was therefore the queen-mother, which suits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar's* daughter, who was regent. If we object against this hypothesis, that *Laborosoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belshazzar* reigned some years; his answer is, that the Scripture ascribes to *Laborosoarchod* or *Belshazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Nerigliffar*, or *Nericaßolassar*, as he is there called, because *Nerigliffar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the first and third year of *Belshazzar* in *Daniel* (80), though *Laborosoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two unsurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it supposes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius the Mede*, a supposition which we shall plainly prove from holy writ to be false; 2. That it falsifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promising the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his son, and his son's son; whereas *Laborosoarchod*

(76) *Berosus* apud *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* l. i. *Megasthen.* ubi supra. (77) *Berosus* ubi supra. (78) *Scaliger* in notis ad *frag. veter. Græcor. select. de emendat. tempor.* l. vi. c. de regib. *Babylon.* (79) *Megasth.* ubi supra. (80) *Dan.* vii. 1. viii. 1.

was his daughter's son. This difficulty Scaliger seems not to have been aware of, since he takes no notice of it in solving the objections that may be brought against his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Neriglissar*, nor *Laborsoarchod*, were *Daniel's Belshazzar*, it follows, that *Nabonadius* was the king who in Scripture bears that name. This will appear more plain, if we consider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonian* kings; and therefore must be the same who in Scripture is called *Belshazzar*; for, immediately after the death of *Belshazzar*, the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians* (81). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*; for he is by *Daniel* often called his son; and in the *Chronicles* (82) it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his children or offspring, reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*; 3. That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchad-*

nezzar, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiab* (83): he must therefore have been succeeded by a son, and a son's son, to the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his son; and, of all the kings that reigned after him, none but *Belshazzar* could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborsoarchod* his daughter's son. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the last king of *Babylon* was son to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain, that by *Evil-merodach* alone she could have a son, who was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion seems to us the least perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the most agreeable to what we read both in Scripture, and in the profane historians. Of *Darius the Mede* we shall speak in the history of *Media*, and shew, that he could be no other but *Cyaxares II.* uncle to *Cyrus*.

(81) *Dan.* v. 28. 30, 31. (82) 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 20. (83) *Jer.* xxvii. 7. (84) *Can. Chron. sæcul.* 18. (85) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (86) *Ibid.* vi. 1. (87) *Scal. de emendat. temp.* l. vi. (88) *Apud Euseb. præp. evang.* l. ix.

C H A P. X.

The history of the antient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

S E C T. I.

A brief account of Asia Proper.

AS the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of *Asia Minor*, we shall premise a general description of that country, for the better understanding of the particular accounts, which we shall have occasion to join, as we come to treat of the several regions contained therein.

THE different and various acceptations of the word *Asia Proper*, even in its strictest sense, has created a great deal of per-
 confusion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniences, the incomparable bishop *Usher* * advises those, who are to give any account of *Asia*, to begin by explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impossible to understand the antient historians or geographers. He looks upon this as one of the most difficult points in history, there being a seeming contradiction between the sacred and profane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Asia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful distinction of times and places. In reading the antient historians or geographers, we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater and Lesser Asia, Asia Proper, or Asia properly so called, the Lydian Asia, the Proconsular Asia, the Asiatic Diocese.* That vast continent, which was known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Asia*, was divided by the antient geographers first into the *Greater and Lesser Asia*. The *Lesser*, commonly termed *Asia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces; but that which included *Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia*, was named *Asia Proper, or Asia properly so called*, as is

* In his geographical and historical disquisition touching *Asia, properly so called.*

plain from *Tully* ^b. Where it is to be observed, that *Tully*, in enumerating the regions contained in *Asia Proper*, makes no mention of *Æolis* or *Ionis*, though undoubtedly parts of *Asia Proper*, because they were comprehended partly in *Lydia*, and partly in *Mysia*. *Lydia*, beside the inland country, commonly known by that name, contained also the adjoining countries both of *Ionis*, lying on the sea-side between the rivers *Hermus* and *Mæander*, and of *Æolis*; extending from *Hermus* to the river *Caicus*, according to *Ptolemy* ^c, or, according to *Strabo* ^d, to the promontory *Leëtum*, the antient boundary between *Troas*, and the sea-coast of the *Greater Mysia* (A). The remaining parts of *Æolis* and *Ionis* are by *Pliny* ^e, *Strabo* ^f, *Hellanicus* ^g, and *Scylax* ^h, placed in *Mysia*; nay, *Mysia* itself, after the *Æolians* possessed themselves of it, was commonly called *Æolis* ⁱ; which *Stephanus* not being aware of, makes *Assos* of *Æolis* a different city from *Assos* of *Mysia* near *Antandrus*. From what we have said, it is plain, that *Asia Proper* comprehended *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Æolis*, and *Ionis*. This tract was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north, by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*; on the east, by *Galatia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*; on the south by part of *Lycia* and the *Rhodian* sea; on the west, by the *Hellepont*, by the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Myrtoan* seas. It lies between the thirty-fifth and forty-first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty-five to sixty-two degrees.

^b CIC. in orat. pro Flacco. p. 393. lib. xiii. ^c Lib. v. c. 30. ^d Lib. xii. ^e Lib. v. c. 30. ^f Lib. xiv. sub init. ^g Id. lib. xiii. ^h SCYLAX, in periplo. ⁱ POMP. MELA, lib. i. c. 18. PLIN. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That *Mysia* reached to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, is acknowledged not only by *Ptolemy* (1), but also by *Strabo* (2); and yet, because it was possessed in his time by the *Æolians*, he tells us, that *Æolis*, properly so called, extended from *Hermus* to *Leëtum* (3). In like manner *Pliny* (4) makes the promontory *Leëtum* the boundary betwixt *Æolis* and *Troas*; though elsewhere, following other authors, he places *Assos* in *Troas* (5). But *Hellanicus*, *Strabo* (6), and *Stephanus*, make it a city of *Æolis* near the *Hellepont*.

(1) Lib. v. c. 2. (2) Lib. xii. p. 393. (3) Lib. xiii. (4) Lib. v. c. 30. (5) Id. lib. ii, c. 96. & l. xxxvi. c. 17. (6) Strab. l. xiii. p. 420.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper* (B). *Asia*, in this acceptation, comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description we have already given of it; and is that *Asia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts*, and St. *John's* revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. *Paul's* journey^k: *When they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia; after they were come to Mysia, they essayed to go into Bithynia; but the Spirit suffered them not. And they, passing by Mysia, came down to Troas.* Where it is to be observed, that the *Greater Phrygia*, through which they passed into *Galatia*, *Mysia*, *Olympea* bordering upon *Bithynia* and *Hellespont*, where *Troas* was situate, though provinces of *Asia*, properly so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the *Proper Asia* of the *Romans*; as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book^l. As these cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Asia*, so what remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the seven Churches mentioned in the *Revelations*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Asia*. In the first place, *Pergamus* is placed by *Xenophon*^m in *Lydia*, and also by *Ari-*

^k Acts xvi. ^l Ibid. xx. 16, 17. ^m XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. lib. vii.

(B) That in antient times *Lydia* was called *Mæonia*, and the *Lydians* *Mæonians*, is manifest from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9), *Dionysius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11), *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Mæonia* was called *Asia*, is no less plain from *Callinus*, who flourished before *Archilochus* (13), from *Demetrius Scephus* contemporary with *Crates*, and *Aristarchus* the grammarian (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called

Asia, is expressly affirmed by the antient scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, seated on mount *Tmolus*; others from one *Asias* king of *Lydia*, who, according to the *Lydians*, communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But, be that as it will, it is certain, that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Asia*, than any other part of that continent.

(8) *Herod. l. i. c. 7.* (9) *Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.* (10) *Dionys. in perieges.* (11) *Strab. l. xiii. p. 437.* (12) *Plin. l. v. c. 29.* (13) *Strab. l. xiv. p. 368, sub vit.* (14) *Id. l. xii.* (15) *In Bacch.* (16) *In Acad. a.* (17) *Scholiast. Apollin. Argonaut. l. ii.* (18) *Herod. l. iv. c. 45.*

Stole ⁿ. The same *Aristotle* ^o tells us, that *Smyrna* was at first possessed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandensis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*; as also *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatira*, are reckoned by *Ptolemy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus* ^p (C).

The Proconsular Asia.

THE *Proconsular Asia* (so called, because it was governed by a proconsul), according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries; viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the *Proconsular Hellepont*. And this is *Ptolemy's Asia Proper* ^q. By the same emperor *Pontus* and *Bitynia* were made a prætorian province, and *Asia* a consular, containing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side the river *Halys*, and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Constantine the Great*, the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Asiatic diocese*; the one being governed by the proconsul of *Asia*, and the other by the vicarius or lieutenant of *Asia* (D). The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the description which *Eunapius* gives us of it ^r, seems to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* above-mentioned. In the reign of *Theodosius the elder*, who succeeded *Valens*, the *Consular Hellepont*

ⁿ Lib. de poetica, p. 97. ^o ARISTOT. lib. de poetica apud PLUTARCH. in lib. de vita & poeti Homeri. ^p STEPH. de urbib. ^q PTOLEM. l. v. c. 2. ^r EUNAP. in vita Maxim.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolemy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by some in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the ancient geographers in *Phrygia*; by another, in *Lydia*; and, by a third, in *Caria*.

(D) We find, in the impe-

rial constitutions, two rescripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365 (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign), and directed to *Clearchus*, vicarius *Asiæ*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius*, vicarius *dioceseos Asiæ* (20). This distinction was brought in by *Constantine*, and continued under the Christian emperors that succeeded him.

(19) *Strab. l. xii. p. 383.*

(20) *Cod. Theodof. lib. v. tit. 11. Ne colon.*

was taken from the *vicarius* of *Asia*, and added to the *Proconsular Asia*; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconsular Asia* was abridged of all the inland part of *Lydia*. And this is the reason, why *Palladius* ^u makes a distinction between the bishops of *Lydia*, and those of *Asia*. However, the southern part of *Lydia*, lying between the *Mæander* and *Gayster*, and the maritime provinces from *Ephesus* to *Affos*, and the promontory *Lectum*, were left to the *Proconsular Asia* ^w.

THE *Asiatic* diocese (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict sense, as distinct from the *Proconsular Asia*, and the provinces under the jurisdiction of the proconsul; and sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the *Proconsular Asia*. According to this acceptation, all *Asia*, in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, consisted of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of *Asia*, viz. the *Proconsular Proper*, which he governed by himself, the *Consular Hellespont*, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other islands called *Cyclades*, which were first made a province by *Vespasian*, and placed under a president ^x. Eight were under the *vicarius* or lieutenant of *Asia*; viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*; these eight made up what was properly called the *Asiatic diocese* ^y (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet with in reading the ancient historians and

^u PALLAD. in vita Chrysoft. ^w HIEROCLIS notitia imp. in append. geograph. sacra. p. 27. PHOTIUS, de ordine metropolit. p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco-Romani, p. 90. Subscript. concil. Chalced. act. vi. Constantinop. vi. act. xvii. &c. ^x SEXTUS RUFUS, in breviario. ^y ALCIAT. parerg. l. v. c. 13.

(E) The word *diocese*, in the dialect of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *notitia imperii*, which was compiled in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, the *Asiatic diocese* is said to consist of ten provinces only; the first and chief province of all, viz. *Asia* itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, *Isidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this diocese, and among them *Galatia*, which was, without all doubt, a province of the diocese of *Pontus* (22).

(20) *Notit. utriusque imperii, eccles. sub urbicar. p. 347.*

(22) *Vid. Salmosii eucharistic. de*

geographers; for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned archbishop *Usher*, who thought it well worth his while to examine the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise ^z.

The name
of Asia.

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of *Iapetus*, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Assus*, son of *Atys* king of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent, was named *Asia*. *Bochart* ^a is of opinion, that it took its name from the *Phœnician* word *Asi*, signifying the middle, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communicated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle, between *Europe* and *Afric*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny* and *Pomponius Mela* ^b. But, as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on inquiries of this nature.

Climate
and fertility.

THIS country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, and highly extolled by ancient writers, chiefly by the *Romans*, who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which respects it was preferred by *Tully* ^c to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely *Marc Antony*, who, as we are told by *Plutarch* ^d, squeezed from the inhabitants of *Asia Minor*, in the space of one year, the sum of twenty thousand talents.

Its present
division.

THIS country is at present divided into four parts; viz. *Natolia*, properly so called, the western part; *Caramania*, the southern part; *Aladulia*, the eastern; and *Amassa*, the northmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them *Nadolu*, is divided into five parts, under the

^z USHER in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c.

^a Phaleg. l. iv. c. 36.

^b PLIN. in præfat. lib. iii. & POMP. MELA, de Asia, l. i. c. 2.

^c CIC. pro Q. Ligario.

^d PLUTARCH. in Lucull. & Antonio.

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government of five *beglerbegs*, who reside at *Cotyseum*, *Tocat*, *Trabezond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular histories of the various kingdoms antiently comprehended under the common name of *Asia Minor*.

The History of the Phrygians.

S E C T. II.

The description of Phrygia.

AS we can scarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at second hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we shall not dwell long on so dark and perplexed a subject, nor pretend to supply the defect of better authorities with such precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the most ordinary usually do, vent on such occasions (G).

WHENCE the small country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*) which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and empties itself into the *Hermus*^e; others from *Phrygia*, the daughter of *Asopus* and *Europa*. The Greek writers tell us^f, that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and these from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence they first passed into *Asia*, and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brygia* to the country which they settled in; but we shall have occasion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion^g,

^e PLIN. lib. v. c. 29.
gen. Aug.
p. 388.

^f MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen.
^g Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. STRAB. lib. xii.

(G) The names of the authors that have written the *Phrygian* history are *Democritus*, *Hermesianaetes*, *Timolaus*, *Aetazes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but, as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to some of the most material points of that history.

(23) *Plutarb. de fluviis*, & *Laert. in Democrito*.

that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a Greek verb, signifying to burn or dry, which, according to him, is a translation of its Hebrew name, derived from a verb of the same signification (H).

Its divisions.

No less various are the opinions of authors, as to the exact boundaries of this country; which gave rise to the proverb related by *Strabo* 8, viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Mysians* had distinct boundaries, but that it was impossible to ascertain them. The same writer adds, that

ε Phaleg, lib. iii. c. 8. STRAB. I. xii. p. 388.
ubi supra.

h STRAB.

(H) The Greek word *Phrygia* seems to be derived from the verb *φρυγείν*, to burn or parch; and hence that place on mount *OEta*, where *Hercules* was burnt, took the name of *Phrygia*, ἀπὸ τῆ ἐκεί πεφρυχθαι τῶν Ἡρακλῆα. Now as that part of *Phrygia*, which was washed by the rivers *Cayster* and *Mæander*, was distinguished by the epithet of *καλακκαυμένη*, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witness (24); it is not improbable but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at first peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called *καλακκαυμένη*, burnt, is variously reported. *Diodorus* (25) speaks of a fiery monster called *ægis*, which, appearing there, consumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of *Typhon* (26), who, say they, was in that place thunderstruck by *Jupiter*. But, without having recourse to fables, it will be

no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but consider, that this part of *Phrygia* we are speaking of, is described both by *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (27) as a dry soil impregnated with sulphur, bitumen, and other combustible substances, which in all likelihood gave rise to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are speaking of is by some of the ancient reckoned a province of *Mysia*; by others, of *Mæonia*; but *Hesychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and most of the other historians and geographers, place it in *Phrygia*. *Bocbart* is of opinion (30), that by *Gomer* in Scripture is meant *Phrygia*, and that the Greek word *Phrygia* is a translation of the Hebrew גומר *gomer*, which he derives from the verb גמר *gamar*, importing, among other significations, to burn or consume, in which signification he shews it to have been frequently used both by the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*.

(24) *Strab.* I. xiii. p. 431. & *Diol. Sic. lib. iii.*

Sicil. l. iii. p. 142.

(26) *Strab.* I. xiii. p. 431.

Jupia. (28) *Hesych.* I. xii.

(29) *Diodor. ubi supra.*

l. iii. c. 8.

(25) *Diodor.*

(27) *Ubi*

(30) *Pha-*

the Trojans, Mysians, and Lydians, are, by the poets, all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian*¹ extends to the *Pisidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again, *Pliny*^k places *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, which, together with *Dardania*, is reckoned by *Strabo*^l among the provinces of *Mysia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy*, whom we chuse to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; on the west by *Mysia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean sea*, *Lydia*, *Mæonia*, and *Caria*; on the south by *Lycia*; on the east by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41st degree of north-latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, are the *Lycaones*, and *Anthemisenii* towards *Lycia*, and *Moccadelis* or *Moccadine*, the *Cydeses* or *Cydisses* towards *Bithynia*, and between these the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenses*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To these we may add the *Berecynes* mentioned by *Strabo*^m.

PHRYGIA is commonly divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Phrygia*, called also *Troas*. But this division did not take place till *Troas* was subdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is more considered by some *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two districts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus*, who, under *Constantine*, bore the great office of the *præfectus prætorio* of the east; the other *Phrygia Salutaris*, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

THIS country, and indeed all *Asia Minor*, as lying Its soil and climate. in the fifth and sixth northern climates, was in ancient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grains, being, for the most part, a plain country covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen, and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture-grounds. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, tho' it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke.

¹ CLAUD. l. ii. in Eutrop.
ubi supra.

^k PLIN. l. v.

^l STRAB.

^m Ibid. l. xii. sub fin.

In short, whatever desirable things nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries, were found in this, while well manured, as in their original seminary.

THE cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart, and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the above-mentioned division of *Constantine* took place. It was seated at the confluence of the *Marsya* and *Mæander*. *Pliny*^u places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, surrounded by the rivers *Marsya*, *Obrina*, and *Orga*, which empty themselves into the *Mæander*; wherein he seems to confound the situation of the ancient *Celæna* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celæna* indeed stood at the foot of the hill, on which the *Marsyas* has its spring; but *Antiochus Soter*, son to *Antiochus Seleucus*, who built *Apamea* of *Syria*, carried the inhabitants from thence to the new city, which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marsyas* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apamen*, wife to *Seleucus Nicanor*^o. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but, as to the original of this appellation, there is a great discrepancy among authors (I).

^u PLIN. l. v. c. 29.
xxxviii. MARCIANUS, l. vi.

^o STRAB. ubi supra. LIV. lib.

(I) As the word *Κιβωτός* signifies *ark* or *coffer*, some have supposed, that it was so called, because the ark rested on the hill from which the river *Marsya* springs. But these writers confound the situation of *Celæna* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was situate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles distance. As those who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Asia Minor*, used to convey their wares to this city as a place of general resort (30), *Salmasius* thinks it was called *Cibotos* from

its being, as it were, the common treasury of those countries (31). It is worth observing, that there are no fewer than nine cities bearing the same name, viz. *Apamea* of *Phrygia*, of *Bithynia*, of *Pisidia*, of *Media*, of *Babylonia*, of *Mesopotamia*, of *Pisidia*, of *Sittacene*, of *Syria*; and all situated between two rivers; which made *Bochart* (32) conclude, that they were so called from the Hebrew verb signifying to surround, whereof the import is plainly expressed in *Jonas* (33) אֶפְרַחֲבֹנִי אֶפְרַחֲבֹנִי *aphrahbuni majim*.

LAODICEA, now *Eskibissar*, seated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was first called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rbeas*, and at last *Diocæsarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus*, that *Jupiter*, appearing to *Antiochus* the son of *Stratonice* in his sleep, commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Diospolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increased by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his son *Polemon* ^r, who, being honoured by *Cæsar Augustus* with the title of king, might, perhaps, out of complaisance to that prince, add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Jupiter* and *Cæsar*. However, the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* ^q, prevailed. This city was famous for its wool, which was universally preferred, on account of its softness, as the same author witnesses, even ^r to that of *Miletus*, so much cried up by the antients, and, besides, was of a very extraordinary blackness. With this the inhabitants carried on a very considerable trade, and were accounted the most wealthy people of all *Asia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæsarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly mistaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the apocalypse, but at present not so much as the ruins of it are any-where to be seen, that prophetic threat being fully accomplished; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot—because thou art lukewarm—I will spue thee out of my mouth* ^s (K).

^p STRAB. *ibid.* ^q *Id. ibid.* ^r *Ibid.* ^s *Revel. iii.*
15, 16.

(K) *Ferrari* in his dictionary tells us, that *Laodicea* is still called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks* *Novè Lefebè*; that it is one of the archbishopricks of *Asia Minor*, &c. But he is either mistaken, or the town was not quite demolished in his time; at present it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beasts. Several travellers, misled by the similitude of

names, have taken the village *Laotik* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eskibissar*, as it is now called, there are still to be seen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inscription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon's* account of the seven churches (34).

(34) *Spon, l. iii.*

HIERAPOLIS, famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo's* account [†], when exposed to the air, petrified in the space of a year, and yet were endued with such a virtue, as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a present remedy against innumerable distempers to such as used them [‡]. Near this city was to be seen an opening on the edge of an hill of an extraordinary depth, always overspread with a thick fog, and exhaling such a pestilent steam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately stifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny* [¶] except the Galli or eunuchs of *Cybele*, *Ammianus*, and *Dio Nicæus*, all eunuchs [∗] (L).

GORDIUM, the seat of *Gordius*, king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygias*, where *Justin* places it [†]. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it; and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of *Augustus*, when it was again made a city, and called *Juliopolis*, by one *Cleo*, a famous robber, native of that place (M).

COLOSSE,

[†] STRAB. l. xiii. sub fin. [‡] Ibid. ubi supra. VI-TRUVIUS, l. viii. c. 3. ULPIANUS, lege prima, sect. 13.
[¶] Lib. iv. [∗] AMMIAN. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. DIO NICÆ. in vita Trajan. p. 252. ed. H. Steph. 1592. [†] Lib. xi. c. 7.

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witness (35), says, that in his time this *plutonium* or opening was inclosed with balusters, taking up half an acre of ground in compass; that the pestilent steam kept within that inclosure, so that one might approach the baluster without the least danger; but whoever advanced one step further was immediately stifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witnesses,

Apuleius, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*; and some footsteps of what it once was, are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins, and fine pillars, in the fields where it stood; insomuch that *Dr. Smith*, after viewing them, could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo*, having, with a band of robbers, possessed

(35) *Strab. lib. xiii. sub fin.*

(36) *Ubi supra, & Apuleius de*

COLOSSE, now *Chonos*, on the south side of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof St. Paul wrote that epistle, which is part of our canon.

SIPYLUS the residence of king *Tantalus*, and therefore called also *Tantalis*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, supposing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. It is observable, that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were successively built on the same spot, and destroyed by earthquakes.

SYNNADA, *Synadu*, or *Synnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was, by *Constantine the Great*, declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his division of *Phrygia* into *Pacatianiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Besides these, and several other cities of less note mentioned by the ancients, there were in later times some of no small account; such as *Sagna*, the habitation of *Etrogul*, father of *Ottoman* the first king of the *Turks*; *Chara-chisar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyrus*, or the *Black tower*, *Gille-xuga*, *Einregiol*, &c. taken by the said *Ottoman*

himself of a strong-hold on mount *Olympus*, called *Collydium*, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of *Asia* from gathering the annual tributes; on which consideration he was by *Marc Antony* rewarded with large territories. But, in the *Asiatic* war, revolting from *Antony*, he sided with *Augustus*, who added great part of *Morea* to what *Antony* had bestowed on him, created him priest of *Jupiter Acrettenus* worshiped by the *Myrians*, and high-priest of *Bellona*, adored in *Commagna* of *Pontus*, a dignity no-ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Constantinople*,

Severus subscribes as bishop of *Synnada* the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris* (38); and yet *Socrates* in his ecclesiastical history (39), and *Nicephorus* blindly following him, place this city in *Phrygia Pacatianiana* (40). And here we may observe, by the way, that in the fourth general council, held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* subscribes as bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which some have looked upon as a mistake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that, besides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatianiana*, there was another of less note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Plury* (42), and the one said to be under

(37) *Strab.* l. xii. p. 391.

vii. cap. 3. (40) *Nicephor. Callist. hist.* l. xiv. c. 12.

Chalced. act. xvi.

(38) *Concil.* v. collat. 8.

(39) *Lib.* v. c. 29, & 30.

(42) *Lib.* v. c. 29, & 30.

(41) *Lib.*

(42) *Concil.*

Ottoman from the christian princes, at the first rise of the Ottoman empire.

THE rivers of this country, which we shall take notice of, are, the *Mæander*, now *Mandru*, and *Mindre*, a river so celebrated by the antients for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. It rises on the hill *Celæna*, the same as *Auloerend* mentioned by *Pliny* ^a, at the foot of which stood antiently a famous city of the same name. *Pliny* ^a and *Strabo* ^b derive it from a lake on the top of the said hill. It passes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and after 600 windings ^c, by which it seems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itself into the *Archipelago*, between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O).

THE river *Marfyas*, so named from *Marfyas*, a celebrated musician, who, challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and slayed for his presumption. Most of the antients tell us, that this river hath its spring near that of the *Mæander*; but *Maximus Tyrius* ^d, who was upon the spot, derives them both from the same source, and so does *Strabo* ^e. It rushes down from a considerable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noise, on which account it was called by *Herodotus* ^f *Cataracta*. It has not only the same spring with the *Mæander*, but

^a Lib. xxxviii.

^a Ubi supra.

^b STRAB.

l. xii. p. 866.

^c DIO PRUSÆUS, lib. i.

^d Serm.

xxxviii.

^e Lib. xii. ubi supra.

^f Lib. vii. c. 26.

the jurisdiction of *Lavdicca*, the other under that of *Per-* *ander*, or the black *Mæander*; and the *Mæander* itself *Bojouc-Mindre*, the great *Mæander*.

(O) The *Cayster*, now *Minderseare*, bears such a resemblance to the *Mæander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della Valle*, du *Loir*, and *Mauconis*, have mistaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayster* *Coutebank-mindre* and *Minderseare*, that is, the little *Mæ-*

Some have observed, that it forms in its course the following *Greek* characters ξ , ζ , ς , ω , ν ; some pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *postarum omnium exercitatio* *Et ludus*; but *Ovid's* description of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(42) *Span, voyag. d'Italie, &c. tom. i. p. 244.*

(43) *Epist. cv.*

(44) *Misamorph. l. viii. v. 162.*

flows in the same chanel through the town of *Celena*, standing at the foot of the river on which it rises. In leaving the town the main stream divides itself into two branches, and forms these two rivers, the one the most winding river in the world, the other without so much as one turning during its whole course, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is, after a course of ten miles only, the *Marsyas* is again received within the banks of the *Meander*, which it left at *Celena*; so that in reality these two rivers are but two branches of the same original stream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble description of it *8*, and adds, that, while it flows within the walls of *Celena*, it is named *Marsyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but, with this author's leave, *Marsyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* springs from mount *Olympus*, and discharges itself into the *Meander*, not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different course from that of the *Marsyas*, which we have already described. ^h (P).

SANGARIUS,

^s Lib. iii.

xxxviii. p. 582.

^h Vide SALMAS. *Pliniana* exercitat. cap.

(P) The poets feign, that *Marsyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who slayed him for his pride and arrogance, his death was so bemoaned by the nymphs and satyrs, that, from their tears sprung a river called, after him, *Marsyas*. This *Marsyas* is said to have been the son of *Olympus*, and one of the most ingenious men of his age. He was the inventor of the pipe called *syrix*, and the first that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried, near the spring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45)

gravely writes, that in his time was still to be seen the plane-tree, on which this unhappy musician ended his days. Others say, with the same appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us, that the rivers *Meander* and *Marsyas* were both worshiped by the inhabitants of *Celena*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common stream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the chanel of that river for which the pious votaries had designed them. The

(45) *Lib. v. c. 29.*(46) *Strabon. xxxviii.*

. SANGARIUS, *Sangaris*, or *Sangurus*, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note ¹; it springs from the hill *Dindymus*, washes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itself into the *Black Sea*. *Pbryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and disembogues itself into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold sands, takes its rise near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Mysias*, *Orga*, *Obrima*, &c.

S E C T. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the ancient Phrygians.

Their antiquity.

THE *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at least in the time of *Psammitibus*, who, in point of antiquity, looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told ^k, that, after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere ^l, those great boasters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more ancient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is that *Apuleius* ^m distinguishes them with the epithet of *first-born*.

Origin.

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from *Togamah*, one of *Gomer's* sons; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and *St. Hierom* ⁿ; who adds, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus* ^o, *Strabo* ^p, *Pliny* ^q, and *Eustathius* ^r, led by

¹ PLIN. hist. nat. ^k DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. ^l Vol. i. p. 345, in the notes. ^m De asino aur. l. xi. ⁿ JOSEPH. ant. l. i. c. 7. ^o Hieron. in quest. Hebraicis. ^p Lib. vii. c. 73. ^q Lib. v. c. 37. ^r EUSTATH. IN HOMER. & DIONYS.

river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him *Mr. Spon*, mistake for the *Marsyas* (47), runs a few miles underground, but appears again before it loses itself in the *Meander*; which *Ovid* seems to have been igno-

rant of, when he said (48),

Sic, ubi terreno Lycus est epa-
tusbiatus,
Existit probac hinc, aliisque
renascitur orbe.

(47) *Voyage d'Italie*, &c. tom. i. (ib. ii).

(48) *Metamorph. lib. xv.*
the

the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brygians*, a people of *Macedonia*, who, passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country, which they settled in, named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that, as the *Phrygians* and *Brygians* bore antiently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brygians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia*, rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity of names, is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but, in order to prove, that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brygians*, rather than the *Brygians* a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that, if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart* ¹ is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he, by the *Galatians*, must necessarily mean the *Phrygians* inhabiting that part of *Phrygia*, which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendents of *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel* ² northward of *Judea*, near *Togarmah* (which *Bochart* takes to be *Cappadocia*) long before the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the Scripture. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Africa*; wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* ³, that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have nobody else to bestow it on.

THE antient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, *Their cha-*
voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence *acter.*
or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing
but stripes and ill usage could make them comply with

¹ Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 8.

² Ezek. xlvi. 6.

³ Ubi supra,
their

their duty; which gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are said to have been the first inventors of divination by the singing, flying, and feeding of birds. Their music, commonly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alleged by some as an argument of their effeminacy.

Their government.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be said, that it was monarchical; and that all *Phrygia* was, during the reigns of some kings, subject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*, *Manis*, *Gordius*, and his descendents, were certainly lords of all *Phrygia*. But some time before the *Trojan* war we find this country divided into several petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the same time. *Apollodorus* * mentions a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*. *Cedrenus* † and others speak of one *Teuthrans*, king of a small country in *Phrygia*, whose territories were ravaged by *Ajax*, himself slain in a single combat, his royal seat laid in ashes, and his daughter, by name *Tecmessa*, carried away captive by the conqueror. *Homer* ‡ makes mention of *Phorcys* and *Ascanius*, both princes, and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries, that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipylus* only, and its district, a prince no less famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetousness, and other detestable vices. That *Phrygia* was subdued either by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas* †, is not sufficiently warranted. Most authors, that speak of *Gordius*, tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having sent to consult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the intestine broils, which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for answer,

* PHALEG. lib. iii. cap. 8.

† Exek. xlviii. 6.

‡ Ubi

supra. † Lib. iii.

* CEDRENUS, p. 104. SOPHOC.

in AJACE. CALABER, lib. iii.

‡ HOMER. Iliad. β.

* SUID.

vit. Oppid.

(Q) *Phryges sero sapiant, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam Sphytharus, &c.* which proverbs intimate their servile temper; and shew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their

music too was suited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood was a kind of grave and solid music; the *Lydian*, a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

That

that the most effectual means to deliver themselves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing *Gordius* on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that some-time before his accession to the crown, an aristocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced.

As to their trade, all we can say is, that *Apamea* was *Their* the chief emporium of all *Asia Minor*. Thither resorted trade, merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *laws*, the neighbouring islands. Besides, we know from *Synce-learning* *lus*, that the *Phrygians* were for some time masters of the sea (he says 25 years) and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was stocked with many choice and useful commodities, and well able to afford considerable exports. They had a safe coast, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a considerable trade. But, as most of the *Phrygian* records are lost, we will not dwell on conjectures so hard to be ascertained.

WE have no set form of their laws; and as to their learning, since we are told, that, for some time, they enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea, we may, at least, allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy, and add to these, from what we have said above, a more than ordinary knowlege of music.

SOME have been of opinion, that the *Phrygian* lan-^{Their lan-}guage bore a great resemblance to the *Greek*; but the ^{guage.} contrary is manifest from the few *Phrygian* words which have been transmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart* ^a and *Rudbeckius* ^b. To these we may add the authority of *Strabo* ^c, who, after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to discover any similitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue, after the experiment made by *Psammetichus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elsewhere ^d, was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the most antient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Seythians*, refused to submit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, say they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Bec*,

^a BOCHART. quæst. utrum Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia?

^b RUDBEC. in Atlant. tom. i. p. 36. ^c STRAB. lib. xii.

^d Vol. i. p. 345, in the notes.

or *Bekkos*, the first they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had suckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word signifying *bread* (R). A late writer, after observing that *Homer* in several passages distinguishes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to shew, that the poet, by the language of the gods, meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S).

Their religion. As to the religion of the ancient *Phrygians*, we have already observed, that they were greatly addicted to superstition. They had many idols; but the goddess *Cybele* seems to have been their principal deity. She was called

• *Cybele* *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthus*, her chief *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount deity.

• LAKEMACHERUS, obser. philol.

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes use of the same argument to prove, that the *High-Dutch* is the original or mother-tongue of the world, because the word *becker* in that language signifies a baker.

(S) *Gothofredus Lakemacherus*, in order to prove this, chooses the two following verses (49);

Ἄντα δ' ἄρ' ἠραϊσίου μίγας
 ποταμὸς βαθύδινος,
 Ὃν Ζεῦθον καλέουσι θεοὶ, ἄν-
 δρος δὲ Σκαμανδρίου.

Where *Homer* tell us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus*, and by men *Scamander*. He shews, that, as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word signifying *yellow*, the above-mentioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the same name, as *Strabo* (50) witnesses, to another river in *Lycia*, on account of its yellow sands. From hence he infers, that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word

Scamander, he thinks that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius*, son of *Hector*, and king of the *Phrygians*, whose territories were watered by this river, it being a common custom among the ancients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whose countries they had their course. Now as *Scamandrius*, says he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*; and that *Homer*, by the language of men, means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the same of all other passages in *Homer*, where such a distinction is made; the more, because two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, *viz.* *Bateia* and *Kumindis*, are without doubt *Phrygian*; the one being the name of an hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird mostly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(49) *Iliad*. xx. ver. 73.

(50) *Lib*. xiv. p. 665.

Ida in *Troas*, because on these hills she was worshiped in a particular manner (T). She was also named *Cybele*, because her priests, when seized with their frantic fits, used to throw themselves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius* 5. gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mytho-*Account of*logy of the gentiles: There was a vast rock on the bor-*ber from*ders of *Phrygia*, called in the language of that country *the Greek* *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, by the di-*mythology.*rection of *Themis*, took the stones, which they made use of, to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of these sprung *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods. The same rock conceived by *Jupiter*, and brought forth *Acadestis*, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible strength, of a most cruel and intractable temper; and, above all, a most outrageous enemy of the gods, who were in no small fear of him, till *Bacchus*, by a cunning contrivance, found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him somewhat more tractable. From the blood he shed on this occasion sprung up a pomgranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one; and, as it was of a most beautiful appearance, put it in her bosom. This cost her dear; for soon after, proving with child, notwithstanding all her protestations of innocence, she was by her father shut up, and condemned to starve. But, being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, she was in due time delivered of a son, who, being exposed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbis*, and nursed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian*

5 ARNOBIUS contra gentes, lib. viii.

(T) *Philostephanus* is of opinion, that the hill *Dindymene* was so called, because it had *διδύμους μασέρας*, two tops; but *Strabo* says in express terms, that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian* *zincum*; and from thence he

derives the name of the hill *Dindymus*; the more, because the invention of cymbals is generally ascribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddess (52), whose festival was on that account solemnized on mount *Dindyma* with great noise of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other instruments.

(51) *Bochart de quæst. utrum Æneas fuit in Italia.* (52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii.*

dialect signifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a most beautiful youth, and was, on that score, greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Aceftis*; nay, *Midas* king of *Phrygia* then residing at *Pessinus*, was so taken with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name *la*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any disturbance that other suitors might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out the great mother of the gods, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate of the royal palace, with the walls of the city, and all their turrets on her head; whence she [was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time came *Aceftis*, who, inspiring with an enthusiastic frenzy all who assisted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom, in the height of his fury, emasculating himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride, laying violent hands on herself, accompanied her spouse to the shades. *Aceftis* and *Cybele*, drenched in tears, long bewailed the untimely and cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint intreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Pessinus*, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus far *Arnobius*.

And from EUSEBIUS^b gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis*, or *Atys*, copied, as he informs us, from the ancient *Phrygian* mythologists. According to these, the first king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who, being smitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* caused *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele*, being unspeakably grieved, wandered long up and down *Phrygia*, seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat assuaged, she admitted *Apollo* into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may con-

EUSEB. præpar. evang. l. ii. iv.

clude, that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of, this their chief deity (U).

THIS goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn How pict-
ured. by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment, variegated with flowers of divers colours, is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally, *Saturn*, that is, time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

† DIODOR. SICUL. l. ii. EUSEB. de præp. evang.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. *Cybele*, according to them, was the daughter of *Heaven* and *Earth*, wife of *Saturn*, and the same with *Ops*, *Rhea Vesta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was exposed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybalus*, nursed there first by wild beasts, and after by the wife of a shepherd, who found her by chance, &c. The *Romans*, having learnt from the books of the sibyls, that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy* till the *Idæan mother* was brought to *Rome*, sent thereupon ambassadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered to them a stone, which

the inhabitants of *Pessinus* called the *great mother of the gods*. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). It is to be observed, that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the same with *Vesta*, but acknowledged two goddesses, bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound: *Cybele* was that *Vesta* they called the earth, and wife to *Saturn*: she was called *Vesta*, because *stat in terra sua*, as *Ovid* says, *vislando Vesta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddess of fire, or rather fire itself, according to that verse of the same poet, *Nec tu aliud Vesta quam vivam intellige flammam*.

Her CYBELE had her peculiar priests, ceremonies and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the Phrygian language *remonies, Cubeboi*, for the reason we have alleged above. The and sacri-Greeks and Latins named them *Curetes, Corybantes*, which is the Greek translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli* from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Pessinus*, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi daëtyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo*^k informs us, that they were called *Idæi*, because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Daëtyli* from the Greek word *Daëtylus*, signifying a finger, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers^l, viz. *Hercules, Pezon, Epimides, Jafias*, and *Idas*, adding, that they had as many sisters. But in other writers we find only three mentioned, and quite different from those *Strabo* speaks of, viz. *Kelmis, Damnameneus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius*^m acknowledges but two, *Fitia* and *Cyllenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Cherub*, signifying in the Phœnician language *valiant*; and add, that they were the guards of the first kings of *Phrygia*ⁿ (W).

THE

^k STRAB. lib. x. p. 473. ^l Ubi supra. ^m APOLLON. in Argonaut. ⁿ Fr. not. in scholiast. Luciani. tom. ii. PIRISCUS, lexicon antiquitat. NATALIS COMES, l. ix. myth. c.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54), that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*; that she married *Iafius* a *Samothracian*, the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a son called *Corybas*; that, after the death of her husband, she went with *Dardanus* and *Corybas* into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the mysteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddess after her own name *Cybele*, and her priests *Corybantes* from her son *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionysius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* in-

stituted the *Samothracian* mysteries; that his wife *Chryses* learnt them in *Arcadia*; and that *Idæus* the son of *Dardanus* instituted afterwards the mysteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and Sir *Isaac Newton* (56) thinks, that, having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, some of them settled in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*; some in *Crete*, where they were named *Idæi daëtyli*; others in *Rhodes*, where they were stiled *Telchines*;

(54) *Diodor.* p. 223. (55) *Dionys.* l. i. p. 38, 42.

etymology of ancient kingdoms, &c. c. 2. p. 146.

(56) *The*

others;

THE ceremonies performed by these priests in honour of this goddess were, first, At stated times they used to carry her statue about the streets, dancing and skipping

others in *Samothece*, where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; some in *Eubœa*, where, as they were well skilled in arts and sciences, they wrought in copper, in a city thence called *Chakis*; some in *Lemnos*, where they assisted *Vulcan*; some in *Imbrus*; and a very considerable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the son of *Endymion*, possessing himself of it, called it *Ætolia*. These *Curetes*, making themselves armour, used to dance in it at the sacrifices with great noise of pipés, and drums, and swords, which they struck upon one another's armour, keeping time, and forming some kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of music in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Isidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) ascribes to the *Curetes* the invention of musical rhymes, and of the letters called *Ephesian*. And Sir *Isaac Newton* is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, they were at the same time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Ephesian* from the city of *Ephesus*, where they were first taught. These *Curetes* were no less esteemed for their skill and knowledge in religious matters,

and mystical practices, than for their arts and sciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the mysteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete*, and the *Terra Curetum*, those of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour with great noise, to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn*, who sought his destruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Palestine*, and thinks they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philistines* called *Crethim* or *Cerethites*. We must not forget, that *Cybele*, or the *Great Mother*, was sometimes represented with a key, and sometimes with a drum, in her hand; which has made some think, that she was the same *Syrian* goddess *Astarte*, whose chariot was also drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that she was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to some, *Europa* the sister of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* first introduced, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no instance of any such practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

• (57) *Solin. Polyhist. c. xi. Isidor. orig. l. xi. c. 6.* (58) *Clem. Strom.*
l. i. (59) Ubi supra. (60) Strab. l. x. p. 472, 473. Diodor.
l. v. c. 4. (61) Boeb. in Canaan, l. i. c. 15. (62) Lucian de Saltatione.

Her eunuch
priests.

round it; and, after having with violent gesticulations worked themselves up to the height of frenzy, they began to cut and slash their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing seized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was transported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapped up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of *Attis*, and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the *Phrygian* goddesses were a bull or a she-goat, whence the sacrifice was called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At *Rome* a sow was yearly sacrificed, to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest and priestess sent for out of *Phrygia* on that occasion. Her priests (those at least who were known under the name of *Galli*) were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drank, were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctance. They were not allowed to drink wine, because *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, disclosed his amours with *Acepsis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which *Cybele* kept after the death of the same *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high^o. Though the *Romans* professed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find, that they looked upon her priests as the very refuse of mankind; of which we have a signal instance in *Valerius Maximus* ^p, who tells us that one *Genucius*, a *Gallus* or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of the prætor been admitted to the possession of an estate that had been bequeathed him, *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus*, at that time consul, being appealed to, reversed the decree of the prætor, adding thereto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that

^o ARNOB. lib. v. HIERONYM. epist. ad Lætam. ^p VAL. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES, lib. ix. myth. PITISCU, lexicon. antiquit. &c.

nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extols, as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the senate, since it put a stop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed presence, under pretence of suing for justice.

BESIDES *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, Other deities the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus*, ties of the whom they stiled *Sabazios*, and his priests and temples *Phrygians Sabai*, whence *Bochart* derives the Hebrew word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lysius* and *Evius* 9. *Apollodorus* *Bacchus* acquaints us 1, that, while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, instructed in her mysteries, and presented by her with a stole, which was the first he ever used (X): *Adagyus*, whom *Bochart* 2 takes *Adagyus* to be *Hermaphroditus*, the son of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at least to his ear, a great similitude of sound between *Adagyus* and *Androgynus*. Some rank also the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, *Cabiri*, that they were so called from *Cabirus*, an hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Stephimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia* 3. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the Hebrew word *Cabir*, signifying great or powerful 4. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manasseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the uncouth appellations of *Axiuros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokerses*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysiodorus* 5 adds a fourth, whom he stiles *Casnilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he is universally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and not ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed the most high, the most powerful. But these we shall have occasion to mention, when we come to speak of the *Saniotrucian* deities.

WE likewise read of some dances and songs used by *Dances* the *Phrygians* in solemnizing the festivals of their gods, and songs

9 Vide BOCH. ubi supra. 1 APOLLODOR. lib. iii. 2 BOCH. ubi supra, i. e. *Phrygians*
 3 Idem ibid. 4 Idem ibid. 5 Idem ibid.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes, whose child she nursed, answered that, when *Bacchus* was born, that it was the child of *Jupiter* committed the care of *Mars*; whence *Bacchus*, in the him to one of *Cybele's* female attendants, by name *Mars*; *Mars* or *Marses*, that is, the who, being asked by *Juno*, *Mars* of *Mia*.

and sometimes on other occasions, which they called *lityerfes*, from *Lityerfes* son of *Midas* king of *Phrygia*. *Hesychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances, called by him *bricifnata*, without doubt from the word *Bryges*, the antient name of the *Phrygians* ^x. Some speak of a dance called *scinnis*, invented, say they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and used by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*; whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods ^y. But it is now time to proceed to the history of the *Phrygian* kings.

S E C T. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Phrygia.

THE successions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcast with such an impenetrable mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is no easy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we shall here produce what occurs in history relating thereto, and appears most worthy of credit; though we cannot fix, with any degree of certainty, the date of their reigns and actions.

Nannacus THE first king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in history is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacas*; for he bore all these appellations. *Suidas* ^a says, that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*; and that, from thence, things exceeding antient were proverbially said to be from the time of *Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age; for it is recorded of him, that, when he was above three hundred years old, he sent to inquire of all such oracles, as were in any repute, how long he should live. The oracles unanimously answered, that at his death all things were to perish; whereupon, repairing with his subjects to the temples of the gods, he strove there with many sighs and tears to appease their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence to weep like *Nannacus*, became a trite expression to signify an extraordinary grief or sorrow ^b. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* ensued, which was attended with the destruction of mankind.

Midas. MIDAS appears next, of whom all we can say is, that he resided at *Pessinus*, and designed to dispose of his

^x BOCHAR, ubi supra. ^y Idem ibid. ^a Verbo *Annaxos*.
^b SUID. ubi supra. ^b ERASM. chiliad.

daughter, by name *Is*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Mys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas*, who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us ¹, a magnificent temple at *Pessinus*, and appointed yearly sacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* seems to make him the son of *Cybele* ².

THE next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* ^a informs us, of such prowess and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became synonymous with *Great*, whence *Manic achievements* were among the *Phrygians* the same as great, glorious, heroic achievements ^b.

AFTER these reigned *Gordius*, who was raised from *Gordius*. the plough to the throne. His rise is related thus ^c: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to consult the soothsayers of *Telmessus*, a city in *Lydia*, about so extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmessians*. At his entering the city he met with a most beautiful young woman, who, upon his inquiring after the soothsayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as she was herself skilled in the art, that nothing less than a kingdom was presaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herself ready to share with him, in wedlock, the hopes with which she had inspired him. This offer seemed to him the greatest happiness that could attend a crown: he therefore readily complied with her request, gratifying at the same time his own inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this, the *Phrygians* having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their ambassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who, after their return should visit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods designed for their king. The ambassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king of

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. ² HYGIN. fab. 191, & 274. ^a PLUTARCH. de Isid. & Osirid. ^b ERASM. adag. chiliad. i. cent. iii. 77. ^c STRAB. l. xii. JUSTIN. l. xi. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. ÆLIAN. vit. H. l. i. c. 1.

Phrygia. Gordius, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majesty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it, which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of Gordius, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes ^d, that his son *Midas* was born of the goddess worshiped by the *Romans* under the name of *Bona Dea*; but, whether she was wife to Gordius, is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

Midas.

GORDIUS was succeeded by his son *Midas*, of whom it was recorded, that, when he was a child, a swarm of ants was observed very busy one day, while he was asleep, in conveying their stores of wheat into his mouth; where-

^d PLUTARCH. in vita Cæsaris.

(Y) *Midas*, the son of Gordius, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the first king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having inquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king, who should restore their country to its former tranquillity; and that, while they were musing on this answer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with Gordius himself. *Justin* (65) makes *Midas* king

of the *Brygians* in *Macedonia*; and adds, that, being driven from his own territories, he retired into *Asia Minor*, where the *Brygians*, with a small alteration, were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then, the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Asia*; and of course there were no *Phrygians* in *Asia* before *Midas*: how then could his father Gordius reign in *Phrygia*, and be raised to the throne from so mean a condition, as *Justin* himself relates? As to the *Gordian* knot, some authors say, that it was the bark of a cornel tree, and that it fastened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) *Ælian*. vii. li. i. c. 1. *Arrian*. l. iii. (65) *Justin*. l. xi. c. 7.

upon the oracles being consulted, returned answer, that immense riches were presaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled; for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richest princes that ever reigned ^e. *Strabo* ^f says, that he drew vast treasures from mines of metal, discovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bernivus*. He is greatly commended by some writers for the comeliness of his person, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is said to have been instructed by *Orpheus* in the mysticities of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices ^g. He introduced the custom of mourning over the dead with doleful songs or dirges; and, by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceased mother, brought the *Phrygians* by degrees to worship her as a goddess ^h. He built the town of *Ancyra* ⁱ, where an anchor of his contrivance was to be seen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pausanias* travelled through *Greece* ^k. He is said to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but also *Dardania* ^l. *Cleobulus Lyndius*, one of the seven sages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph ^m, which is falsely ascribed by some to *Homer* ⁿ. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heracledes* ^o in regard of her beauty and wisdom, and said to have been the first that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three sons, *Gordius*, *Ancharas*, and *Otreus*; his fourth son *Lityerses* was a bastard (Z).

AFTER

^e CIC. l. i. de divin. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. ÆLIAN. vit. II. l. xii. c. 15. ^f STRAB. l. xiv. p. 680. ^g ARRIAN. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xi. ^h SUIDAS ἐπισημοί. ⁱ NONNUS, in ORAT. MAX. GREG. NAZ. PAUSAN. in Atticis. SUIDAS Μιδάσ. ^k PAUSAN. ubi supra. ^l L. SERVIUS, in Aeneid. ii. ^m PLATO in Phædrio. LAER. in Cleob. ⁿ PLUTARCH. in vita, & anthologium PLANUDIS. ^o HERACLIDIS in poetis.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the *Greek* proverb *Midas o i Ore*, that is, *Midas has given ears*; but what gave rise to that saying, is variously reported. The poets tell us, that, in a trial of skill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous

musicians, and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave sentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapped a pair of ass's ears on his head: this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at last it was unfortunately discovered by his barber, and made

AFTER *Midas* reigned his eldest son *Gordius*; but all we can say of him is, that he surrounded the town of *Gordium* with a wall ^r. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even sacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus ^q: During the reign of his father *Midas*, the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and swallowed up great part of the city *Celæne*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourse to his oracles, understood that the opening would not close,

^r STEPHANUS, p 09.
RÆUS, ferm. vii.

^q PLUTARCH. in parall. STO-

made public. Others say, that *Midas*, having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incensed deity metamorphosed into an ass. *Conon* in his first narration tells us (66)^a, that *Midas*, having found a treasure, became very rich; that, being instructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himself by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brygians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*; that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that, making use of this prodigy, he persuaded his subjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Hellepont*; that he settled in *Mysia*, and there changed the name of his subjects, calling them no more *Brygians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds, that *Midas* had a great many spies dispersed up and down the country, by whose information he knew whatever his subjects did or said; whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of

his subjects daring to enter into any plot or conspiracy against him. His knowing by this means whatever his subjects spoke of him occasioned the saying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as asses are said to be endowed with the sense of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was also said to have asses ears; but, in process of time, what was taken in a metaphorical sense began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates, that *Silenus*, being taken prisoner by *Midas*, instead of paying gold for his ransom, taught the king, that the greatest happiness was, not to be born; and, next to that, to die soon. To other fables the poets add, that, for entertaining *Bacchus*, he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched; which is interpreted by some as if he had been extremely covetous, studying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(66) *Conon apud Pbot. biblioth.* (67) *Tuscul. quæst. l. i.* (68) *Maximus Tyrus, ferm. iii.* *Joan. Tzetzes bystor. ii.* *Isaacius Tzetzes in Callian. dram Lycophronis, p. 377.* *Fulgentius, l. ii.* *Natalis Comes mythol. l. iz. c. 15.* *Greg. Sabinus in lib. xi. metamorph.*

till the most valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This answer was no sooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, silver, jewels, and whatever else of any value came to their hands, was gladly sacrificed to the common safety. But all to no effect; for the gap, continuing open, threatened both the city and citizens with present destruction; when *Ancharus*, considering with himself, that nothing in the world was of such value as an human soul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and, mounting on horseback, rid full speed into the opening, which immediately closed. His example was long after followed in a parallel case by *Curcius* the *Roman*.

OTREUS is stiled by *Homer* a king of all *Phrygia*, *Otreus*. and said to have been contemporary with *Anchises*; whence we may conclude, that he succeeded his brother *Gordius*.

LITYERSES reigned at *Celæna*, and is described as a *Lityerses*. rustic, unfociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Sophiscus* the tragedian paints him as one of an insatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baskets of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleasure in agriculture, and used often to labour in the fields like a common husbandman. But, as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he used to oblige such as happened to pass by while he was reaping, to join with him in the work; and then, cutting off their heads for their pains, bind up their bodies in the sheaves. For these and such-like cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander* †. However, his memory was cherished by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityerses*, sung in harvest-time in honour of their fellow-labourer ‡.

MIDAS II. was king of all *Phrygia*; but whose son he *Midas II.* was, or whom he succeeded, is what we find no-where recorded. He was an usurper, and seized on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all sorts of musical instruments; but at the same time, as they were privy to their master's design, with swords and daggers concealed under their

† HOMER. in hymnis. † ATHENÆUS, l. x. c. i. SUIDAS
ACTUOPSS. POLLUX, l. iv. † THEOCRITUS idill. x. BRASM.
dag. chiliad. iii. cent. iv. ad. 75.

garments. The citizens, led by their curiosity, and not suspecting any treachery, followed them out of the town, when the conspirators, all on a sudden throwing away their musical instruments, fell upon the multitude sword in hand, seized the city, and in that terror and confusion, nobody daring to oppose them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia* ¹.

Gordius III. *MIDAS II.* was succeeded by *Gordius III.* perhaps his son. He is mentioned by *Herodotus* ^u as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can say of him. *Herodotus* does not stile him king; but, as his son reigned, it is not unlikely that he held the crown before him.

Midas III. *MIDAS III.* son of *Gordius*, was the first among foreign princes that sent donations to the oracle at *Delphi*; he presented that deity with the royal seat or tribunal, from whence he used to administer justice. *Herodotus*, in whose time it was still to be seen, commends it as a piece of most exquisite workmanship ^w: at that time it stood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had presented the same oracle; for, after *Midas*, *Gyges* was the first of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who sent presents to *Delphi* ^x. Perhaps this *Midas* was succeeded by another *Gordius*; for we find, that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternately the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*.

Midas IV. *MIDAS IV.* lived in most calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia Minor*, possessed themselves of *Sardis*, and made a most dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Midas*, not finding himself in a condition to oppose so powerful an enemy, and foreseeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought best to prevent them, by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood ^y. And this is the first time that we find this sort of death mentioned in history; his example was followed long after by *Psammetus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* ^z says, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to despair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but these, in all likelihood, were occasioned from the terror and consternation he was in at the approach of so dreadful and mer-

Year of
the flood
1713.
Bef. Christ
635.

Psammeti-
chus.

¹ POLYÆNUS, lib. vii.

viii. c. 138.

^y STRAB. l. i. EUSIATHIUS in Odyss. A.

^u HERODOT. lib. i. c. 14. & l.

^w HERODOT. l. i. c. 14.

^x HERODOT. ib.

^z PLUTARCH. in

Q. FLAMMINIO.

cileis an enemy. *Midas* had two sons, *Adrastus*; and another, whose name is not mentioned in history. *Adrastus*, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon banished *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him, according to the custom of those days, from the blood he had innocently shed, but earnestly pressed him to remain at his court, assuring him he should want for nothing that *Cræsus* could give him. *Adrastus* complied with his request, and, being intrusted with the education of the king's favourite son, by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chase; which so grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himself, though *Cræsus* had generously forgiven him^z. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that state till *Cræsus* was conquered, and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we shall relate in the history of *Lydia*.

S E C T. V.

The history of Phrygia Minor.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was anciently stiled *Troas*, *Teucria*, and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was also named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were masters of great part of it, some say before, others after the destruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added, to distinguish it from the other *Phrygia*, where *Midas* reigned, as *Eustathius* expresses himself^a. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime *Division* called *Hellepontica*, and the mediterranean termed *Epiætetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Hellepont*, and extended along the coast from the town of *Percote*, to the promontory *Lectum* or *Leeton*, opposite to the north-side of the island of *Lesbos*. This part was properly called *Troas* or *Troia*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Asopus* to the banks of the *Caicus*^b, including not only *Troas*, but also the *Greater* and *Lesser Mysia*. *Epiætetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia*

^z HERODOT. ubi supra, c. 35, 41, 43, 45. ^a EUSTATH. in DIONYS. ver. 810. ^b STRAB. l. xiii. p. 582.

Minor, extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Mysia*. This part at first belonged to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*; whence it was called *Epiætetus*, that is, acquired. However, these appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

PHRYGIA Minor, as precisely as we can gather, lay between the fortieth and forty-second degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very small extent in longitude, which we shall not pretend to determine, there being a great disagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may say, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Hellepontica* and *Epiætetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the north, by the *Ægean* sea on the south, by *Mysia Minor* on the east, and the *Hellepont* on the west.

Cities of
Phrygia
Minor.

ON the coast were the cities of *Percote*, *Abydos*, *Arisba*, *Dardanum*, *Rhetum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Larissa*, *Colonæ*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who speaks of one *Merops*, and his two sons, as being of this city°. *Abydos* was built by the *Milesians* on the *Hellepont*, and became famous for the poetical story of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge so much talked of, over which, in seven days and seven nights, he marched, according to *Herodotus*, seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, exclusive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander's* cavalry, and most of his infantry, landed under the command of *Parmenio*, on their passing out of *Europe* into *Asia*. The geographers are generally of opinion, that the castles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Sestos* and *Abydos*; but they are manifestly mistaken, for the

° HOMER. *Iliad*. λ. ver. 229.

(A) *Strabo* sometimes distinguishes *Troas Hellepontica* from *Epiætetus*, and sometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes *Epiætetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolemy*. *Eustathius* distinguishes three *Phrygias*, viz. the *Greater*, where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Pisidia*; the *Lesser*, lying on the *Hellepont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epiætetus*, and places it near *Dorylæum*.

(69) *Strab. l. xii. p. 374. 388. 393.*

castles

castles are directly opposite to each other, whereas *Sestos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo*^d reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Sestos*. Besides, there are no remains of antiquity to be seen near the castles, but very remarkable ones three miles farther, where the chanel is considerably narrower^e (B): *Arifba*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous

^d STRAB. l. xiii. p. 460.

^e TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant. SPON voyage d' Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(B) The *Hellepont*; every one knows, signifies the sea of *Helle*; for the antients tell us, that a daughter of *Atthamas* king of *Thebes*, whose name was *Helle*, was drowned in that chanel, as she was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanum*, an antient city not far from the castles bearing that name. This streight was antiently called the *Hellepont*, and the streight of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, the streight of Gallipoli, the chanel of the *Dardanelles*, the arm of St. George, from a famous church of St. George in a village called *Peristasis*, not far from Gallipoli: it is known to the *Turks* the name of *Bogbas*, or streight of the *White sea*. The mouth of the chanel is defended by two new castles, which *Mahomet IV.* built in 1659, to secure his fleet against the insults of the *Venetians*, who used to attack it in sight of the old castles. The waters, that pass

through this strait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows, no ship can enter; but, when it is south, the current is scarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us, that the mouth of the *Hellepont* is four miles and an half over; but *Le Brun* (72) says, that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old castles stand, the *Hellepont* is near two miles broad; and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* assures us (74), that the streight at the old castles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is still called *Sestos*, and the other *Abydos* or *Avido*; he adds, that this sea, where broadest, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narrowest: among the antients, *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narrowest place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), seven furlongs or stadia; and *Polybius*, only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*,

(70) *Euseb. in Dionys. p. 810.*

Le Brun voyage au Levant.

(75) *Strab. l. xiii. p. 405.*

l. vii. c. 34.

(78) *Polybius.*

(71) *Tournefort, ubi supra.*

(73) *Spon, ubi sup.*

(76) *Plin. l. viii. c. 32.*

(77) *Herodot.*

(74) *Le Brun, ubi supra.*

rendezvous of *Alexander's* army, after he had passed the *Heliospont*. *Dardanium*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the same name. This city was the residence of *Dardanus*, and his successor *Erichthonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and, in length of time, to all *Troas*. Some think, that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some say, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanium* was the patrimony of *Aeneas*. *Rhæteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was said to have been interred there ^f. *Sigeum*, seated on a promontory of the same name, whence that sea is called the *Sigean* sea ^g. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a visit, and in antient times a statue of the same *Achilles* ^h, with ear-rings like the statue of a woman, which *Tertulian* ⁱ interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dress (C).

TROY,

^f STRAB. l. xiii. p. 409.^g VIRG. *Æneid*. ii. ver. 312.^h SALMASIUS *Plinianæ exercitat.* p. 610. ⁱ TERTUL. de pallio.

who used to swim from thence to *Sestos*, to visit his mistress. One night that the sea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him address the waves thus; *Parcite, dum propero; mergite, dum redeo*. He is represented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a *Cupid* flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous resistance against *Philip of Macedon*; and, when they were not able to hold out any longer, chose rather to destroy themselves than submit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* thro' the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiss to observe here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xer-*

xes, viz. that he ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, for having broke down the first bridge he built here, is looked upon by some as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was first laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too seriously; the 300 lashes, says this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the sea to fix the ships that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters are meant the two iron chains that fastened them together at both ends, and bound each side.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the tomb of *Protefilaus*, with trees set round it of

(79) *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 35.(80) *De B. sp. Trac.* l. ii. c. 12.(81) *Plin.*

l. xvi. c. 44.

TROY, or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his son *Ilus*. It was seated on a rising ground near mount *Ida*, and *Troy* about five miles from the shore. There were scarce any remains of it to be seen in *Strabo's* time, and most of the antient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All ^k *Strabo* says of its situation is, that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the shore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince visited after having defeated *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, bestowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewise ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embellished, which was performed by *Lyfsmachus* one of his-generals, who surrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almost reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* first entered *Asia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient *Trojans*, no cost nor pains were spared to restore it to its antient lustre, especially in the time of the *Cæsars*. *Cæsar Augustus* sent thither a colony, embellished the city with many stately buildings, and enriched it with most ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be seen at present. *Bellonius*¹ tells us, that in his time the walls were yet standing, with the ruinous monuments of their turrets; and that he spent four hours in compassing them, partly on horseback, and partly on foot. He observed round the walls a great many marble tombs of most exquisite workmanship, with their covers intire. Two of these were

^k STRAB. l. xiii. p. 411.

¹ BELLONIUS, l. ii. c. 6.

a very extraordinary nature; for, when they are grown up to such an height as to be discovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and soon after die; then they shoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this vicissitude of

shooting up, and dying away has continued, says our author, ever since they were first planted; that is, since the death of *Protesilaus*, who, in the *Trojan* expedition, was the first among the *Greeks* that set foot in *Asia*, and the first that was slain.

still remaining when Mr. *Spon*^m visited those places, who informs us, that they were in the stile of the antient *Romans*, and not unlike those that are to be seen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Bellonius* likewise observed the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of an hill not far from the shore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large cisterns to receive the rain-water. As to the so much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them small brooks, and adds, that in summer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys*^a thinks they are not so contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps mistook others for them. *Spon*^o observed on the south of the haven three columns lying among the briars, of which two were intire, and each of one single piece, being thirty feet long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. *Le Brun*^p speaks of great remains of a most noble structure, which he visited, at the distance of about five miles from the coast. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them stood a wall of an extraordinary thickness, with fourteen gates of a competent size; the vestiges of this magnificent structure took up an hundred and thirty feet in length, and an hundred in breadth. Our author thinks, that these ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever saw. The harbour of *Troy*, so much spoken of by the antients, is now quite choked up with sand; however, there are still to be seen fragments of columns, to which they fastened their ships and galleys; and, as these were placed round it, *Spon* thinks, that the port was about a mile and an half in circumference. As to antient *Ilium*, we shall have occasion to speak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in ashes by the *Greeks*, after a ten years siege.

Ruins to
be seen at
Troy.

Troas.

TROAS Alexandria was situated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigæum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the second place among the eighteen cities, which were so called from *Alexander*. It is sometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and sometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria* or *Alexandrea*; which has made some think, that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different

^m SPON, ubi supra.
d' Italie, Dalmatic, &c.

^a SANDYS, l. i.

^o SPON voyage
p LE BRUN voyage, du Levant.

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cities. Its first name was *Antigonia*, from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lyfimachus* into that of *Alexandria*, in honour of *Alexander* 9. This is supposed to be the place meant by the apostle, *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks* *Eski-Stamboul*. These are the chief cities on the coast; the others are but of small account, and therefore we shall dwell no longer on this subject.

OF the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*, we *Rivers.* shall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes ^t, greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* rises from mount *Ida*, and, having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, discharges itself into the *Ægean* sea, over-against the island of *Tenedos*. It is said by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny* ^s calls it a navigable river, and distinguishes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain, that these are but two different appellations of one and the same rivers. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called also *Xanthus*, because it was believed to communicate a yellowish tincture to the sheep that drank its waters ^t. *Homer* tells us ^u, that it was named *Scamander* by the gods, and *Xanthus* by men; where, according to his custom, he ascribes the most antient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river was honoured by *Hesiod* with the title of *Divine Scamander*. It was a custom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themselves before marriage in this river, using on that occasion the following words, *Receive, O Scamander, my virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon*, an *Athenian*, taking hold of, under the disguise of a river-god, deflowered *Callirrhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occasioned the abrogating of that superstitious ceremony.

THE *Simois* springs likewise out of mount *Ida*, falls *Mount* into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and discharges itself into *Ida*. the *Ægean* sea, as we said already. Whatever these rivers were in antient times, they are at present but small brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

IDA is the only mountain of this country that deserves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills, than a single one; for

^t PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 408. ^s POM-
FON. MELA, l. i. c. 18. ^r PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. ^q ÆLIAN,
de animal. l. viii. c. 21. UBIUS SEQUESTER de fluminibus.
MAXIMVS TYRIVS, ferm. xii. ^u Iliad. xx. ver. 74.

it extends from the city of *Zelia*, near the borders of *Myfia Minor*, to the promontory *Leclum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris* on this hill being chosen judge by the three contending goddesses, decided the controversy in favour of *Venus*, which, say they, occasioned the destruction of *Troy*.

Soil and climate.

THE soil of this country was antiently reckoned among the most fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requisite for the pleasures of life, and yielded to no spot that lay under the same happy parallel; nor at this day are these wanting signs and sufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers describe the *Asiatic* coast of the *Hellepont* as a most beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all sorts of grain ^w.

Tenedos.

OVER-AGAINST *Troy* lay *Tenedos*, about two leagues from the shore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the splendor and magnificence of this island stood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to insert here a succinct account of it. All antient writers agree, that this island was first called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* was son to *Cygnus* king of *Colone* in *Troas*, and is described by *Diodorus Siculus* * as a man of great probity and justice, having been greatly beloved by his subjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pausanias* seem to credit: *Tennes*, say they, was son of *Cygnus* and *Proclea*, sister to *Caletor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ships of *Protesilaus*. *Cygnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*; who, falling in love with her step-son *Tennes*, and finding that she could by no means make him comply with her incestuous desires, complained of him to her husband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds, that the evidence she produced in proof of her charge, was a player on the flute. *Cygnus*, giving more credit to his wife than his son, caused him to be shut up in a chest, and thrown into the sea, which carried the chest safe to the island we are speaking of, where *Tennes* was received as sent by the gods, and with loud accla-

Tennes gives name to the island.

His adventures.

^w TOURNEFORT, ubi supra.

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.

mations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his sister, by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own request with him locked up in the chest. Some time after *Cycnus*, being convinced of his son's innocence, sailed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and express the concern he was in for so hasty and inhuman a resolution. But *Tennes*, instead of receiving him, went to the harbour, where with an hatchet he cut the cable which fastened his father's ship to the shore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos* to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* caused two others to be made resembling this in shape and size, which they consecrated in the temple of their city. These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

S E C T.

(D) The one is *Τενέδιστος ἀυλῆτης*, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a saying used by the antients to reproach a false evidence. The other *Τενέδιστος πέλκευς*, that is, the *Tenedian ax*, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (82). *Aristotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. It is certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of *Tennes* and his sister *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter*, and some *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that *Tennes*, after he was settled on the throne of *Tenedos*, ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials, with an ax in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence *Τενέδιστος ἄνθρωπος*, *Τενέδιστος συνήγορος*, that is, *A man of Tenedos*, an *advocate of Tenedos*, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of *Troy*. It was within sight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* observes (84): he supposes, that the *Greeks* concealed themselves behind this island, when they feigned to raise the siege. After the

(82) *Erasmi adag. cbiliad. iv. cent. i. Cic. lib. ii. Epist. ad Q. fratrem. Tournesfort voyag. an Lev. Æneid. l. ii. v. 21.*

(83) *Suidas, Erasmus ubi sup.*

(84) *Virg.*

S E C T. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the Trojans.

Antiquity. THE inhabitants of *Lesser Phrygia*, or *Trojans*, so called from *Troy*, the metropolis of that country, were, without all doubt, a very antient people; but, as to their original, there is a great disagreement among authors. Some make them *Samothracians* by descent, others *Greeks*; and tell us, that *Teucer*, according to them the first king

fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as *Pausanias* observes. *Tenedos* was one of the first conquests of the *Persians* after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the isle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Atbenians*, or at least sided with them against the *Lacedæmonians*, since *Nicoloebus*, admiral of *Lacedæmon*, ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it, in spite of the vigilance of the *Atbenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Sminthius*, of which idol we shall have occasion to speak presently. There are no ruins to be

seen at *Tenedos*, except those of the granaries, which *Justinian* caused to be built as a repository for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*, lest it should mould on ship-board, the vessels being frequently wind-bound for a considerable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles*. These magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muscate wine of this island is the most delicious of all the *Levant*; and though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of *Scio* and *Lesbos*, yet it may be proved, from several medals, that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, since on the reverse of some medals in that island is to be seen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication that it was in antient times famed for this production.

(85) Herodot. l. vi. c. 31.
poeta.

(86) Cic. pro Manil. pro Murana, pro Arch.
(87) Procop. de edific. Justin. l. v. c. 1.

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of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the island of *Crete*, from whence they suppose *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but these are again divided among themselves as to the leader of this colony, some bestowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them descended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*; which opinion, though destitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as most redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* ^γ thinks, that *Lesser Phrygia* was planted by *Ashkenaz*, *Gomer's* eldest son, there being the footsteps of his name in the *Ascanian* lake; and a river called *Ascanius*, with a bay of the same name in *Bithynia*, and likewise in a city named *Ascania* in *Lesser Phrygia*, with isles on the coast named the *Ascanian islands*: he also observes, that, besides *Ascanius* the son of *Aeneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Ashkenaz* out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his father had settled, into *Troas* or *Lesser Phrygia*; and that by this colony, and their descendants, that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* sea extends along the coast of the *Hellepont* and the *Propontis* to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, which he supposes to be a corruption for the *sea of Ashkenaz*. He observes, that the *Scripture*, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*. And, to prove that the *Ashkenaz* mentioned in *Scripture* were the people of these parts, he shews out of *Xenophon* ^², that *Hystaspes*, having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellepont*, brought from thence many of the horse, and other soldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. But, whoever was the progenitor of the first inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that, in process of time, their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Mysians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who settled among them, and were reckoned of the same descent with the antient proprietors.

As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for, from *Dardanus* to *Priam*, we find the father constantly succeeded by the son, or the elder brother

^γ Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.

^² *Cyropæd.* l. vii.

by the younger. Their country was at first, like most others, parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of *Cygnus*, *Pandarus*, *Eurypylus*, and other princes of small territories, within the limits of *Lesser Phrygia*^a. But all these were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; insomuch that *Strabo*^b enumerates no fewer than nine small kingdoms or principalities subject to *Troy*, besides the island of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to such a length; for all these countries were to be subdued, before *Troy* could be invested. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us^c, that the *Trojans* were subdued by *Ninus*; but *Philostratus* tells us in express terms, that they were allies, and no ways vassals or tributaries to the *Affyrians*. The *Trojan* kings seem to have been absolute, and in no respect controulable by the subject. But we shall have occasion to resume this subject, when we come to their history.

WE have no particular system of their laws, and shall therefore pass to their religion.

Religion.

As to the religion of the *Trojans*, it was in substance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already described. Their principal deities seem to have been, *Cybele*, or, as they stiled her, *the great mother of the gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that island, and the progenitor of the *Trojans*^d; she was chiefly worshipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence she borrowed her name: *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy*, called *Pergamus*; in this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns that *Aeneas* was concealed, till the wounds, he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes*, were cured by *Latona* and *Diana*, *Apollo's* mother and sister: *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whose temple *Virgil* pathetically describes *Cassandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames^e. The famous *palladium* was a wooden statue of this goddess, holding in one hand a buckler, and a spear in the other, so contrived as to move them, and at the same time roll her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this statue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle, being consulted, returned answer, that the city of *Troy*

The palladium.

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 408.
^c Ubi supra. ^d VIRGIL, l. iii. ^e Æneid. ii.

^b Ibid.

could

could not be taken so long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift ; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* got privately into the castle, killed the guards, and, by bereaving the *Trojans* of their main defence, enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers assure us, that this *palladium* was brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, and lodged first at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at last removed to *Rome*, and deposited there in the temple of *Vesta*, under the care of the vestals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were so strongly possessed with the false notion, that the city, which was blessed with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemy's hands, that *Metellus*, seeing the temple of *Vesta* all in flames, ventured his life, without the least hesitation, to rescue this sacred depositum ; and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of *Rome*, as if he had saved the republic. The *Romans* universally believed themselves masters of the true *palladium*, but could never shew how they came by it. For, to say that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E) ?

VENUS

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the antients as to the *Trojan palladium*. Some tell us (88), that a king of *Phrygia Major* presented *Ilus* with a pyed ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down ; that *Ilus* followed him ; and, in the place where he lay down, built a city, calling it, from his own name, *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having desired *Jupiter* to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the *palladium* next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that *Chrysis* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*,

brought him the *palladium* as part of her fortune ; that *Dardanus* first erected a temple in *Saenotrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont*. *Lycobron* seems to insinuate, that the *palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess ; for he calls *Ulysses* Δελφινίσημον κλέπτα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Eustathius*, and others, say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with an human skin (91). *Julius Firmicus* (92), *Clemens* (93), and *Arnobius* (94), tell us, that the gentiles believed

(88) *Apollod.* l. iii.(89) *Vide Rosinum Roman. antiquitat.* p. 147.(90) *Seldenus de diis Syris, syntag.* ii.(91) *Selden, ubi supra, syntag.* i.(92) *De errore profanar. religion.* c. 16.(93) *In protrept.* (94) *Ad-**versus gentes,* l. iv.

VENUS also is counted among the *Trojan* deities ; but, as to *Vesta*, whom *Aeneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy* with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worshiped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess, with a lamp always burning in honour of her ; which has made some think, that the rites and ceremonies of *Vesta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks*, and not by the *Trojans* ^f.

AMONG the other *Trojan* deities, we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *sminthos* signifying a field-mouse. We are told ^g, that this sort of vermin made such a devastation in the fields of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which answered, that they should be delivered from that plague, if they sacrificed to *Sminthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito*, a city of *Troas*, to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of *Sminthian Apollo*. Others ^h relate the matter in a different manner ; and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worshiped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-strings of their

^f PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. l. ii. sect. 8. ^g STRAB. l. xiii. p. 415. ^h POLEMO apud CLEM. protrept.

it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion, it was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* ; but some tell us, that the true *palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration. This, say they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* ; but the true *palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Aeneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But, as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the same

level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept ; others, to mend the matter, suppose, that the *Greeks* returned the *palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Aeneas*, being warned so to do by the oracles. But we shall have occasion to examine, in the course of this history, the truth of *Aeneas's* voyage to *Italy*, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe, that there was another *palladium* of great fame worshiped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had plac'd in the castle of that city.

enemies,

enemies, and thereby secured a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worship of *Apollo Sminthius* was introduced into *Mysia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo*¹ tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of *Apollo's* statue, in a temple of *Chrysa*, a city of *Mysia*, to unfold the reason of his being surnamed *Sminthian*: he adds, that the statue was done by *Scopas*, a celebrated statuary of *Paros*. The same author, in speaking of the isle of *Tenedos*, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Sminthian Apollo* (F). As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the *Trojans*, we are almost intirely in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were *Character* a brave and warlike people; and in this we shall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withstood for nine years, with uncommon bravery, the combined forces of all *Greece*. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not find in their history any kind of intestine broils, or plots, or conspiracies against the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

WE can say nothing particular touching the customs of *Customs*, the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learn-*language*, ing; they are celebrated by the antients as one of the most polite and civilized nations of those days; and in the reigns of their later kings they arose to a very considerable pitch of splendor and magnificence, those great encouragers of arts and industry. Their language was in all likelihood the same that was spoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*; and perhaps in all that tract, which was afterwards known by the name of *Asia Proper*, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue, with some variation of dialect.

THEIR trade we can only guess at from their situation, *Trade*, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbour-

¹ Ubi supra.

(F) *Tournefort* (95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo's* head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and, on the reverse, the same ax with two mice.

(95) *Tournefort voyage au Levant.*

ing parts to traffick in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was stocked with many useful commodities, and must have abounded in all things necessary for life, since it could support, for many years together, two very considerable armies, as we shall see in the following section. Their settlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponnesus*, in *Sicily*^k, in *Italy*^l, in *Egypt*^m, and in *Afric*ⁿ, are a convincing proof, that they applied themselves pretty early to trade and navigation, which, in all likelihood, were the sources of the riches, splendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the states round them.

S E C T. VII.

The reigns of the Trojan kings.

Troas, or *Phrygia Minor*, was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero's Troica* one *Cynthus* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But, as the *Trojan* history of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were lost labour to make a narrow search into it. It is no less uncertain which of the two abovesaid princes reigned first, some writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is so dark and obscure a subject, that every one may say what he lists. We shall follow the most common opinion, and begin with *Teucer*, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of so perplexed a cause.

Teucer.

TEUCER, the son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*. He is said to have been very fortunate and successful in all his undertakings; but, what they were, we find no-where specified. Having no issue male, he married his only daughter, by some called *Basia*, by others *Asa*, by others *Aarisha*, to *Dardanus*, settling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him, and his descendants. Those who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth, suppose him to have come to the crown by a lineal descent; and place *Cynthus*, whom we have mentioned above, among his ancestors; so that, according to these

^k PAUSANIAS, l. ii. & v.
^l STRAB. l. vi.
^m DIOD.

SIC. l. i. c. 1.

ⁿ HERODOT. l. iv.

writers, *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the last of a long series of kings prior to those of the *Dardanian* family sprung from *Dardanus* and *Bassa*. From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucris*, and the inhabitants *Teucris* (G).

TEUCER

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the most common. However, *Virgil*, who has good means to come at the truth, as any other could have,

and very likely did not depart from it in such things as no-ways concerned *Augustus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows :

*Creta Jovis magni, medio jacet insula ponto ;
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
Maximus inde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucus Rhæteas primum est advectus in oras,
Optavitque locum regno : nondum Ilium, & arces
Pergamæ steterant : habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus ; hinc fida silentia sacris,
Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones (96).*

Teucer, then, according to those who follow *Virgil's* opinion, which is ascribed to *Berosus*, was the son of one *Scamander*, a native of *Crete*, from which island *Teucer*, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to sea with the third part of the inhabitants, in quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia* which lies on the *Hellepont*. Here he landed, not far from the *Rhætean* promontory ; and, being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the

earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida*, from an hill of the same name in his native country ; and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus* ; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods, and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby, that the former was the more antient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that

Dardanus. TEUCER was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Iafius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. *Dardanus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chryse* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince; insomuch that *Teucer*, who was stricken in years, and had no issue male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Bassia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*; which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely, with the *Paphlagonians*; and, as he was always attended with success, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities: the one he honoured with his own name, stiling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called *Thymbra*, from *Thymbræus* one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice, which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself intirely to religious matters. The *palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *palladiums* (H), were by his orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Iafius*, who governed that island in the

goddes was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no-ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Cress*, or not.

(H) Some writers tell us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryse*

two *palladiums*, or statues of *Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised, that the city, in which either of them was kept, should never be liable to any disasters. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us the words, which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following;

the absence of *Dardanus* (1). *Dardanus* had two wives, the first named *Chryse*, an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two sons,

*Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,
Cœlicolasque illic festis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ servabis arce reposita
Palladis; hæc quoniam cœpit tua regia conjux,
Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.*

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the other was brought by *Aeneas* into *Italy* (97). But *Varro* (98) tells us, that the *palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautes*; and adds, that the priesthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others say, that *Diomedes*, after the destruction of *Troy*, being driven by a storm on the coasts of *Italy*, and there ordered by an oracle to return the *palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Aeneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Aeneas*'s friends and companions.

(1) In what has been said of *Dardanus*, we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cadrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets, to flatter *Augustus*, make *Dardanus* son of *Electra*, not by *Coritus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Coritus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

*Est locus (Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;)
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri: nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iasusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.*

And elsewhere (100);

*Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre sanes; his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad urbes,
Tbreiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coriti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc folio stollantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.*

Virgil does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tus-* cany: but *Annus* informs us, that, after the death of *Coritus*,

(97) *Procop. de Bell. Gotb. l. i. Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophron. p. 146.* (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.* (99) *Æneid. iii. vers. 163.* (100) *Æneid. l. vii. vers. 205.*

sons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*; the other *Bassa*, who likewise bore him two sons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis**, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Asia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an island of the *Ionian* sea, which, from himself, he called *Zacynthus* †. *Erichthonius* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we shall see anon. As to his sister *Harmonia*, she married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Iafius* had initiated in the mysteries of religion. We shall have occasion to speak of her, and her husband *Cadmus*, when we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phrygia* 64 or 65 years; and was succeeded by his son

Erichthonius. ERICHTHONIUS, who, treading in the footsteps of his father, was revered by his subjects, and greatly respected

* DIONYS. HALICAR. l. i.

† Ibid.

the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Iafius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain*, and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annus* gives the name of *Comblobascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Iafius*; and adds, that the word *Coritus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus*, in his fabulous history of the *Greeks*, tells us, that *Iafon*, as he styles him, and *Dardanus*, were sons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*; that the former, being passionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to ravish her, was thunder-struck; and that *Dardanus* was

so concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native country, he retired to the opposite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Isaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks, that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, some say, that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Coritus*, who had by her *Gbryste* first wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion, that *Atlas* was neither an *African* nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of ancient history has given every one leave to say what he pleased.

(9) In *Apollonium*.

(10) *De gen. dec. j. iv. c. 8.*

by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than war, he carefully maintained a good understanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immense riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the subject with taxes and impositions. By his wife *Astyoche* he had but one son named *Tros*. He reigned, according to some, forty-six, according to others, seventy-five years; and, dying, left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a most flourishing condition (K).

ON the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* ascended the throne; *Tros*. and, in the very beginning of his reign, laid the foundations of a city, which became soon the most famous of all *Asia*. This grand work being at last finished, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted, we know not; but he highly resented such a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it; and, soon after, had a fair opportunity of shewing his resentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being sent by him with a splendid retinue, to carry presents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in passing through the territories of *Tantalus*, was not only detained, but abused, by that vicious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous youth took so to heart,

(K) *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a sister called *Idæa*, who married *Phineus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the history of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is intirely *Greek*, some have concluded from thence, that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no small weight, could they but prove, that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and

not a *Greek* translation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* observes (11), used to translate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some, finding a king of *Athens* bearing the same name, infer from thence, that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on so slight a foundation is scarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede's* being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variously interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion; that this story was in-

(11) *In Atlantica*.(12) *L. ix. c. 13.*

heart, that he died soon after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war which he made upon *Tantalus*, to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th, year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter, by name *Cleomestra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by mistake, makes *Ganymedes* son to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whose names are of great renown in antient history, and from whom most of our *European* nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from *Tros*, before

vented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of sanction to the unnatural lust that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* observes (13), seems to have been set up for no other purpose, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great measure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the incestuous marriage of *Ptolemaus Philadelphus* with his sister *Arfinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourse to the same topic to find something commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*; *Sorita fratris more Junonis toros*, says he, speaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* pursued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add,

that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occasion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*; and says, that *Minos*, being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occasion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of the father by abusing, and forcibly conveying away, the son, who was the only delight of his old-age. *Cicero* (15) seems to make *Ganymede* the son of *Laomedon*, which is a mistake. *Orphus* (16) and *Eusebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was described by one *Patrocles*, a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(13) *Lib. v. contra gentes.*
uscul.

(16) *Lib. i. v. 11.*

(14) *Pag. 334.*

(17) *De prepar. evang. l. ii.*

(15) *Cicero i.*

we proceed in the history of the *Trojan* kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, The progenitor as we have already observed, had by his wife *Acalide*, or, *my of Tros*, as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Affaracus*, and one daughter, by name *Cleomestra*. Of *Ilus*, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without issue. *Affaracus* had by his wife *Hieromname*, or, according to others, *Clytadora*, one son named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing else, but that the city of *Cuphya* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him; and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comeliness of his person, which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to see the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but, in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being worn out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He is supposed to have been saved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son *Aeneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two sons, *Aeneas*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi*, a people of *Sicily*. *Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* 9.

CLEOMESTRA had but one son, by name *Lyersus*, Antenor's father to *Antenor*. As to *Lyersus*, antient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king *Priam* ambassador into *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, whom *Hercules*, after taking *Troy*, had carried captive into *Greece*, and bestowed on *Telamon*, as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a spy than an ambassador; whereupon returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam*, and his sons, against that nation. However, some time after, he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* ambassadors that were sent

9 HOMER. Iliad. v.

to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam's* sons, and found means to convey them safe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good-will of the *Greeks*, he was sent into *Greece* on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and, some years, after the city itself; seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks*, entering *Troy* in sword hand, shewed, in the height of their revenge, a tender and friendly regard to *Antenor*, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before the door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. Some add, that, having known *Ulysses*, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many however clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness shewn him by the *Greeks*, saying, that they spared him merely in compliance with the laws of hospitality, which, in those days, were deemed sacred, even by the most savage nations. Of this opinion is *Le Roy*^r; and *Virgil* also seems to free him from all suspicion of treachery, saying, that he escaped falling into the hands of the *Greeks*^s. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the destruction of *Troy*, were so prejudiced against him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Trous*. At the same time the *Heneti*, being driven out of *Paphlagonia*, and forced to seek for new settlements, chose him for their leader in room of their king *Pylemenes*, who had been killed in the siege of *Troy*. With these, and a few *Trojans*, he put to sea; and, steering his course up the *Adriatic* gulf, landed in the country of the *Euganei*, lying between the sea and the *Alps*. Here he resolved to settle; and, having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Heneti*, he gave rise to a new nation. He built a small town in the place where he landed, and called it *Troy*. He is supposed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano* sister to *Hecuba*, and daughter to *Lisias* king of *Thrace*, *Iphidamas*, *Coon*, *Heliakon*, *Lao-*

Whether
he betray-
ed Troy.

Le Roy
a. l. v.

^r Decad. i. l. i.

^s ÆNEID. l. i. vers. 246.

docus, Acamas, Archilochus, Polybus, Agenor, Laodamns, Demoleon, Glaucus, and Crino. Iphidamas was brought His off-up in *Thrace* under the care of his grandfather, and came spring- to succour *Priam* and his country with twelve ships, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was slain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered, had he not been less fortunate than brave †. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, singled out and dangerously wounded the same *Agamemnon*, but at last fell likewise by his hand. *Heliakon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Aeneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great prowess, attended *Hector* in his boldest undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himself †. The others are named by *Homer, Pausanias, Calaber, &c.* but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar* * tells us, that the sons of *Antenor*, after the destruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them settled in *Libya*. But *Eusebius* says, that they reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector's* sons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps some of them remained in *Phrygia*, and some accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus* †, *Glaucus, Acamas, and Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Theano* *Antenor's* wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that she was the chief priestess of *Pallas*, and that she betrayed the *palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*, who were sent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embassy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the succession of the *Trojan* kings.

Tros was succeeded by his son *Ilus*, who, pursuing *Ilus*. with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many signal victories, drove *Tantalus* out of *Asia*, and possessed himself of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. *Pelops*, the son of *Tantalus*, after several unsuccessful attempts, was at last intirely routed, and forced to quit *Asia*, and follow his father into *Greece*. *Byfnus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had espoused the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his son *Pelops*, was likewise defeated, and, some say, killed in the engagement. *Ilus*, having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother,

† HOMER. *Iliad*. λ. PAUSANIAS in Phoc.*Iliad*. λ. * PINDAR. *Pyth. Od.* 5.

TZETZEM, p. 276.

* HOMER.

* Apud ISAAC.

applied himself intirely to civil affairs, and is said to have made a great many useful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned, with many stately buildings, the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being set on fire by lightning, he saved the *palladium* out of the flames; but on that occasion lost his sight, which however he afterwards recovered. *Herodian* informs us^y, that he called the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Pessinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that spot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two sons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom some believe to have been the son, and not the brother of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exercise, having acquired a strong and robust constitution, and injured himself to hardships, he betook himself to a military life, and went to serve among the *Affyrians*, who in those days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct soon raised him to the first posts in the army, in which he acquitted himself so well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes*, or chief lords of the *Affyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Persia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamius* king of *Affyria*, who had a great value for him, to send his son *Memnon* at the head of a considerable body of chosen troops to assist his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the son; for *Memnon* being slain by the *Theffalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was so grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comeliness of his person, his rising early in the morning, as he was a great sportsman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at last with grief, may have given rise to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for these, and their explanation, we must refer the reader to *Athenæus*^a, *Tzetzes*^b, *Natalis Comes*^c, and other mythologists.

Memnon *TITHONUS* had by his wife *Ciffa*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Emacalls* her, *Ida*, two sons, *Memnon* and *Emathion*, and one thion, the daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up *two sons of* under the discipline of his father, proved a brave, wife, *Tithonus*.

^y Lib. i. ^a ATHEN. lib. xii. 6. ^b ISAAC. TZETZES, in *Cassandr. Lyc.* ^c NATALIS COMES, l. vi. c. 4.

and experienced commander. He served with great success in *Egypt* against the *Ethiophians*, who were become very troublesome neighbours to the *Egyptians*; for he routed and dispersed their armies, laid waste their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who, out of gratitude, transferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country which he had subdued. In *Ethiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and some make him likewise the founder of *Abydos*. Having thus distinguished himself in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, he returned to his father in *Assyria*, where he was set over part of *Persia*, in quality of satrapa or chief governor; and is said to have built in his satrapy the city of *Susa*, and another, to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father, he marched at the head of 20,000 *Ethiophians*, and the like number of *Persians*, to the assistance of king *Priam*. On this occasion he behaved with his usual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight; but at last, falling into an ambuscade, was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Theffulians*. His body was rescued out of the enemy's hands, his obsequies performed with great solemnity, and his ashes sent back to his father. *Josephus* places his tomb near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicæ*; but *Pliny* and *Ælian* say, that he was buried at *Susa* (M). Every body has heard of the vocal statue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pausanias*^d, *Eustathius*^e, and *Lucian*^f, was broken in pieces by order of *Cambyses*; but, ever after, that part which remained on the pedestal, at the rising of the sun, yielded a sound like that of the string of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the instrument by being drawn too tight. *Eusebius* seems to have credited this story; for he says, that this miraculous effect ceased at the birth of *Christ*. *Pausanias*^h informs us,

^d In Atticis.
vol. i. p. 400.

^e In DIONYS.
^h In Atticis.

^f In Toxeri.

^g See

(M) *Pausanias* (18) tells us, that a cenotaphium, or empty tomb, was raised to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Asopus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly visited by strange birds known to them

under the name of *Memnonian* birds. These, on stated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it stood, of all rubbish; and afterwards, dipping their wings in the *Asopus*, sprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) In *Phocis*.

that *Memnon's* sword was kept at *Nicomedia*; and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms used by the antients were of brass. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, says, that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* first king of *Argos*. *Heliadon* ^a makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Ethiopia*.

EMATHION, the other son of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion, that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Justin* mentions an antient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name ⁱ. *Romus*, descended from one of the sons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by some, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* ^k. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her, but what is related by the spurious *Diety*s now extant, whose history deferyes no manner of credit.

Laomedon.

ON the death of *Ilus* *Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at the same time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*; that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them, and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These are looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods, whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Jason*, and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coasts of *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships, and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules*, who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned some time after with twelve galleys to *Troy*, which he besieged, took and plundered. In this war *Laomedon* killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown; but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Tithonus*, *Lamdon*, *Clytus*,

Troy taken by Hercules.

^a In *Æthiop.* l. x. c. 1. ⁱ JUSTIN. l. vii. ^k PLUTARCH. in *Romulo*.

(N) Others tell us (19), that by *Laomedon* to build the walls *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired of *Troy*; and that, upon his

(19) *Ensch.* in *chron.*

refusing

Clytus, Iccaton, and Priam; his daughters were *Hesione, Cilla, Astyoche, Antigone, Proclia,* and *Euthria*. All his The de- sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. scendants
As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken of Lao- medon.
by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than his wife; which *Priam*, who had succeeded his father, had no sooner understood, but he sent *Antenor* into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece*, this embassy was heard with contempt, and the ambassadors used in a manner no-ways suitable to their character; which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus*ⁱ. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess^k. *Proclia* married *Cygnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithea*^l. *Euthria*, being taken by the *Greeks*, and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed; and, the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves; which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there^m, having no other ships to pursue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucalian*, a natural son of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was slain with his father and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to some, thirty-six, according to others, forty-four years.

ⁱ APOLLOD. l. iii.
TZETZES in *Cassandr.* Lycoph. p. 118.
vii.

^k SERVIUS in l. i. *Aeneid.*

^l ISAAC

^m POLYÆNUS, l.

refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrifici^g his fa-

avourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they; but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised: whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

Priam.

LAOMEDON being slain by *Hercules*, as we have said above, *Podarces*, the only surviving son, who had been carried away captive with his sister *Hesione*, was with a great sum of money ransomed, and placed on the throne of his ancestors; and hence came the surname of *Priam*, which is derived from a *Greek* verb signifying to redeem or ransom. His first care, after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being discovered, in the beginning of his reign, a mine of gold near *Abydus*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is said to have embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, castles, aqueducts, &c. He maintained in constant pay a considerable army, reduced most of the neighbouring states, and was rather considered as sovereign of all *Asia Minor*, than king of *Troas*. He married to his first wife *Arisba*, or, as others call her, *Alyxothoe*, by whom he had but one son named *Æfacus*; but by his second wife *Hecuba*, daughter to *Cisseus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponus*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creusa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Cassandra*. Besides these, he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers say, that, being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home, and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithstanding some of his elder brothers were then alive.

The cause
of the
Trojan
war.

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in history for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great prowess and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the siege, the destruction of that great city, and the endless colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. As to the cause of this fatal and destructive war, it is agreed, on all hands, that the rape of *Helen* first kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to such an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to stand by him at the expence of so much blood and treasure, is not determined by antient writers. *Herodotus*ⁿ gives us, upon the authority of the *Persian* writers, a very unnatural and

According
to the an-
tient Per-
sians,

ⁿ Lib. i. c. 1, 2, 3.

far-fetched account of this rape. He says, that the *Phœnicians* having ravished *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her, with other *Greek* women, into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, making use of reprisals, first carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre's* daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchos*, refusing to restore either, till such time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next succeeding age, hearing of these adventures, was encouraged to ravish *Helen*, persuading himself that he should not be constrained to make any reparation, seeing others had escaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous, and foreign to the purpose. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchos*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchos*, in all likelihood, had never so much as heard of? Besides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the distinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer's* time, and consequently highly improbable, that the *Greeks* so long before, when they had not even one common name to distinguish themselves from other nations, should nevertheless look upon them all as their enemies, by reason of an injury done by one. Others According to others. say, that king *Priam*, hearing that his sister *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, sent first *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris*, to complain thereof, and insist on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has some appearance of truth; for *Telamon*, in history, bears the character of a surly, cruel, and ill-natured prince, infomuch that his own son *Teucer* chose rather to roam on the seas, in quest of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reason, but because his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himself, which it was not in *Teucer's* power to prevent. *Paris*, add these authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embassy, was hospitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to pass over into *Crete*, his base and ungrateful guest laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means satisfactory; for were it true, that *Hesione* was ill used by *Telamon*, yet nobody can imagine, that *Priam* would, on that score, send a solemn embassy into *Greece*, or think of taking his sister from her husband, with whom she had lived above thirty years.

Where-

The most probable cause of that war.

Whereupon it is most natural to think that *Paris*, in ravishing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*; but, falling in love with her, as she was the most beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted, by his own perverse inclinations, to do what in those days was commonly practised both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herself had been stolen before by *Theseus*, and such practices of stealing women were so common, as *Thucydides* ° informs us, that none durst venture to live near the sea-coast. The same *Thucydides* † tells us, that, as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus*, after recovering her from *Theseus*, to prevent a second rape, obliged all her suitors, who were most of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themselves by a solemn oath to rescue her, in case she should be taken from her husband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a husband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the rest. According to this account, the oath, which so many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them against the ravisher and his abettors. To which we may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the most potent prince of all *Greece*, so he had, without all doubt, a great influence over the rest of his countrymen. But, be that as it will, war against *Troy* was determined in a general assembly of all the princes of *Greece*; and this was the first enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common consent. Before the assembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium*, a city in *Peloponnesus*, was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endless dynasties, enjoined to send his quota of troops and ships.

Homer's poems the most antient history of Greece.

THE best and most rational account we have of this great war, is that which we gather from *Homer*, whose inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the result of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the most antient history of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry suppose the truth of the history, though they admit of its being embellished with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could

° THUCYD. l. i.

† Idem ibid. p. 6.

not question the truth of the fact. But most of the historical events related by *Homer*, are attested and confirmed by the most creditable historians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely, by the *Arundelian* marbles. We must therefore carefully distinguish in *Homer's* works what is historical from what is merely fictitious. He describes the state of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was divided into a great many dynasties; that *Agamemnon* king of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the most powerful prince of all *Greece*, that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the several nations and princes that sided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an insight into the art of war practised in that age; discloses the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; describes the situation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely historical; so that *Homer's* poems may deservedly be considered as the most antient history of the *Greeks*, whose earlier ages are buried in oblivion, for want of such a writer to transmit their actions to posterity (O).

THE number of ships employed by the *Greeks* in this *Number of* expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, the ships amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides* raises the number to 1200. The *Bœotian* ships, sent a- that were the largest, carried 120 men each; those of the *gainst* *Philœteteæ* were the smallest, and each manned with 50; *Troy*. every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a soldier; so that, supposing the fleet to have been of 1200 sail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ships to have carried one with another 85 men, we shall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men strong; no great force,

¶ Lib. i. p. 8.

(O) *Dion Chrysoptom* (19), in an oration addressed to the *Trojans*, attempts to prove the siege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable, without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty essay, since the author

elsewhere (20) disproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the siege and taking of *Troy* are transactions so well attested, and have left such a remarkable epocha in history, that no man of sense will call them in question.

(19) *Orat.* xi.

(20) *Περὶ ἀστυχείων*, p. 225. d.

considering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acar-nanes* alone †, were engaged in this war. The *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* observes, could have raised a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being distressed for provisions in a foreign country †. Against this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* say, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, and the greatest part of *Asia Minor*, sided with the *Trojans*. *Rhesus*, king of *Thrace*, marched at the head of a considerable body to their assistance; and *Memnon*, as we have said, joined them with 20,000 *Affyrians* and *Ethiopi-ans*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreseeing the resistance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would cost them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hostilities, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* ambassadors to *Troy* to demand *Helen*, and the treasures which *Paris* had carried off with her; hoping that the fame of the vast preparations, which they had made, might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with so equitable a demand. What answer was returned to the ambassadors we know not; but it is certain, that they returned without *Helena*, and highly dissatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

Helen, according to some, taken from Paris before he reached Troy. HERODOTUS †, upon a tradition that prevailed among the priests of *Egypt*, seems inclined to believe, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the priests themselves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris*, on his return with *Helen*, was, by stress of weather, driven on the coast of *Egypt*, and forced to put it at *Tarichia*, on the *Canopian* mouth of the *Nile*. Here some slaves of *Paris's* retinue, taking sanctuary in a temple of *Hercules*, which stood on the shore, informed against their master, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*; who, finding, upon examination, the deposition of the slaves to be true, detained *Helen*, and the treasures that had been taken with her, in order to restore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having severely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the

† JUSTIN. I. xviii. † Ubi supra. † Lib. ii. c. 113, & seqq.

kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* priests add, that, when the *Greeks* sent embassadors to demand *Helen*, and her riches, the *Trojans* protested, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*; which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere shift to put them off, began the war; but at last, after taking the town, as *Helena* no-where appeared, and the *Trojans* persisted in their former protestations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and sent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*; where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*; and had his wife restored to him, without any injury done to her person or goods. These things the *Egyptian* priests assured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from those, who had conversed with *Menelaus* himself. *Herodotus* produces one argument, of no small weight, to prove the truth of this tradition; viz. that if it had been in king *Priam's* power to restore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than suffer the unspeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himself, during the course of the war. How great soever his tenderness to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof against so many misfortunes. *Homer* seems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* priests; for he mentions *Paris* and *Helen's* arrival in *Egypt*; and says, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleasure. Nevertheless *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied), except *Euripides*, suppress the circumstance of *Helen's* not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cause. But, whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, restore her, the embassadors, on their return, highly complained of the treatment they had met with; and with their complaints so incensed their countrymen, that they resolved, without further delay, to put to sea, and carry fire and sword into the enemy's country (P). They steered

(P) *Calchas* a famous sooth-sayer, without whose advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared, that the

goddess *Diana* opposed their passage with contrary winds; and that she was to be appeased with a victim of no smaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*.

The
Greeks
land in
Troas.

steered to the coast of *Troas*, where, on their landing, they met with so warm a reception, that they began to be sensible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the first encounter they lost *Protesflaus*, who was slain by *Hector*, and many others of less note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what most of all retarded their progress was want of provisions, which daily increased, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the smallness of their vessels, which, as the building of ships with decks was not then introduced, could not carry such stores of provisions as were necessary to supply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, sending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and part to rove about the seas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or historians, agree, that the *Greeks* employed the first eight or nine years in scouring the seas, pillaging the coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*. Hence, in the poets, we read of many towns taken, islands plundered, strong-holds raised, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

AT

memnon. The goddess, say the poets, was incensed against him for having killed by chance one of her stags; but, after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, she prevented so horrid a sacrifice by putting an hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have observed elsewhere (20), that the fable of the sacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephtha's* sacrificing his daughter.

(Q) *Ovid* says, that, from the first year to the tenth, there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks*

did not sit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemy's country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* sitting on an high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year; for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to

(20) See *b. f. c.*, p. 23, in the notes. (21) *Iliad*, iii.

AT last the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies, insomuch that, when the *Greeks* first invested the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilential vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon*, being obliged by the soothsayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father, a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took *Briséis* in her room, who, in division of the booty, had fallen to *Achilles*. This affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles*, returning to the camp, put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery, is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken at night: some say, that *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no terms, even after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*,

- this particular is, that some, while others tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(22) *Lib. i. p. 9.*

concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scæan* gate, over which was the picture or statue of an horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called an horse, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called a *ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks*, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood from *Teucer* to *Priam* 296 years, according to the common computation. This city is said to have been taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ, and 408 before the first Olympiad.

Troy
taken.

Year of
the flood

1164.

Bef. Chr.

1184.

Adven-
tures of
the Greeks
after the
taking of
the city.

THE *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea, in order to return to their respective homes; but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Mnestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city, calling it *Salamis*, from the chief city of his own country which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the son of *Oileus* was lost. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coasts of *Afric*, others to *Italy*, whereof all the east part was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of the many towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got safe home, were obliged to put to sea again, as *Thucydides* informs us^u, in quest of new seats; others having seized their territories, and usurped the sovereignty, during their absence. *Agamemnon* and his brother *Menelaus* fell out, when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home; and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, some sailing with *Menelaus* to the island of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon*

^u Lib. 2.

on the coasts of *Troas*. Those who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themselves, parted, each holding his own course homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived safe at *Mycenæ*, where he was, soon after his arrival, murdered by his wife *Clytemnestra*; but his son *Orestes* revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemnestra*, of *Ægijthus* her gallant, and of *Helen* their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*. The adventures of *Ulysses* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may have some foundation in history, is, that some years passed before he got home. • The adventures of the other *Greeks* are less known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no less fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, those who escaped the general *And of the* slaughter, seeing their country utterly ruined, took their *Trojans* measures accordingly, and settled in distant regions. *Antenor*, as we have said already, established himself in *Italy*, and founded the nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam's* sons, settled in *Macedonia*, where he built the city of *Ilium*. Some say, that, during the siege, he went over to the *Greeks*, and shewed them in what manner they might easily master the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers assure us, that he *Æneas* settled in *Italy*, and there founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæsars* affected to derive their pedigree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy* alone seems to betray some sort of doubt as to this particular, insinuating, with a great deal of reserve, that he has not sufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithstanding the unanimous consent of the *Latins*, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart* * has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R).

THE

* BOCHART. epist. utrum *Æneas* unquam fuit in Italia.

(R) In the first place, this opinion is directly opposite to that of *Homer* (23), who supposes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he represents favourable to *Æneas* on all occasions, and averse from *Priam*,

(23) *Iliad*. xx.

THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and most of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the sword, some writers tell us, that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians* possessing themselves of that country, settled there; and that

and his whole race, assuring him, that he, and his posterity, should reign over the *Trojans*; which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Aeneas*, and his posterity, had reigned, or were actually reigning, in his time. It is the custom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling beforehand, that such things will happen, as the poet knows to have already happened; but no poet ever made them utter such things, as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer's* case, if *Aeneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument some answer, that *Aeneas*, after settling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia*, and reigned over the few *Phrygians*, that outlived the destruction of their country. As this answer has no manner of foundation in history, it is scarce worth refuting. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (24) is of opinion, that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only, that *Aeneas* was to reign over such *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Accstes*, *Capys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* distinguish *Aeneas* from the other *Phrygians* by some particular marks of his favour. Besides, the words of *Venus*, in the hymn which is generally ascribed to *Homer*, εἰ Τρώεσσι δαδῆσει, are capable of no other sense, but that *Aeneas* shall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this sense they are understood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in express terms, that *Aeneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*; that, the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him transmitted to posterity. *Eusebius* thinks (26), that, when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promising to *Aeneas*, that he, and his posterity, should reign over the *Trojans*, the poet, by the *Trojans*, meant the *Romans*; and because it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds, that *Homer* had either seen the oracles of the *sybils*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Aeneas*, or had himself foreseen, as most poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to descend from *Aeneas*, and be masters of the world. But, as to the book of the *sybils*, *Homer* certainly never did, nor could see them; for they were forged, as several writers have demonstrated,

(24) *Lib.* .(25) *Lib.* xiii.(26) *In Iliad.*

that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion that *Æneas*, having gathered together the scattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city; and that his descendents, and the descendents of *Hector*, reigned there till the country was subdued by the *Lydians*, who became so powerful, as to over-run all *Asia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the *Greeks*, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

above a thousand years after *Homer's* time; and, as to the spirit of prophecy, which *Eusebius* is pleased to bestow upon poets every one sees, that it has not the least appearance of truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzicenus*, quoted by *Festus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia* by the river *Nolos* (or, as others read, *Gallus*), not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us, that the city of *Ascania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Damasenus*. *Mela* tells us, that the city of *Antandrus* was so called, because *Ascanius*, who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelasgi*, yielded this city to them for his ransom. *Helianicus*, in his *Troica*, makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but, as to *Ascanius*, he says, that he remained in *Troas*, and reigned there. *Strabo* assures us, that the city of *Scepthis*, in former times situate near *Troy*, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by *Scamander* the son of

Hector, and *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were descended from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no small weight, namely, that the chief deities of the ancient *Trojans*, viz. *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*; and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the ancient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language; which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been transmitted to us. This however is no exception to *Virgil's* divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion, which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(27) *Festus voce Romæ.*(28) *Uli supra.*

